



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-91241-3

Canada

BY OMISSION AND COMMISSION: 'RACE' AND REPRESENTATION

IN

CANADIAN TELEVISION NEWS

by

Yasmin Jiwani

B.A., University of British Columbia, 1979

M.A., Simon Fraser University, 1984

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department

of

Communication

© Yasmin Jiwani 1993

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

July, 1993

All rights reserved. This work may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without permission of the author.



APPROVAL

NAME: Yasmin Jiwani

DEGREE: Ph.D. (Communication)

TITLE OF THESIS: By Omission and Commission: "Race" and Representation in
Canadian Television News

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

CHAIR: Dr. Robert Anderson, Professor

Dr. Paul Heyer, Professor, Senior Supervisor

Dr. Jan Walls, Professor, Senior Supervisor

Dr. Robert Hackett, Associate Professor

Dr. Noga Gayle, Instructor, Sociology Department,
Capilano College and Sessional, University of
British Columbia.

Dr. Roy Miki, Associate Professor, Department of
English

Dr. Teun A. van Dijk, Professor, Department of
Literary Studies, University of Amsterdam

DATE APPROVED: _____

July 29, 1993

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENCE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis or dissertation (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Dissertation:

By Omission and Commission: "Race" and Representation in
Canadian Television News

Author:

signature

Yasmin Jiwani
name

July 29, 1993
date

ABSTRACT

Numerous studies have examined the representations of racial groups and ethnic minorities in dominant western media. Within Canada, existing literature has focused on mass mediated representations of specific groups, events and issues. The majority of the studies conclude that racial minority groups tend to be under-represented, and stereotyped in Canadian mass media.

This study departs from the existing literature in that it employs an historically informed, and qualitative analysis of media texts. The thesis focuses on the representations of Asian, South Asian and African Canadians, derived from a corpus of 74 newscasts aired on CBC and CTV and their local affiliates. The newscasts were collected over a 21 day period, between July and August, 1992. In addition, the study includes an analysis of the coverage aired on CTV and CBC that dealt with a controversial lapel pin. The pin portrayed black, Asian and South Asian characters surrounding a white male. The pin's caption read: "Who is the minority in Canada?"

The analysis suggests that structural practices, prevailing beliefs, and organizational constraints within media organizations contribute to a contradictory discourse of news. The framing of racial minority groups is thus, also contradictory - vacillating between manichean

representations, which themselves are part of the larger discourse on 'race,' and normalized representations when racial minorities are aligned with a popular cause, or with the media's positioning of an issue. The historical legacy of exclusion and racism, informs and underpins many of these representations.

The liberal ethos within news organizations appears to motivate the media's concern with issues regarding racism. Media coverage situates these issues on the national agenda where racism is often cast as a moral transgression. Such coverage tends to reproduce dominant definitions of racism as an affective phenomenon, divorced from its material grounding in institutional and cultural practices. It locates racism within the actions of a few individuals from a specific class background, thus deflecting attention away from the role of elite organizations in perpetuating racism.

The thesis concludes with an examination of possible ways in which representations of racial minority groups can be changed, and the structural limits to such change.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the name of Allah, the Most Beneficent,
the Most Merciful.

Although the contemporary western academic tradition evinces a strong negation of the spiritual dimension of life, this thesis owes a great deal to the inspiration and guidance I have received from the Ismaili tariqah of Islam and in particular, to the Imam of the time.

Writing a thesis is a long, painful and lonely journey, occasionally punctuated by peak moments and flashes of insight. There are many individuals who enabled me to survive this journey, providing inspiration, support, courage and sustenance. This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Mansoor and Goolzar Jiwani whose faith and support have given me the strength to persevere. To Iqubal Velji, my companion in life and its many struggles, I can only say a humble thank you for the endless nights of editing, research, and immeasurable loving support; thanks also to my sisters, Sahira Jaipaul and Nazlin Bhimani whose belief in my abilities never wavered, as well as to Al Bhimani for his supportive and critical comments. My heartfelt gratitude to my grandfather, Sultanaly Contractor, whose rich well of knowledge has informed my perceptions of colonial India and Africa, and whose sense of humour has lightened the load many a time.

My deepest thanks to my friends, Lorraine Chan, Kirsten

McAllister, Sunera Thobani, Jyothi Gaddam, Firoozeh Radjai, Katherine Tihanyi, Dorothy Kidd, and Balbinder Panesar for their constructive feedback and encouraging support. My gratitude also to Loretta Todd, Joy Hall, Ravida Din, Gabriella Moro, Santiago, Shamin Issa, Nancy Grout, Ameen Merchant, Shelina Kassam, Barbara Binns, Corinne Lee, Karim Karim, Patrice Leung, Richard Hawkins, and Ian Chunn for having been there for me in various ways through out this long process. I wish to acknowledge Neena Shahani, Michael Speier, Richard Jolen, Nilusha Paroo, Christine, Jeanette, Bruce, Jan and Joanne at the NFB, and so many others for their constant encouragement, support, and moments of much needed relief.

I would like to take this opportunity to extend my warmest thanks to Lorraine Chan of the National Film Board of Canada for her continuous and active support. My gratitude also to Allen and Cynthia Dutton of the B.C. Organization to Fight Racism for moral, intellectual and other support; to Hayne Wai from the Human Rights Commission for his critical feedback; Mansur Jamal from Statistics Canada for updated statistical information; to Aziz Khaki for giving me a chance to learn as much as I have from the various seminars and workshops organized by the Committee for Racial Justice, and finally, to Nora Greenway of the Vancouver School Board.

Last but not least, I would like to acknowledge my

supervisory committee for their support and comments, in particular, Paul Heyer for having introduced me to the many areas of communication studies; Jan Walls for his constancy and gentle pressure; Robert Hackett for his critical comments, especially on the last two chapters of this thesis, and Noga Gayle, without whom I could not have survived the process and whose perspective was a source of affirmation that solidified my own convictions. My thanks also to Liora Salter for her belief in me, and to Pam Parford, Lucie Menkveld and Neena Shahani who have done more than what is required to ease my passage through the graduate school experience.

I wish to acknowledge the financial support I received from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, for making this research possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
INTRODUCTION: SETTING THE STAGE	1
Race and Racism	2
From whose perspective?	6
Self reflexive assumptions	8
Goals and objectives	12
Methodology	14
Textual analysis	18
Terminology	19
Latitudes in interpretation	20
Minority perspectives	23
The media side of the debate	24
Notes	28
CHAPTER 1: MEDIA, 'RACE' AND REPRESENTATION	29
Representations and Commonsense	32
The Social Implications of Representations	35
The media and representations	40
Political Implications of Representations	47
Historical Grounding	48
'Race' and racism	50
The parameters of the discourse of 'race'	58
Contemporary 'traces'	60
Framed within a larger picture	67
Notes	73
CHAPTER II: 'RACE' AND THE MEDIA: THE CANADIAN CONTEXT	74
Multiculturalism and/or Multiracialism?	77
The Vertical Mosaic	83
Background studies	89
Representations in the Canadian mass media	91
Notes	113
CHAPTER III: 'RACE' IN THE NEWS	116
The (un)reality of television news	117
News Conventions	120
Bias, balance and objectivity	125
Race as News	131
Elective affinities-discourses of news and 'race'	140
On the home front - Canadian television news	146
Discursive features and representational cues	149

Notes	153
CHAPTER IV: 'RACE' AS NEWS: BLACK REPRESENTATIONS	155
A brief historical review	157
Blacks in TV News	158
Ben Johnson on Trial	159
CBC's story on Ben	177
The story on refugees	189
CBC: Somalian versus Yugoslavian refugees	204
NAC and the panel on violence against women	218
Race and racism: The Photo-Police tabloid	226
CBC and the Photo Police	233
The Caribana Festival	240
Notes	245
CHAPTER V: 'RACE' AS NEWS: ASIAN REPRESENTATIONS	246
Asians in TV news	249
The inauthentic immigrants	253
Asians as criminals and deviants	257
The wealthy investor	273
The local scene	281
Notes	297
CHAPTER VI: SOUTH ASIANS IN THE NEWS	298
South Asians in TV news	301
Illegal immigrants and refugees	302
South Asians and crime	313
South Asians in Opposition	319
Bryan Adams, cricket and the colonial legacy	320
Militant Women	326
On 'postive' representations	330
Notes	340
CHAPTER VII: 'AS MUCH HATE AS THE MARKET CAN BEAR'	341
The lapel pins and calendar as news	342
Minorities in the news	344
CTV's coverage of the lapel pins and calendar	347
Story #1	347
Story #2	356
Story #3	359
Story #4	377
Story #5	389
Notes	399
CHAPTER VIII: 'AS MUCH HATE AS THE MARKET CAN BEAR':	
PART II	400
Story #1	400
Story #2	406
Story #3	413
The Journal	417
Segment #1	419
Segment #2	447

Segment #3	457
Concluding Story	467
Comparison of CBC and CTV accounts	471
Notes	484
CONCLUSION: LIMITS TO CHANGE	485
A milieu of perceived tolerance	487
'Race' as News	490
The 'base' grammar of race	495
'Race', racialization and Canadian tolerance	498
The limits to change	500
'Meanings given, meanings made'	506
Notes	511
BIBLIOGRAPHY	512
APPENDICES	534
APPENDIX A: EXAMPLES OF EXCLUSIONARY LEGISLATION PASSED IN CANADA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA	534
APPENDIX B: REPRESENTATIONS IN CANADIAN TELEVISION	
NEWS	536
Representations of Blacks on CTV and BCTV News	536
Representation of Blacks on the CBC National, The Journal, and CBC's News Final	545
Representations of Asians on the CTV National News	556
Representations of Asians on CBC	561
Representations of South Asians on CTV and BCTV News	569
Representations of South Asians on CBC's National News, The Journal and News Final	573

INTRODUCTION

SETTING THE STAGE

Issues of race and representation have received considerable attention in recent years. Part of this concern stems from the growing recognition of the central role played by the mass media in the production and reproduction of social knowledge (Morley, 1980b; Hall, 1979; 1990; van Dijk; 1988; 1988a; 1989; 1993). This study focuses on race and representation in Canadian television news. It takes as its point of departure, existing studies in the area of critical media analysis (e.g. Hall, 1974; 1979; 1984; van Dijk, 1989; 1993; Hartley, 1982; Connell, 1989; Gitlin, 1979), as well as, the literature concerning mass mediated representations of people of colour (e.g. McAllister, 1992; Isaacs, 1958; Harris, 1991; Miller, 1980; Said, 1978; hooks, 1990; Halloran, 1977).

The central rationale underpinning this thesis is that the mass media play a critical role in reproducing the categories of race, and in constructing particular definitions of racism (Hall, 1990; van Dijk, 1993; Bannerji, 1986; Harris, 1991). These definitions and constructions are used to perpetuate the racialization of groups as "others", identifiable through negatively valued differences and constructed within a relational framework that defines the (white, dominant) Self. At the same time, the mass media

also convey images of description and prescription (Bannerji, 1986). By prescribing normative values, attitudes and behaviours, the media socialize minority groups into particular modes of participation within social life (Berry and Mitchell-Kernan, 1982; Surlin and Dominick, 1970-71; Zohoori, 1988). Images of description communicate how the dominant society views racial minorities, and where the latter 'fit' in the symbolic social order (Hall, 1990; Bannerji, 1986; Indra, 1979; Press, 1991; Riggs, 1991).

Race and Racism

The definitions of 'race' and racism used in this thesis are as follows:

...the generalization, institutionalization, and assignment of values to real and imaginary differences between people in order to justify a state of privilege, aggression and/or violence. Involving more than the cognitive or affective content of prejudice, racism is expressed behaviourally, institutionally, and culturally. The ideas or actions of a person, the goals or practices of an institution and the symbols, myths or structure of a society are racist if (a) imaginary or real differences of race are accentuated; (b) these differences are assumed absolute and considered in terms of superior, inferior; and (c) these are used to justify inequity, exclusion or domination. (Bulhan, 1985:13).

It should be emphasized that racism is "a property of dominance between groups, not between individuals" (van Dijk, 1993:170). It is reflected in the ways in which the dominant group attempts to assert its power and perpetuate its status. While racism manifests itself at the level of lived reality, its power and legitimacy are rooted in the

shared social and cognitive frameworks which legitimize one group's dominance over another. Such frameworks are reproduced in the institutions, beliefs, practices, symbols, ideas and cognitions that govern and pervade social life. They are translated in the differential entitlement and preference structures of the dominant group. However, it is at the level of lived reality, that racism can be challenged and contested (van Dijk, 1991).

This study attempts to delineate the ways in which groups are racialized and constructed as an "other"- where their differences are heightened and used to marginalize, exclude and define them as inferior and/or different. The inquiry focuses on one particular institution - the news media, at a specific moment in the circuit of media texts - broadcast news. The analysis presented here is descriptive and limited to charting the contours and character of representations of people of colour.

The prevalence of racially discriminatory attitudes in Canada can be evidenced in the results of a recent poll which found that 25% of Canadians perceive non-whites to be threatening. A further 12% were found to be "highly intolerant." The majority (57%) believed that non-whites should assimilate rather than maintain their cultural identities. And, almost half of the sample polled (47%), felt that the country was accepting far too many immigrants,

while 42% believed recent immigrants should not be accorded the same rights as those born in the country (Vancouver Sun, April 12, 1993).¹ However, racism, as Bulhan (1985) and van Dijk (1993:5) note, is more than just an affective or cognitive phenomenon. It is systemic, and inscribed in the institutional matrix of society.² These attitudes and opinions reveal the currency of racial prejudices in shared social frameworks (Hartmann and Husband, 1974a).

The attitudes measured by the recent poll are part of a larger context. Millett argues that a strong Nordic ideology pervades Canadian social reality (1981:70). Historically, this has resulted in the exclusion of people from various ethnic and racial backgrounds, while enhancing the acceptance of others who fit within the preferred category of 'British.' Contemporary signs of the 'Nordic' ideology are apparent at the individual, institutional and cultural domains of Canadian society.

For a dominant group to maintain power, it is necessary that its dominance be accepted and reproduced (van Dijk, 1993; Hall, 1979). Such reproduction involves the coercion and persuasion of dominated groups; it requires their consent in perpetuating the status quo. The mass media are a critical vehicle in this process of gaining consent and in legitimizing dominant "ways of seeing" (Berger, 1972; van Dijk, 1989; 1993; Hall, 1979; 1990). They play an influential role in opinion formation and in providing the

categories of social thought (Cottle, 1992; Hall, 1990; van Dijk, 1987; Hartmann and Husband, 1974a). More importantly, they define the limits of the social order - communicating normative values and behaviours; the relative positioning of different groups within society, as well as particular definitions of social reality (Hartley, 1982; Hall, 1979; 1990). The mass media are active agents in the reproduction of the social order (Gitlin, 1979; van Dijk, 1993).

As Hall argues:

This is the first of the great cultural functions of the modern media: the provision and selective construction of social knowledge, of social imagery, through which we perceive the 'worlds', the 'lived realities' of others, and imaginarily construct their lives and ours into some intelligible 'world-of-the-whole', some 'lived totality.' (1979:340-341).

The mass media also serve to 'reflect' and 'refract' the plurality of social life, identifying various stocks of social knowledge, and evaluating, assigning and contextualizing them within the larger symbolic and dominant social order (Hall, 1979). Through integration, negotiation and cohesion, the media work towards producing and reproducing consensus and consent. Consent and consensus are never permanent, but ever-shifting. As Hall articulates it:

...establishing the 'rules' of each domain, actively ruling in and ruling out certain realities, offering the maps and codes which mark out territories and assign problematic events and relations to explanatory contexts, helping us not simply to know more about 'the world' but to make sense of it. Here the line... between preferred and excluded explanations and rationales, between permitted and deviant behaviours,

between the 'meaningless' and the 'meaningful', between the incorporated practices, meanings and values, and the oppositional ones, is ceaselessly drawn and redrawn, defended and negotiated: indeed, the 'site and stake' of struggle. (1979:341).

The media are a site in which this struggle is enacted. Not only is this struggle waged at the level of representations, but it also occurs within the signs used to signify particular meanings and groups. The inherent multiaccentuality of signs - their ability to be read and inflected differently, compounds any analysis which seeks to examine public texts. However, the preferred messages embedded within these texts sustain particular interpretations of social reality, as well as historically specific definitions of groups within it. It is these definitions which inform the larger struggles over the issue of representation.

Media representations have become an arena of contestation as an increasing number of groups articulate their opposition to mass mediated "ways of seeing" themselves and their worlds (see Bannerji, 1986; hooks, 1990; Thobani, 1992; McAllister, 1992).

From whose perspective?

Objectivity in the social sciences is a moot issue and one which has increasingly been attacked by various social scientists (van den Berghe, 1976; Ladner, 1987; Thornton Dill, 1987). As a member of society, one is socialized into

its norms and mores, and comes to inhabit a space within the multiple universes of meaning that interconnect and make social existence a tangible reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). At the same time, through socialization and interaction, one comes to acquire a sense not only of what society is, but where one 'fits' in the social order.

Socialization influences how one sees the world, the topics one chooses to research and the analysis that is produced. There is no value-free social science (Ladner, 1987; Bulhan, 1985). All research is driven by the implicit values, motives and politics of researchers. However, the integrity of one's research can be enhanced by making clear at the outset, the assumptions and perspectives underpinning the analysis (Mills, 1959; Lather, 1986). As Gouldner argues:

If sociologists ought not express their personal values in the academic setting, how then are students to be safeguarded against the unwitting influence of these values which shape the sociologist's selection of problems, his preferences for certain hypotheses or conceptual schemes, and his neglect of others? For these are unavoidable and, in this sense, there is and can be no value-free sociology. The only choice is between an expression of one's values as open and honest as it can be, this side of the psychoanalytic couch, and a vain ritual of moral neutrality which, because it invites men to ignore the vulnerability of reason to bias, leaves it at the mercy of irrationality. (cited in Ladner, 1987:78).

Within the context of the various institutions that comprise social reality, the mass media play a pivotal role in assigning groups a symbolic space - a space from which they are heard, acknowledged and understood; or,

alternatively, a space from which they are excluded, silenced and dismissed (hooks, 1990; Hartley, 1982). This thesis is informed by the ongoing work of various advocacy groups who are engaged in the struggle to create/reclaim a space from which their concerns about representations can be heard (e.g. the Canadian Anti-Racism Research and Education (CARE), In Visible Colours (IVC), the South Asian Women's Action Network (SAWAN), the B.C. Organization to Fight Racism (BCOFR), and the Committee for Racial Justice (CRJ)).

Self reflexive assumptions

The self reflexive assumptions that underpin this work are rooted in my experiences and social location within Canadian society. Gender, race and class play a critical role in formulating one's life-chances, experiences, exposure to and competency in social knowledge. This thesis is grounded in some of those experiences, notably, the experience of being 'different', and of having that 'difference' evaluated in negative terms and stereotypes.

The elements of exclusion, trivialization, exoticization and paternalism present marginalized groups with a reflection of themselves as an "Other"; an "other" defined by race, ethnicity, gender, and abilities (hooks, 1982; 1990; Lee, 1990; Qureshi, 1992). Everyday encounters with racist attitudes and behaviours, combined with the exoticization of racial minority cultures, and their

periodic stereotypic representation on films, television programs and novels (McAllister, 1992; Dhillon-Kashyap, 1988; Hart, 1989), perpetuates this sense of exclusion and marginalization (Essed, 1990). It also communicates the ways in which people of colour are perceived by the larger, dominant society (Hall, 1990).

Differences in cultural styles have often been the focus of attention that the press and local television direct at people of colour. Press portrayals tend to dwell on these differences and present an image of people of colour as:

...the cultural 'other' [who] cannot successfully aspire to the civilized values of the audience as long as it continues to behave differently from the Western norm and denies freedom to the individuals. (Youngs, 1989:5).

As cultural "others", the differences that inhere within the communities of racial minority groups are levelled. Differences in the countries of origin, in religious traditions, cultural identities, languages and so forth are often negated. A homogenized cultural identity becomes the major point of identification. As Youngs puts it:

The most invidious feature of this phenomenon is the wedding of the cultural 'other' to a racial 'other' and the gross reduction of Asian cultures to a single practice in a way that panders to artificial ideas of race (1989:5).

As racial 'others' and cultural 'others', people of colour continue to be treated differently. In the economic

sphere, they tend to be concentrated in the unskilled and semi-skilled occupational categories; moreover, they are more likely to experience discrimination in finding housing and employment (Bolaria and Li, 1988; Billingsley and Muszynski, 1985; Henry and Ginzberg, 1985; Khaki and Prasad, 1988).

In the social sphere of mainstream society, the cultures of racial minorities are by and large privatized, except in conditions where it suits the needs of dominant society to have them displayed. Contained as 'ethnic exotica,' these cultures are translated into food, dress and dance; in restaurants, multicultural festivals and sports (Moodley, 1983; Peter, 1981; van Dijk, 1989).

In the arena of mass mediated representations, people of colour are largely an invisible minority - visible only as agents involved in conflict situations, or when they fit prevailing stereotypes of their groups, and/or where they have achieved recognition for some exceptional behaviour according to the standards of the dominant society (as for example, in sports). People of colour are often portrayed as monoliths known only by strange cultural practices, illegal activities, social problems and their occasional 'good' ethnics (Hartmann and Husband, 1974a).

These 'private' troubles, to use a term coined by C. Wright Mills (1959), have become public concerns as an increasing number of people of colour have begun mobilizing

and protesting against their exclusion and marginalization. The search for "voice," and an arena in which that voice can be heard, has spurred the creation of alternative media, and a contestation of the mainstream media's power to define (Bannerji, 1986; 1987; Dhillon-Kashyap, 1988; Julien and Mercer, 1988; Lewels, 1974). Part of this project 'to define' has been the need for a critical examination of existing representations, charting their historical specificity, their changing configurations and persistent attributes.

This thesis continues this line of inquiry, by focusing specifically on contemporary representations of people of colour in Canadian television news. The aim is to highlight the ways in which people of colour are racialized within television news discourse, and how their construction as an "other" is perpetuated.

The tendency to 'racialize' groups - to acknowledge or categorize people according to racial characterizations and to impute negative valuations to such differences, has paralleled the way other groups have been historically treated in Canadian society. Women, by virtue of their gender, have been stereotyped and gender-based inequalities naturalized (Press, 1991).³ Jews and other religious groups have also suffered persecution (Weinmann and Winn, 1986).

It is the nature of "otherness" accorded to various

underprivileged and disenfranchised groups within Canadian society that defines their marginality and exclusion. In the discourses that are worked and reworked in the mass media, the dominant discourse on race highlights this otherness by associating it with cultural differences (Essed, 1990; van Dijk, 1993); the reservoir of many of these associations is constituted by historical and contemporary accounts of contact between the white colonizing forces of Britain (Canada's colonial motherland), and her 'subject' peoples (Hall, 1990; Huttenback, 1976; Hammond and Jablow, 1977; Visram, 1986). However, 'continuity and change' (van Dijk, 1993) mark the dominant discourse of race as it evolves to suit the changing social environment and the prevailing struggles of those at the margins (hooks, 1990).

Goals and objectives

This thesis examines contemporary representations of people of colour within Canadian television news.

The choice of news as the site of analysis is based on several factors. First, the news enjoys a privileged status within most television programming. Its claim to objectivity, facticity and 'truth' lends it a greater degree of credibility than that enjoyed by other media (Dahlgren, 1980; Gitlin, 1986). Second, the news is also one of the most watched television programs⁴. And finally, the news,

both local and national, represents programming which is, at the domestic level, distinctly Canadian.

The rationale for the present inquiry and the focus on news rests on the observation that:

. . . the mass media are central purveyors of public 'texts', the analysis and interpretation of which can provide insight into those historically specific forms of racialized meanings current at a particular point in time. Second, the mass media perform an active role in the production and reproduction of such discursive and ideological forms and therefore contribute, . . . , to wider public understandings and racialized practices. (Cottle, 1992:4).

As 'public texts' the media reproduce social constructions of 'race' and perpetuate the racialization of groups (van Dijk, 1993). News texts, moreover, provide 'everyday accounts' of the world as framed by those who have symbolic power (Molotch and Lester, 1974; van Dijk, 1989; 1993). As such, they reveal the particular location of different groups in the social order, and the 'commonsense' understandings that underpin these representations (Hall, 1979).

Within the broad framework of the thesis, specific objectives addressed include an illustration of:

- (a) the range of news stories in which ethno-racial groups are represented;
- (b) the manner in which they are portrayed and framed within the discourse of the news; and,
- (c) the particular assumptions that underpin these representations.

In summary terms, these objectives cohere around a central aim - to examine how the news 'racializes' particular groups in society, that is, how it perpetuates an "Us" versus "Them" distinction.

Methodology

The specific properties that inform the dominant discourse on 'race' and its historical antecedents are examined in Chapter I. Canadian studies dealing with the representation of people of colour are discussed next in Chapter II. These studies form the backdrop to subsequent chapters which concentrate on the representation of three particular groups in the corpus of Canadian television news analyzed in this thesis (chapters IV, V, and VI). Chapters VII and VIII provide an analysis of the coverage dealing with a lapel pin and calendar that contained pejorative portrayals of people of colour.

The first section of the analysis deals with the representations of three groups of 'visible minorities' as they are known in official government discourse. The three groups examined are blacks, or people of African heritage, Asians and South Asians. The material derived for the analysis is based on taped newscasts of the national 10 p.m. news on CBC and 11 p.m. news on CTV, as well as local news (at 11:30 p.m.) on BCTV and (11 p.m.) CBC. In total, 74 newscasts were viewed, and consisted of 17 national

newscasts on CTV, 16 local newscasts on BCTV, 20 newscasts of CBC's National, and 21 of CBC's local news. In addition, 14 segments of CBC's Journal were viewed and stories dealing with people of colour in Canada are included in the analysis. A log of all stories that appeared in these newscasts was kept.

Newscasts were taped between July 25 and August 14, 1992, as follows: for CTV and BCTV, newscasts were taped from July 25 - 31, August 3 - 6, and August 9 - 14, 1992. For CBC National and local news, July 25 - 31, August 3 - 14, and for The Journal, July 28 - 31, August 3 - 7, and August 10 - 14, 1992. There was no other reason for choosing this particular time period for the taping of these newscasts except convenience.

The analysis based on this corpus is restricted to stories that deal with blacks, Asians and South Asians within Canada and does not include stories concerning these groups in the United States, Asia or Africa, with the exception of one story which links the presence of Somali refugees in Canada with the famine and civil war in their country of origin. A textual, semiotically-informed analysis of stories concerning blacks, Asians and South Asians was carried out, and is presented in chapters IV, V, and VI, respectively. In some cases, the stories deal directly with their actions, whereas in others, they are part of the context to a larger issue being investigated.

Tables citing the range of these representations are presented in appendix B. Each story was examined as a totality - as a complete text. Thus, an attempt was made to include the accessed voices, as well as the visuals in the analysis.

The range of representations found, as well as the manner in which they were framed, formed the focal point of the analysis. Approximately twenty different stories were analyzed. The aim was, in Morley's terms, to delineate "the signifying role of the media . . . in the 'assignment' of events to their 'relevant' contexts," (Morley, 1976:247), and thereby accentuate the 'maps of meanings' which surround representations of people of colour in Canadian social reality.

Given the small corpus of newscasts examined (especially of South Asians), the analysis was augmented by examining transcripts of news stories that had aired on national networks (CBC and CTV), concerning South Asians in Canada. Transcripts of fifty news stories were purchased from the National Media Archives (NMA), an organization based in Vancouver which monitors television coverage, and sells TV news transcripts. The organization also produces a newsletter that contains articles on media coverage of topical issues.

An exhaustive search of the NMA's data banks revealed only three domestic issues in which South Asians were

represented. The first dealt with the production and distribution of a lapel pin depicting the three racial minority groups mentioned above. The other concerned the illegal entry of Sikhs into Canada, and the last dealt with the coverage of the modifications made to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) uniform allowing Sikhs to wear their turbans while on duty.

Of these stories, only the coverage of the lapel pins was analyzed here since the pin depicted black, Asian and South Asian characters and focused particularly on South Asians. In total, there were 12 news stories devoted to the pins issue. These stories spanned a three month time-period, beginning in January and ending in March, 1990 in the national news. CTV produced four stories on the pins and calendars, while CBC's National produced five, and the Journal devoted three segments to it. Unlike the previous news stories, these stories were only available in the form of transcripts. Hence, the visual element was absent and could not be critically examined.

An analysis of these stories is presented in chapters VII and VIII respectively. The final chapter assesses the main themes emergent in these newscasts and their potential implications for race relations in Canadian society.

Throughout the analysis, an attempt was made to offer alternative ways in which the story could have been constructed.

Textual analysis

News stories concerning people of colour were subjected to a semiotically-informed textual analysis. This was based on a Barthian framework (Barthes, 1973) of decoding the connotations and denotations that constitute representations. This also entailed an informal semantic discourse analysis focusing on the local meanings in a news story (see van Dijk, 1993). The analysis included identifying the active agency of the characters involved; the primacy accorded to them; the kind of visuals that accompanied the narrative; the words used in the narrative and the manner in which agents were portrayed. In short, the analysis was loosely based on discourse analysis as defined and explicated by van Dijk (1983; 1988a; 1988b; 1993), Sykes (1988), Downing (1988), as well as the kind of semiotic analysis carried out by Hartley (1982), Fiske and Hartley (1978), and Hartley and Montgomery (1985), in their analysis of specific news stories.

The aim was to discern how these groups are framed, the kinds of stories in which they are portrayed, the specific roles they occupy and their overall relationship within the context of the specific news story. Where possible, the coverage devoted to these groups was compared with the treatment of white groups in similar stories. This method of analysis is grounded in Hall's assertion that:

The operation of unwitting bias is difficult either to locate or prove. Its manifestations are always

indirect. It comes through in terms of who is or who is not accorded the status of an accredited witness: in tones of voice: in the set-up of the studio confrontations: in the assumptions which underlie the questions asked or not asked: in terms of the analytical concepts which serve informally to link events to causes: in what passes for explanation. (1973:88).

While the notion of 'bias' has since been discounted by Hall and others, the framework proposed above still serves as a valuable tool in deconstructing a news text.

Terminology

The terms racial minorities/people of colour are used interchangeably throughout this thesis. Since the focus was on 'race' as opposed to 'culture,' racial categories, e.g. black, Asian and South Asian, were utilized to define the particular groups examined. These categories are not only used in 'common sense' language, they also have currency in official government documentation, as for example, in Census tracts (Boxhill and Stanic, 1989), and in the literature in this area (e.g. Bogle, 1989; Cripps, 1980; Indra, 1979; McAllister, 1992).

Within the kind of analysis undertaken here, 'race' is used as a sign which signifies certain connotations, images and associations. It is not an identity in the same manner as is culture. 'Race' is a social construct, used as a marker to identify people on the basis of some presumed and inherent difference (Anderson, 1991, Miles, 1989). On the

part of people of colour, 'race' is used as a sign to signify the historical and contemporary exploitation of people of colour which the term ethnicity tends to negate (hooks, 1990).

The term discourse is used to denote the evaluative categories of social thought and talk concerning and constructing a particular subject. It involves the use of language in specific ways, to communicate meanings organized around certain concepts and categories (Hartley, 1982).

Latitudes in interpretation

Semiotically-informed textual or local semantic analysis can help deconstruct the meanings that are privileged in media texts. However, the end result is not necessarily one that all audience viewers would arrive at were they to watch the same news story. For one thing, audiences often do not have the time to analyze systematically the news they watch in the context of their homes. Secondly, as Hall (1982) and Morley (1980a; 1980b) suggest, audiences vary as to the kinds of interpretations they may have of a given program and one cannot simply assume that they will interpret the program as it has been encoded. There are clearly differences then between the decodings exercised by a theorist seeking to examine particular texts and spectators watching/reading those texts.

In his analysis of eighteen audience groups' reactions to the British program, Nationwide, Morley found that groups composed of British West Indian and Africans did not perceive the program to have any relevance to their cultural worlds (1980a). As he puts it:

. . . the subject's position in the social formation structures his or her range of access to various discourses and ideological codes, and correspondingly different readings of programmes will be made by subjects 'inhabiting' these different discourses. (1980b:158).

In the same vein, Katz and Liebes (1987) found that cultural differences played a significant role in the way their sample of Moroccans' interpreted Dallas. Similarly, Conquergood (1986) found that Laotian refugees living in the United States exhibited different readings and preferences for television programs. In his analysis of Mexican-American media consumption patterns, Dunn (1975) found that age, gender, socio-economic status and residence contributed significantly to the preferences and ways in which people decoded television programs. Feuer (1989) found that sexual orientation also played a role in the way that Dynasty was interpreted by the viewers she examined. And, Press (1991) found that women from working class backgrounds interpreted representations of women in television sitcoms quite differently from middle-class women.

Aside from culture, individual differences also influence the manner in which a program is seen or remembered. Studies indicate that in general, people rarely

remember news items. Dahlgren (cited in Fiske, 1987), found that a group of researchers when asked to watch the news could scarcely recall any details following the newscasts. And in assessing the role of pictures in the recall of television news items, Katz et. al., (1977), found that the overall rate of recall was only slightly higher and occurred largely among the most educated respondents of their sample. They concluded that,

. . . items that have domestic relevance as well as negative or surprising aspects are better remembered. The importance attributed to the item by the journalist - in placing the item first or giving it more prominence - also affects recall. (1977:237).

However, recall does not equate with interpretation, although it can be argued that negative items which are easy to recall are then likely to be the subject of interpretation and talk (see van Dijk, 1987).

In an interesting and reflexive examination of how his South Asian family watched television, Sharma (1990) noted that there was a prevalent awareness that "they don't count" and a greater identification with Asian characters in the few programs that depicted them. In some cases, as for example, when the series Jewel and the Crown was screened, his family veered towards an oppositional reading.

Sharma's analysis is situated in a British context. Within Canada, there are as yet, no comparable studies on how minority groups watch television programs, a notable exception being Granzberg's study of Algonkian Indians

(1982). However, Indra (1979), and Khaki and Prasad (1988), have conducted important studies outlining minority groups' perceptions of media images in British Columbia.

Minority perspectives

The literature review contained in chapters I and II suggest that people of colour are under represented in the mass media in general, and that their representations are largely confined to stereotypical depictions. Given that the mass media offer prescriptive and descriptive definitions to different groups in society (Bannerji, 1986), how do members of racial minority groups perceive media representations of themselves and their communities? The following studies outline some of their responses.

As part of her study on the representations of South Asians in the Vancouver press from 1907 - 1976, Indra (1979) surveyed 100 South Asians regarding their perceptions about the coverage accorded to them. Most perceived the coverage as being 'unfair.' Furthermore, respondents regarded their portrayal in the press as indicative of how the rest of Canadian society perceived them.

To assess the reaction of minorities and aboriginal peoples to local and national media, Khaki and Prasad (1988) surveyed 42 individuals from these groups in Vancouver. Of their sample, 69% had lived in Vancouver for 10 years. Moreover, 98% read The Vancouver Sun daily, and 48% read The

Province daily. As for electronic media, 81% watched the CBC television news regularly, while 57% turned to CTV national news. For local news, the majority watched BCTV.

The survey research instrument used included the following question: "What do you like the most about the media coverage of your community and other minorities?" While the question was worded positively, the responses elicited were overwhelmingly negative (see chapter II for details).

The media side of the debate

While most of the aboriginal and people of colour surveyed in the previous study were highly critical of media coverage regarding their communities, there is little to indicate that media institutions are deliberately engaged in an effort to stereotype them. As one white reporter put it:

It is not that there is a group in the newsroom that is malevolent or is trying to do in minority groups, but they did grow up in a world where cultures were kept separate and it was acceptable to see anyone not like themselves as out there and different. (Bula, 1989).

Moreover, there are the normal constraints of assembling a news program for broadcast which mediate against thorough and sensitive coverage of the issues involved (Clarke, 1981; Frum, 1990). Speaking to some of these constraints, freelance reporter, Rick Ouston who created a documentary on white supremacist groups for the CBC, mentioned that the threat of law suits often deters

producers from airing issues that are critical to the safety of minority groups (Ouston, 1989).

Tuchman (1972, 1976), Darnton (1975) and others have revealed that journalists and reporters are socialized to write or present the news in conventional ways - ways that are often, as Hoggart (1976) suggests, rooted in a cultural framework that construes the world a certain way. The reliance on the dominant cultural framework often entails using linguistic categories that are exclusionary (Morley, 1980b), and charged with particular connotations.⁵

Thus, it is not the individual reporters that are responsible for the manner in which minority groups may be represented.⁶ Rather, it is the inherent nature of the practices of news production that contributes to the framing of groups and issues in particular ways (Hall, 1979; Connell, 1980; van Dijk, 1989). This is especially the case in television news where journalists work in teams (Frum, 1990).

However, this does not detract from the view that certain meanings are privileged in media messages (Hartley, 1982). As Hall argues,

... though events will not be systematically encoded in a single way, they will tend, systematically, to draw on a very limited ideological or explanatory repertoire; and that repertoire (...) will have the overall tendency of making things 'mean' within the sphere of dominant ideology. (1979:344).

The studies cited in chapters I and II suggest that certain kinds of representations of racial minorities are

more prevalent than others, and these tend to prefer particular interpretations of these groups (Hall, 1990). Moreover, as the existing literature suggests, media representations of people of colour can have wide-ranging social and political implications (see van Dijk, 1993).

To date, there have been a plethora of studies conducted on the representation of racial minorities in the news media. Most have employed content analysis as the main methodological tool (e.g. Lazar and Perigoe, 1989), but few have examined the connotations and associations of minority representations as they occur in television news (e.g. Cantelon, 1988). Moreover, there do not appear to be any qualitative comparative studies of how different racial groups are depicted in Canadian television news. In contrast, the literature in the area of press reportage is quite abundant (e.g. Indra, 1979; Scanlon, 1977; Mouammar, 1986; Ducharme, 1986).

This thesis seeks to remedy a lacuna in the existing literature. The potential contribution of the inquiry pursued is two-fold: one, that it extends the realm of analysis currently devoted to area of representations by going beyond content analysis; and, second, it provides an analysis of news stories which involve several ethno-racial groups in Canadian society. In so doing, it departs from the focus of the existing literature that tends to concentrate on a single group or event; is largely American

and European in orientation, and largely focused on representations in the print media.

The analysis presented cannot be generalized across all media, or even the news media per se. For one, the focus of the inquiry is limited to the late night news and does not cover the early evening news which might have a qualitatively different range of interpretations. Moreover, the corpus of the material analyzed here is limited. Finally, the media, are only one institution amongst a matrix of institutions that influence socio-cultural constructions of groups in society. Their influence is often countered by alternative media that may offer alternative definitions and ways of seeing. Nevertheless, the mass media do perpetuate dominant values, definitions and perspectives. Their assimilative and ideological influence cannot be under-estimated.

Lastly, Lather (1986) argues for 'openly ideological research' - research which can be used by disenfranchised groups to ameliorate their situation and enable them in their struggle for equal rights and access. This thesis is so motivated. The strategy pursued here seeks to yield new perspectives on a topic that has evolved from a private trouble to a public issue (Mills, 1959).

Notes

1. The poll consisted of 1,501 adult Canadians and is "accurate within 2.5 percentage points or 19 times in 20." Other results of the poll suggest that one out of every three Canadians expressed intolerance towards people of colour. Further, 26% felt that non-whites "could damage the fabric of Canadian society." Of the total, 24% felt that Canada should accept greater numbers of white immigrants and lesser numbers of non-white immigrants; and, 13% felt that the country would fare better if recent immigrants returned to their source countries. (The Vancouver Sun, April 12, 1993, A6).

2. See Appendix A for a chronology of some of the legislation passed in British Columbia for the express purpose of excluding certain groups on the basis of their phenotypic and cultural characteristics.

3. For instance, Valerie Casselton, labour reporter for The Vancouver Sun, revealed that in a recent content analysis that the paper had conducted on its coverage of the Meech Lake Accord, it was found that while 1,436 stories had been written on the Accord in 1990, only 160 contained any reference to women, and of that, only 5 dealt with the issue from women's perspective. Similarly, while The Sun has published 1,430 stories on the Constitution, since 1990, only 238 refer to women, and only 63 were wholly concerned with the issue from a women's perspective. (Casselton, panel presentation at the National Association of Women and the Law's Tenth Biennial Conference session on 'All the News that's fit to Print,' Vancouver, February 29, 1993).

4. According to some recent statistics, the news hour on the local BCTV station has one of the highest ratings in Canada. Statistics indicate that on average, 543,000 viewers watch BCTV, 121,000 watch CBC, and 68,000 UTV, within British Columbia alone (The Vancouver Sun, August 8, 1992).

5. One telling example of the 'race-based' values built into English is the use of the word 'black' as a prefix to describe negative emotions and actions, e.g. blacklist, blackmail, or the connotations of blackness, as indicating negativity, e.g. darkened, degrade.

6. Although in some local presses, particular journalists are responsible for the negative representations of minority groups.

CHAPTER 1

MEDIA, 'RACE' AND REPRESENTATION

The media are not only a powerful source of ideas about race. They are a place where these ideas are articulated, worked on, transformed and elaborated.

Stuart Hall (1990:11).

The mass media are powerful purveyors of commonsense knowledge, structuring the way in which society views itself and other groups within it (Dahlgren with Chakrapani, 1982; Gitlin, 1986; Hartley, 1982; Fiske and Hartley, 1978; Meyrowitz, 1985; Postman, 1985). Against this backdrop, the manner in which racial minority groups are represented within dominant media assumes considerable importance, especially when viewed in the context of a racially and ethnically diverse society.

Global political events have contributed to rising levels of international migration, changing the demographic make-up of colonizing nations and what were previously described as colonies of settlement, as for example, Canada (Huttenback, 1976; Anderson, 1991). These nations are now confronted with a more extensive range of cultural and racial diversity. And whereas before, the tendency within colonies of settlement had been to eradicate such diversity through systematic programs of assimilation and virtual genocide (as witnessed with Australia and Canada's indigenous peoples), the current situation exhibits a

different approach towards the more recent immigrant groups.

Historically, immigrants from Third World countries were permitted into Britain, Canada, and the United States, to fulfil the requirements for cheap labour (Blauner, 1976; Cashmore and Troyna, 1983; Pearson, 1976; Steinberg, 1981; Richmond, 1988). Within Canada, the early sixties heralded a relaxation of immigration laws, due to international pressures, such that immigrant groups from the Third World entered the country in larger numbers than before (Buchignani and Indra, 1985; Bolaria and Li, 1988). Although this time, the numbers were predicated on a demand for educated, skilled labour. In Britain, a similar situation prevailed as immigrants from previously British colonies came to the colonial motherland in response to the rising tide of decolonization movements and the changes they signified (Miles, 1989; Tierney, 1982).

To date, debates around the issue of representation have often been framed within this kind of 'immigrant' context, focusing particularly on the ways in which racial minority groups are portrayed in the mainstream media, and the consequences of these portrayals for race relations within the society (e.g. Bagley, 1973; Hartmann and Husband, 1971, 1974; Halloran, 1977; Scanlon, 1977; van Dijk, 1987, 1988, 1993). In the United States, studies examining representations have tended to focus on blacks as a marginalized group, stressing their exclusion and

ghettoisation within the media as an outcome of the legacy of slavery (Bogle, 1989; Gray, 1986; MacDonald, 1983; Fisher and Lowenstein, 1967; Deroche and Deroche, 1991). Recent studies have examined the representations of Hispanic, Asian and other ethnic minorities in the mass media (Wilson and Gutierrez, 1985; Miller, 1980; Lipsitz, 1988; McAllister, 1992; Shaheen, 1984, Iiyama and Kitano, 1982; etc.). They conclude that ethnic and racial minority groups are systematically and negatively stereotyped in the mainstream media.

Racial minorities themselves have protested against the images that circulate about them in the press and in visual media (e.g. Perez, 1985; Lewels, 1974; Parmar, 1984; Bannerji, 1987; Shankman, 1978; and within Canada, see the publications of the Committee for Racial Justice, and the Urban Alliance of Race Relations). In some cases, this protest has culminated in the formation of organized groups and alternative media (e.g. Lewels, 1974; Young, 1967; The Ankur Collective, 1991). At the heart of the debate is a rejection of the media's imposed definitions, and by corollary, society's definitions of these groups, and an attempt to formulate alternative images which are self-defined (see for instance, Perez, 1985; Lewels, 1974, and the editorial statement of the Ankur Collective, 1991).

The prevalent use of negative stereotypes is itself rooted in the commonsense stock of knowledge of the wider,

dominant society. Over time, many of these images have become part of the accepted ways of seeing "others", ways that are difficult to eradicate given the tenacity of historically sedimented knowledge and the lack of contact between minorities and those who have the symbolic power and resources to shape images (van Dijk, 1993; Hall, 1979; Shaheen, 1984).

Representations and Commonsense

The emerging discourse on racial and ethnic representations takes as its point of departure, previous studies on stereotypes. Seiter (1986) has documented the various perspectives that have been used to analyze stereotypes in the mass media. She suggests that the psychological orientation of earlier studies tended to omit any analysis of the social relations between groups and the ways in which stereotypes were used to legitimate power and inequality. Instead stereotypes were evaluated on the basis of their positive or negative character. Yet social psychologists and anthropologists have argued that stereotypes and representations of different groups in society are inherent in social cognition and serve to naturalize taxonomies outlining the social position and status accorded to different groups (Moscovici, 1981).

There is growing emphasis on the relational nature of stereotypes - their positioning within a particular

discourse, and their use in perpetuating certain 'ways of seeing.' This has led to the incorporation of their study within a framework of 'representations' (Hartley and Montgomery, 1985). For as representations, they work to reconstitute commonsense. As Moscovici notes, "Social representations must on the one hand be understood as a particular way of acquiring knowledge and communicating the knowledge that has already been acquired." (1981:184).

Representations involve ways of talking, thinking about, and perceiving phenomena, which are then, through these very activities, reproduced over time. As an inherent part of commonsense knowledge, representations work to interpret the world in ways that fit the existing schemas of social knowledge (van Dijk, 1993). Moscovici asserts:

The act of re-presentation transfers what is disturbing and threatening in our universe from the outside to the inside, from a remote to a nearby space. This transfer operates by separating concepts and perceptions that are usually associated, and integrating them into contexts where the unusual becomes familiar, where the unrecognized is fitted into a recognized category. (1981:189).

Thus representations work to make sense of the world in ways that are grounded in commonsense - that body of knowledge that is taken for granted, and that works to naturalize social inequalities, thereby winning consent (or acquiescence) for the dominant powers (Fiske, 1987; Hall, 1979; Lawrence, 1982). They are social and cognitive, providing individuals with mental schemas by which to

interpret the world (van Dijk, 1993).

As bits of commonsense, representations, especially in the media, often function as short-hand devices, communicating in a condensed manner, elements or figures that stand for a 'general truth' - and/or evoke a chain of associations embedded in the collective imagination (Nichols, 1990-91). In so doing, representations involve both connotative and denotative elements. Signs which have acquired particular historical associations and which stand for a larger concept are selected and combined in ways that enable the representation to 'make sense.' As Harve Bennett, producer of the popular television serials, Six Million Dollar Man and The Bionic Woman, argues:

Let me put it this way - do you know how to play charades?. . . You don't go for the meat of the material. You do a pantomime of a guy in a burnoose [Arab or moorish head mantle]. But it's sign language and that's the trouble. That's the temptation. Put him in a burnoose and we'll all know who he is. (cited in Shaheen, 1984:5).

The import of examining representations in the mass media then lies in first, uncovering their constitution as 'signs' in a system of signs with respect to how they are positioned in society, and how this location serves dominant interests; second, what these representations 'mean' in terms of their connotative power - how they may serve to naturalize social relationships including systemic inequalities based on race, class and gender.

The Social Implications of Representations

Within the context of studies that have examined representations, there has been much debate about the social 'impact' of representations. Some have embraced a social learning model and argued that such representations are highly influential in shaping an individual's images of racial groups (e.g. Atkin et. al., 1983). Graves in her study of 80 children, for instance, argues that "positive portrayals tend to produce slightly more positive attitudes for both black and white children" (1975:140). But, both she and Atkin et al., concur that what children learn from television is a function of what they bring to television. Children, according to Graves, are aware of racial differences by the time they reach preschool.

In a similar vein, Vidmar and Rokeach (1974) examined the 'impact' of a popular 'racist' show, All in the Family, in terms of how it influenced people's attitudes towards blacks. In a comparative analysis of Canadian and American residents, they found that people who already exhibited a high level of prejudice against blacks tended to watch and enjoy the program far more than those who scored low on prejudice. Furthermore, frequent viewers of the program tended to identify with Archie Bunker (the main character of the show who was very bigoted). These studies suggest that individuals tend to select shows and accept representations that are consonant with their own beliefs and attitudes (van

Dijk, 1983).

Wilson and Gutierrez (1985) mention the Mr. Biggot studies that were undertaken in the United States in the late 1940s. Individuals in these studies were shown cartoons portraying the Mr. Biggot in a negative light. According to their review, the results reveal that rather than condemning or ridiculing this cartoon character, individuals tended to interpret the cartoons in a manner that reinforced their own beliefs.

However, van Dijk (1993) points out that:

Research has repeatedly shown that stereotypes and prejudices are sociocultural and inherently part of historical relations of group dominance, not a question of individual personality, which at most may explain individual differences within overall sociocultural attitudes and practices (...). In sum, racism has very little to do with "to be or not to be a bigot." (1993:173).

Employing a social learning perspective, Atkin et al. (1983) examined the 'effects' of the portrayal of black television characters on white audiences using as their sample 316 white students in the United States. Their findings echo those of other studies in that students who lived in high contact areas, where they were likely to interact with blacks, were least likely to be influenced by television portrayals (my emphasis; see also Hartmann and Husband, 1974). In contrast, those who tended to be heavy consumers of television felt that they learned most about blacks from television programs which featured blacks. They conclude that the 'effects' of black representations tend to

be "limited and selectively processed." They suggest that television tends to reinforce existing beliefs and attitudes.

In their introduction to a volume examining the influence of television on the minority child, Berry and Mitchell-Kernan note that:

. . . television is probably a source of environmental feedback regarding the place of one's group in the social structure. It also no doubt serves as a means by which minority children learn the societally prevailing attitudes toward their ethnic group. (1982:9).

Based on a survey of the existing literature in the area, Greenberg and Atkin (1982) suggest that the implications of current television portrayals are quite serious for the minority child. They note that minority children in the United States tend to watch more television on average than their white counterparts; economically disadvantaged minority children tend to perceive television reports as being more credible and factual than other media; and minority children tend to watch television to learn about the wider society (see also, Dorr, 1982).

Hence, not only do children engage in observational learning when they watch television, but they are also socialized into the ways of the larger, dominant society and learn about the position ascribed to their ethnic/racial group in the social order. This has caused considerable concern among researchers in the area (e.g. Powell, 1982; Iiyama and Kitano, 1982; Morris, 1982; and Comstock and

Cobbey, 1982), who indicate that minority children may internalize the racial valuations communicated through stereotypes in television programming.

However, television's role as an agency of socialization is not confined to minority children. As this volume attests, children of the dominant groups in society are also exposed to the same programs and stereotypes as their minority counterparts. Researchers argue that one of the ways in which racially based categories and ascriptions get perpetuated over time is through widespread exposure to negative representations which communicate to both dominant group and minority children the social location and attributes of their respective groups in society (van Dijk, 1993).

Studies dealing with the socializing effect of television viewing suggest that different kinds of learning are at play when audiences watch television. In the first instance, television can stimulate imitative learning, as indicated by the following example provided by producer Norman Lear. Lear contends that,

When Starsky and Hutch went on the air, there was one scene when they got in their car and used seat belts. Within the next six days, maybe 100,000 people bought seat belts. When Fonz on Happy Days went in and got a library card, something like 500,000 people went in and got library cards. (Cited in Shaheen, 1984:125).

However, aside from such effects-oriented learning, television programming also provides its audiences with social models to be emulated. The 'effects' of these models

are not as linear as Lear's example would suggest. Rather, emulating such models seems to depend on a variety of other social factors, as for example, access to resources, class background and the resonance of the role model with the audience's location and lived reality. Yet, a majority of studies cited note that there is a strong tendency among children to identify with role models that reflect their own cultural and racial background (Berry and Mitchell-Kernan, 1982).

Information provided within the context of television programs that tends to be dissonant with an audience's conception of itself and other groups, is often dismissed as 'noise.' The Mr. Biggot and Archie Bunker studies attest to this filtering process. Nevertheless, what might be dismissed initially as 'noise' can over time, gain acceptance and become engrained in the social stock of knowledge. Hence, the cumulative character and long-term implications of such programming cannot be ignored. As Jhally and Lewis note, "It is not usually one episode or one series that influences the way we think; it is the aggregate of messages that enter our minds." (1992:36).

In addition to social learning through cumulative exposure, television messages also function at other level - what Schwartz (1973) refers to as resonance. By evoking associations within the viewer's mind, an advertisement can stimulate recall and increase the possibility of audience

members purchasing a given product. According to Schwartz, this can only occur if the message is created in a way that it relates to the lived experiences of the audience - by touching on aspects of their reality and stock of common knowledge.

That television provides its audiences with information and 'pictures' about the world is the basic finding of the research. Where minority and dominant group members enter the equation is in their use of the medium to gain information about the wider society (Comstock and Cobbey, 1979; Surlin and Dominick, 1970-71). In so doing, they also acquire information about particular groups in society. That the link between television's images and the lived reality of minority groups is a direct, linear and effects-oriented one is a moot issue. What is clear, however is that the images themselves matter - not only because of their status as texts within a public domain, but also in terms of how they may structure social relations in the larger society. As Hall suggests, "How we 'see' ourselves and our social relations matters, because it enters into and informs our actions and practices." (1992:10, my emphasis).

The media and representations

Examining the implications of negative representations in the British press, Bagley (1973) suggests that the press tends to articulate views that are already extant within

society. He adds that individuals who have little or no contact with minority groups tend to believe media representations of these groups. Van Dijk (1987; 1988; 1993) concurs with this view, stating that the media serve to "define the situation" where immigrant groups are concerned and by so doing, "play a central role in the reproduction of racism." (1988:260)

In their longitudinal study of the British national press (1963-1970), Hartmann et. al. (1974), found that representations of people of colour within the press were framed in highly negative terms. The media in general had problematized people of colour such that they had become synonymous with 'immigrants,' 'crime' and 'white hostility.' They conclude that such representations influence the way individuals in low contact areas regard racial minorities.

While some of these studies adhere to a functionalist model of "media effects" wherein the media are seen as exerting a direct, linear effect on the perception of audiences (e.g. Atkins et. al., 1983; Graves, 1975), this does not detract from their common findings; namely, that the media portray a social reality based on an assumed consensus of that reality, and in so doing, define the location and character of groups within society. In this respect, they convey the social standing that groups occupy within society thereby revealing which groups are considered to be marginal, and which are defined as being part of the

'consensus' or norm (Ellis, 1982; van Dijk, 1987; 1988; Hartmann and Husband, 1974; Hartmann et. al., 1974; Guillaumin, 1974, etc.). Ellis (1982) argues, the consensus shaping aspect of the media is one of its main 'effects' (see also Hall, 1979; Hartmann and Husband, 1974).

The second factor that emerges in these studies is that while the media do not 'mirror' reality, they do select from social reality aspects that are deemed 'newsworthy.' According to van Dijk (1988), a survey of the press and television coverage of minorities in the United States, Britain and Europe reveals that ethnic and racial minorities tend to receive minimal coverage. But the coverage they do receive is largely framed within 'problem' areas and topics, e.g. immigration, race relations, crime, housing, overcrowding in educational institutions, and so forth (Cottle, 1992; van Dijk, 1987; 1988). While the concentration of minorities within these subject areas may have to do with the fact that the news concentrates on social problems and conflicts, these studies demonstrate that aside from being cast within a negative role, minorities by and large are invisible in the mediated landscape of these nations.

Yet, there is another side to the debate on representations that complicates the analysis presented above. Emanating largely from filmmakers in black media collectives in Britain, this position argues that the debate

over positive and negative representations is simplistic and essentially a "red herring" (Parmar, 1984). In effect, positive and negative representations presuppose a monolithic audience, and furthermore obscure the "burden of representation" that falls on the minority group member who is involved in the making of images (Julien and Mercer, 1988). Hence, what may be a positive image to one group in society may be a negative image to another.⁷ Such valuations, it has been argued, fail to take the context into account. The issue is exacerbated by the relative absence of representations of racial minorities. Hart poignantly captures the crux of this debate in his discussion regarding images of the Third World:

The problem so often glossed over or ignored is that these so called 'negative' images depict Third World suffering in a manner which casually jettisons the historical, political and economic context that has produced such suffering. The problem with images depicting starving African children is not so much the existence of an image but rather the absence of an adequate explanation of why the child is starving. This absence opens the door to all manner of mythical interpretations emanating from the flux of ideologies forming our individual 'common sense' view of the world. Consequently, racist and ethnocentric 'explanations' are inevitable amongst an audience with pre-existing assumptions about the Third World and its problems, about Black people and about the superiority of white, Western cultures. (1989:14).

One example of divergent interpretations of the same image can be seen in the readings offered of The Cosby Show (Downing, 1988; Jhally and Lewis, 1992; McLaurin, 1987).

While Downing rates the show as a positive step in countering negative critiques of the disappearing nuclear

black family in the United States, McLaurin argues that the show provides an untenable and unrealistic representation of the black woman. Yet, both Downing and McLaurin concur that the show emphasizes class and downplays the issue of 'race' (see also, Press, 1991).

In their analysis of audience reactions to The Cosby Show, Jhally and Lewis (1992) found that while black audiences tended to valorize the show for its departure from a tradition of stereotypical representations, its actual ideological underpinnings served to entrap them in a value system that denied the reality of the barriers of race and class. As they put it:

Black viewers are thus caught in a trap because the escape route from TV stereotyping comes with a set of ideologically loaded conditions. To look good, to look 'positive,' means accepting a value system in which upper middle class status is a sign of superiority. This is more than crude materialism; for a group that has been largely excluded from these higher socioeconomic echelons, it is cultural and political suicide. (1992:122).

The varying interpretations of The Cosby Show suggest that contextual factors are critical in any analysis of representations. The history of previous representations combined with the cultural, social and political conditions in which these representations are produced influence the meanings that audiences construct when exposed to them.

Yet another thorny issue raised in this area of inquiry is whether representations represent 'reality.' Bennett (1982) argues that to suggest the media provide a

"definition of the situation" is to adhere to a view that a "primary ontological reality" exists which is then reported on by the media. Instead, he adopts the line of inquiry proposed by Hall (1984) which conceptualizes the media as "structured in dominance." Hence, in the system of signs inherent in social discourses, the media may amplify, transform or collude in the making of a definition.

To this end, while social theorists have argued that there is no 'one' reality, it is cogent to point out that in the many versions of social reality that exist in society, there are some perspectives that are more privileged than others (Fiske, 1987; Hall, 1979). As White (1987) argues:

The latitude of competing voices and positions within the established problematic presents itself as a 'totality' because different points of view are incorporated, even though it is a delimited and circumscribed range of choices to begin with. Moreover, these multiple positions and points of view are often regulated by an implicit hierarchy that privileges certain positions over others. This can be seen as a strategy of containment, as minority positions or deviations from the mainstream are introduced but are framed and held in place by more familiar, conventional representations. (1987:156).

While this may well be the case at the point where the program is encoded with meaning - at the various points in the production process, its reception by the viewer and its subsequent decoding at the point of consumption, is affected by a range of social forces and conditions (Hall, 1979).

Morley (1986) argues that to assume that the subjectivity of an audience member is static and homogeneous is problematic.

An individual may decode a program from a variety of

different perspectives, situations and conditions, depending on her/his social location and cultural competencies. Further, as Jhally and Lewis (1992) have demonstrated, an individual viewer may hold contradictory interpretations of a given program.

What is more interesting in this debate is the significance of contextual factors in both shaping representations and perpetuating the currency of some images over others. It would seem that what gets taken for granted and perceived as unproblematic is more likely to remain in currency than representations that are overtly pejorative and hence open to contestation. Moreover, judging from the events that have taken place in the last decade, it appears that as minority groups become more politicized, the arena of representations also becomes one of contestation wherein previously held dominant definitions are no longer considered justifiable or tenable (see for example, Perez's (1985) account of the movement that was mobilized to protest against the film, Fort Apache the Bronx).

Awareness of the contextual factors underpinning existing representations seems to be the impetus behind the contestation that is taking place. As Pratibha Parmar notes, "We have to begin by rescuing ourselves and our history from the colonial interpretations which have continued to dehumanize us and belittle us, ..." (1984:78).

political Implications of Representations

Historically, representations of particular groups have been used to legitimize the discriminatory and even genocidal treatment meted out to them. In her study of cartoons in the Canadian press, Moummar points to the use of demeaning, stereotypical caricatures of Jews prevalent in the German press prior to the Holocaust. She argues that:

The foundations for the Holocaust were laid by German caricaturists who depicted Jews as serpents, defilers of Aryan maidens, wealthy through the exploitation of the Gentiles, and traitorous to German interests. In short, they were seen as different, and that made all the difference in treating them as less than human. (1986:15).

In a similar vein, Chan (1980) found that the Vancouver press coverage of Japanese Canadians during the internment framed them as a threat to the social order and served to legitimize their segregation from the population at large. Representations of blacks were historically used to justify slavery (Hammond and Jablow, 1977).

These frameworks of interpretation are often rooted in a historical legacy of such representations. As Hartmann and Husband (1974) have observed, media representations take their form and meaning from meanings and symbols that are already in circulation within the larger society. Thus, if that society is racist by virtue of a history of exclusion, colonialism and imperialism, then it would normally follow that the media would articulate these same tendencies, albeit in a different guises. At the same time, such

representations can be used, from a political viewpoint, to continue to exclude particular groups from entering a society and/or limit their participation within that society (van Dijk, 1993).

Historical Grounding

In tracing the evolution of representations of racial minorities in English language media, the period of British colonialism and imperialism figure as the dominant points of departure. According to JanMohamed (1985), Said (1979), and Isaacs (1958) among others, representations of minority groups achieved widespread circulation during the height of colonialism. Hall (1990) argues that contemporary images of racial minorities in the dominant media in Britain are based on the residual 'traces' of representations formed during colonial contact and expansion of the Empire (see also, van Dijk, 1993).

Drawing on historical evidence, JanMohamed argues that representations of the colonized were evoked, embellished and introduced into popular culture at a particular stage of the colonial process so as to legitimize economic exploitation and justify political imperatives. Thus, within colonial discourse, racial differences were communicated as being unbridgeable so that the exploitation of the colonized could continue under different guises - whether under the rationale of a civilizing mission, or

under the auspices of ridding the world of those who were not quite human and/or who could not be domesticated.

JanMohamed's argument is bolstered by the results of a study which focused on African representations in British literature over a four hundred year period. Hammond and Jablow (1977) point out that prior to the development of the slave trade and the establishment of the triangular trade⁸, representations of Africans tended to be benign. With the development of the trade, these representations became highly pejorative.

Racial differences achieved a heightened emphasis during this period. The superiority of the colonizers was affirmed and reaffirmed through various discursive practices that underscored the inferiority of the subject races (McBratney, 1988). Representations that emerged within this context were circumscribed within what Hall refers to as the "base grammar of race" (1990). These consistently emphasized the moral, cultural, technological superiority of the white 'race.' In contrast, the colonized natives were cast in ambivalent categories as the lovable, dependable slave figure, the noble or cunning native, and the clown or entertainer.

Huttenback (1976) in his study of Racism and Empire, argues that by the mid-nineteenth century, the British had developed a unique sense of their own racial identity, such that the "term 'British race' was heard ever more

frequently." (1976:15). As an example of the superiority that the British attributed to their 'race,' Huttenback quotes the sentiments of Sir Francis Younghusband who led the invasion of Tibet in 1904. These sentiments were quite typical of the period. They also reflect a shift from a biological to a moral basis of white superiority (see also Hartmann and Husband, 1974). Younghusband's quote is presented here as an example of the British perceptions of their 'race' in relation to other 'races.'

No European can mix with non-Christian races without feeling his moral superiority over them. He feels, from the first contact with them, that whatever may be their relative positions from an intellectual point of view, he is stronger morally than they are. It is not because we are any cleverer than the natives of India, because we have more brains or bigger heads than they have, that we rule India; but because we are stronger morally than they are. Our superiority over them is not due to mere sharpness of intellect, but to the higher moral nature to which we have attained in the development of the human race. (1976:14-15).

Thus ideas regarding white superiority were prevalent at the time. Representations of the colonized were used to legitimize their exclusion, marginalization, exploitation and in some cases, annihilation.

'Race' and racism

The social construction of 'race' as a category was then a necessary step in legitimizing relations of domination and subjugation or superiority and inferiority - racism. The issue of racism has been a charged one within the context of debates about representations of racial

minority groups. Downing, in his review of British and American studies, concludes that:

It has been demonstrated quite systematically . . . that the media daily renew the direct stereotypes and associated ideological clusters - law-and-order, social problems, the colonial past - which box citizens of African, Asian and Caribbean descent into debasing categories. (1985:295)

Yet few studies have sought to define what signifies the discourse on 'race' (Miles, 1989).⁹ Instead, the implicit acknowledgment is that such discourse is constituted by some reference to skin colour and inequality. Based on the scientific discovery that phenotypic differences do not constitute distinct 'races', there has been a shift away from the use of that label and a move towards describing such groups as 'ethnic' groups. Thus, what would constitute racism is now often referred to as 'ethnicism' (e.g. van Dijk and Smitherman-Donaldson, 1988). The attribution in this instance is not to skin colour in and of itself, although this is implicit, but rather to 'culture' and its construction as a negatively valued difference (van Dijk, 1993).

This debate about notion(s) of 'race' stems in part from the contradiction between the now discredited eighteenth and nineteenth century theories of 'races' as biologically constituted, and the contemporary realities of industrialized nations where racism, as an ideology, pervades everyday thought and talk (Miles, 1989; van Dijk and Smitherman-Donaldson, 1988; Bolaria and Li, 1988;

Anderson, 1991; Essed, 1990). Miles (1989) maintains that even though discredited and rendered illegitimate by the UNESCO declarations of the 1950s, the idea of 'race' is still very much alive. He argues that racialization as a process which served to define peoples on the basis of their skin colour, originated in the Greco-Roman period (1989).

However, although groups were racialized, the racism directed at these groups, i.e. unequal power relations combined and justified by an ideological system which characterized these groups as inferior, is historically specific. The discourse of racism was often combined with the discourse of nationalism (Anderson, 1983), as for example, in the case of the Jews in Nazi Germany, the Irish in England, and recently within Canada, in the relations between the Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec. In the historical examples cited by Miles (1989), the Jews and the Irish, were deemed to be 'races' and were constructed as an "Other" in the definitional relationship which defined the European Self (see also Said, 1979). It can be argued that the Francophones in Quebec constitute an "Other" in relation to the Anglo-Canadian Self.

With the advent of colonialism, however, the "Other" was most often constituted to include groups of people who were of a different skin colour. The pejorative content of the "Other," it was argued, served to justify the domination and subjugation of these groups (Sivanandan,

1973; Bannerji, 1987; Amos and Parmar, 1984; Stam and Spence, 1985). As Miles notes:

The untamed aggression, sexuality, and brutality of the 'mythical' wild man previously located in the forested edges of (or within) Europe was given a more precise and specific geographical location in the new world. Moreover, this incarnation of the wild man was also distinguished by skin colour, permitting a conception of the Other as 'black' and therefore definitively distinct from the European who was white. (1989:24-25).

Scientifically based notions of 'race' emerged in the late eighteenth century. Within this context, 'race' was seen as a biological attribute, and the emphasis was not only on determining the variety and number of 'races' that existed, but also their relationship within an overall hierarchy (Trowler and Riley, 1984; Bulhan, 1985). Theories regarding the innate nature of different 'races' were expounded upon during this period. 'Race' then came to be defined on the basis of phenotypic differences which were associated with psychological and social characteristics (Anderson, 1991; Miles, 1989; Banton, 1970).

A popular view at the time was what Miles has called the 'environmental' theory of 'race.' It was argued that racial differences were a result of environmental factors. However, when it was found that slaves in the 'new world' did not change the colour of their skin, the theory was discredited, and a more fixed view of 'race' emerged. The emphasis for verification of racial differences led to studies of the size of the skulls of various peoples. On

the basis of these studies, various representations were constructed to account for the inferiority of the colonized "Other." For example, Combe in 1830 wrote:

The HINDOOS are remarkable for want of force of character... Power of mental manifestation bears a proportion of the size of the central organs, and the Hindoo head is small, and the European large, in the precise conformity with the different mental characters... The Hindoo brain indicates a manifest deficiency in the organs of Combativeness and Destructiveness; while, in the European, these parts are amply developed. The Hindoo is cunning, timid and proud; and in him Secretiveness, Cautiousness and Self-Esteem are large in proportion to the organs last mentioned. (Combe, 1830:605-6, cited in Miles, 1989:35).

According to Miles (1989), the Holocaust shattered the complacency which had greeted notions of 'race' before World War II. Jewish intellectuals who escaped to the United States, began a systematic examination of the psychological factors that had motivated ordinary German citizens to participate in the mass extermination of Jews in Nazi Germany. A composite profile of the racist/authoritarian personality was the outcome of their research (Weinman and Winn, 1986; Hartmann and Husband, 1974). UNESCO convened a meeting of leading scientists who denounced a biological concept of race (Banton, 1970; Miles, 1989; Rex, 1970). From this perspective, Banton argued that "racism" no longer existed as the concept of 'race' lacked biological validity. Rather, he argued that a shift to the term 'racialism' would serve to better articulate exclusionary "political policies which do not rely on biological ideas." (cited in Rex,

1970:38).

In contrast, Rex argued that as social constructions, 'races' did exist and that racialism be replaced by the term 'race relations,' as indicative of a situation where phenotypic differences are used to demarcate groups. Race relations, according to Rex, exist in a situation in which:

. . . the inequalities and differentiation inherent in a social structure are related to physical and cultural criteria of an ascriptive kind and are rationalized in terms of deterministic belief systems, of which the usual in recent years has made reference to biological science. (1970:39).

While the situation which Rex describes is clearly apparent in the case of South Africa where racism is a de jure reality, its explanatory potential is limited when the concept is applied to the kind of de facto racism that pervades other industrialized nations. Further, given that biological notions of race have fallen into disrepute and are no longer fashionable, contemporary de facto forms of racism tend to use other referential cues and concepts to communicate the unequal valuations attached to phenotypical and cultural differences. Thus, the classic form of racism as evidenced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has evolved into a form that is less readily apparent and yet just as invidious as its earlier configurations (van Dijk, 1993).

In this regard, Hall (1989) has argued that there are many different 'racisms,' and that racism as a phenomenon pivots on connotations of difference where difference is

evaluated as being inferior. Hence, in Britain, this 'new' form of racism is, according to Hall, 'cultural racism.' Within this framework, the cultures of those who are visibly different is constructed as being threatening and "less civilized." However, this definition does not demarcate between groups who are physically different, as for example, women, the disabled and other ethnic groups such as the Celts, all of whom possess distinct cultures (Miles, 1989).

Miles (1989) argues that Hall's definition breaks away from the historicity of representations of the "Other." Races, he argues, "are socially imagined rather than biological realities." (Miles, 1989:71). As groups were first 'racialized' during the Greco-Roman period, the notion of 'racism', in its contemporary form, is anchored in this historical legacy. However, its configuration changes over time according to historical circumstances. Hence, he states:

The distinguishing content of racism as an ideology is, first its signification of some biological characteristic(s) as the criterion by which a collectivity may be identified. In this way, the collectivity is represented as having a natural unchanging origin and status, and therefore as being inherently different. . . . Second, the group so identified must be attributed with additional, negatively evaluated characteristics and/or must be represented as inducing negative consequences for any other. These characteristics may be either biological or cultural. (1989:79).

Thus, rather than attribute any validity to the biological bases of races, Miles argues that it is the social weight attached to the idea of race that gives it

cognizance. It is the use of phenotypic differences, despite or in spite of biological validity, that is at the crux of the definition. It is the particular use of phenotypic differences and their association with psychological traits to differentiate, define and subordinate an "Other" that serves to connect contemporary forms of racism with the older, historical forms of racism and racialization.

As social constructs, 'race' and 'racism' need to be defined in accordance to their historical specificity; in terms of how they are articulated within different systems of representation, and what they signify about the "Other." Since social reality is not static, definitions and representations also undergo change (Isaacs, 1958). In contemporary social reality, a 'new' form of racism appears to mark the discourse on race (Cottle, 1992; Hall, 1988; Miles, 1989; van Dijk, 1988). In Britain, this discourse centres around the concept of nation, and identifies blacks as the 'enemy within' (Miles, 1989). In other western, industrialized nations, this discourse pivots on the notion of an inassimilable immigrant whose insurmountable difference is located in a strange, cultural heritage (van Dijk, 1989; 1993). Contemporary racism has been referred to as symbolic racism, modern racism, the 'new' racism, and as cultural racism (Hall, 1989; van Dijk, 1993; Essed, 1990).

For the purposes of the present study, the definitions

of race and racism used here, are as follows:

...the generalization, institutionalization, and assignment of values to real and imaginary differences between people in order to justify a state of privilege, aggression and/or violence. Involving more than the cognitive or affective content of prejudice, racism is expressed behaviourally, institutionally, and culturally. The ideas or actions of a person, the goals or practices of an institution and the symbols, myths or structure of a society are racist if (a) imaginary or real differences of race are accentuated; (b) these differences are assumed absolute and considered in terms of superior, inferior; and (c) these are used to justify inequity, exclusion or domination. (Bulhan, 1985:13).

This definition maintains the historical connection identified by Miles, but also delineates the different levels at which racism operates - from that of individual behaviour and social cognitions, to the institutional and cultural practices in society (see Essed, 1990). At the same time, it explicitly references the dynamics of group dominance which are central to contemporary racism (van Dijk, 1993). Racism within the above framework clearly ties individual behaviors and cognitions to institutional power.

The parameters of the discourse of 'race'

As has been mentioned, much of the literature on representations of racial groups takes as its point of departure, the extensive literature spawned during the era of colonization. It was during this period that European powers came into increasing contact with other cultures. A discourse of 'race' would have to take into account the reservoir of representations formed during this period. As

Miles (1989), Hall (1989) and others have noted, the 'Other' was constructed in opposition to the European Self (van Dijk, 1993). In that sense, the "Other" was defined as being excessively sexual, physically different, inferior in mental and social capacities, as threatening, alien, savage-like, dirty, ignorant and so on. In addition, the "Other" was also constructed as being exotic, mystical, innocent and majestic (Hall, 1989; Miles, 1989; McBratney, 1988; Greenberger, 1969; Hammond and Jablow, 1977; Isaacs, 1958).

Hall (1990) has defined the power coordinates of this discourse as consisting of three characteristic relationships: domination and subordination; superiority and inferiority; and, the displacement of groups from the "language of history to the language of Nature." As he puts it, "Natural physical and racial characteristics became the unalterable signifiers of inferiority." (1990:14). Thus, even a 'positive' representation which describes indigenous peoples as 'noble' tends to communicate a chain of associations which affirms the superiority of the European and confirms the inferiority of the native. The native, in this instance, is seen as a relic from a bygone era, albeit one which was more innocent and 'natural' (Hall, 1990).

The imagery of excess - whether it be sexuality, violence, disorder, mysticism or whatever - is a common thread in much of this literature. According to Hall, "racism. . . occupies a world of manichean opposites: them

and us, primitive and civilized, light and dark, a black and white symbolic universe." (1989:13; see also JanMohamed, 1985). Hence, much of what is projected in this literature is constitutive of an "Other" which defines the Self. The Self in this instance is defined as rational, strong, moral, virile, civilized and controlled, among other things. These binary representations served to naturalize the unequal relations between the colonized and the colonizers. They obfuscated the hierarchical relations of domination.

Contemporary 'traces'

An analysis of contemporary cultural productions such as Hollywood films, reveals the presence of these same binary relations albeit in different forms. Racial groups are often positioned as the "Other" (see for example, Sippi's (1989) analysis of Gorillas in the Mist; Wink's (1988) analysis of the 'sinister oriental' in thriller fiction; and Berg's (1989) analysis of the alien "Other" in science fiction). More recently, Young (1991) has noted the presence of a similar binary structure in his analysis of the press coverage of an incident involving Yemeni girls in the British news media. Drawing from the works of Edward Said, Young describes this construction of a culturally primitive 'Other' as predicated on a discourse of cultural imperialism.

Representations of the colonized were not restricted to

imperial literature, but rather, 'leaked' into popular culture. According to Stam and Spence (1985), European cinema began at the height of colonialism and thus, images current at the time were used in early film. This is not to suggest that contemporary representations are 'fixed' within a colonial mould, but rather that these early representations provide the foundation on which contemporary representations are erected, or in Hall's terms, they provide the 'base grammar of race.'

Within the United States, Isaacs (1958) notes that early representations of people of colour, primarily the Chinese and Indians, were not only based on colonial literature but also often corroborated by reports from missionaries travelling in China and India. With reference to India, Isaacs argues that between 1846 and 1900, there was a significant absence of any literature dealing with this nation. Rather, colonial stereotypes such as the figure of Gunga Din were embraced into the American popular imagination. These images were then elaborated with accounts provided by missionaries. As an example of the latter, Isaacs provides the following insights:

The record made by American missionaries in India in their letters, books, sermons, and lectures, from the beginning down almost to our time, is in large part dominated by a powerful sense of revulsion at Hindu practices. A mild example would be the complaint in 1852, about "the deplorable ignorance and stubborn prejudice of the Hindus, together with their caste system, their entire absence of all correct principles, and finally their moral degradation." The Hindus, one might commonly have heard, were "lifetime liars and

worshippers of a stupendous system of carnal idolatry." Their temples were "ornamented with all the orders of infernal architecture, displaying all the sins in the human figure and exhibiting evil spirits under the significant emblems of serpents, toads etc." (1958:262).

These descriptive stereotypes bear a strong resemblance to current Hollywood depictions of Indians as found in Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom, and The Deceivers. According to Isaacs, these early representations came under increasing pressure in 1907 when the YMCA condemned them on the grounds that they were impeding missionary activity. Yet, subsequent images embedded within travel books, continued these early representations (Isaacs, 1958).¹⁰

That these representations also 'leaked' into the popular imagination of those residing in the colonies is evident from the following sentiments which were articulated at the turn of the century in British Columbia. For example, Indians (South Asians) at the time were considered to be the offspring of "Too many generations of vice; too many generations of birth from immature mothers; no dower of strength from birth." (Buchignani and Indra, 1985:46). As well, they were perceived as having an overwhelming sexual drive which made their proximity to white women highly dangerous. Similar sentiments were articulated about other groups, notably the blacks in the United States and the Chinese in Australia during this time period (Huttenback, 1976).

Although each cultural group, e.g. the Chinese,

Japanese, African, Arab and Indian, has been subjected to different kinds of representation, the common element underlying these representations overlaps with stereotypical representations that prevailed in colonial literature (see for example, Stott's (1988) analysis of the writings of Sir Rider Haggard, and McBratney's (1988) analysis of the representation of Indian women in Kipling's work). In the latter, common thematic structures reveal a binary relationship whereby Africa, or India, represents the dangerous, seductive, and fecund female body. The colonial power is characterized as being male, 'civilized' and superior (Said, 1979; Greenberger, 1969; Hammond and Jablow, 1977).

Although the American social landscape differs dramatically from Imperial England, there are points of articulation between the histories of both these empires. Whilst the latter engaged in generating representations that legitimized colonization, the former produced representations that articulated the threat of difference as it occurred 'within' its boundaries, such as the presence of people of colour who would/could not melt in the melting pot. Thus, in speaking about the Chinese in America, the editor of the Saturday Evening Post, George Horace Lorimer, wrote in 1920:

America is a melting pot, but those who keep the pot boiling must reserve the right to discard foreign substances that will not melt. (cited in Chung, 1976:536).

In each instance, then, the 'foreign' elements were the people of colour consisting of slaves, indentured and migrant labourers. Not only were they considered inassimilable, but they were also denied any individuality. They were usually represented as 'faceless hordes', held together by common phenotypic features and psychological traits (Isaacs, 1958), the exceptions being the few lone characters who played the central roles and whose characteristics were usually exaggerated and held up as symbolizing the traits of an entire group of peoples, (e.g. Fu Manchu and Charlie Chan). The parallels with representations of indigenous peoples in colonial literature are striking. As JanMohamed notes, within colonial discourse:

The European writer commodifies the native by negating his individuality, his subjectivity so that he is now perceived as a generic being that can be exchanged for any other native (they all look alike, act alike, and so on). (1985:64).

Such representations were not only confined to the press or private correspondence, they often carried over into other media. For example, in their analysis of Hollywood's early representations of native people, Bataille and Silet note that all differences between native groups were levelled and replaced with a construct of the 'instant Indian.' As they put it:

Hollywood created the instant Indian: wig, war bonnet, breechclout, moccasins, phoney beadwork. The movie man did what thousands of years of social evolution could not do; Hollywood produced the homogenized Native

American, devoid of tribal characteristics and regional differences. As long as the actor wore fringed pants and spoke with a halting accent, he was Indian. (1980:40).

In a similar vein, representations of Mexican-Americans were also confined within stereotypes of the passionate latino, the lazy 'bandito,' and the drug-running criminal - all of which resonated with the base 'grammar of race' (Hall, 1990). As Woll argues, "They robbed, murdered, plundered, raped, cheated, gambled, lied and displayed virtually every vice that could be shown on the screen." (1980:55). These representations did not change until the Mexican government threatened to ban Hollywood products in 1922. But after the threat of closure from Latin markets dissipated, Hollywood returned to its early stereotypes as grist for the image-making mill (Wilson and Gutierrez, 1985).

Shaheen (1984) notes that with the coming of television, many of these early representations were transferred to the new medium. With the image of the Arab, TV adopted the 'sign language' of the cinema. Hence, the instant TV Arab kit, according to Shaheen,

. . . consists of a belly dancer's outfit, headdresses (which look like tablecloths pinched from a restaurant), veils, sunglasses, flowing gowns and robes, oil wells, limousines and/or camels. (1984:5).

The imagery surrounding black representations in television, film and the press, has come under increasing critical scrutiny (hooks, 1990; Bogle, 1989; Winston, 1982;

Gray, 1986). Stereotypes of blacks in early Hollywood films painted them as:

. . .naive, musical, serio-comic primitives, larded with an occasional frock-coated preacher, conjure-woman, or jug band musician, or they were urban blacks shattered by city life and transformed into razor-toting, tippling, cheaply sexual, petty thugs. (Cripps, 1980:22)

These stereotypes have undergone radical change in recent television productions (Deroche and Deroche, 1991), due in part to the pressure exerted by the NAACP, the recognition of blacks as a potential market, and the changing political climate. Contemporary representations are more sophisticated in that whilst the patina of equality prevails, the relational dimension of the representations often reveals the binary distinctions of self versus "Other," with blacks occupying the latter position.¹¹ Where this is not the case, it is often because the "Other" has become assimilated into notions of the 'Self', as in the case of the Huxtable family in The Cosby Show (Jhally and Lewis, 1992).

Bogle (1989) has described the current stage of black representations as the 'era of tan.' Here, all elements pertaining to 'blackness' as in language, cultural style, values and so forth are extracted from the actor so as to render her/him as 'white' and hence as acceptable, as possible.

In their analysis of stereotypical characteristics associated with people of colour in contemporary popular

film and television, Wilson and Gutierrez (1985:79) found that these characteristics cohered around intellectual and moral attributes.

Intellectual	Moral
Preoccupied with simple ideas	Low regard for human life
Inferior strategy in warfare/conflict situations	Predisposition to criminal activity
Low or nonexistent occupational status	Sexual promiscuity
Poor speech patterns /dialects	Drug/alcohol abuse
Comedic foil	Dishonesty

These attributes once again, bear striking resemblance to representations of people of colour that abound in colonial literature.

Framed within a larger picture

In a different yet related vein, representations of people of colour in the contemporary press and television news have also been largely negative. Van Dijk (1988) has observed that representations of ethnic and/or racial minorities within a nation tend to parallel representations of their countries of origin. In their analysis of the coverage of Third World news generated by three American networks, Dahlgren and Chakrapani isolated the following thematic representations that constitute a visual matrix on the world of the "Others" (1982:48).

Definitive Motifs and Sub-motifs	Implied Bipolar opposite	Dispositional Orientation
Social Disorder Political violence Political subversion Military combat	Order/Stability Harmony Redemption Peace	Irony
Flawed Development Government Corruption Human rights abuses Communism	Successful Development Ethical government Humanitarianism Capitalism	Skepticism
Primitivism Exoticism Barbarism	Modernism Familiar Civilized	Fascination

Even though the particular focus of the investigation differs in these studies, the common thread appears to be a construction of the "Other" based on a projected notion of the Self, where the "Other" is imbued with negative characteristics that are not contained in the Self. Thus in Dahlgren's study, the Third World is characterized by social disorder, political violence, political subversion and military combat. This reflects a state of affairs signified by flawed development, government corruption, an abuse of human rights, and 'communism' which would likely translate into anarchy, as opposed to the West's notion of itself as a law-and-order society. Primitivism, exoticism and barbarism characterize the ways of Third World peoples within this visual matrix.

In the Canadian context, Hackett's (1989) content analysis of foreign news coverage broadcast on CBC and CTV in 1980 and 1985, found that the Third World tends to

receive the least amount of coverage. Furthermore, coverage about Third World events tends to concentrate on political violence, disasters and the like. Hackett notes that:

. . . the present patterns of coverage might reinforce negative stereotypes that Canadians already hold about immigrants and refugees from the Third World, except when the latter are portrayed as victims deserving of sympathy. (1989:820).

For the purpose of the present inquiry, these studies provide a contextual grounding for further studies concerning the portrayal of racial minorities residing within western, industrialized nations in the dominant media of these nations. More importantly, they provide insights into the various coordinates that anchor the discourse of 'race' as it is signified in the media, and how the latter might contribute to a reconfiguration of this discourse and thereby perpetuate or impede its reproduction. Or, as Stuart Hall puts it, "if you tell a story in a particular way you often activate meanings which seem almost to belong to the stock of stories themselves." (1984:7).

If we are to define the coordinates of a discourse on 'race' as they may occur in any media, then such a definition would have to take into consideration the history of previous representations, as well as the social, cultural and political milieu within which the groups so represented are located. The preceding discussion highlights the historical grounding of contemporary representations and alludes to their political potential.

The coordinates for the dominant discourse on 'race' include polarities built around an 'us' versus 'them' distinction. The critical factor here is the notion of difference, where such difference is located in the biological (phenotypic) and cultural realm. The construction of "Otherness" is an identifying feature of this discourse. Specific attributes of this "Otherness" may include a perceived tendency towards excess, lack of organization and control, an inherent inferiority, cunningness, aggressiveness, dangerousness, and exoticism.

At the same time, as Stam and Spence (1985) note, the absence of representations of a particular group also signify a discourse of racism, as such absence is often predicated on exclusion or on a strategy to conceal a racist intent (van Dijk, 1993). The continuing absence of people of colour in dominant media signifies their invisibility and non-status within the symbolic social order. On the other hand, strategic absences may be designed to evade censure whilst continuing to implement an exclusionary policy. A case in point is the 'Natal Formula' (Huttenback, 1976) which was created by white settler colonies to impede Chinese and other people of colour from migrating to the colonies, but in a way that would not attract the attention of the colonial Home Office. The Formula, which was subsequently legalized as an entry requirement, made no mention of the Chinese but was clearly intended to curtail

their migration. The Formula required immigrants to be able to record, in a European language, a passage which was orally delivered by the immigration officer.

Representations of racial minority groups in the dominant media of a nation are indicative how that nation perceives itself as well as groups within it. As public texts, such representations highlight the often invisible but dominant consensus that shapes the boundaries of acceptability. As Stuart Hall notes, "The 'white eye' is always outside the frame - but seeing and positioning everything within it." (1990:14).

Representations of racial minorities are not only seen by the 'white eye' but are also largely created by members of the dominant society. In a recent survey of film and television industry in the United States, Steenland (1989) found that "only two percent of all writers for television and film from 1982-1987 were minorities." (1989:38). She notes that as long the situation remains as it is, "people of colour will be trapped in white reflections of themselves." (1989:42). In Canada, a survey of 20 English language newspapers conducted in 1986, revealed that less than 2% of their staff consisted of aboriginal peoples, racial minorities and people with disabilities (Multiculturalism and Citizenship, 1989).

Seen from the outside, representations of racial minorities within the dominant media tell a story about a

nation, its common stock of knowledge, and its minorities. Having been a white settler colony at the outposts of the British empire, Canada shares the history of representations of people of colour that marked the discourse of colonialism. Yet, as history reveals, the colonies of settlement were often more vociferous in their rejection of non-Europeans than the motherland itself (Huttenback, 1976; Armour, 1984; Dutton, 1984; Buchignani and Indra, 1985).

Representations of racial minorities in the Canadian mass media attest to their invisibility in the mediated landscape of Canadian society. The consequences of this invisibility are heightened when the few representations that do occur, are framed within the paradigm of the "Other."

Notes

7. Cottle (1992) also refers to this issue in his mention of a particular study in Britain which showed that youth from racial minority groups would often watch and enjoy programs that were explicitly racist. The study demonstrates that audiences even within minority groups are not homogeneous. It also underscores an implicit point, namely, the extent to which minority groups may internalize dominant definitions of themselves, or as some activists would put it, internalize racism. Alternatively, these groups could be decoding material that is deemed to be explicitly racist from an oppositional or alternative perspective - ridiculing the ways in which the dominant society perceives them.

8. The triangular trade refers to the particular geographic configuration of the trade route that imported slaves from Africa, deposited them in the Caribbean islands or America, picked up raw materials (in the form of cotton, rum etc.), and unloaded finished products that had been sent from the colonial motherland (see Bulhan, 1985).

9. The term 'discourse' refers to "the different kinds of use to which language is put." (Hartley, 1982:6). It basically refers to ways of talking, writing and thinking about a particular subject. The manner in which it is used here refers to an overarching framework of organization that encapsulates dominant interpretations and cannonized knowledge about a particular subject matter (e.g. in the works of Said, 1979).

10. Isaacs' makes a thematic distinction between the various types of representations of Indians that have characterized American thought and imagination. According to his typology, the Indian was represented as: 'the very benighted heathen,' 'the lesser breed,' 'the faceless masses,' 'the conquered Indian,' and the 'villainous Indian.'

11. Deroche and Deroche (1991) note that on average, blacks tend to watch television more than the U.S. population as a whole.

CHAPTER II

'RACE' AND THE MEDIA: THE CANADIAN CONTEXT

Whereas clearly stated racism definitely exists, the more problematic aspect for us is this common sense racism which holds the norms and forms thrown up by a few hundred years of pillage, extermination, slavery, colonization and neo-colonization.

Himani Bannerji (1987:11).

Unlike Britain and much of Europe, Canada has a relatively short history of contact with other cultures and nation-states.¹² Having been 'doubly-colonized' (van den Berghe, 1976:246) by the French and English, in that order, the country as a whole evidences a complex and regionally variegated history of race relations. Its sheer size combined with the concentration of its population, approximately twenty-six million, on roughly ten percent of the land-mass make any kind of generalization regarding the Canadian 'national character' difficult (see also Porter, 1979). Moreover, the historical legacy of differential colonization has bred a multi-layered approach with respect to the perceptions and treatment meted out to different ethnic and racial groups in different parts of the country (see for example, Buchignani and Indra, 1985; Henry, 1986; Ujimoto and Hirabayshi, 1980).

Complicating this situation is the visibly chequered pattern of immigrant group settlement - both historically and contemporarily. Hence, different groups have become outgroups in specific provinces, some because of religious

persecution, and others because of racial and ethnically-based exclusion (Weinman and Winn, 1986). In this regard, it should be noted that Canada has a long history of injustices directed at religious groups, as for example, the Dukhobors, the Jews and Jehovah's witnesses. And its treatment towards indigenous peoples has evoked international condemnation.

Holding together these regional disparate interests, groups and histories, are the federal state structure and the mass media. In the case of the latter, there is a concerted attempt to provide both regional and national coverage especially in regards to the 'news.'

According to the 1986 Census statistics, 'visible minorities'¹³, which is the federal terminology used to specify minorities who are non-white and non-Aboriginal, constitute approximately 9% of the overall population.¹⁴ However, global events over the last six years have contributed to an overall increase in immigration levels, particularly of groups from various Third World countries. In recent years, the major source countries for immigrants and refugees have been Vietnam, Hong Kong, the Philippines, the People's Republic of China, Iran, Kampuchea, Laos, India, various Latin American and African countries. In 1984, immigrants who came from Asia comprised 47.4% of the total immigrant flow; in 1985, they constituted 45.8% and in 1986, 41.9%. (Statistics Canada, 1990).

According to the 1986 Census data, racial minorities are largely concentrated in eight urban areas across the country, making up 17.3% of the population in Toronto, and 16.9% of the population in Vancouver. In contrast, Regina has the lowest concentration at about 4.4%. Recent projections forecast the total number of racial minorities to increase to 17.7% by the end of the century. In terms of visibility, the concentrations will be highest in the metropolitan areas, with 44% in Toronto, and 39% in Vancouver (Vancouver Sun, June 2, 1992).¹⁵

In recognition of the cultural and racial diversity of the country, as well as in ceding to the pressure of various lobby groups, the Canadian government passed two major legislative acts that are designed to protect the rights of ethnic and racial minorities. The first of these, the policy of multiculturalism, was initially articulated in 1971 by the then Liberal government in power. This policy was subsequently made law in 1988 with the creation of a ministry entrusted with its implementation. The second crucial act, from the minority point of view, was the Employment Equity legislation, passed in 1986. Both of these acts have shaped the process of identification, as well as the public response to ethnic and racial minority groups.

Multiculturalism and/or Multiracialism?

At the turn of the century, Canadian Prime-Minister Wilfred Laurier, had a particular vision of Canada which was influenced by his observation of a cathedral in England.

Laurier is purported to have said:

The Cathedral is made of marble, oak and granite. It is the image of the nation I would like to see Canada become. For here, I want the marble to remain marble; the granite to remain granite; the oak to remain oak; and out of all these elements, I would build a nation great among the nations of the world. (cited in Weinfeld, 1981:82).

This vision apparently set the tone for Canada's insistence of its self-image as a 'mosaic' rather than a 'melting pot' as in the case of the United States. The notion of a mosaic meant that each part had to keep its integral identity and yet fit within the framework of a nation. In a sense, the historical constitution of Canada follows this paradigmatic model as each province joined the confederation at different points in time; each was promised certain benefits in exchange and each retained its regional character.

The blueprint of the nation as a confederation has resulted in a history fraught with a quest for national identity, not to mention struggles at different levels of governance as various provinces tried to contest and win greater autonomy over particular sectors from the federal government. The quest for a cohesive, national identity has also been complicated by the presence of the French who have

long argued for status as a distinct society and for the right to self-determination. The uneasy alliance and constant shifting of alliances at the different levels of government has resulted in a series of task forces and Royal Commissions mandated to examine particular areas of concern.

In 1971, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism submitted its findings and recommendations to the government. The recommendations contained in Book IV of the Report entitled the 'white paper on multiculturalism' were subsequently adopted and framed within the policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, i.e. the English and French being defined as the two charter groups or 'founding peoples.' The interesting aspect of the government's response to the Commission's recommendations regarding the maintenance of heritage cultures lies in its adoption of a "mass society" perspective and its affective, traditionalist interpretation of ethnicity. Hence, the rationale for a policy encouraging cultural retention is based on the following:

Cultural diversity throughout the world is being eroded by the impact of industrial technology, mass communications and urbanization. Many writers have discussed this as the creation of a mass society - in which mass produced culture and entertainment and large impersonal institutions threaten to denature and depersonalize man. One of man's basic needs is a sense of belonging, and a good deal of contemporary social unrest - in all age groups - exists because this need has not been met. Ethnic groups are certainly not the only way in which this need for belonging can be met, but they have been an important one in Canadian society. Ethnic pluralism can help us overcome or prevent the homogenization and depersonalization of

mass society. Vibrant ethnic groups can give Canadians of the second, third, and subsequent generations a feeling that they are connected with tradition and with human experience in various parts of the world and different periods of time. (House of Commons Debates, October 8, 1971).

Following this line of departure, the government indicated that it would provide support for ethnic groups who wished to retain their heritage; enable, through various supportive measures, ethnic group members to "overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society"; facilitate intercultural exchange between groups; and, "assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages."

The policy generated heated debate within academic circles and among front-line practitioners. Many argued that the policy was a 'myth', and that it reduced ethnicity to a few colourful tokens - 'ethno-exotica' (e.g. Peter, 1981; Moodley, 1983; Roberts and Clifton, 1982; Weinfeld, 1981). Peter (1981), in his pointed critique of the policy, argued that it had been devised to contain the demands of French-Canadian population, and appease the demands of the 'Third Force' - the German, Dutch, and other European groups concentrated in the prairies and the western regions of the country.

However, what seemed to define the most critical shortcoming of the policy was its separation of culture and language, and its failure to recognize the divergent experiences and realities of ethnic versus racial groups.

The policy was articulated as one which recognized the cultural realities and contributions of Canada's many ethnic groups, but then contained them within a bilingual framework, i.e. entrenching the status of the two charter groups, the English and French. Moreover, though committed to fostering cross-cultural understanding, the policy did little when it came to dealing with issues of systemic racism. At the same time, it obfuscated the social and economic hierarchy of different groups and defused any political power that non-charter ethnic groups possessed (Stasiulis, 1985). Moodley argues that the policy has generated a new ethnicity, which she defines as: ". . . one based on the feeling of being a constant outsider, of being non-English, of having to do all the adapting and yet never enough." (1983:325).

The ideological thrust of multiculturalism as a policy is best exemplified,

. . . by its focus on the non-controversial, expressive aspects of culture. As long as cultural persistence is confined to food, clothes, dance, and music, then cultural diversity provides colour to an otherwise mundane monotonous technological society. It even enhances tourism, if one considers how much Indians and 'ethnic' restaurants add to the magnificence of Canadian landscape. As such it proves to be no threat, but on contrary trivializes, neutralizes and absorbs social and economic inequalities. (Moodley, 1983:326).

While multiculturalism was designed to include reference to all cultural groups, 'common sense' understandings of the term confine its usage to racial minorities. They are seen to possess cultures that require

state intervention for purposes of retention. At the same time, the policy and ideology of multiculturalism fails to give cognizance to the structural barriers of racism that impede these minorities from "full participation in Canadian society."¹⁶

Embedded within the text of the multicultural policy are references to the media, exhorting national and regional media to take account of ethnic diversity and to 'reflect' that diversity (Dick, 1985).¹⁷ In the case of racial groups, the 'reflection' or portrayal of diversity would include an increase in their representations. Such representations, the report argued, would contribute towards an image of Canada as a multiracial society.

Given the visibility of racial identity, such inclusion would be an easy task were the media partial to hiring actors, anchors, reporters and producers from minority groups. However, the directive to increase representation of various ethnic groups whose racial features are not 'different' from the dominant group, would require such representations to involve specific references to culture, language or other expressive signs of ethnicity, as for example, dress, name, food.

Such portrayals may not be welcome on the part of those ethnic groups who are trying to escape the stigma of their ethnicity, or where ethnic identity in their construction connotes a traditionalist and arcane notion. On the other

hand, and extending the critique of multiculturalism, representations of ethnic groups that make specific reference to cultural symbols of identification that are dislodged from a larger cultural system and used as stereotypic elements to describe a group, may be seen as trivializing ethnic identity. Only in a setting where ethnic groups control cultural productions would the danger of such trivialization be minimized. In this respect, the ethnic broadcasting policy has facilitated the existence of ethnic media (see Roth, 1990).

Despite the multiple critiques levelled at the policy of multiculturalism, it managed to achieve legal status in 1988 with the passing of the 'Act for the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada', and a full-fledged ministry was created to administer it. But, although the policy and Act made specific reference to ameliorating relations between ethnic groups, its shortcoming as far as dealing with institutionalized racism and systemic barriers (particularly as these were not defined within the parameters of the policy), stimulated the adoption of other political and social mechanisms by which these issues could be seen to be addressed. In 1990, the government introduced Bill C-63 regarding the formation of a Canadian Race Relations Foundation. The Foundation funds research and publishes information detailing the various organizations that are involved in anti-racist work

(Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1990).

The Vertical Mosaic

In her testimony to the government appointed Special Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian society, Lynda Armstrong stated:

The established cultural community in Canada, both English and French, have exactly this same mindset - WHITE SELLS. The politicians and the gurus of the cultural world in this country keep moaning and wringing their hands about the lack of a "strong Canadian identity", and how the big, bad United States is overwhelming us with its commercial culture. If they want to change the situation, they can start by telling the truth about this country. (1984:91-91).

Since Porter's (1965) seminal study on the Canadian power elite which revealed the hierarchy of ethnic groups within Canada with English, white males being at the top, there have been other studies that have contested his notion of a vertical mosaic arguing that the groups which Porter identified as being at the bottom, are not always the racial minorities (e.g. Winn, 1985; Moodley, 1987). Instead, changes in immigration requirements from the 1960s onward have led to the entrance of a new class of immigrants who are better educated and from the middle and upper classes (Statistics Canada, Census Highlights, 1986; Richmond, 1988).

The mechanisms which had historically kept racial minorities and aboriginal peoples at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy were predicated on racism and a

discourse of exclusion (Moodley, 1987; Ujimoto and Hirabayshi, 1980). The skilled and educated class of immigrants that arrived from the sixties on found these same barriers in existence, albeit not as explicit as they once were. Many could not and still do not, get jobs because their work experience and educational qualifications are from another country, and largely a Third World country. Many could not, and to this day, experience difficulty in finding housing because of the racism they encounter from landlords (Henry and Ginzberg, 1985; Henry, 1986). As one author puts it, "women and ethnic groups have to kick down doors" if they want to gain entrance to the power elite. (Fleming, 1991).

The systematic deskilling of visible minority immigrants has been documented extensively (Bolaria and Li, 1988). One of the key components in this process is the employer's requirement that immigrants have "Canadian experience." Without an adequate opportunity to acquire such experience, immigrants can not find suitable jobs. Hence, many of those who were selected because of their education and work experience in their countries of origin, are subsequently reduced to finding menial jobs upon entering Canada. The problem is further exacerbated by the lack of recognition that Canadian institutions accord to credentials acquired from other non-western institutions of learning. Thus, even though many Third World nations have a

system of education predicated on the colonial model, and teachers often imported from the colonial motherland, the credentials they pass on to students are not recognized by Canadian institutions. This is ironic given that Canada itself was a colony and within English Canada, the educational system was similarly predicated on that of her colonial motherland, England.

More recent evidence suggests that the issue of qualifications is a spurious rationale used by employers to exclude racial minorities. Drawing from census data, Guppy (1993) found that children of racial minorities receive less return on their education than children born of white parents. It would appear that the exclusion of racial minorities is based on their perceived 'social standing' in the larger society. Social standing refers to the positions that different groups occupy in the symbolic stratification order. In testing the social standing of various groups in Canadian society, Pineo (1987), found that English Canadians ranked "coloured and Asiatics at the bottom." (1987:258), while the English, French, Irish and Scots ranked at the top. Pineo notes that, indigenous peoples, and racial minorities, "enjoy a social standing about equivalent to the occupational rank of a construction labourer or railroad section hand." (1987:262).

With increasing complaints about racism and exclusion, not to mention the possibility of losing a sector of

potential votes, the government in 1984 appointed a special committee to examine the "participation of visible minorities in Canadian society." The committee subsequently presented its report entitled Equality Now! which provided the blueprint for legislation passed in 1986 under the aegis of Employment Equity. The report consisted of testimonies from racial minorities and ethnic group spokespersons as well as recommendations for change. Contrary to common sense notions of the Act, the jurisdiction of Employment Equity as a means to redress the lack of employment opportunities for visible minorities, was confined to a particular area of the public sector. Only those companies who bid for federal contracts, and whose labour force consisted of over 100 workers came under the jurisdiction of the Act. Moreover, the government's extension of equity employment principles across the public sector were similarly confined to its own departments within the Public Service Commission and hence were not applicable to private institutions (Statistics Canada, Employment Equity Program Annual Report, 1988-89).

Media representations formed a key area of concern addressed in the committee's report. According to the report:

Visible minorities find out what society thinks of them, in part, by the way they are portrayed in the media. Many members of majority groups have few interactions with minorities and are more likely to develop images from newspaper stories and television. With the advent of television and subsequent

technological advances, media images have become more and more a substitute for social experience. The media therefore play a powerful role in shaping social values and in developing the esteem which groups in the Canadian mosaic have of each other. (1984:94).

The committee recommended that the media portray racial minorities in an "adequate and fair manner." As well, it suggested that media institutions make an attempt to recruit minorities as staff; emphasize cross-cultural communication; establish guidelines on how visible minorities are reported; set up mechanisms for racial minorities to monitor media output; and, "improve the quality of international reporting." While it praised some of the programs that media institutions were implementing, the report also castigated these institutions for having "been slow in initiating change," and having "lagged behind the Canadian people in positive attitude changes towards visible minorities." (1984:95).

Since 1986, some of these recommendations have been implemented, as for example, the establishment of guidelines regarding the depiction of racial minorities in government communications. More recently, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters produced a series of advertisements dealing with racism which subsequently won an award. Yet, it appears as if most of these changes have been cosmetic. In 1986, the Caplan-Sauvageau task force on broadcasting noted the concerns of racial and ethnic minorities regarding issues of representation. It recommended that:

...one of the most practical measures in combatting ethnocultural stereotyping and ethnocentrism is to increase minority representation at all employment levels in the industry. (1986:537).

Yet the situation since the publication of this task force report has changed very little. In Vancouver, less than 2% of the staff of The Vancouver Sun and Province are racial minorities (Kevin Griffin, 1991). This finding is corroborated on a national scale with a government cited study which examined 20 English-language newspapers in 1986. The study found that visible minorities, native peoples, and the disabled constituted less than 2% of the staff of these twenty papers. (Multiculturalism and Citizenship, 1989). As for broadcast networks, their employment figures remain a mystery. At the Symposium on Progress Towards Equality (1988), CBC spokesperson Eric Moncour stated the network did not possess sufficient funds to hire and train racial minorities, and further that while many racial minorities did work behind the scenes, they did not possess sufficient training or skill to work in public arenas.¹⁸ The situation has not satisfied the demands of racial minorities working in this area.¹⁹

In fact, the Alliance for Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA), published a guide entitled Into the Mainstream in 1990, partially in response to the industry's claim that there were not enough qualified visible minorities in the area of acting and production work. Similarly, the Race Relations Advisory Council of the

Canadian Advertising Foundation, released a report highlighting the growing importance of visible minorities as a market in Canada.

Within the federal government, the National Film Board of Canada has initiated the New Initiatives in Film Program, designed to train women of colour and women from the First Nations (aboriginal), in areas of film and video production. These programs and publications are intended to create a pool of qualified individuals in the area of visual production, and also to alert media organizations as to the availability of skilled people within minority groups. However, as Salome Bey has argued, there has never been a lack of qualified people of colour. Rather, the barriers of exclusion have made it impossible for them to find employment, forcing many to leave for the United States (Bey, 1982).

Background studies

Racial minorities are not alone in sensing that they are 'invisible' in the nation's media, and that their representations are largely confined to negative stereotypes. In the last decade, there have been a considerable number of studies that have examined the issue of representation using both qualitative and quantitative methodology. The following section provides a summary of some of these studies, highlighting their general findings -

that on the whole, people of colour are rarely portrayed in the normal fare of programming.

One researcher in the area commented that while conducting an examination of Canadian television advertisements, she found herself in the following situation:

One advertiser, a wine company, produced a 'lifestyle' commercial which showed a large group of young (presumably swinging) singles enjoying a backyard barbecue. In the first 0.5 second frame of the film, an Asian woman was seen coming out of a doorway. The image was so fleeting that the participants had to rerun the tape and play "Find-the-Ethnic" several times before she was discovered (Eng, 1984:12).

The bulk of the studies that deal with the issue of race and representation pivot on the assumption that such representation should be consonant with the populations of these groups.²⁰ On the other hand, there is an implicit belief, especially on the part of minority spokespeople, that the media "mirror" reality (Bey, 1982), and in so doing, "misrepresent" ethnic and racial groups. This verges on an essentialist interpretation which rests on the supposition that there is a 'true' representation of these groups which the media are then distorting or rendering 'false.'

From the point of view of the advances made in communication theory, this dichotomization and essentialist interpretation simplifies the complex nature of social reality. As institutions which participate in a whole nexus of the production and reproduction of social knowledge, the

media portray the world in particular ways, and it is these definitions of social reality, that reveal how minority groups fit within the symbolic social order and imagination (Gitlin, 1986; Fiske, 1985; Hall, 1980).

Nevertheless, these shortcomings do not detract from the importance of studies undertaken by minority groups or by intellectuals and consultants funded by the State. For one, the existing research presents valuable information regarding the basis of minority concerns, and for another, it offers possible avenues for change.

Representations in the Canadian mass media

A content analysis of prime-time programming on two major Canadian networks, the CBC and CTV, in 1980, found that racial minorities were significantly underrepresented (Desbarats, 1982). In 1982, a study conducted for the Secretary of State and the Canadian advertising industry concluded with similar findings, namely that racial minorities were underrepresented in advertising aired on Canadian networks. This study also focused on viewers' responses to commercials containing racial minorities and found no significant differences in the ways in which audiences received them (PEAC study, 1982). In 1983, Granzberg conducted a content analysis of 370 hours of prime-time programming and found that racial minorities were, once again, underrepresented and stereotyped

(Granzberg, 1984; Khaki and Prasad, 1988; Dick, 1985).

Granzberg found that:

. . . the average visible minority character on 1982 prime-time Canadian television [is] younger than other characters, less gainfully employed, less maritally stable, less virile, less heroic and less important than other characters. (1984:23).

He also found that a hierarchy of discrimination prevailed with blacks being discriminated against the most, followed by the Asians, and then by the native peoples. Discrimination, as he defines it, "consists of the failure to provide equal opportunity for visible minority characters to experience the 'good life.'" (1984:23). In other words, racial minorities tend not to be portrayed as engaging in 'normal' consumer-type activities, i.e. drinking beer, having a good time, purchasing cars and the like.

The 1982 conference on Visible Minorities and the Media, resulted in a number of guidelines that governmental departments were to employ in their external and internal communications. Additionally, among the various recommendations put forward by participants, was the suggestion that media institutions employ a larger number of racial minorities at all levels so as to counter the problem of stereotyping and underrepresentation. This recommendation was subsequently repeated by the Caplan-Sauvageau task force as mentioned above.

The 1983 annual report of the CBC mentions yet another study concerning the depiction of racial minorities in

prime-time television programming. According to the report:

A University of Winnipeg study on the portrayal of minorities on prime-time television seen in Canada, reported that although all broadcasters could be faulted occasionally, Canadian networks offered a more realistic portrayal than U.S. television, and the most accurate Canadian network was the CBC.

The optimistic tone of this report may have more to do with the fact that most programming on prime-time television is American (Dick, 1985). Additionally, the dangers of stereotyping are significantly reduced when there is a marked absence of racial minority representation in the first place. Nevertheless, in that same year, the CBC initiated a program, funded by the Multiculturalism Directorate, to train eight racial minorities in the field of broadcasting. Out of the eight, only three remained with the CBC and only for a short period of time. The rest sought employment in the private sector as the Corporation maintained it did not have the resources to retain them (Symposium on Towards Equality Now!, 1988).

In 1984, the government published its Equality Now! report which repeated the recommendations generated at the 1982 conference. Yet, in another study conducted in 1985, in which Moore and Cadeau analyzed 1,733 television commercials, the findings were much the same. Only 4% of these commercials featured racial minorities, and even then only as males in secondary roles. The commercials in which they were featured had to do with major purchases. However, the group that appeared to be the most 'invisible' were the

elderly. Moore and Cadeau found that less than 2% of their sample of 1,733 commercials contained any representation of elderly people and further, that these representations were mostly confined to advertisements about food.

In 1987, the Alliance for Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA) published a two year study which examined the number of appearances and roles played by racial and auditory minorities (i.e. those who have an accent). Their findings reveal that these minorities were featured in 5.5% of all programs (on television) in principal roles, and 7.5% as background characters. This indicates a small percentage increase from previous studies, but one that may be attributable to the inclusion of auditory minorities in the specifications. By 1988, the quality or quantity of representations of people of colour in Canadian media had not changed in any drastic fashion.

A recent study of the topic by Khaki and Prasad (1988) attempted a somewhat different approach. In contrast to the studies cited above, these authors concentrated on case analyses of specific incidents of stereotyping, and further, using the methodology of survey research, asked members of racial minority and native groups, their opinions about media coverage of their communities. One of the case studies they describe dealt with the use of abusive language by an open-line talk-show host.

On April 3, 1985, Gary Bannerman, a popular open-line

talk-show host on CKNW (an A.M. station), engaged in a discussion of the aboriginal quest for self-government wherein he provided his views of the matter. An extract of these views are presented below as an example of what minorities construed as abusive speech:

They [native Indians] have every bloody benefit - that every Canadian has, plus a whole bunch more and they want more than that. It makes a great conversation you know - My gosh, they get a big trip to Ottawa - they can go and talk - it's all paid by the taxpayers - they can sit there and say - how abused they are - and nobody - that is the amazing thing - nobody in the government looks them in the eye and says: hey, how come your reserve is a bloody mess? How come if you're such a noble people - if you're so great - what have you done for yourself? ... (cited in Khaki and Prasad, 1988:45).²¹

The broadcast evoked a swift response from native and minority groups. However, their attempts to have disciplinary action exercised on the broadcaster and the station were not met with much success. What is interesting about Bannerman's tirade against native peoples is his exclusion of historical factors, and his use of Manichean oppositions - the native as 'Noble Savage' versus the native as an opportunistic, irresponsible person, with the emphasis clearly on the latter (similar stereotypes have been noted in the American media, see for instance, Wilkinson, 1974).

As an aside, Singer (1982) in his content analysis of the coverage of native peoples in major Ontario newspaper found that the majority of stories dealt with native people's relationship to government. Much of this coverage dealt with the aggressive demands of native peoples. The

second leading category of news stories dealt with conflict, focusing on crime, deviance, drunkenness, murder and the like within native communities. In a previous study on the coverage of native peoples in magazines, Haycock (cited in Singer, 1982) found that representations ranged from the "poor doomed savage" in the early part of the century to "struggle for equality and civil rights", with the contemporary depiction being, a "discontented and exploited minority who will agitate until they get what they want." (Singer, 1982:351). The correlation between these stereotypes and those that Bannerman chose to articulate cannot be reduced to a simple causal 'effect.' Rather, the remarkable similarity between these representations attests to their circulation in the common stock of knowledge.

In their survey of minority members, Khaki and Prasad found a widespread dissatisfaction with media portrayals of these groups. Minorities viewed these representations as being inaccurate and as having a negative influence on their children. Aboriginal peoples were particularly concerned about the negative impact of existing stereotypes on their children. Survey respondents were asked, "What do you like the most about the media coverage of your community and other minorities?" While the question was worded positively, the responses elicited were overwhelmingly negative, and contained the following remarks:

- information about other cultures; the periodic fair editorial comment on refugees and immigrants; their

efforts to provide better coverage; no comment; not much!; the occasional in-depth coverage; promotion of interfaith dialogue and multiculturalism; sometimes they make an effort to create racial harmony; coverage of cultural activities; interest in our affairs; haven't read anything positive so far; their stories are inaccurate not supportive about immigrant cultures and the countries of origin; the fact that there is any coverage at all; more positive coverage might help; sometimes coverage on CBC is good; coverage of ethnic celebrations; promotion of ethnic foods and cultural activities; coverage of positive achievements; they should be given credit for trying to provide more recognition now; the recent CBC coverage about Korea; hardly anything.

Out of forty respondents, 17 felt that there was very little or virtually nothing they liked about the media's coverage of their communities or other minority groups.

To the question, "What do you dislike most about the media coverage of your community and other minorities?"

respondents commented as follows:

Myth about white Canada; use of ethnic labelling; use of ethnic slurs; racist columnists;; distortion of truth and facts; misleading headlines; skewed reporting; pandering to stereotypes; reporters trying to be too 'cute'; condescending attitude; for Blacks most coverage is negative unless you're an athlete; no in-depth coverage; too much scapegoating and stereotyping; incomplete information; poor coverage; too much emphasis on the trivial items; unrealistic portrayal of minorities; little emphasis on our problems and concerns; they also create hatred and promote racism; the media want us to conform; stories often display lack of cultural sensitivity; they treat us as foreigners and not as Canadians; stereotype of Latinos as dirty and desperate (e.g. refugees); media has not fully addressed the government's support of oppressive regimes in Central America; stereotype of refugees as taking advantage of the welfare system; the media make a point of ignoring values and customs of other (minority) cultures; too much focus on ethnic festivals; virtually no or few coloured/black models in advertising; when they belittle and demean us; lack of sensitive and informed coverage on minorities; lack of appreciation for historical, intellectual, legal basis

for toleration, . . . (Khaki and Prasad, 1988: Appendix II).

In 1988, the Secretary of State sponsored yet another study to examine the portrayal of racial minorities in Canadian broadcasting. The report concludes on a now familiar note:

The large majority of characters on Prime Time television are still white and of apparently North American origin. The most obvious change, an increase in the presence of Blacks, is almost completely derived from U.S.-originated programming. In French language Canada and on Canadian produced English language programs, the few non-White characters do not reflect the true non-white presence in our society. (Generations report, 1988:26).

In their analysis of 20 hours of television news programs, these researchers found that out of a total of 274 broadcasters portrayed, only seven were racial minorities. In commenting on the performance of this small group, they note that "none of the racial/ethnic broadcasters engaged in any editorializing, sympathy or interpretation." (1988:25). The report further revealed that of 756 interviews on the newscasts of these networks, only 3.97% featured people of colour. First Nations people and people of colour were rarely interviewed if the story did not deal directly with their communities.

Aside from these studies, there are several other cases that have galvanized minority groups to protest mainstream media portrayals. One instance of such a protest occurred in 1979, when CTV's news magazine program 'W-5' aired a feature

story entitled 'The Campus Giveaway.'

The aim of the story was to highlight inequalities in the Canadian education system. The report focused on a large number of 'oriental' students that occupy 'much needed' space in Canadian universities. In the news story, visual evidence was supplied showing these students engaging in 'their' cultural activities and crowding lecture halls. The reporter explicitly stated at the outset that she was not being racist but rather pointing to the unfairness of the system.

During the course of the story, the reporter interviewed approximately three 'white' students who had been denied placement at an eastern Canadian university. All three had left high school with above average marks. All three were framed in as victims of the system. In contrast, Hutchinson did not interview a single 'oriental student.' Rather, she spoke 'for' them. And while the 'oriental' students were portrayed in large groups, the white students interviewed were portrayed singly and their individuality heightened.

The connotations surrounding the portrayal of the 'oriental' students were far more negative. The deliberate impression created by the report was one that typified these students as 'others,' holding values that were seen to be diametrically opposite to Canadian notions of respect, integration, sharing of resources and basic honesty. The

appearance of these students in large numbers suggested the image of 'hordes' and 'invasion.' They were shown as performing culturally specific activities and as interacting only amongst themselves. This was conveyed by the shots of these students clustered together in cafeterias, hallways, and as engaging in some kind of dance or martial arts activity. In the news story, the exclusionary attitude meted out to foreign students, or even students that are culturally or racially different, was projected by the reporter onto the target group itself such that 'they' were made responsible for 'their' alienating stance.

The verbal stream of 'facts' that laced the report and anchored the images were contested by Chinese Canadian students who launched a massive protest against the show and the network. They pointed out that virtually all of the so-called foreign students portrayed in the show were second or third generation Canadians. It was almost six months after the program was aired that CTV issued an official apology.

In a study concerning representations of racial minorities in Canadian newscasts on CBC and CTV over a four week period in 1989, Lazar and Perigoe found that racial minorities were rarely interviewed in any news story, and were only interviewed when the stories specifically concerned their communities.

In 1991, CBC released a study which they had commissioned Erin Research to produce. The study was based

on a 21 day sample of broadcasting, sign on to midnight, from September to December, 1989, and includes comparisons with similar studies undertaken in 1981 and 1987. The sample consisted of the CBC National newscasts, local English and French newscasts, as well as newscasts of a private station. In addition, the study examined representations on other programs aired on these networks. Erin surveyed the roles and activities of women, minorities (who they defined as people of colour, racial minorities and visible minorities), as well as people with disabilities. While the study showed an improvement in the representation and inclusion of women in CBC's programming, representations of racial minority groups were found to have remained stable.

Some of the findings of this research are presented below as they highlight the themes echoed in the review of the literature, and specify the range of roles in which racial minorities are represented.

Racial Minorities: Reporters and Interviewees The National, 1987-1989				
Role	Percent of People			
	1987		1989	
	Minority	White	Minority	White
Reporters seen on camera	8 (8%)	92	7 (7%)	93
Interviewees	8 (8%)	92	10 (10%)	90

Source: Erin Research (1991:25).

If one were to adhere to the argument that representations should correspond to demographic realities, then these figures provide a 'positive' correspondence. Since racial minorities constitute 9% of the population, their representation constitutes 10% of all those interviewed in CBC's national newscasts for 1989. Moreover, as reporters, they constitute 7% of all journalists and visible staff on CBC's programming. However, these figures combine both international and domestic news stories. Hence, as Erin point out, if a story on the Philippines is aired, President Corazon Aquino would be considered a racial minority in this tally.

Erin point out that representations of racial minorities are higher in international news than in domestic news stories. They provide the following breakdown:

Racial Minorities and Whites Interviewed in Domestic and Foreign Stories The National and Private Newscast, 1989				
Focus	Percent of Interviews			
	The National		Private	
	Minority	White	Minority	White
Canadian domestic	3 (3%)	97	4 (4%)	96
International involving Canada	14 (14%)	86	1 (1%)	99
Foreign	16 (16%)	84	14 (14%)	86

Source: Erin (1991:28)

The table indicates that minority representation was lowest in domestic coverage as compared to coverage of

international stories involving Canada, or foreign stories in general. CBC fares better than the private network insofar as minority representation in international stories involving Canada are concerned. However, the fact that only 3% of all domestic stories included minority representations lends weight to the charge of under-representation as articulated by minority groups themselves.

Erin provides a further breakdown of the kinds of topics in which minorities were represented, as well as the particular roles they played. This information is relevant in terms of laying a foundation or base-line for the analysis of news stories presented in the following chapters.

Racial Minorities and Whites Interviewed on Five News Topics The National and Private Newscast, 1989				
Focus	Number of Interviews			
	National		Private	
	Minority	White	Minority	White
Politics, government	17 (7%)	212	9 (5%)	168
Business	2 (10%)	17	0 (0)	31
Crime, war, terrorism, unrest	21 (15%)	114	16 (12%)	115
Social issues, science	5 (15%)	28	1 (2%)	57
Other	2 (6%)	32	8 (14%)	48
Total	47 (10%)	403	34 (7.5%)	419

Source: Erin (1991:27). Percentages are rounded off.

This table confirms some of the fears of minority groups. The highest numbers of representations occur in the category of 'crime, war, terrorism and unrest' at 15.5% for the National and 12.2% for the private newscast. Within the CBC coverage, the lowest areas of representation of minority groups were in politics and government (at 7%). For the private station, in contrast, the lowest areas of representation occurred in business and social issues (at 0% and 1.7% respectively). The total percentage of representation on each station was 10.4% on CBC's National, and 7.5% on the private newscast. However, this breakdown includes both national and international stories.

The research provides yet another insight into the issue of representation by specifying the kinds of interview roles of racial minorities:

Interview Roles of Racial Minorities and Whites The National and Private Newscast, 1989				
Focus	Number of Interviews			
	National		Private	
	Minority	White	Minority	White
Politician	8 (6.8%)	109	6 (5.3%)	107
Expert	10 (8.5%)	107	4 (3.3%)	116
Involved in event	25 (14.4%)	148	19 (9.8%)	175
Random	4 (9.3%)	39	5 (19.2%)	21
Total	47 (10.4%)	403	34 (7.5%)	419

Source: Erin Research (1991:26).

The majority of non-whites interviewed tended to be involved in a particular event or in the 'random' category.

At the domestic level, the kinds of events that people of colour would be represented in would include those concerning their communities (Lazar and Perigoe, 1989), or those pertaining to their countries of origin. As the previous chapter demonstrated, coverage of the Third World tends to be highly stereotypical (see Hackett, 1989; Dahlgren with Chakrapani, 1982). With an international perspective, as provided by TV news, that concentrates on political violence, disasters and the like, and with domestic coverage focusing on events and issues pertaining to racial minority communities, it is not surprising that minorities perceive themselves as being excluded and stereotyped by the mainstream media (Khaki and Prasad, 1988).

Research on the press coverage of racial minority groups reveals that they are largely constructed as immigrant groups, and as immigrants, they are regarded as a threat to the social order. They are perceived as 'problems' whose only solution is the curtailment of further immigration (Ducharme, 1986; Scanlon, 1977; Indra, 1979; Thobani, 1991; 1992). They are consistently associated with invasion, crime, deviance, cultural differences, and with dishonesty (e.g. jumping the immigration or refugee queue). Van Dijk (1988) has observed the play of similar associations regarding ethnic and racial groups in his analysis of five national papers in the Netherlands. Bula,

a local reporter for The Vancouver Sun, has also observed the hysteria over an 'Asian invasion' in the last few years (panel presentation, Vancouver, November 1989).²²

Ungerliedter (1991) notes that much of the coverage dealing with racial minorities is negative because of the very mechanisms involved in the gathering of news. Since the latter relies so heavily on government bureaucracies and since much of what is considered newsworthy concerns the activities of bureaucrats, politicians and elite peoples, this necessarily excludes minorities, who are under-represented in the top echelons of the social order. Hence, the very reliance on governmental sources and established authorities precludes any significant minority participation. The expensive nature of manufacturing news further impedes access to minorities that journalists or editors might wish to undertake. 'Copy-cat' journalism entails the replication of existing copy and hence what gets written first is what is likely to be circulated the most. Moreover, the narrative structure of the media, "casts people as heroes, villains and victims; issues are framed as conflicts between opposing forces," which makes it more likely that minorities end up as the villains (1991:160). Ungerliedter goes on to suggest that the way the news represents minorities is how opinion leaders and politicians would like the public to view minorities, and for the minorities to view themselves (see also van Dijk, 1993).

Such a belief, according to Ungerliedder, is based on the fundamental threat that diversity poses to Canadian society. In his words:

. . . diversity threatens the existing distribution of political and economic power and prestige. Second, diversity often implies different needs, motives and desires; diversity is costly. Diversity represents a segmented market to which different appeals and 'products' - including cultural products must be developed. (1991:162).

In contrast, the media prefer to deliver their news to homogeneous and well-defined markets. However, this argument fails to account for the existing market segmentation that underpins most media organizations' output and strategies. It also overlooks the assimilationist influence of the media, and seems to imply that catering to a racially diverse audience would necessarily entail the production of media products that are specifically geared to traditional cultures, or that are multilingual.

Furthermore, Ungerliedder's perspective raises the question of how long a group can continue to be defined as 'different' and hence as a threat to the larger society. In the context of a historically sedimented stock of knowledge that undergirds media representations of people of colour, the 'cost-benefit' argument seems rather weak.

The historicity of representations is critical in any investigation that focuses on their contemporary formation.

Indra's study of the coverage of South Asians in the Vancouver dailies from 1905 to 1976, reveals the longevity

of certain kinds of representations. According to her analysis, in the initial years of the South Asian presence (1905-1914), the press represented them as being:

. . . fundamentally different from normal members of society. They were shown to be chaotic carriers of a dangerous and foreign culture which threatened the existence of Vancouver as it was then constituted. (1979:166).

Indra further demonstrates that a moral stratification system operated within both dailies such that some groups were classified as the 'ethnic elite' while others were 'moral outcasts.' Her analysis of this 'domestic moral community' reveals that the Scottish, British, and English ranked at the top, while Americans, Germans, Russians and French Canadians scored in the middle range. In contrast, the Chinese, South Asians, Italians and aboriginal groups scored the lowest. This hierarchy is reminiscent of Porter's vertical mosaic. It also echoes Pineo's study regarding the social standing of ethnic and racial groups in Canadian society (1987).

According to Indra (1979), between 1928 and 1937, the South Asian population in British Columbia declined to 1,016 as a result of the Continuous Voyage Act of 1908. Given the low numbers of the community and its subsequently low profile, South Asians were not in the press limelight at this time. Yet, of the few stories that covered the community, the ensuing portrayal was highly negative. South Asians were represented as being highly volatile, prone to

violence, hateful, vindictive and clannish. This presumed proclivity to violence was perceived as being an inherent characteristic of their culture.²³

By 1967, South Asians had been enfranchised, and immigration laws had been relaxed. The latter contributed to the entrance of a more skilled and educated class of immigrants. Yet, until 1976, the cut-off point for Indra's study, South Asians continued to be represented in highly negative terms. Framed as a 'problem' they have become synonymous with immigration and its associated ills. Scanlon's (1977) study published a year later, offers the same conclusion regarding the representations of Sikhs in The Vancouver Sun.

Indra further surveyed a hundred South Asians regarding their perceptions of the press coverage of their community. An overwhelming majority of her sample thought that the media's coverage was unfair, whereas, 72.2% felt that the local ethnic radio provided a far more accurate and balanced profile of the community. Furthermore, her respondents felt that press portrayals of themselves were indicative of how the wider society viewed them.

More recently, Cantelon (1988) analyzed the Canadian television coverage devoted to Ben Johnson, the Olympic athlete who 'fell from grace' when he was disqualified for taking performance-enhancing steroids. Cantelon argues that coverage of the story was predicated on the conventions of

television sports coverage, i.e., the personalization of issues, the focus on a hero, the visual shots combined with commentary, analysis and interviews with the stars, and the binary structure of winner and loser. However, the coverage he cites makes explicit reference to Johnson's devolution from a Canadian hero to a Jamaican immigrant. Cantelon does not see these signifiers as important or as articulating a specific discourse on 'race.' Rather, he suggests that Johnson was "systematically manufactured as a hero" by the media, and then "demanufactured by the same media" when it was discovered that he had taken performance-enhancing drugs (1988:10).

In contrast, Levine's (1988) analysis of the same event brings the racial discourse to the fore. She states:

Since Johnson first broke the world record for the 100-metre sprint in 1986, many Canadians, although none would dare openly admit it, have been uneasy with the idea of Johnson as a national hero, with the prospect of him becoming the ambassador that finally brings Canada the international glory and attention it craves. To put it bluntly: Ben Johnson is black, Ben Johnson was born in Jamaica, Ben Johnson speaks English with a thick accent. For the 97 per cent of Canadians who are not black, this is not the idealised version of themselves they want represented to the rest of the world. (1988:8).

Levine then provides a historical background to this ambivalence. She notes that there are no symbols of explicit racism within Canadian history, as for example, the presence of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States, and the National Front in Britain.²⁴ Yet, racism is a strong undercurrent in the national fabric. She locates the

articulation of this racism in the press coverage concerning Ben Johnson where although the athlete was not identified as being black, there were constant allusions to him being an immigrant from Jamaica. "Jamaica", she notes, "has become a euphemism for black." Other points of articulation with racism can be found in the use of animal imagery to describe Johnson's prowess. Here, Levine notes that he has been described as a "race horse," a "well-tuned 800 lb gorilla," as having a "childish aura and charm," and as "looking hunted and bewildered." (Levine, 1988:8).

These accounts indicate differences in interpretations, differences which stem from the relative positioning of the authors, as well as their use of racial discourse to make sense of the issue. Moreover, both accounts suggest the ways in which the discourse of race colludes with sports discourse. Hence, the codes or narrative structures that govern the making of stories in the media often resonate and work with the codes or conventions that are used to communicate 'race' in a racially discriminatory manner.

The studies discussed above reveal that representations of racial minorities are generally limited, and largely confined to stories that deal with their communities. Against this backdrop, existing representations assume a heightened significance (see hooks, 1989; Riggs, 1991).

To date, there has been a general lack of comparative studies which qualitatively examine representations of

racial and ethnic groups in Canadian television news programming. However, given the plethora of studies cited above, one would expect to find consonance between the way minorities have been represented in the press, and the manner in which they are portrayed in television news. For as Stuart Hall (1984) notes, stories have to be told a certain way if they are to make sense. So perhaps, 'race' as a property is inherent in the very art of telling stories about racial minorities.

A few of the studies cited above indicate an interplay between the discourses of news and race. The particular points at which these discourses meet forms the subject of the following chapter.

Notes

12. Indeed it was not until 1967 when immigration laws were relaxed that interracial contact with groups other than the indigenous peoples of Canada occurred on any widespread basis. Until then, the migration of people of colour (from China, India, the United States, and Japan), was systematically curtailed by government legislation, as evidenced in such acts as the Continuous Voyage Act of 1908; the Gentleman's Agreement of 1923; the Chinese Head Tax of 1903, etc. Pressure from the international community paved the way for the relaxation of immigration laws beginning in 1962 with a quota system enabling the entry of a specific numbers of migrants from Third World countries. (Buchignani and Indra, 1985; Indra, 1980).

13. The Employment Equity Act (passed in 1986), defines visible minorities as individuals who are "non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." (Boxhill and Stanic, 1989).

14. This percentage is composed of the following figures for each minority group as specified by Employment Equity program statistics:

Black*	355600
Indo-Pakistanis	300630
Chinese	390640
Japanese	52900
Korean	29200
Filipino	102365
South East Asians	86945
Pacific Islanders	8665
West Asians and Arabs	149705
Latin Americans	60975
Multiple origin visible minorities	40090

Source: Employment Equity Program, Definitions of Visible Minorities, based on 1986 Census data.

*Note that while other groups are defined according to cultural and geographic references, the category of 'black' subsumes all peoples of African origin, including those from the Caribbean. Black then is a definite racial category within government discourse as it defines all those whose

skin colour is black.

15. The Vancouver Sun presented these figures in the context of a front page article dealing with racism, the headline being 'Canadians fear racism on the rise', and the leader stating, 'immigration's impact felt most in B.C., figures show.' Van Dijk (1987, 1988) has argued that headlines are the most remembered items in all news coverage and that they function as macrostructures, alerting readers on how the content should be read and cognitively organized. The contents of the article are in keeping with the tone of the headline, as is suggested in the following extract:

Many Canadians feel federal immigration policies are partly responsible for Canada's racial troubles, the poll found. Fifty-eight per cent say high immigration levels are changing the face of the country faster than Canadians can adjust. That feeling was the highest - 62 per cent - in B.C., where thousands of Hong Kong residents have found a new home in recent years. (June 2, 1992).

16. Stasiulis (1985) provides a comparison of the funds allocated to multiculturalism and bilingualism. She notes that from the inception of the policy, funds allocated to multicultural activities constituted less than 10% of the total monies allocated to bilingualism. Hence, in 1983-4, the government spent \$21, 193 on multiculturalism, and \$290,972 on bilingualism. In 1984-85, the percentage spent on multiculturalism constituted 8% of what was spent on bilingualism. These figures reflect not only the budgetary variations within different programs but also their social significance in the eyes of the State. Thus, for all the rhetoric surrounding the equality of different ethnic groups, the charter groups and charter languages remain at the top of the ethnic hierarchy of significance and resource allocation, or as Porter (1965) termed it, the 'Vertical Mosaic.'

17. As a result of this directive, many federal and provincial agencies have produced 'multicultural' films and videos, as for example, the National Film Board of Canada, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), TV Ontario (TVO), and the Canadian Television network (CTV). For a listing of these works, see Dick (1985). For a critique of the representations contained within some of these works, see Jiwani (1991).

18. In a similar vein, at a meeting of the National Association of Canadians with Origins in India (NACOI), Nicole Parton, a popular columnist for The Vancouver Sun, indicated that I would not be hired at The Sun until they

could gauge my writing skills. She argued that there were not enough trained racial minorities equipped with skills in journalism, and hence the lack of representation at all levels of employment.

19. For example, the climate at the National Symposium on Progress Towards Equality, convened by the Committee for Racial Justice, September 1988 in Vancouver, was one of sheer frustration as participant after participant rose to ask pointed questions regarding the lack of representation to the panelists. The latter included Bev Oda, Commissioner at the time for the CRTC, Eric Moncour from the CBC, and Mr. Jan van Bruchem from the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB). Interestingly, Mr. Bruchem was the manager and president of Vancouver's main multilingual station (CJVB) which catered to 23 different linguistic communities. He subsequently sold this station for \$5.1 million in May, 1992. (The Vancouver Sun, May 26, 1992).

20. See for instance, CBC reporter Der Hoi-Yin's critique of my paper on 'The Mediation of Inequality' (1991).

21. Bannerman still works as a broadcaster for CKNW, a private radio station.

22. The category of 'Asian invasion' corresponds to the archetype representation of the Chinese as a "yellow peril."

23. In this regard, see Sunera Thobani's letter to The Vancouver Sun entitled 'Culture isn't the cause of violence,' (January 3, 1992), in response to one of the articles they had printed regarding the oppression of women in the South Asian community.

24. I would argue that there are well defined historical symbols of racism and exclusion predicated on racism within Canadian history and institutional reality. However, they are not activated in an explicit way because of the strong image of tolerance that has overlaid them.

CHAPTER III

'RACE' IN THE NEWS

Of all the institutions in daily life, the media specialize in orchestrating everyday consciousness They name the world's parts, they certify reality as reality...

Todd Gitlin (1980:2).

Television news enjoys a privileged position within much of the normal fare of programming (Dahlgren, 1980; Fiske, 1987; Hallin, 1986). The efficacy and appeal of television news rests on its attempt to provide representations that appear to be 'real' - imitating various aspects and appearances of social life (Nichols, 1990-91). In its organization of material, and its selection of particular stories, television news, much like the press, offers particular interpretations of events and issues. In so doing, it defines social reality. 'Race' is one of the social categories that television news reworks and reproduces (Hall, 1990; Cottle, 1992).

The (un)reality of television news

In contrast to the press, television news brings to its audience an element of immediacy - showing the effects of certain policies, the arrest of criminals, announcements of government spokespeople, and images of conflicts as they are occurring (Ellis, 1982; Fiske, 1987). This footage is bound to a verbal text that 'explains' it using 'commonsense' language (Connell, 1980). Thus, the meanings encoded are situated "within pre-established cultural 'maps of meanings.'" (Morley, 1976:247).

Connell suggests that, "The use of actuality forms sustains a 'transparency-to-reality' effect which makes the constructed orientation appear 'natural' - the only one possible." (1980:145). Hence, the footage accompanying various verbal reports affirms their 'authenticity' and conveys a sense of immediacy. From file footage, filming on location, the vox pop (interview on the street), to the studio interview with experts and official spokespeople, and the anchor's final comments, the news works to convey its impression of 'reality' and its definition of the situation (Connell, 1980).

News also enjoys a privileged status because of its claims to facticity, an impartial reporting of events, and to reporting events that are 'important.' The importance of such events lies in the nature of their prejudged impact on social life at the immediate, local and national levels.

Events then may be construed as being 'important' to the safety of a neighbourhood, a nation, or to an individual. In addition, news coverage hinges on the inclusion of those elements that are regarded as being necessary to being informed about the world at large. And the latter rests on the possibility of having to deal with the implications of global events at the immediate national, regional and/or local levels (Fathi, 1973).

News, at both the national and local levels, serves to construct a symbolic universe - a "socially constructed reality" (Dahlgren, 1980:202) which rests on notions of a national identity, its relations and location within the world at large. At the same time, news, much like other programming, helps to construct a sense of self - an identity often defined by its presumed difference from other entities and events reported by the news (Fiske, 1987; Hartley, 1982; Entman, 1990). This is not to suggest that television news conveys an 'accurate' and 'unbiased' image of the world or of national identity. On the contrary, as Fiske notes, "The idea that television is a window on the world, now known as the 'transparency fallacy' only survives, ..., in TV newsrooms." (1987:282).

Broadcast news, like other forms of television programming, is a socially constructed enterprise. It involves the selection, combination and construction of events that are a priori considered to be newsworthy. These

are assembled together and framed in a way that makes them culturally meaningful to audiences (Dahlgren, 1980; Hall, 1974). Connell suggests that the news is an enterprise of 'informed speculation.' He adds,

The fundamental aspects of the process of informed speculation are those which articulate the 'real,' the processes and means by which primary definitions in the political and economic spheres are recruited to, and incorporated within, the overall fabric of television journalism's accounts. (1980:144)

At each stage in the process - from the initial gathering of news, to its actual construction into a package of 'information,' the news entails the active agency of those involved in its making, and by virtue of their involvement, the infusion of their perspectives in the production and presentation of the final product. News, is a complex of culture and commodity. It has to be intelligible to make sense and it has to have an inherent structure of appeal in order to capture a market. This it does by exercising choice in the type of stories that are presented and the manner in which they are represented (Clarke, 1981). The news accomplishes this by its reliance on a commonsense stock of knowledge. As Connell puts it:

The explanations proffered by news and current affairs programs are made to seem the 'best sense' of a given situation. They are, in the unfolding of television's accounts, categorized as 'common sense,' 'moderate public opinion,' 'rational understanding' or 'the consensus.' (1980:140).

As well as a commodity, news has to sell and it accomplishes this by promising its sponsors a sizeable

market of viewers. At the same time, stations 'buy' news from multinationals (e.g. the News Limited as mentioned by Fiske, 1987) or from other national news wire services (Hackett, 1989).

According to Hallin:

One of the most distinctive things about TV news is the extent to which it is an ideological medium, providing not just information or entertainment, but 'packages for consciousness.' (1986:13).

These 'packages of consciousness' are organized around certain conventions regarding the specific stories that are considered newsworthy, the perspectives that are employed to present them, and the narrative devices that are used to tell them (Hall, 1974; 1984). In the telling of stories, news draws from social reality in terms of the language and categories of social thought that are used to describe that reality. It employs signs and symbols to construct meaning (Hartley, 1982). These work at the denotative and connotative level, and their particular selection and combination enables the news to construct particular definitions of social life (Hall, 1979).

News conventions are one of the ways in which a dominant definition of social reality is advanced. Schudson argues that:

Conventions help make messages readable. They do so in that they 'fit' the social world of readers and writers, for the conventions of one society or time are not those of another. (1982:98).

News Conventions

In tracing the evolution of modern conventions in print and television journalism, Schudson (1982) comments that conventions change as a result of changes in the political environment, which in turn usher in changes in the way reporters and journalists relate to political authority. He argues that media conventions have built in tendencies which orient readers and viewers to situate themselves within the frame of reference proffered by the packaging of the story. These set the parameters of the debate, define the situation and orient readers or viewers to act in certain ways in accordance with the dictates of the pre-defined situation (Hall, 1979).

Amongst the conventions that Schudson identifies as structuring news, are the following: First, a pyramid structure outlining the most important or relevant points of the story at the beginning and then tapering off to secondary details. While this is true for print, Hallin (1986) suggests a more circular structure for television news. Stories, in television news, begin at one point and then move around the issue thereby containing it. The encirclement is complete when the story returns to the initial point of departure. The first sentence or the preamble by the anchor parallels the headlines in a newsprint story (Hallin, 1986). The second convention Schudson identifies is a focus on people in positions of power, i.e. the elite and their activities tend to be the

focus of the story, as for example, the president; third, a focus on novelty, the dramatic or exceptional as opposed to the routine and repetitious unless there is an element of novelty in the event which continues over a period of time; fourth, extracts or highlights from an important speech (by an elite group or member) tend to be communicated verbatim; and finally, the fifth convention is the coverage of political events which situates these within a larger context and hence imbues them with greater significance than if these events were to be understood within a local or more immediate context.

In their seminal study on the factors influencing the selection of news events, Galtung and Ruge (1973) identified many of these elements and a few more. They suggest that in order for an event to be considered newsworthy, it has to satisfy the following criteria: (1) "frequency," i.e. it has to correspond to nature of news; (2) it has to pass the threshold of the everyday, the routine; (3) "the bigger the event, the more drastic its consequences," and the more likely it will be considered newsworthy, thus it has to have an "absolute intensity"; (4) "an increase in intensity" which could parallel the escalation of an event; (5) the event has to be clear and unambiguous, i.e. easily understandable; (6) it has to be interpretable and hence, meaningful which also means that it is cast within a certain cultural framework; (7) it should have "cultural proximity"

in terms of dealing with something similar; (8) it should be "relevant"; (8) "consonant"; (9) "predictable," thereby fulfilling expectations; (11) "unexpected"; (12) unpredictable in the sense of violating expectations or matching expectations; (13)) "reference elite nations"; (14) "elite people;" (15) and, deal with the negative (1973:69-70). In addition, issues which can be "personalized," where the actions or events can be attributed to an individual, are more likely to be considered newsworthy.

News tends to personalize, as well as dehistoricize issues. In part, this occurs as a result of time pressures, the constraints of space, and a particular view of the audience (Frum, 1990, Clarke, 1981). However, personalization is also predicated on the requirement to reach a wide audience - to capture their attention and communicate the message in a simple manner. As Elly Alboim, the CBC Ottawa bureau chief, puts it:

The common wisdom in Canadian journalism is that information is more relevant when it's personalized. So, if you can start off a piece with "Jane Doe is thirty-two years old, lives in Halifax with three kids, and doesn't like child care," journalists accept that, somehow, Jane makes day care more understandable. (cited in Frum, 1991:21-22).

News is also largely negative. It tends to focus on conflicts which in themselves constitute violations of normative expectations. Negative events occur quickly and are consonant with underlying notions about the 'state of the world.' (Hartley, 1982). Hartley goes on to suggest

that the values which govern news and which select particular items as newsworthy are "neither natural nor neutral. They form a code which sees the world in a very particular (even peculiar) way." (1982:80).

Given that news focuses on conflict situations, i.e. events which symbolize threats to the social order, negative representations would likely focus on groups who symbolize this threat. The tendency within news to accord primacy to crime and deviance affirms this notion (Hartley, 1982). For undergirding the focus on such transgressions are guiding assumptions about the nature of society whereby, society is viewed as a composite of 'equal' groups whose relationships to each other are predicated on consensus. Naturally, within this model, the interests of groups such as the aged and the weak need to be looked after by the state (Hartley, 1982).

Hall suggests that the consensual model is problematic precisely because it hinges on a mythic notion of societal unity which at the same time recognizes its fragmentation (into different spheres of life) and its hierarchical ranking. As he puts it, the consensus model is based on the,

...assumption that we all have roughly the same interests in the society, and that we all have roughly an equal share of power in the society." (cited in Hartley, 1982:82).

The notion of consensus then helps to define and locate events, people or issues which fall outside the normative boundaries of society. News codes augment this location by

their emphasis on the negative and conflictual, their tendency to personalize issues and dehistoricize contexts; and by their use of familiar signs and symbols to 'work over' social material so as to render it amenable to television's 'regimes of intelligibility.' (Ellis, 1982). However, television news, like the press, has to maintain its credibility. By claiming adherence to impartiality, objectivity, and balance (Hall, 1979), the news is able to convey its relative autonomy.

Bias, balance and objectivity

Much has been written about bias, balance and objectivity in the news media (e.g. Gerbner, 1964; Hall, 1974; Knight, 1982). In fact, Gerbner, in his study of the French press, concludes: "... there is no fundamentally non-ideological, apolitical, non-partisan news gathering and reporting system." (1964:508). In order to offset the charge of bias, news organizations are particularly sensitive to the 'need' to present different sides to the issue. However, the latter often constitutes a reliance on established and credible authorities who themselves represent a particular class in society, not to mention certain vested interests and agendas.

As well, the commitment towards 'balance' is most often portrayed in the inclusion of 'both sides' of the story. The notion that there are two sides to any issue is

entrenched in commonsense reality (Knight, 1982; Hall, 1974, 1979; Arno, 1985). However, given the multitude of groups in society, there are often more than two sides to any given issue. The task then becomes one of privileging the sides that often reflect points in the spectrum of opinion extant on a given issue. Or, more often, to pit the taken-for-granted perspective on an issue with an oppositional voice. This digitalized perspective (Arno, 1985; Wilden, 1987; Knight, 1982) works to obscure the hierarchical relationship between classes and groups in society. Instead, a binary oppositional relationship is presented which equates 'both' sides with 'equal' power and cultural capital. By presenting the issue in this manner, the news media effectively define the situation within delimited parameters of thought.

Television news organizations maintain the appearance of 'objectivity' by their selection and usage of actuality footage to communicate the reality of the event being portrayed. This appearance is also sustained by the media's emphasis on quoting and portraying sources who are credible, and occupy positions of authority (Tuchman, 1972; Lerman, 1985; van Dijk, 1993). Hence, the news media's heavy reliance on government spokespeople (Ungerleider, 1991).

This mantle of objectivity is further reinforced by the media's occasional use of spokespeople from oppositional groups, and its infrequent attacks on government. The

inclusion of oppositional voices to a given issue is predicated on maintaining balance but often serves to trivialize, defuse and/or lessen the credibility of an oppositional perspective (Hartley, 1982; Murray, 1986). At best such voices are used to 'inoculate' audiences through "immuniz[ing] the contents of the collective imagination by means of a small inoculation of acknowledged evil." (Barthes, 1973:150).

Impartiality enhances the appearance of objectivity and balance. However, impartiality often works to the detriment of oppositional voices from disenfranchised groups. The refrain from taking a side in any given issue, communicates an impression that the two sides to an issue are equal. Moreover, adherence to impartiality contributes to a situation where the positions presented cannot be fully interrogated (except in the case of news magazines). This is compounded by the media's tendency to dehistoricize and decontextualize issues. The ways in which news texts are edited, the type of visual footage included, and the range of accessed voices combined in the final product, render any impartiality spurious.

While shoring up the credibility of media organizations, objectivity, impartiality and balance are, in the final analysis, myths. As Hall argues, "All edited or manipulated symbolic reality is impregnated with values, viewpoints, implicit theorizings, common-sense assumptions."

(1974:23). Thus the final message communicated to audiences is, "shot through with previously sedimented social meanings." (Hall, 1974:23).

The news media then, reproduce dominant interpretations of social reality (Connell, 1980; Hall, 1974; 1979; Hartley, 1982; Knight, 1982; van Dijk, 1993). According to Hartley:

. . . the news contributes to the 'climate of opinion', to the horizons of possibility, and to the process of marking the limits of acceptable thought and action. In other words, it functions to produce social knowledge and cultural values. (1982:56).

The production and reproduction of 'social knowledge and cultural values' takes the form of translating a set of social practices and conditions which are materially grounded, to personalized interpretations and appearances which are naturalized and neutralized in the process. Thus, Hartley suggests, through the use of language with its attendant set of connotative signs, news media translate "conditions to appearance, class subject to individual personality, productive labour to earnings, class antagonism to 'natural' differences, power to authority, and class to culture." (1982:57; see also, Hall, 1979).

However, even though the media are, to use Hall's terms, "structured in dominance," they are not monolithic, nor are the systems of thought they reproduce 'seamless.' For in the very act of 'inoculation,' oppositional voices are heard, and within the digital perspectives offered by the media, the 'other' side often contests the definition of

the situation imposed by the media. Even within media organizations, as within other institutions 'structured in dominance,' conflict and contestation are prevalent (Frum, 1991). These often spill into the processes of selection and frames of analysis that are invoked by news media to make sense of events and issues (Hall, 1979).

The 'maps of meaning' which television news provides are embodied in the manner in which cultural symbols and signs are organized and communicated. In particular, the use of the common sense stock of knowledge and lay language serves to classify the world in recognizable ways inflecting and displacing social relations (Hall, 1979).

The system of signs used in news discourse signifies the world in 'meaningful' ways. As Hall notes,

It is principally the nature of signs and the arrangement of signs into their various codes and sub-codes, ensembles and sub-ensembles, and what has been called the 'intertextuality' of codes which enables this 'work' of cultural signification to be ceaselessly accomplished in societies. (1979:330)

News conventions form one such code by which signs are arranged (through selection and combination) to construct meaning. However, the polysemic (or multi-accentuality) of the sign, in terms of the multiple ways in which it can be read, works to undermine a single, dominant interpretation (Hall, 1980; Hartley, 1982). Thus, while the media work to promote the uniaccentuality of the signs they use, thereby attempting to privilege a dominant interpretation of a given situation, the manner in which a news story may be decoded

by the audience is dependent on a variety of other factors (Morley, 1980; 1988). Nevertheless, by its use of 'commonsense' language and the codes of conversation, "the media 'colonize' that 'taken-for-granted' world in which conversation achieves coherence and order." (Hartley, 1982:98). This act facilitates the reproduction of a social world which affirms consensus and marginalizes conflict. It also naturalizes the viewpoints of those in power by enabling them to signify meanings that resonate with the common sense stock of knowledge. Power is thus rendered as authority, as class is translated into culture. The middle class perspective of the news "comes to be universalized as the 'natural' standpoint for society as a whole." (Knight, 1982).

One of the principal ways in which social relations are naturalized, is through the media's use of connotative codes, which, according to Hall:

...enable a sign to 'reference' a wide domain of social meanings, relations and associations, [they] are the means by which the widely distributed forms of social knowledge, social practices, the taken-for-granted knowledge which society's members possess of its institutions, beliefs, ideas and legitimations are 'brought' within the horizon of language and culture. (Hall, 1979:330).

The mutual stock of common sense knowledge forms the reservoir from which the media draw forth such signs and codes to structure a worldview that 'makes sense.' Drawing on Gramsci, Hall argues that:

... contemporary forms of common sense are shot through

with the debris and traces of previous, more developed ideological systems; and their reference point is what passes, without exception, as the wisdom of our particular age and society, overcast with the glow of traditionalism. It is precisely its 'spontaneous' quality, its transparency, its 'naturalness', its refusal to be made to examine the premises on which it is founded, its resistance to change or to correction, its effect of instant recognition, and the closed circle in which it moves which makes common sense, at one and the same time, 'spontaneous', ideological and unconscious. You cannot learn, through common sense, how things are: you can only discover where they fit into the existing scheme of things. In this way, its very taken-for-grantedness is what establishes it as a medium in which its own premises and presuppositions are being rendered invisible by its apparent transparency. (1979:325-326).

Just as common sense is a 'rag bag' of fragmented knowledge, contradictory at times and cohesive at other times (Hall, 1979), so the news media too, while overtly seeking to present a unified picture of the world, often provide contradictory messages. At times, they adopt a populist stance - supporting the average Joe citizen against the institutional goliath of government, and at other times, take a conservative pro-establishment stance in relation to some of the most marginalized groups in society (Hallin, 1986). But it is this range of voices, from the accessed voices of those in positions of power - the government spokespeople and the experts, to the wo/man on the street (the vox pop), that lends television news its legitimacy and an appearance of authenticity, of "telling it like it is."

Race as News

Hartley argues that news media stereotype groups,

individuals and topics by representing them in a binary, oppositional framework that 'fits the 'us versus them' format. He suggests that the category of 'us' may be used to signify "culture/nation/public/viewer/family/newsreader or news institution." In contrast 'them' may be used to define strikers, "foreign dictator/foreign power/the weather/fate/bureaucracy," and so on (1982:116).

News, like other entertainment programming, consists of telling stories, and stories, as Hall has pointed out (1984) draw on narrative forms that are embedded in the collective imagination of a society. "And when a journalist is socialized into an institution, he or she is socialized into a certain way of telling stories." (Hall, 1984:6). The 'us/them' distinction that coheres in most news stories is then part of the narrative structure of telling stories. In one sense, it resonates with Propp's analysis of fairy tales, where a hero is inevitably pitted against a villain, and resolution is achieved at the end by the hero restoring order.

In the same manner, news stories initially outline a threat to the social order or a disruption of order. This order is then restored by the hero or agencies of social control. News stories concerning marginalized groups take a further step in that they serve not only to restore order, but also to reconfirm self-identity by projecting difference onto marginalized groups. Thus, these groups can become

scapegoats for society's ills. By emphasizing the difference of these groups, self-identity is reaffirmed and the power structure legitimized. Inherent in this process is the positive valuation of the Self and the negative valuation of the "others." (van Dijk, 1993).

Given the historical context provided in previous chapters, 'race' is a sign rooted in and fashioned by the discourses of colonialism and domination. The connotative codes regarding race that the media draw upon, engender representations of peoples of colour as "Others," where their very difference positions them outside the normative order (see chapters I and II). However, their construction as "others" in Canadian media is also framed within a national self-image which defines itself as tolerant and 'multicultural.' Within the discourse of multiculturalism, representations of people of colour cluster around the pole of the unassimilable immigrant and/or exotic "other," and the pole of the assimilated ethnic (Peter, 1982; Moodley, 1983). In news discourse, however, representations of racial minorities tend toward the more negative end, typifying these groups as threats, criminals and victims (van Dijk, 1989; Ducharme, 1986; Indra, 1979).

Contemporary studies of the press coverage concerning racial and ethnic minorities confirms this point (Indra, 1979; Cottle, 1991; Downing, 1985; Entman, 1990). Van Dijk (1987) found that even talk about ethnic minorities assumed

an oppositional tone, identifying the latter groups as constituting a threat to the economic order by increasing competition; threatening the cultural system by their difference and 'lack of adaptation,' and jeopardizing the social order by their presumed deviance and criminality. In his study of the press in the Netherlands, van Dijk (1988a) found that the coverage of ethnic minorities dealt largely with issues of immigration, crime and race relations, all of which were framed as creating conflict within Dutch society.

Further, based on his analysis of 1,739 headlines in the Dutch press from 1985-1986, van Dijk (1988b) noticed the same tendency as above. He found the coverage on ethnic minorities to be minimal, largely negative in character. "They" were constantly portrayed as causing riots, engaging in violence and holding demonstrations; "they" were represented as causing difficulties and making constant demands; their contribution to the arts, politics, and the economy was ignored or undermined; and the discrimination they suffered was inevitably personalized and deflected away from its systemic roots in Dutch society. The only situations in which a minority group's ethnicity was not emphasized dealt with winning athletes and popular musicians. Van Dijk notes:

Active minority roles are usually reserved for people engaged in crime, protest, demands, illegal entry or residence, or conflict. Passive roles, equally stereotypical, are played by minorities who are subject to official help, special programs, welfare, legislation, education, and discrimination. In other

words, the thematic structure generally suggests that minorities are helpless, without initiative, ignorant victims, unless they 'cause' trouble, such as crime, which in that case is fully ascribed to them as sole and responsible actors - and not to the social context or to the actions of white dominant group members. (1988b:235).

In their study of the British press, Hartmann and Husband (1974) found that media coverage of racial minorities focused on issues of immigration, race relations, and crime. They noted that the media highlighted the cultural differences of these groups. And Ducharme (1986), in a study of the coverage devoted to immigration in Canada's national paper, The Globe and Mail, found a tendency to frame immigration as a major problem, with immigrant groups from the Third World represented as stealing jobs, diluting educational standards, and engaging in criminal behaviour.

The validity of these representations is highly questionable. For instance, rather than 'stealing jobs,' immigrants in the business class injected 2.5 billion dollars in investments into the Canadian economy between 1979 and 1983. They created 16,715 jobs. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, through a systematic process of deskilling, immigrants often take on employment which native-born Canadians reject because of its low status and pay (Kube, 1989).

In terms of British television news, Cottle (1991) also found minority groups to be stereotyped in the same way as

in the press. They were positioned outside the normative order and characterized in terms of conflict. 'They' represented unreasonable demands and irrational cultural traditions. More recently Entman (1990) reported similar findings in his analysis of local news in three American stations. In his sample, blacks were "cast outside those boundaries" of the social order, and black politicians were represented as being highly emotional, demanding, and as serving a special interest group. Entman links these representations to the prevalence of 'modern racism,' which he defines as an "anti-black affect and resistance to blacks' political demands." Modern racism tends to be communicated more subtly through the use of 'polite' language, compared to the blatant forms of speech that characterized traditional racism.

Given that the news perpetuates certain ways of seeing the world and specific ways of telling stories about the world, it is not surprising then that stories about racial minorities tend to be negative and stereotypical. For in the history of the contact between racial groups, representations were formed and utilized for various purposes - to maintain dominance and to keep the colonized 'in their place.' These representations continue to perform certain functions in contemporary social reality. They enable the dominant society to maintain a sense of itself, and its dominance through the exclusion, marginalization and

scapegoating of racial and other minority groups. Integral to this process of reproducing dominance is the positive presentation of the Self and the negative presentation of "others" (van Dijk, 1993).

Stereotypical representations are also perpetuated by the inherent nature of news production. Time constraints play a pivotal role here as the attempt to assemble material in a culturally meaningful way is constrained by structural requirements. As Gitlin notes:

Stereotyping does result in part - as network people often admit and complain - from the simple shortage of time. ... But stereotyping also results from the organization's desire for easy ways of transmitting and manipulating bits of information - bits that, moreover, need to be easily interchangeable and easily edited, re-edited, or reorganized at the last minute, usually by producers and editors who have been nowhere near the scene of the story. (1979:25).

As well, the socialization of journalists and reporters into a common stock of knowledge, routine practices and taken for granted ways of telling particular types of stories (Schudson, 1989; Tuchman, 1976; Darnton, 1975), contributes to the reproduction of stereotypical representations. There are few minority reporters hired by news organizations (Griffin, 1992; van Dijk, 1993; Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1989). Moreover, reporters tend to write about people of colour from a white perspective (van Dijk, 1989).

Notwithstanding the above, the prevailing principle underlying the normative order of Canadian society is the

belief in the equality of all and its self-definition as a 'tolerant' multicultural nation. This filters down to the level of media production in the liberal assumptions and ethos of reporters, producers and editors (personal communication, R. Hackett, May, 1993).

As with the consensus model, this assumption and image become harder to maintain in light of the prevalence of systemic racism and everyday racism (see Essed, 1990), within media organizations and the society at large. This is especially true in the current situation where government legislated employment equity requires institutions to be sensitive to the needs of minority groups; a constraint buttressed by the current Human Rights legislation.²⁵ Furthermore, there is a growing recognition of the increasing power and size of the 'ethnic' market. To capitalize on this market, the media are faced with the need to change their representations of these very groups.

'Modern' racism or 'cultural racism' becomes one avenue through which dominance is maintained. For by accentuating cultural differences rather than alluding to race, the news media can still tell the same stories, but this time, without incurring social costs. At the same time, the emphasis on cultural differences resonates with a set of implicit connotations and associations concerning nationhood, unbridgeable differences, and the inherent superiority of self as opposed to the "other" (Hall, 1990).

These are communicated in subtle forms as for example, by emphasizing that minorities are too sensitive, demanding, unable to adapt and so forth (see van Dijk, 1993).

Within a liberal ethos, overt racism cannot be articulated in a public domain. Rather, it takes a more subtle and indirect tone. Hall refers to this as inferential racism, which he describes as occurring in:

...those apparently naturalized representations of events and situations relating to race, whether 'factual' or 'fictional,' which have racist premises and propositions inscribed in them as a set of unquestioned assumptions. These enable racist statements to be formulated without ever bringing into awareness the racist predicates on which these statements are grounded. (1990:12-13).

An element of inferential racism comes across in the paternalistic coverage that is often devoted to issues of race and racism. Although emanating from a general liberal concern with the importance of dealing with racism, thereby placing it on the national agenda, the media's coverage often begins with the implicit assumption that minority groups are wards of the state, that they need to be protected as helpless victims, and that their victim status emanates from an inherent weakness on their part. Thus, they are persistently represented as 'complaining.'

The codes of objectivity, impartiality and balance contribute to a contradictory discourse. On the one hand, the media approach stories concerning racism from the point of view of demonstrating their negative value, i.e. showing how racist attitudes are undesirable in a tolerant society.

On the other hand, the codes of balance and objectivity facilitate the coverage of racist individuals who take the opportunity for publicity, by openly articulating racist sentiments (see Frum, 1990). Impartiality and objectivity constitute formidable barriers to any in-depth interrogation of the racist position. The ensuing result is that racist sentiments are ascribed legitimacy, and translated as particular expressions of opinion. Thackara (1979) argues that the inclusion of these voices lends them a greater degree of legitimacy and credibility than they would otherwise enjoy (see also van Dijk, 1993). Given the historically embedded associations concerning immigrants and people of colour, these sentiments are likely to resonate with the audience, and hence such coverage is more susceptible to amplifying the level of racism within society (Bagley, 1973).

Elective affinities - discourses of news and 'race'

News conventions and the criteria of newsworthiness inform the way news is organized, packaged and made meaningful. However, these conventions and criteria also lend themselves to a particular type of coverage of race-related matters and racial groups. There appears to be a play of affinities between the discourse surrounding 'race' on the one hand, and the frameworks implicit in the organizing and telling of news stories.

The news tends to personalize issues. Fiske notes:

Social and political issues are only reported if they can be embodied in an individual, and thus social conflict ... is personalized into conflicts between individuals. The effect of this is that the social origins of events are lost, and individual motivation is assumed to be the origin of all action. (1987:294).

Thus, in its coverage of issues concerning racism, the news, because of its personalizing tendency, tends to reduce systemic racism to the actions of a few individuals; individuals who represent an extreme minority (van Dijk, 1993). This serves a two-fold purpose. On the one hand, it secures the image of society as being tolerant by containing racism to the actions of a minority; and on the other hand, it reduces a structural phenomenon to the level of personal quirks and ignorance (Guillaumin, 1974). Racism is thus psychologized by its translation to attitudes and feelings, and contained. The accompanying dehistoricization of racism serves to remove it from the broader social context, and from the realm of history (Hartmann and Husband, 1974). It is thus naturalized as being an inherent feature of all societies, yet trivialized as contained in the actions of a few extremists (see van Dijk, 1993).

News tends to be about disruptions in the social order and threats to social stability. Thus, racial groups are likely to be portrayed in a negative manner given that much of news is concerned about conflict. This is accentuated by the general observation that news which is not overtly concerned with conflict, concentrates, by and large, on

elite persons and nations. Racial minorities are not well represented in the upper echelons of social institutions (Ungerlied, 1991). Hence, they are least likely to be featured in this role. Rather, their inclusion in news stories will often be contingent on the stories themselves, and since most stories are about conflicts, it follows that they will be positioned as participating, initiating or reacting to such conflicts.

Furthermore, newsworthiness is measured by the novelty and dramatic value of an event. In this regard, racial minorities are likely to be included in news stories if they are perceived as introducing an element of novelty or drama to a given situation. Thus, when a minority group member achieves an extraordinary standard, as for example, in sports, music, or any other social activity, s/he is likely to receive media attention and coverage. The underlying expectation (which is the background against which novelty and dramatic value are assessed), is that such groups are not capable of rising to such standards, or come from cultural traditions which are antithetical to the particular avenues in which they have excelled (as for example, in the case of a Chinese-Canadian teenager who excelled at classical western music). Where such standards are generally conceived as being above the norm, a minority group member may receive added media coverage, for both excelling at a particular enterprise, and surpassing social

expectations.²⁶ On the other hand, such representations may be included because they conform to existing stereotypes, e.g. the historically inscribed notion of the Chinese as an industrious 'race,' capable of mastering technical knowledge.

The novelty/dramatic element of news stories also coincides with certain aspects of minority cultures. Seen against a backdrop of white society, these groups offer 'colourful' alternatives. Their dance, diet and dress become objects of attention. The exotic dimension is thus captivated and becomes a focal point of attention in the coverage devoted to ethnic festivals and ceremonies. Conversely, cultural rites and rituals also become a focus of attention when these are perceived and positioned as being antithetical to social norms (Youngs, 1991; Thobani, 1992). The persistent coverage of arranged marriages, circumcision rites, communal living arrangements, and different religious traditions, contribute to images of racial minorities which cast them as being uncivilized, oppressive and undesirable (Thobani, 1992).

The media's focus on issues which symbolize a threat to the social order also renders the coverage of racial minorities in negative terms. For one, the historical legacy of treatment accorded to racial minorities has contributed to a storehouse of narrative forms which positions them as 'aliens', 'invading hordes,' unassimilable

ethnics, and as victims (Armour, 1984; Indra, 1979).²⁷ As Armour documents, "By the end of the nineteenth century, Canada experienced its first race riots, directed primarily at the Sikhs in British Columbia." (1984:8).

At the same time, events which are clear and unambiguous are more likely to be covered in the news. Given the storehouse of narrative structures and frames that have historically been used to tell stories about racial minorities, it would follow that if the activities of these groups fit the parameters of these narratives, they are more likely to elicit media coverage (see Harris, 1991). In this sense, the acts of disruption that these groups may be involved in, as for example in violating immigration rules, immigrating in large numbers and so forth, would more likely be covered since they are predictable and consonant with the normative framework. Similarly, given the entrenched framing of these groups as victims and complainers, acts which fit these behavioral parameters are likely to be 'explained' in these terms.

Hartley and Montgomery (1985) point out that much of news is framed around an 'us' 'them' distinction. Racial minorities have long been constructed as an "other." Thus, their positioning within the discourse of news tends to cohere around the 'them' side of the equation. Where this becomes complex is in the coverage accorded to the assimilated ethnics. Not only are these individuals used as

prototypes of the Horatio Alger model (i.e. the successful, assimilated ethnic), affirming the notion that individuals can succeed on the basis of their own initiatives, but they are also used to demonstrate intergroup conflicts (see Dubois, 1993).

Moreover, in light of the general finding that racial groups are rarely represented in the media (except when they are involved in an event), it would follow that when individuals from these groups are solicited by the media, they are often portrayed as representing these communities. The media search for spokespeople from communities if these communities are the site of an event or action (Arno, 1985). Such spokespeople are framed as representatives of these communities. They become, in a sense, unwitting ambassadors or cultural brokers, explaining their communities to the larger society (Dubois, 1993).

Finally, much of news tends to be about law and order. Crime and deviance are the focus of news items since they display ruptures in the social fabric and represent challenges to law and order (thereby affirming the basis for that order). Thus, if minority groups do receive coverage, they are often cast within this framework.

As van Dijk states:

News stories are chiefly about people like Us, or about news events that may interest readers like Us. Ethnic news is often about Them, and such out-groups tend to be represented as essentially different or deviant, if not threatening to Us, as is the case for such groups as communists, leftist radicals, terrorists, pacifists,

and others who are seen as a threat to Western or white dominance or the sociopolitical status quo. These cognitive representations fundamentally influence the mental models journalists build of ethnic news events, and the contents and structures of these models in turn influence their expression in actual news stories... (1993:47).

On the home front - Canadian television news

In a country the size of Canada, the media play a vital role in maintaining a sense of national identity and cohesion. Canada's colonial legacy is manifested in her institutional framework with regard to television broadcasting, which is a blend of private and public programming. In contrast to the highly commercial underpinnings of broadcast stations in America, the structure in Canada tends to follow the outlines of the British system, with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) emulating the model of its British counterpart - the British Broadcasting Corporation, and private stations following the American model. Nevertheless, media organizations are Canadian owned (Hackett, 1991).

The CBC and the large private networks (e.g. Global and CTV) have regional affiliates. The CBC has 101 repeaters, while CTV (the major private network), has 98. In British Columbia, the news hour audience of BCTV (a CTV affiliate) is one of the highest in Canada with an average of 543,000 viewers. The local CBC station's viewership is considerably less at 121,000. UTV, a relatively recent arrival has a

news hour viewership of 68,000 (The Vancouver Sun, August 8, 1992).²⁸

While much of what has been described in the preceding chapters is applicable to news organizations in general, the nature of regional programming is highly influenced by the characteristics of the population in the area served and the particular issues that arise in the local milieu (Entman, 1990). Based on impressionistic evidence, BCTV has a more populist orientation which gives it a certain structure of appeal to its audiences. In contrast, the CBC is a government-funded body (a Crown Corporation). Hence, its approach, based on impressionistic data, appears to be more conservative in dealing with local coverage.

BCTV's budgetary allocation for news programming is substantial. Moreover, the sheer size of personnel allocated to news production is considerably higher as that compared to CBC. Altogether, BCTV has 65 people working in its news department. It has 12 camera operators and editors. In contrast, the CBC has half the camera crew. BCTV also covers a larger area and reaches rural areas via satellite in the West. In addition, it allocates a reporter to Ottawa to cover parliamentary events and decisions. The local CBC station relies on its Ottawa counterpart for news regarding government decisions.

BCTV sees itself as a 'watchdog', protecting the rights of citizens. It has been accused of "being too hard on the

government of the time" (personal communication with Barry Thompson, BCTV, April, 1992). This orientation combined with greater resources, enables BCTV to provide news that is captivating and appealing to its audiences. It tends to select visually dramatic pieces, prefers to stay away from the 'talking head' shot, and uses extensive file footage, and live footage, whenever possible to illustrate its stories.

BCTV tends to be critical of government decisions and actions. This seems to hold true even more so for its coverage of the activities of provincial and municipal governments. Hence, the view that the media tend to relay the official, government perspective is limited insofar as BCTV coverage is concerned. At the same time, by appealing to populist sentiments, BCTV uses commonsense notions that are highly regional in character, and that draw on the taken for granted codes of 'lay' language to tell news stories.

At the national level, differences between the stations are more difficult to conceptualize given the similarity of the issues they cover. Based on impressionistic evidence, CBC seems to offer a more "serious" middle class oriented news coverage. The tendency to sensationalize topics seems muted, as compared to CTV's national news which is advertised as the "most watched news" program in the country. According to Hackett, CTV is "marginally more inclined towards right-wing populism or against labor than

is its CBC counterpart..." (1991:100).

Discursive features and representational cues

Representations contain a relational component, as well as particular information about the group (Arno, 1985). The elective affinities between the discourse of news and the discourse about 'race' suggest that within Canadian television news, coverage of racial minorities would be encompassed within the following parameters and categories: They would likely be represented as taking an oppositional role as in disrupting the social order, and violating social expectations; they would be portrayed as constantly complaining and/or making excessive demands; as engaging in colourful festivals and traditions; as surpassing social expectations; as victims; and as assimilated cultural brokers. In many cases, they would play a passive and reactive role; passive in the sense that their input into the issue would be limited, or their presence confined to the background; reactive in the sense that their opinions would only be solicited in order to present a reaction to the issue (see van Dijk, 1993). In other words, minority groups do not set the agenda. Further, they would be less quoted, and would have others, notably white experts, speaking on their behalf (van Dijk, 1993). Underlying such coverage would be an 'us' versus 'them' distinction, where the former is positively presented and the latter,

negatively represented (van Dijk, 1993).

Van Dijk (1993) has outlined several discursive features that are common in elite discourse about minority groups. These include, the framing of racial/ethnic groups in an oppositional manner - "Us" versus "Them"; implications which infer through the assumptions they evoke, or through strategic omissions, the inferiority, difference, and deviance of racial and ethnic groups; the use of presuppositions which highlight negative other presentations and which are combined with positive self presentations; overcompleteness in referencing cultural and racial backgrounds when these are not required; vagueness, to conceal the source of particular actions and motives. These are often combined with semantic moves that evoke denials of racism. These include mitigating moves, which serve to trivialize, and defuse charges of racism; projection, which involves reversal or blaming racism on its victims; contrasts and comparisons between the adapted/assimilated immigrants and the problematic racial minorities; and disclaimers of racism such as apparent concessions that imply the acceptability of a few members of racial minority groups, while condemning the majority. In addition, van Dijk (1993) notes that stories concerning minorities either lack background information, or contain background details that are irrelevant and overcomplete.

Based on an in-depth analysis of political, academic,

corporate, educational and media discourse, van Dijk (1993) outlines a number of other 'moves' and schemas to communicate racism. These include the use of the 'numbers game' as a scare tactic which evokes the familiar archetype of invasion; the use of working class racism to deflect attention away from systemic racism and elite racism; paternalistic schemas in which it is argued that certain proposed actions are for the benefit of immigrant groups; and the refugee schema which emphasizes the deviant behaviours of refugees and economic migrants. These are discussed in further detail in the context of the analysis presented in the following chapters.

Constraints of time and space, narrative structures, criteria of newsworthiness, the generally limited access of racial minority groups to the media, lack of 'credible' authorities within minority groups, and the socialization of reporters to particular ways of seeing, all contribute to the manner in which people of colour are represented in the media (van Dijk, 1989; 1993). Thus, it is not the individual reporters per se that are accountable for what is produced as news. Rather, as Stuart Hall notes:

If the media function in a systematically racist manner, it is not because they are run and organized exclusively by active racists; this is a category mistake. This would be equivalent to saying that you could change the character of the capitalist state by replacing its personnel. Whereas the media, like the state, have a structure, a set of practices which are not reducible to the individuals who staff them. ...What is significant is not that they produce a racist ideology, from some single-minded and unified

conception of the world, but that they are so powerfully constrained - 'spoken by' - a particular set of ideological discourses. (1990:20).

Given that media institutions are one of the elite groups in society, their role in the reproduction of categories of race and racism cannot be underestimated. The above described discursive features outline ways in which representations of racial minorities can be assessed within Canadian television news. In addition, they suggest ways in which the media continue to racialize groups.

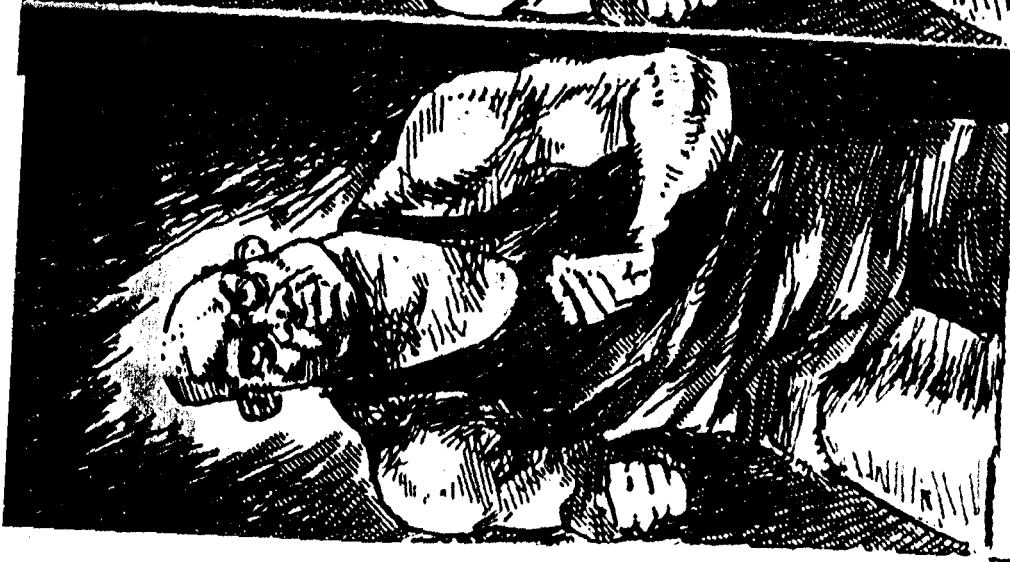
Notes

25. The Canadian Human Rights Act, chapter 22, section 2 (1) states: "No person shall publish or display before the public, or cause to be published or displayed before the public, a notice, sign, symbol, emblem or other representation indicating discrimination or an intention to discriminate against a person or class of persons in any manner prohibited by this Act." The potency of this Act is then curtailed by section 2(2) which states: "Notwithstanding subsection (1) but subject to the Civil Rights Protection Act, a person may, by speech or in writing, freely express his opinions on a subject.

26. The recent acclamation of Sunera Thobani as president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women attests to this point. Thobani received an inordinate amount of media coverage which generally identified her as the "first woman of colour" to attain that position. But this coverage was also spurred by the accusation of her being an illegal immigrant by a Member of Parliament, when in fact she was a landed immigrant (Vancouver Sun, April 24, 1993, April 26, 1993).

27. Interestingly, the vast majority of laws inhibiting racial minorities from entering Canada, were initiated in British Columbia. The historical literature concerning racial minorities within Canada and British Columbia in particular, does not suggest the prevalence of any positive representations of these groups (Buchignani and Indra, 1985; Armour, 1984; Huttenback, 1976). See appendix for a chronology of discriminatory legislation enacted in British Columbia and Canada.

28. According to 1987 figures, on the average, Canadians watched 3.4 hours of television a day. Twenty percent of this time is spent watching news and current affairs programs (Young, 1989).



**CANADIAN WINS
GOLD MEDAL**



**JAMAICAN · CANADIAN
ACCUSED OF STEROID USE**



**EDWARDS
JAMAICAN STRIPPED
OF GOLD MEDAL**

CHAPTER IV

'RACE' AS NEWS: BLACK REPRESENTATIONS

. . . language can sustain racialized meanings, even when publicly such may appear to be declined or disavowed. Discourses on 'race', then, may not necessarily reference 'race' at all. . .

Simon Cottle, (1992:3).

That discourses on 'race' may not reference racial characteristics is indicative of the permeability of social categories and thought.²⁹ The discourse on 'race' may intertwine with, and draw from other categories of social knowledge, as for example, sexuality, nationhood, law and order. Within television news, the use of these other discourses in conjunction with visual footage that identifies the racial identity of an individual, allows for a discourse of 'race' which verbally, makes no reference to 'race.'

The present analysis examines representations of Black people (i.e. African diasporic peoples) as they were represented in a corpus of 73 newscasts, spanning a 21 day period, from July 25 to August 14, 1992. These included 17 nightly newscasts collected from CTV's national news and the BCTV local news, as well as 19.5 nightly newscasts from CBC's National, the Journal and the local News Final. In total, approximately 46 hours of news constituted the corpus of material analyzed.

Domestic stories that dealt with issues of 'race' or

stories that revolved around, or took as their focal point a person or people of colour were examined. People of colour represented as background figures, or included in pans of street scenes were not considered, although they are identified in the table in the appendix B. The stories that are analyzed within the next three chapters represent the clusters of issues covered in the newscasts which involved black, Asian and South Asian peoples. International news or news concerning personalities in the United States are not included in this analysis, as much international news tends to be derived from American sources (Hackett, 1991).

It should be noted that the examination focuses on the story as a complete text, i.e. the various interviews, as well as the background and evaluative information presented. The analysis undertaken is informal, and centers on a semantic analysis of local meanings. It focuses on the micro meanings within a text, as well as the macrostructures which organize the information presented (van Dijk, 1983; 1993), by linking it to the larger frames of reference shared by the audience. Macrostructures are usually apparent in the lead or the introduction to the story.

Information presented in the form of a vox pop interview category or live studio interview, as well as extracts of the narrative text are indented, even though they may not comply to the normative standard of an indented quote. This serves to separate the narrative text from the

body of the analysis.

A brief historical review

People of African diasporic heritage have been in Canada for more than a century. Initially, many arrived as ex-slaves, seeking refuge and freedom by taking the underground railway to Eastern Canada. Those that settled in Nova Scotia were given the least productive agricultural land (Mackenzie, 1991). However, many were brought over as slaves (Brand, 1991). Historical records indicate that the first group of blacks arrived in Nova Scotia in 1796. They had been shipped to Canada by British authorities in Jamaica (Ramcharan, 1982). In the early 1920, blacks were brought in to work in the shipyards, mines, docks and the railway (Ramcharan, 1982). Others came as entrepreneurs and settled in the islands of British Columbia.

In the later periods, the West Indies formed a major source of immigration. From 1955-1960, approximately 300 blacks were allowed to enter Canada, per year, primarily as domestic workers. From 1960-65, the quota was set at 1,000 individuals per year, and included the category of skilled workers. After 1967, when immigration laws were relaxed, West Indian migration to Canada increased (Ramcharan, 1982). Blacks in Canada, today, come from a variety of source countries which include Africa, the United States, Britain, and the West Indies (Statistics Canada, 1986 Census

Highlights).

However, black people continue to face considerable racism and discrimination (Brand, 1991; Billingsley and Muszynski, 1985; Henry and Ginzberg, 1985; Henry, 1986). More recently, the association between blacks and crime has resulted in the death of several black males at the hands of the police (Brand, 1991; Das Gupta, 1993).

Blacks in TV News

Representations of black people in the corpus of newscasts collected for this analysis revealed that their portrayals cohered around specific categories. They are heavily represented in the sports section, in news concerning South Africa and Somalia, and as musicians and dancers. The few other instances where they are represented concern issues of racism and immigration. Here they are often featured as advocates for black communities.³⁰

Most of the stories featuring black people dealt with conflict situations. In particular, many of the stories focused on their opposition to the state, or state-sponsored institutions and framed them as 'complainers' - never satisfied with the resources already allocated to them by government or government appointed bodies.

The following sections detail the range of representations featured in these newscasts and focus on the

way black people were framed and portrayed.

Ben Johnson on Trial

The media's coverage of Ben Johnson seems to be an appropriate place to begin this analysis given that the Olympics were a major component of all the coverage scrutinized for this study, and further, given that Ben Johnson, a black athlete, suffered considerable media notoriety in the 1988 Olympics (Cantelon, 1988; Levine, 1988). In the 1988 Olympics, Johnson was first declared a gold medallist, and described as the 'fastest man on earth,' when he won the 100 metre men's finals. The sport, according to the Centre for Drug Free Sports, is the most-watched race in the Olympic Games. Johnson's victory "put Canada on the map", (personal communication, information officer, Centre for Drug Free Sports, June, 1993). Less than 48 hours later, Johnson was stripped of his gold medal. He had tested positive for anabolic steroid use. According to a source at the Centre for Drug Free Sports, Johnson was a scapegoat in that he was the unfortunate one to have been caught at a practice which was widely prevalent among athletes (personal communication, June, 1993). However, Johnson's 'fall from grace', his disqualification and ban from participating in competitive sports for two years, resulted in the Dubin inquiry which confirmed that drug use was prevalent among amateur athletes. The inquiry in turn,

resulted in the establishment of a Centre for Drug Free sports which tests and monitors the use of performance enhancing drugs among amateur athletes.

The actual use of performance enhancing drugs is not illegal in Canada, although the trafficking of such drugs constitutes an infraction of the law, and can result in a 20 year sentence (personal communication, Hugh Wilson, Athletics Canada, June 1993). Between 1992 and 1993, a total of 43 athletes had tested positive, 33 of them being body builders (personal communication, Centre for Drug Free Sports, June 1993). This year alone, two Olympians, Oral Ogilvie and Cheryl Thibedeau have tested positive (personal communication, Hugh Wilson, June, 1993). According to a recent survey, "83,000 Canadians between the ages of 11 and 18 have used steroids in the last year." (The Vancouver Sun, June 24, 1993).

In 1992, Johnson returned to the Olympics in the hopes of making a come-back. The discussion below presents the media coverage that he received.

From July 25 to mid August, 1992, Johnson was the topic of CTV's coverage in 9 newscasts out of a total of 17 national newscasts taped for this analysis. In CBC's newscasts, Johnson was cited or covered as a subject in 7 out of 18 national newscasts.

The media's coverage on Johnson on Canadian National

Television (CTV) began with a lead story on July 25, 1992. The anchor's introduction accompanying a visual still of Johnson crouching near a Canadian flag was as follows:

Then there is the notorious Ben Johnson banned in Seoul, now back on the team. Since running in Munich last weekend, he has been training secretly in Portugal, hiding from the media until he runs next Friday. (July 25, 1992).

This sets the stage and cognitively organizes the information to be presented. It identifies Johnson as "notorious", a description which harkens back to his 'disgrace' at the Seoul Olympics. Training in secrecy and "hiding from the media," imply that he does not want national attention. The presuppositions underline his shame and guilt, but also communicate a desire, on the part of the media, not to raise expectations.

The reporter on location continued with a voice-over which accompanied visuals of Johnson practising and looking increasingly frustrated:

Many here say Ben Johnson's shame at the last Olympics continues to hang over the entire Canadian team. So the question on everyone's lips here in Barcelona is how will Ben do? Canadian competitors are hoping for a clean run by Johnson and success for the rest of the team might finally help clear the air for Canada. (July 25, 1992).

Not only is there overt concern about Johnson's ability to perform 'cleanly' but this information is first filtered through a frame defined by elements of shame, secrecy, and guilt by association because of his apparent refusal to talk to the media. Johnson's previously accumulated 'dirt'

underscores the hope for a 'clean' run. The implications are that the rest of the team is 'clean.' The usage of 'everyone' also implies the media's position, that they too are hoping for a 'clean run.'

CTV's coverage continues with a different framing of the event in the July 27, 1992, national news. It was the fourth story in the news line-up, and concerned the increasing commercialization of Olympic sports, as well as the large monetary pay-offs that Olympic heroes can expect to get. A large mural of a black athlete painted over the side of a building forms the opening shot as the reporter introduces his story:

What was once the preserve of amateurs is now invaded by millionaire superstars and their blatant endorsements.

The reporter goes on to describe how winning the Games ensures that the athletes are rewarded with large pay-offs for endorsing products. The thread connecting Johnson to the anticipated reward of product endorsements is then defined by the reporter as:

...all the money means bigger pay offs for athletes and increases the temptation for athletes like Ben Johnson to cheat.

This voice over accompanies actuality footage of the Seoul Olympics with a replay of Johnson's fateful race.

The camera then pans over to a formal social affair, with the 'elites' of the games being wooed and charmed, and, according to the reporter, being "paid off for their votes."

It is not clear who these elites are - are they official government representatives? What is clear is that the attempt to 'explain' Johnson's deviant behaviour - his ingestion of performance enhancing drugs which led to his disqualification and ban from the Games for two years, - has been accomplished by tying it to the pressure to succeed for monetary rewards.

Having set this as the stage, the reporter goes on to tackle the issue at the source, interviewing Olympic officials who either support or oppose the commercialization of the Games. This helps to shift attention away from the individual athlete, e.g. Johnson, by focusing on social structures that facilitate particular practices, i.e. the use of steroids and other drugs. However, the background presupposition that emerges is the stark contrast between an image of the athlete as dedicated and self sacrificing, engaged in strenuous training to perform her/his best for the country, as compared to athletes who are opportunistically motivated. Johnson becomes a symbolic point of entry through which the media can enter the problematic arena of drug abuse and the commercialization of sports.

The coverage on Johnson continued with a story aired on July 29, which CTV's anchor headlined as 'conflict at the Olympics.' With an insert of Johnson's photograph behind her, the anchor went on to say:

Ben Johnson was the big story in the last Olympics in Seoul and he is still the big story in Barcelona. People just can't seem to forget the steroid scandal and the man who lost gold.

The introduction evokes Johnson's performance at the last Olympic Games, and ties it to his present participation. It is unclear why Johnson is the 'big story', given that, as the previous newscast established, he is training in secret, and has declined media attention. The use of the term 'people' is vague and implies that it is the media who "can't seem to forget the steroid scandal...".

Actuality footage of a track scene with Johnson training appears next. The anchor's voice-over provides the textual accompaniment:

The elusive one hundred metre man has been playing hide and seek with the media. Finally today, they found Johnson training just outside Barcelona. But when the mikes came out he showed some of that famous speed and disappeared amidst speculations and rumours. One of them is that Johnson's old coach Charlie Francis who is banned for life because of the steroid fiasco is also in town. [A still of Francis is juxtaposed with the text].

Her voice-over continues: "Meanwhile Johnson's old foe, Carl Lewis, said he'd welcome back a drug-free Johnson," - a statement confirmed by actuality footage of the press conference featuring Carl Lewis. The anchor informs us that another runner, Leroy Burrell, has indicated that Johnson passed his peak. The final shot is of Johnson running on the track.

The report underscores the cognitive frames used in the

preceding stories. It implicates Johnson by alluding to a possible violation, that of having his old coach "in town." The element of guilt is enhanced by reference to Johnson's evasion of the media, and reference to "speculations and rumours." The inclusion of Carl Lewis and Leroy Burrell, helps to distance the news account from any charge of 'bias.' Lewis and Burrell represent the 'two sides' of the issue which centers on Johnson's capability - his ability to perform in a 'clean' fashion. However, the elements of 'secrecy', 'shame' and guilt, communicate the media's doubts about a 'clean run.'

This persistent coverage of Johnson is in keeping with Galtung and Ruge's criteria of events that are considered newsworthy (1973). That Johnson was a 'big' event at the last Olympics makes the present coverage understandable, as in wanting to follow the performance of a familiar figure (Hartley, 1982). But Johnson is more than a familiar figure. He has in fact been rendered into a moral panic. Cohen defines a moral panic as:

A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; (quoted in Hall et. al., (1978:16).

Johnson represents that threat because of his 'fall from grace.' By raising expectations and then deflating them (by getting caught for steroid use), he has become a sign of 'deviance' - the man who tried to make it by

cheating. What Johnson symbolizes is in fact what most programs falling within the cops and robbers genre try to communicate, i.e. 'crime doesn't pay.' So part of the interest and the sustained coverage of Johnson has to do with curiosity - whether the criminal turned good will reap the rewards of playing by the system.

On the other hand, Johnson's racial identity - as a black man - may also have something to do with the consistent attention that the media heap upon him. Van Dijk notes that while, "the media favour stories about negative events, ... such stories are generally recalled better, especially for outgroup members." (1988a:157; 1989).

In one sense then, Johnson, by virtue of his blackness and his deviant behaviour symbolizes not only behaviour which transgresses social norms, but also behaviour which fulfils societal expectations about black criminality (van Dijk, 1988b; Hall et. al., 1978). The stereotype of blacks as being good dancers and good athletes also has its underside, namely that blacks tend towards criminal behaviour. Hall et. al, (1978), in a seminal study of the mugging crisis in Britain have shown how this stereotype gained currency in Britain in the guise of blacks being identified as potential muggers.

CTV's subsequent story on the Olympics (July 30, 1992), throws another light on the topic. A black British athlete, Livingstone, was caught for steroid use. The anchor

introduced him as being a fan of Johnson whom he "idolized and hoped to follow." He "didn't do it clean" said the reporter on site. A comment was elicited from black Canadian runner Anthony Wilson.

The story then shifts to two white, British athletes who have also been disqualified for ingesting steroids. In an interview with the press, the two say they will appeal the decision. Closure is achieved with this final statement. Livingstone will not appeal, but the two white athletes will. The guilt of the former is unquestionable. For the latter two, it is a moot issue. Certainly in terms of the continuation of the Ben Johnson story, Livingstone's 'crime' temporarily reduces the enormity of Johnson's infraction. The coverage of these other athletes, though minimal, helps to demonstrate that drug use is not confined to Ben Johnson. However, Johnson is 'closer to home' because he represents Canada at the Games.

CTV's July 31 lead story embellishes the previous frame which was temporarily suspended after Livingstone's public disqualification. The story is organized within the classic digital perspective of good versus evil; winner versus loser; white versus black; and here, female versus male. Such binary structures within news not only provide a point of comparison for the audience, but also stitch the narrative together in a way that resonates with 'commonsense' (Bazalgette and Paterson, 1981).

The anchor introduced the story in the following way:

There were the medallists and then there are the come-back Canadians. Silken Laumann and Ben Johnson had both been written off in advance of the games as non-contenders. Today they were the focus of world media attention as both advanced in their respective events. As Roger Smith reports, what mattered was not just what they did but how they did it.

The introduction sets up a comparison. At the same time, it outlines the similarity between the two athletes, and claws back the previously inscribed negative representations of Johnson. The reporter on location begins the story by first focusing on Johnson. With visuals showing him lined up at the track, the reporter's voice-over informs us:

Almost four years after disgrace, the quest for vindication. Ben Johnson was back on track, a little older, presumably a little wiser and it seems a little slower. Johnson waltzed through the opening but had a tougher test tonight.

The narrative is organized around the theme of a 'come-back,' but the use of such words as "a little older, presumably a little wiser," imply a tone of paternalism.

Actuality footage of the race is presented next. The reporter continues,

Good enough to make it to the semi-finals though still a long shot away from a gold medal. Johnson calls it a good start yet doubts still dog him.

At this point, we do not see Johnson being interviewed and can only surmise that he has confided his doubts to the reporter. Yet, this itself is questionable given that Johnson, as reported previously, was avoiding any form of

contact with the media.

The reporter goes on to say that when Johnson first started "running faster and faster, there were doubts and speculations." He informs us that Johnson has been tested ten times and found clean. The implications here are that such doubts were proven correct at the 1988 Olympics, hence the doubts that "dog him" in this competition are similarly well-founded and could prove to be true. The underlying presupposition is that Johnson was/is incapable of running so fast without performance-enhancing drugs.

The reporter adds, "many feel that a two year ban was not enough." The 'many' are not identified in the narrative. However, the next shot identifies who they could potentially be. A vox pop of spectators at the games follows. Individuals are asked whether Johnson should be allowed to compete. Two white men say 'no.' One white woman says yes, and one black woman says yes. The last vox pop to be interviewed is a white male who says "we should forgive." The reporter concludes that "for Johnson, just getting here is his personal victory." The vox pop reflects a range of opinions, which undermine the previously articulated doubts about his capability to run by indicating that he should be given a chance (with three for such a move, and two against). The last statement subsumes this affirmation, underlining it with a personal focus, i.e., "personal victory."

The reporter goes on to discuss rower, Silken Laumann who he describes as the 'miracle kid.' It seems Laumann is fighting against all odds to compete. She has severely injured her leg and has been told by one doctor that she will never be able to row. Yet she is at the Olympics to prove that she can indeed make it.

The binary relationship established between Ben Johnson and rower, Silken Laumann is as follows:

Silken Laumann	Ben Johnson
White	Black
Female	Male
Humility	Arrogance
Inspiring	Discouraging
Open	Secretive
Makes it on her own	Needs drugs
Honest	Dishonest
Rower	Runner

The insistence with which the media continue to dwell on Ben Johnson can be evidenced in the next piece of coverage devoted to the Games. When black Canadian athlete, Mark McKoy won a gold medal, the anchor reported,

A gratifying comeback for McKoy who left the Seoul Olympics early when the Ben Johnson scandal broke and was suspended after admitting to using performance enhancing drugs. (August 3, 1992).

Thus far, McKoy has not received media coverage that identifies him as one of the 'come-back' Canadians. However, his victory here is subsumed within a framework that associates him with Johnson, and by association, Johnson's disgrace. The story is then picked up by the reporter on location. He contextualizes McKoy's win as a

kind of recuperation - "gold helps to bury the taint of Seoul." There seems to be an apparent concession here (see van Dijk, 1993), in terms of the attempt to show that not all black athletes are a national disgrace.

The August 6 news mentioned that Ben did not win the relay race as the timing was off. The lack of an in-depth story here may have to do with McKoy's victory - since McKoy too is a black male athlete and hence would not be an effective foil against which Johnson's magnitude of failure could be maximized. On the other hand, the focus on winners as opposed to losers is an inherent feature of sports coverage (Cantelon, 1988).

The national news for August 9 had as its top story, the closing celebrations of the Olympic Games. Once again, anti-hero Ben Johnson was cited as being "as controversial as ever." It turned out that Ben,

... was questioned by police today after a confrontation with a volunteer guard who wouldn't let him pass into the Olympic village without his identity pass. But at least it wasn't drugs. After his shame in Seoul, there was a sigh of relief after Johnson and every other Canadian tested clean. Canadian athletes went home four years ago in the shadow of drugs and Ben Johnson. Everyone else's glory eclipsed by one man's sin. But after these 16 days in Spain, Canada's spotlight can shift back towards what the Olympics are really all about - the medals of those who won and the coverage and pride of all the others.

The Olympics are recuperated here in the language of commonsense notions - the Games being about winners. However, the focus on Johnson continues to reference the last Olympics, when the Games were not about winners, but

losers. As a controversial figure, Johnson's presence plagues the Canadian team (and the media by association) as evidenced by their collective 'sigh of relief.' At the same time, this relief emanates from a presupposition of Johnson's inherent nature as a problematic personality - creating trouble right to the very end. Johnson is also differentiated from other Canadians in this passage, as for example, "Johnson and every other Canadian tested clean," a statement which could have been simply phrased as 'all Canadian athletes tested clean.'

'One man's sin' effectively obscured the limelight that might have been accorded to black athletes who attended the Games and who managed to win a few medals. For the coverage within the following newscasts was distinctive in that it failed to give black athletes such as Mark McKoy the glory and pomp that was accorded to white medallists Mark Tewksbury and rower, Silken Laumann.

Instead, the CTV story for August 13, 1992 (eighth in the line-up), focused on the difference between Olympic athletes who receive endorsements and monetary rewards as opposed to those who do not. On the side of the 'have nots' is black athlete, Georgette Reed, a shot putter at the Olympics, who, in an interview, revealed:

To be honest its hard when you're working just as hard as all the other athletes and some of them you know, they have a bank roll and they're just on their way and set.

However, for Georgette who is shown signing cards for

fans, the saving grace is her fans. "This is my financial reward here," she says, "seeing all these people come out and wish us well. . . . This has been fabulous." The story then shifts to medallist Silken Laumann, one of the 'haves' who talks about how gratifying the endorsements and rewards are, particularly after years of training without any support. The story shifts to Mark Tewksbury, elaborating on how he struggled to get corporate funding. It ends with visual footage showing him doing a product endorsement advertisement for beef.

What is interesting about this story is its overall effect. A black female athlete who clearly does not enjoy the monetary gains of an Olympiad athlete versus a white female Olympic medallist who does. And then there is Mark Tewksbury, a white male athlete, whose performance at the Olympics was superior to both women. He won the gold medal whereas Laumann did not. The final scene of Tewksbury doing a product advertisement shows that 'rightful' success deserves and collects its rewards. Tewksbury seems to be outside the binary distinction - in a class by himself, for having won the gold medal.

Mark Tewksbury (gold medallist, white male)

Haves	Have nots
Silken Laumann White female Winner Rich	Georgette Reed Black female Loser Poor

Had a white female athlete been chosen to portray the side of the 'have nots,' with Tewksbury on the side of the 'haves,' the effect would have been quite different. It would have inflected the relationship between white male and white female athletes. The ensuing meaning would have underlined the economic inequities that women share by virtue of gender. Then again, if a white male athlete had been chosen to portray the side of the 'have nots', the effect would have been radically different. For one, such a clear, binary relationship would have been difficult to elicit, and would pivot on the winner/loser opposition. The most interesting substitution would have been to portray Ben Johnson on the side of the 'have nots'. This would have sealed his representation as a sign of the 'undeserving' rule-breaker. However, this may not have been possible for various reasons - accessibility, or the fact that the message would have communicated Johnson's failure even more poignantly. That the media chose not to follow this course, reveals the contradictory nature of news coverage.

Nevertheless, that Georgette Reed is a black female may have motivated, unwittingly or wittingly, her selection as the athlete to be featured in this story. In his study of the coverage of ethnic minorities in the press in the Netherlands, van Dijk found that minorities are often portrayed as 'complainers' - never satisfied with the resources given to them (1988b). Georgette Reed, who was

not considered as a potential gold medallist, encapsulates this stereotype of the complaining minority. Against a background where people of colour are rarely represented (i.e. which is predominantly white), their activities and representations assume a heightened visibility.

CTV's coverage of Ben Johnson utilized a variety of filters ranging from an initial frame which categorized him as a notorious deviant - unwilling to talk to the media, training in secrecy, engaging in non-conformist behaviour (by liaising with his banned coach and violating social norms), and causing a "black cloud" to hang over the entire Olympic team, to one of failure which focused on his inability to make a comeback; and finally, to one of negation and relief by removing him from the media spotlight altogether, thereby negating his presence and his attempt to win at the Games. Instead, it was a marked sigh of relief that marked Johnson's exit from the media's limelight.

At no time did CTV's anchor or reporters mention Johnson's race or his Jamaican background. This is in stark contrast to the earlier media treatment accorded to him after his disqualification at the Seoul Olympics. At that time, as Cantelon (1988) mentions, Johnson's image devolved from a Canadian superstar to a Jamaican immigrant. In this instance, while 'race' was not referenced, Johnson's past performance was, and in returning to the past, the coverage evokes already formed associations.

Modern racism, as van Dijk and others have noted, differentiates itself from the 'old' or 'classic' form of racism by its lack of overt allusions to race. Rather, difference and the connotative valuations ascribed to racial differences are played out in other forms; other categories of discursive material are used to inflect racial differences, as for example, culture, behaviour and dispositions (1989; 1993).

From the July 29 coverage, it would seem that CTV itself had set Johnson up as a media event/story. For one, it set the foundation for Johnson as a media event by introducing him as the 'conflict at the Olympics.' Collecting the debris scattered by the fallout from the previous Olympic Games, CTV effectively amassed together evidence that would further convict Johnson as the deviant (criminal) that he supposedly was (based on his disqualification at the last Games). Johnson is the 'conflict' simply because they can't find him, and they can't find him because he is 'training in secrecy.' He is then judged by his competitor Carl Lewis and his peer, Leroy Burrell.

The overtones surrounding CTV's coverage of Johnson stand in sharp relief to the fact that other black athletes were not given as much attention or talked about so much. The only competitors for CTV's attention were Silken Laumann, and Mark Tewksbury after he won his gold medal.

However, this can only be said insofar as Canadian athletes were concerned. CTV did, at one point in its Olympic coverage, focus on a black British athlete who pulled a hamstring in the middle of his race, but who nonetheless, persisted by limping his way to the finish line.

This athlete was subsequently included in a story concerning heroes of the Games, where his inclusion was juxtaposed with a story on Silken Laumann (reflecting another interesting binary relationship - two injured athletes, one a white woman, the other a black man). Other black males to be featured in the Olympic Games coverage included the U.S.'s Dream Team, which according to one of their members Michael Jordan, were there because they "just wanted to have fun." (CTV, July 25, 1992).

Notwithstanding the above, the coverage attempted at, various points, to introduce larger social elements that create a climate for substance abuse. In addition, Johnson's attempt at making a come-back was recognized and included in the coverage. However, these counter tendencies were subsumed within the dominant framework which identified Johnson as a deviant; and one whose troublesome legacy could not be left behind.

CBC's story on Ben

In contrast to CTV, Canada's other national network began its coverage of the Olympics with less fanfare and

detail. Using part of the same actuality footage as CTV, the National focused briefly on black Canadian athlete, Michael Smith, who it described as "one of the country's best hope for gold." (July 25, 1992). The same brevity was exercised on July 26, when the anchor introduced the subject by stating there is:

...hope it will release the bad memories of 1988 when Ben Johnson tested positive for steroids, and that had a stunning impact here.

The reporter on location picked up this story with a voice-over accompanying a replay of Johnson's race in Seoul:

As Ben Johnson sprinted out Canadians wanted to believe that the only thing propelling him across the finish line was raw talent and hard work. But days later, Johnson had left Seoul in disgrace after testing positive for performance enhancing drugs. Canada's sports minister banned him from competing. An inquiry discovered the problem was widespread... and set up the Canadian Centre for Drug Free sports.

Johnson is introduced as the site of a problem, the consequences of which resulted in the establishment of a drug use monitoring organization. Interestingly, the information officer at the Centre for Drug Free Sports articulated the same rationale in explaining the creation of the Centre (personal communication, June, 1993).

The actuality footage shown immediately after this consisted of the Centre's mandate superimposed on a photo still of a black runner. The reporter read the mandate and then introduced the subject of what Olympic officials are doing about mandatory drug-testing. As the camera turns to

a pan of two black officials, the reporter mentions the existence of an Olympic testing team and background information about a German sprinter who was similarly disqualified for drug use. Visuals accompanying this verbal text consist of one Asian woman who is part of the testing team and a shot of the German sprinter - a white female who was suspended. Immediately after, the camera focuses on a black female athlete and lingers briefly. Although there is no specific mention of this athlete as being disqualified, one wonders why she is included in the visuals. Her inclusion implies complicity.

As with the CTV newscast, the reporter goes on to describe the enormous financial rewards that accrue to athletes who win at the Games. She contextualizes the pressures to win by locating these within social and economic practices. She further mentions that Ottawa pays its top athletes a mere \$650 a month. The story turns back to Johnson with the reporter saying, "He stood to gain \$8 million in endorsements." An accompanying visual shot of Johnson hugging another black athlete and then being awarded the gold medal, ends the report. We turn back to the anchor in the studio with two panel participants - Abby Hoffman, former Director-General of sports Canada, and Victor LaChance, CEO of the Canadian Centre for Drug Free Sports. Both are white. They then discuss Canada's performance at the Olympics and the issue of mandatory drug testing.

This attempt to 'explain' Johnson's behaviour draws from commonsense knowledge, i.e., the attraction to quick and easy 'get rich' schemes, and the need for money given the miniscule amount that the government provides. As with the CTV coverage, Johnson is used as a sign by which the media enter into and elaborate on the issue of drug abuse.

Coverage of the Olympic Games continued on CBC's News Final on July 26, without any mention of Ben Johnson. The coverage for July 27 was restricted to brief shots of the Dream Team, and Curtis Hibbert, another black male athlete who was presented as a potential gold medal winner for Canada. The report was brief and to the point. CBC's News Final continued its coverage on July 29 with a brief report on Hibbert's failure to win. Actuality footage showed Hibbert stumbling and falling in his dismount.

The National for July 30 began with a lead story on the Olympics with Mark Tewksbury's victory. The second story dealt with the 'drug scandal at the Olympics.' The anchor, began by stating that "something that grabbed a lot of headlines in Seoul, Korea, made headlines again." The story dealt with two British athletes who were disqualified and 'sent home' because of taking performance enhancing drugs. Actuality footage showed the two white athletes, and then a rerun of Johnson's race in Seoul, evoking in narrative form and actualizing through the footage, audience memory of the event. CBC's News Final followed the Tewksbury victory but

refrained from devoting additional coverage to the two white Britons who had been disqualified, presumably because they did not represent Canada.

The National for July 31 showed Johnson finishing fourth in the qualifying race. CBC's News Final, focused its attention on black athlete Dennis Mitchell. In a preface to the interview with Mitchell, the reporter mentioned that he had been training with Ben Johnson. Immediately after, in the context of the interview, Mitchell is shown saying: "He taught me that achieving something in track and field is as simple as a thought." Mitchell added that he encourages himself by sticking notes all over his house outlining his speed. He emphasized that he didn't want to be "a one-night stand." This simple descriptive, yet evaluative phrase, is suggestive of the message that Johnson was a "one-night stand," something that Mitchell did not want to emulate. It effectively distances him from Johnson with whom he had trained.

The 'one night stand' comment provides the framework within which the subsequent reportage can be inserted. On August 1, the anchor on CBC's National reported that,

Not everything in Barcelona today had a happy ending. Ben Johnson failed to qualify for the final in the men's one hundred meter. Four years ago in Seoul, Johnson left the Olympics in disgrace. He had tested positive for steroid use and was stripped of his gold medal. Johnson was banned for two years, but he vowed to return and win a medal in Barcelona. Today the comeback fell short. In a semi-final heat, Johnson...[tape unclear]. He had stumbled and he never recovered.

Once again, background elements regarding Johnson's performance at the 1988 Olympics are reiterated. The 'unhappy' ending at Seoul is replayed in Barcelona as Johnson fails to achieve victory.

This introduction is followed by actuality footage of the race in slow motion showing the stumble. The anchor continues with a voice-over, "The other winners passed him and Johnson finished last at 10.7 seconds."

As the footage continues in slow motion, showing Johnson's stumble and defeat, we hear a voice, stammering and hesitating as it articulates the words:

I'm prove myself that I'm gonna, set a record, or I'm gonna win or I'm gonna beat these guys at this year and to get back into the games and come out the games next year. (sic)

The next shot shows Ben Johnson himself, surrounded by reporters. The inclusion of this extract in the report, demonstrates the hollowness of Johnson's promised come-back. This assumes an added force when combined with the slow motion footage of the actual race.

The subsequent bit of information dealt with another black sprinter, Montreal's Bruny Surin. The reporter's voice-over stated that although Surin did qualify for the finals, he finished fourth. The gold medal went to Britain. The following day's coverage focused entirely on Silken Laumann. Ben was a "one night stand" after all.

The next story to deal with a black athlete at the Olympic Games occurred on August 3. The anchor reported

that a gold medal had been won in track and field. With footage of Mark McKoy, the anchor continued his commentary saying:

He left the last Olympics before they were over saying he was upset when Ben Johnson was caught using steroids. But later he admitted to trying drugs that helped his performance. That led to a two year suspension but today's gold medal made up for that.

This accompanied a profile shot of McKoy accepting the gold medal. The allusion to McKoy's participation in the last Olympics renders this piece of news coverage, overcomplete (see van Dijk, 1993), in that background features which are not necessary to the event itself are recalled and incorporated to make another sense of the event. That McKoy admitted to using drugs, casts a shadow of doubt over his performance at Barcelona. There were other Olympian athletes who professed to using performance enhancing drugs at the Dubin inquiry, held after the 1988 Olympics (Hugh Wilson, Athletics Canada, personal communication, June, 1993). However, the selection of McKoy's record from this testimony reveals how the media draw on background information to construct a particular interpretation of the situation/personality.

The coverage continued with details of Chris Johnson's performance (a black boxer), and the 'inspiring' performance of British runner, Redmond. CBC's News Final sports anchor began his commentary with the following:

Canada's Mark McKoy raced out from under the dark shadow of Seoul to win Canada's first track medal in 60

years.

The connection with Johnson remains intact. He is the 'dark shadow of Seoul.' The interesting point is that while Johnson faced the heat for taking steroids, McKoy did not, both in the last Olympics and in the present Games. It appears as if McKoy was not even an item worth media attention until he won the gold medal.

It can be argued that McKoy does not fit the stereotype of the 'immigrant,' thus not topical enough to receive coverage. On the other hand, the lack of coverage may have to do with the media's cautious approach in that they did not want to focus attention on a winner who might reveal himself to be otherwise, i.e. a loser. However, that assumption is itself contentious as it presupposes that all black athletes are alike.

A CTV interview revealed McKoy to be highly articulate (as compared with Ben Johnson), speaking English without an accent, and fitting the normative image of an athlete - sacrificing many things as for example, by moving to England to train with Colin Brown, and time away from his wife, to prepare for the Olympics. In contrast, Johnson as we now know, was training in secret.

The coverage for August 4 dealt with a Chinese volley ball player who tested positive for steroids and was disqualified. But the coverage was significantly limited as compared to the attention that had been given to Johnson

in the 1988 Olympics. Again, this may be due to the fact that Johnson represented Canada at the Games.

The rest of the coverage dealt with the conflict between a Kenyan and Moroccan runner. An interview with the white representative for Kenya shows him as saying that he is furious and Kenya may pull out of the race. The News Final for the same day included actuality footage of a white Canadian wrestler who the anchor described as "the Great White Hope of the North...". The National for August 5 mentioned that black athlete Michael Smith, previously described as "this country's hope for gold," pulled a hamstring and would not be able to compete. The News Final segment dealt with this issue with the same brevity.

CBC National's filter changed slightly in its subsequent coverage of the Games (August 6). The anchor introduced the Olympics as a site of "controversial alchemy." The rest of the report dealt with athletes who did not win, with the exception of Chris Johnson, the black wrestler, who won a bronze medal. However, even this success was not greeted with much fanfare.

The same brief coverage was devoted to Johnson's failure to win a medal on August 7. The anchor started by saying, "the Olympic jinx continues for the two Bens." The first referred to Johnson and the second to a horse by the name of Ben that the Journal had previously covered in a feature story.

Silken Laumann and the Dream Team form the bulk of the coverage devoted to the games in the August 8 newscast for The National. The News Final on August 9, however, reasserted the Ben Johnson spectre. The anchor began his coverage of the end of the Games with the following:

It was arguably Canada's finest Olympics but ironically, ended the way our most shameful Olympics ended in Seoul with Ben Johnson being kicked out of the athlete's village. This time he was evicted after a scuffle at a security checkpoint.

The introduction invokes Johnson's performance at the 1988 Games, and then displays the repetition of behaviour at these Olympics. The implication is that it is inherent in Ben Johnson's nature to cause problems. This continuity is maintained by the reference, metaphorically to "last time...", and "this time...".

On one level, CBC's coverage of Ben Johnson seems milder in comparison with that of CTV. It also appears to be fairer given that as an audience, we actually hear Ben Johnson speak and see him in a close-up frame talking to reporters. On the other hand, the image that comes together from these newscasts is that Johnson was a disgrace in Seoul and his presence at these Olympics is an unpleasant reminder of what happened in Seoul. However, the inclusion of Johnson's speech and its juxtaposition with the actuality footage of his race where he stumbled, is suggestive of another kind of construction. It portrays Johnson as an arrogant personality, convinced of his ability to win the

race. The actuality footage of course provides evidence to the contrary.

Yet, unlike CTV, CBC does not provide the same kind of sustained, dogged coverage of Johnson. Not only is Johnson's image evoked less often, but the coverage on the Olympics in general, is given second place unless a Canadian athlete has won a gold medal. Aside from this, the coverage makes an attempt to include other black and non-black athletes, even though the sports anchor's commentary at times is outrightly racist, as for example, his introduction of China's victory in the Games, where he states, "China doesn't usually lead the world in anything except population and post-natal depression...", and his allusion to the 'Great white hope of the North' in referring to a white athlete. The anchor's final comment on Johnson as ending the Olympics in the same 'shameful' manner evokes the image of Ben as the errant, immigrant child, who refuses to learn the rules and continues to spoil the reputation of his generous, benevolent adoptive parent. This final imprint is also supported by CTV's closure on Ben when the reporter on location says, "Everyone else's glory eclipsed by one man's sin."

However, despite the similarities in closure that both networks convey in their coverage of Ben Johnson, there are definite differences in their attitude towards and treatment of the topic. CBC's coverage summons forth a paternalistic

variant of race relations, wherein the colonized are the errant and wayward children of the Empire who with the right amount of training and inculcation can be socialized into behaving in an appropriate manner (van den Berghe, 1976). In CBC's frame, Johnson was simply too weak to withstand the pressures of winning; pressures that stemmed from the enormous profits he stood to gain as a gold medallist.

CTV's coverage in contrast, assumes a more antagonistic outlook. Johnson is pitted against the other winning athletes, notably Silken Laumann and Mark Tewksbury. They are the agents of redemption. His is the unwanted and problematic presence.

In the final analysis, the coverage regarding Ben Johnson pivots around the distinction of 'us' versus 'him' where 'he' represents all that is antithetical to the normative values governing society. For example, his attempt to bypass norms by ingesting steroids condemns him in 'our' eyes. His 'sin' may deserve to be forgiven, as one white male suggested in a vox pop type interview, but it would have been easier to forgive Ben if he had let things be and not reappeared on the Olympic scene.

There is no point which can be used to comparatively assess the treatment directed at Ben Johnson received as opposed to that which might be accorded to a white athlete. Certainly, the two white British athletes who were disqualified for committing a similar 'sin' did not receive

the same amount of attention from the Canadian media. However, this could be attributed to their British status.

An alternative account concerning Ben Johnson is intimated in one CBC newscast. By limiting the coverage to the actual race at the Barcelona Games, the newscasts might have created an alternative impression - one of an athlete seeking to make amends by trying to win again, albeit under different conditions. The media might have concentrated on the 'new' Ben Johnson, a man who appeared to have redeemed himself.³¹ The latter would have continued the flow of media coverage devoted to Johnson since 1988, but would have resulted in a more positive portrayal of the man.

Furthermore, the newscasts could have diverted their focus and concentrated their attention on other black male athletes, as for example, Mark McKoy, Bruny Surin, etc. Interestingly, McKoy remained in the background until he won the gold medal. By devoting additional media coverage to other black athletes, the coverage regarding Ben Johnson could have appeared more 'balanced', i.e. showing different athletes, in different areas, with different degrees of potential of winning gold medals. Most significantly, if the media had refrained from constantly alluding to Johnson's fall in 1988, the resulting coverage would have had a different character.

The story on refugees

Edward Said argues that,

. . . there is no doubt that imaginative geography and history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away. (1978:55).

Historically, immigrants who are visibly different, or who have different religious and/or cultural traditions, have often been persecuted and marginalized because of their differences. They have been represented as the 'aliens within' in the discourse of nationalism. As refugees fleeing war, famine and persecution in the homeland, their vulnerability in their land of adoption is enhanced when their differences become markers of exclusion.

This section examines CTV and CBC's coverage of stories concerning immigration and refugees. The first of these stories deals with new laws concerning refugees and the second with the conflict over Canada's treatment of refugees from Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. Both of these stories rest on each other in that they both provide an understanding of the issue which draws on the substantive elements of each.

CTV's coverage of refugees began on July 27, 1992 with the anchor introducing the topic thus:

Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt went before a Commons Committee today to defend a tough new bill to reform the Immigration Act. Valcourt wants to crack down on false immigration claims and bogus refugees. He says that many refugee claimants are legitimately fleeing persecution. Others however, are fleeing prosecution. They're criminals who shouldn't be in Canada. In tonight's focus report, Craig Oliver.

focuses in on a booming industry in counterfeit Canadian documents and smuggling other illegal immigrants.

The story is thus defined as a legitimate attempt on the part of the government to separate out the 'true' refugees from the 'false' ones. In fact, it was prefaced at the beginning of the newscast in the section of stories to come as "Ottawa stands firm while millions clamour to be let in." Visuals of Asian and South Asian men and women in a line-up open the story as well as the lead. Beneath the visual is a caption saying 'illegal immigrants.' This is the macrostructure of the story, cognitively organizing the material that is to be presented in the report, and cueing audience expectations (van Dijk, 1993).

The reporter's coverage begins with a pan shot of Mirabel airport. His accompanying verbal text situates the problem as such:

At Mirabel's airport, immigration officers say that almost every refugee had fraudulent documents or none at all.

This is followed by a visual representation of a South Asian male being interviewed by a white, female immigration officer. The reporter's voice-over communicates that current immigration laws are going to be 'broadened' so that officers can verify the validity of incoming refugees and immigrants. The camera focuses on the immigration officer checking the South Asian man's documentation, making a phone call and then shaking her head as if to say 'no.' From

these visuals, it would appear that the man does not possess valid documentation and that he is one of the 'bogus' refugees alluded to earlier in the introduction to the story.

The story then shifts to a classroom situation where visuals show immigration officers being trained to identify forged documents from authentic ones. The students in the classroom are mostly women of colour. They are being trained by a white male. Actuality footage of Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt at a press conference follows. Here, he is shown explicating the 'reforms' he is advocating. An interview with a white male, Lorne Waldman, who opposes the bill follows. The reporter closes his story by saying that "this is not the easiest time to close doors." The "dissolving nations of central Europe are ... creating pressures.. to loosen the rules and open the doors wider." The government may find this pressure, "hard to resist." This sets the tone for the subsequent story on immigration (see chapter V for additional details).

As Hackett (1989) and others have shown, elite nations receive more media attention than countries of the Third World. From the above coverage, it is unclear why the "dissolving nations of central Europe" would create pressures that "would be hard to resist," given that the same political pressures exist in other parts of the world; a situation which has, as yet, not pressured the government

into relaxing its rules.

The media, as Hall (1979) has argued, are 'structured in dominance.' They often articulate the sentiments, beliefs and perspectives of those in power. In his analysis of political discourse, Van Dijk notes that:

... in order to reproduce the system of inequality, immigrants and minorities need to be represented in negative terms. Thus, if politicians want to stop the invasion of refugees, they will hardly emphasize their positive properties. On the contrary, they focus on illegal practices or unacceptable cultural differences. Or they detail the allegedly negative consequences of their stay: overpopulation, unemployment, and strains on housing and social services. Within a broader populist framework, such negative portrayals highlight those negative consequences that provoke strong popular resentment and scapegoating. This in turn creates legitimation for policies that otherwise may be opposed from a more humanitarian point of view. (1993:85).

Based on the above perspective, the focus on fraudulent refugees and illegal immigrants, as well as the intimation of the political pressures in Europe, is indicative of the way in which news communicates dominant interpretations and prepares a climate of acceptability for subsequent government decisions.

On CTV's national news for July 29, the anchor introduced the story on immigration as follows:

The Canadian government wants to make it easier for people from the former Yugoslavia to find a haven from war in Canada. Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt will announce new measures tomorrow. CTV has learned that the program will provide special treatment for as many as 30,000 people. As Ken Ernhofer reports, it is a controversial move.

Against the background of the previous story on the

government's attempt to differentiate between 'bogus' refugees and authentic ones, those from the former Yugoslavian republic are defined as being more acceptable and as deserving government aid.

This particular news story begins with visuals of a young, white, clean-shaven male with short hair, dressed in jeans and pink shirt, walking in what appears to be a park. He then sits on a bench with the reporter, whose voice-over conveys the following information:

Adnan Imamovitch left Bosnia five months ago to visit his uncle in Ottawa. He left behind a small trucking business, a girlfriend and his family.

The camera focuses on the pictures of his family. A different voice communicates the content of the pictures, identifying his brother-in-law, his mother and his sister. The reporter continues with a voice-over, "Then war broke out and to this day he doesn't know if any of them are still alive." A translator's voice says, "He comes out for a visit and it turns out to be a nightmare. He didn't expect in his wildest dreams that that would happen." Adnan Imamovitch is thus represented as a helpless victim, caught unawares in a strange land. The reporter continues,

Now Adnan wants to stay in Canada and sources say he'll get his chance. Ottawa is expected to let the 18,000 refugees who are already here apply immediately to become immigrants. Not from abroad as the rules currently require. And another 10,000 will also be let in.

Graphics accompany this last piece of information.

Superimposed in capital letters over a blurred picture of

people, are the words, "ALLOW 18,000 TO APPLY IMMEDIATELY." This is followed by, "ANOTHER 10,000 TO BE LET IN." The graphics enhance the impression of an 'invasion'. In an anti-immigrant climate, (DuCharme, 1986), the emphasis on the numbers seems to be a move designed to elicit negative reaction (see van Dijk, 1993). However, the personalized focus on Imamovitch contradicts or seems to tone down the implication of invasion. As well, previous newscasts had detailed the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and thereby provided the necessary context.

The reporter goes on to say that Amnesty International considers this to be a 'good move.' The visuals switch to an outdoor interview shot of John Tackaberry, a white male representative of Amnesty International who says, "We think this is an indication of Canada shouldering its international responsibility." The sentiment is echoed by the Serbian community representative Bora Dragesvich, who states in an outdoor interview: "We congratulate Canadian government for realizing help is needed."

As fits the conventional format of media reporting, an adversarial side is added. The reporter's voice-over continues to inform us "But Croatian leaders in Canada want food, clothing, money - not a wider immigration program they fear plays into Serbian hands." The next interviewee, a representative of the Canadian Croatian community elaborates on this point by stating: "They will drive all the

population out and eventually claim this whole Bosnia, which is not theirs." Against visuals of a child walking, people taking bags of food out of a container and a close-up of a child in a mother's arms, the reporter continues:

The new program is meant to bring families together, but critics charge Ottawa should do more for the 35,000 children orphaned by the war.

The story shifts to the issue of adoption with an on-site interview with a female representative of the Bosnian Canadian Community Association. The visuals accompanying her interview and the reporter's subsequent voice-over contain images of white males, of varying ages, sitting, looking depressed, idle and one of them squatting and gazing into space.

The camera shifts to a long shot of a black, well-dressed male (in suit and tie), in a corridor surrounded by doors opening into other offices. The context is reminiscent of a hallway in a government building. The reporter's voice-over provides the contextual link:

While other groups agree with the plan, they don't want former Yugoslavians to jump the line ahead of the other groups.

The camera focuses on the black male, who is identified as Emmanuel Dick, of the Canadian Ethnocultural Council. He states,

Should the rest of the world who have been waiting the last 6 months, 8 months, do they, they take a back seat and wait for another year?

As if in response to this, the newscast shifts back to

Adnan Imamovitch walking in the park with the reporter's voice over saying:

Adnan Imamovitch meantime is grateful for the chance to live in peace. He is planning to bring his mother to Canada too.

The translator's voice over constitutes closure on the scene with the statement: "If I am not here, I would be dead there." The reporter then signs off.

The news story evinces considerable tension and internal contradiction. The personalization of Adnan Imamovitch's plight serves to evoke sympathy. This is later displaced by the emphasis on the numbers of refugees who will be allowed into the country. For a right-wing populist audience, the numbers would connote an invasion, despite the coverage on the horrific conditions in the former Yugoslavian republic. The inclusion of interview extracts from the Amnesty International representative, as well as representatives from the different ethnic groups seem predicated on a move to demonstrate Canada's humanitarianism. However, the story ends on a conflictual note - identifying those who oppose the government's initiatives and those who support it.

This newscast lays the contextual grounding for material that follows in subsequent newscasts. Given the context of the previous newscast, it also identifies those who are considered to be legitimate refugees. By humanizing and personalizing the issue - through extensive coverage of

one refugee - Adnan Imamovitch, the story elicits sympathy. This sympathy gains additional momentum with the visuals of depressed European males, and the discussion regarding the orphaned children.

In contrast to this treatment, the 'illegal' immigrants identified in the earlier piece were not humanized in any way. They were represented in vast numbers, lining up in a queue that seemed to be endless. The one South Asian male who was shown, was not interviewed. Instead, the exchange that was represented identified him as possessing false documentation.

In the present story, compared to the casual, exterior shots of community leaders (white males) who are supportive of the policy, those against it are identified quite differently. On the side which opposes the policy, is the Croatian leader who wishes to send more food, clothing and money, and the black, well-dressed male (Emmanuel Dick), who states that the European refugees should not be given special treatment.

In fact, his is the only opinion that falls outside the issues defining the subject of the refugees since it makes explicit reference to groups who are not shown - the 'invisible' visible/racial minorities. In contrast, the binary distinction between the Croatian leader and the Serbian leader is commonsensical given that the conflict in former Yugoslavia involves these two groups.

Emmanuel Dick does not want the former Yugoslavian refugees 'jumping the line.' The inclusion of this extract from the interview with Dick, is significant because of its irony. In the history of Canada, racial minorities have persistently been accused of 'jumping the line' (see Ducharme, 1986; Indra, 1979). This attitude has often resulted in the enactment of legislation specifically designed to inhibit them from entering the country. Hence, to have Emmanuel Dick, a black male, representing the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, accuse white Europeans of 'jumping the line' implies a 'complaining' stance. The 'controversy' that the introduction to this story had mentioned referred to the negative reactions of Emmanuel Dick and the Croatian representative.

Issue: Government policy towards refugees

FOR	AGAINST
Amnesty International (White spokesman) Applauds move Defines it as humanitarian	Canadian Ethnocultural Council (Black spokesman) Disapproves of move Defines it as 'jumping the line'
Serbian community leader (White spokesman) Applauds move	Croatian community leader (White spokesman) Disapproves of move

Only at a later date is the connection between this favourable refugee policy towards the former Yugoslavians and refugee policies towards other non-European groups, made

explicit. CTV's national for July 30 continued with another story on refugees, but this time, focusing directly on the situation in Somalia - the site of famine and civil war.

It was the third story in the evening's newscast and began with a direct contrast between the government's acceptance of 26,000 refugees from the former Yugoslavia and the "tens of thousands [that] are dying in Somalia." The actuality footage consisted of shots of a starving mother and an emaciated child; shots of a man with an emaciated body showing his bare ribs; and a child lying supine with flies swarming over his face.³²

Back to Canada, the report continues with an interview with a Somali woman, Sahera Mohammed who is seeking refugee status. She is shown with her two children sitting in a darkly lit living room which is clean but poorly furnished. She says: "I will die, they will kill me if I go back." The reporter notes that "to refugee groups, it is a double standard." A visual of Bernard Valcourt, Minister of Immigration, at a press conference follows and shows him saying: "Somalis are different too.... they are nomads...." The camera then shifts to a different scene, focusing on Dan Heap, NDP immigration critic, who says, "It's is a rather sick joke." He goes on to say that Somalis come to him everyday, some of them crying, to get their families out of Somalia. The reporter ends by saying,

Ottawa says it has done as much as it can. Somalia's troubles are simply not as well known as the troubles

in Yugoslavia.

These stories can be compared on a number of different points. The most immediate question they raise pertains to the conspicuous lack of information that the media provide regarding the Somalian situation in contrast to the situation in the former Yugoslavian republic. The implication of the last statement is that political leaders are responsible for this lack of attention.

The second point has to do with the kind of adversarial or digitalized perspective that has been established. While the first two stories have established the difference between legitimate and illegitimate refugees, and between those who support and oppose the government's new policy, this particular news story establishes a different binary relationship: The voice of a lone Somali woman - a refugee claimant who does not possess much social or cultural power in the system, versus the Minister of Immigration.

She is the victim in more ways than Adnan Imamovitch is a victim; for one, she is made to look like a victim. Previous to her interview, the report had provided a contextual background of emaciated Somalians and starving children. No such background was provided for Imamovitch. He was shown as a clean shaven, healthy, young and presentable white male. And as Minister Valcourt declared, against this norm, the Somalis "are different too."

However, what stands out in the coverage afforded to

Valcourt, is the lack of interrogation by CTV's reporter of what his statement actually meant. It is unclear as to what 'different' means in this case and why it is posed as an issue defining one group of refugees from another. However, the victimized status of the Somalian woman and her plea for sanctuary evoke sympathy. That sympathy may have been the motivating factor for including the visuals of famine-stricken Somalians. Against this background, Valcourt appears rather insensitive.

Van Dijk notes that:

...the discourse of race and racism has gradually taken a more sophisticated form by focusing primarily on 'ethnic' properties. . . by emphasizing 'cultural' differences (1987:28).

Seen in this light, Valcourt's statement regarding the 'differences' of Somalians acquires another meaning. It implies that they are not like 'us' and hence, not 'assimilable.' In contrast, the former Yugoslavians are closer to the norm and hence are more likely to 'fit' within Canadian society. By including Valcourt's statement verbatim, the coverage was able to demonstrate the kind of rationales often used by politicians entrusted with making policy decisions.

As for the world not knowing enough about the situation in Somalia, CTV did not provide any coverage on the issue on the days preceding this newscast. The next bit of information to be presented occurred on August 12, almost thirteen days after, where the report outlined the impact of

famine and fighting on Somalia's civilian population. On August 13, a similar story was featured, this time with a reporter on location who, having walked into houses with the skeletal remains of those who had starved to death and talked of armed gun men in trucks, concluded, "Somalia is on the verge of committing suicide." He added that the "international community has turned its back on Somalia." On August 14, there was yet another story of the ships leaving the port in Mombasa, with food for Somalia. Visuals of mothers feeding their children at the docks accompanied this piece.

These stories highlight the contradictory nature of news discourse, reflecting its pro-government stance on the one hand, and its implicit critique of the government position on the other; accentuating the differences between groups, and between a populist versus a liberal perspective. The comparison between the treatment accorded to Sahera Mohamed and Adnan Imamovitch is suggestive of another discourse - that of 'race.' For while one is portrayed in a manner that befits the white Canadian notion of an acceptable refugee/immigrant (Millet, 1981; Pineo, 1987), the other is framed within the representation of victim - a representation that is part of the base grammar of race (see van Dijk, 1993; Hall, 1990). Notwithstanding the above, these stories heightened public awareness regarding the differential treatment meted out to the two refugee groups.

CBC: Somalian versus Yugoslavian refugees

CBC's coverage of the differential treatment meted out to Somalian and former Yugoslavian refugees made its debut on July 29, 1992. The anchor introduced the story thus:

Thousands of people who fled their homes in the former Yugoslavia may soon find new ones here. The federal government is about to announce special measures for refugees from that conflict. Rules that will make it easier for them to live in Canada. Already many have welcomed the move. But others question bending the rules for one group and not for others.

The adversarial relationship has already been set up by juxtaposing the different perspectives on the issue. The 'thousands' combined with the 'special measures' and 'bending the rules' imply an oppositional perspective. The reporter on location goes on to interview a former Yugoslavian refugee family. The Debronovics are a nuclear family who, according to the reporter, "don't have much in Canada. They have even less in Bosnia." The family is shown in an interior location, with the youngest child sitting on the father's lap. All are dressed in western clothing. The location seems to be the interior of an office with shelves full of books stacked against the wall. The Debronovics are then interviewed by the reporter. The reporter notes that the family had come to Canada on a holiday. "Now their home town in Bosnia is in shambles."

This forms the linkage statement to the subsequent bit

of information regarding the government's relaxation of immigration rules. The Debronovics can now apply for landed immigrant status without going through the normal procedures. This information is accompanied by file footage of the warfare in Bosnia. The footage shows shots being fired in a grassy terrain and visuals of soldiers behind barracks. People are shown running with bags and luggage in hand. In contrast to CTV's footage of Somalia, there are no dead bodies shown in the visuals.

The footage then shifts to a white woman with two children. She is sitting in a well-lit living room, and the kids seem to be playing with a puzzle laid out on the coffee table before them. The reporter identifies the woman as Ala Lovaladone, another refugee who "will be allowed to apply for landed immigrant status." Lovaladone is well-dressed, clean and seems sincere as she says in broken English:

Now I must to, come here, to ask for refugee, because children grow, and must to go to school, and must to eat, must to sleep, and must to, to live.

The footage shifts to a 'talking head' shot of Nancy Pocock, who is subsequently identified as a representative of the Canadian Interfaith Church Office on Refugees in Toronto. The shift is accomplished by a linkage statement in which the reporter says, "But for some who lobby on behalf of refugees, the Bosnians are getting special treatment they don't deserve." Pocock is then shown, speaking on behalf of Somalian refugees. She says:

For instance, people that are being sent to Somalia which is a terrible, terrible country, even worse, I think than Bosnia because they have a famine on top of the political troubles from the fighting and people are being sent back there.

Whether Pocock thinks that the Bosnians do not deserve the treatment they are getting is unclear, yet implied. The extract of the interview is vague in its use of agentless passives, i.e. who is sending the Somalians back? However, rather than follow this story any further, the reporter concludes in a stake-out position in front of the parliament buildings, which themselves signify the power and authority underpinning the refugee situation.

The interesting aspect of Pocock's statement used in this story is its emphasis on Somalia as a 'terrible, terrible' country. This is subsequently defined by her in terms of the combination of famine and civil war. However, this image fits in neatly with Dahlgren and Chakrapani's (1982) analysis of images of the Third World, images that emphasize famine, civil war and corrupt governments.

The closure of the story deflects attention away from the Somalians who are being deported back. It also takes attention away from the differential treatment meted out to the two groups of refugees. Rather, it underscores the humanitarian aid that Canada is offering to the former Yugoslavian republic. As the reporter puts it:

Canada has already committed 1,200 peace-keepers to the area and more than five million dollars in humanitarian aid. Tonight there is word that immigration officials will be heading to the troubled region to help process

claims quickly. The program will be ethnically neutral meaning that no one group will be favoured over another.

The numbers '1,200', 'five million in aid' demonstrate Canada's benevolence. The Somali issue has receded into the background. The claim that the program will be 'ethnically neutral' affirms the image of the Canadian government as a non-partisan and liberal state. It also undermines the accusation regarding the government's discriminatory treatment towards refugees from Somalia.

The story regarding changes in the government's refugee policy continued on July 30. The anchor on The National began with the following introduction:

The Canadian government is opening the door to up to 26,000 refugees from the former Yugoslavia and that includes people still in the troubled regions, people with families here and others already in Canada on visitors' visas. That's great news for Canadians from the troubled regions, but Somalis living here don't like it very much at all. Rosemary Thompson reports.

The benevolence of the Canadian government is affirmed once again. The identification of former Yugoslavians as Canadians ("That's great news for Canadians from the troubled regions..") implies the acceptance of these refugees as part of an "us." "We" are 'opening the door' as a sign of welcome. In contrast, the Somalis are simply referred to as "living here..". The visuals at this point consist of people packing clothes in a large gym hall. Pan shots of people in the hall and a woman identified by the voice-over as a former Yugoslavian refugee, says she is

grateful to Canada and hopes she can get her family here.

As she ends, the reporter's voice-over states:

Refugee advocates say Canada is playing a dangerous double standard. They say refugees from Somalia should also get the same treatment.

The inclusion of 'dangerous' suggests that a moral transgression (of a 'double standard') could incur social costs. Those costs might have to do with the protest rally against racism held in Toronto in May 1992, or the acknowledged 'rising tide' of racism (see for instance, reports in The Vancouver Sun, August 10, 1991, October 7, 1992; The Globe and Mail, May 8, 1992). The implications of these contextual factors and the wording of the news text imply that the appearance of favouring one group over another could result in another protest/riot.

An interview with a white female, identified as Marie La Crox of the Refugee Aid Committee follows. The interview is held in what appears to be an office. A head shot of La Crox follows revealing her saying that she hopes Canada will extend the same treatment to the Somalis. So far, individual Somalis have not been interviewed.

The camera then shifts to visuals of starving Somalies in Somalia. The reporter mentions that one out of every three persons is on the brink of starvation. The footage switches to a press conference with Bernard Valcourt, Minister of Immigration, saying,

...some people don't seem to realize what is going on there. Many of them, you know, you would want to, but

they just don't want to go, they just don't want to leave.

Against the backdrop of the visuals of starving Somalis, it is difficult to believe Valcourt's statements. Once again, he comes across in a negative light. The reporter then introduces the other side: "Nonsense says the opposition." The camera switches to a shot of Dan Heap, NDP immigration critic, who says, "Somalis are coming to my office everyday, begging.. asking for help, many of them in tears...".

This sympathetic statement is immediately followed by a street shot of a protest demonstration, focusing on black people chanting outside a building, holding placards and shouting, "We want justice." The reporter fills in the verbal text, "Yesterday, Somalis protested outside the immigration offices calling for fair treatment." This is followed by an on-site, vox pop type of interview with one of the protestors, a Somali man, who says, "The Somali is more than Sarajevo, so if they don't give Somalia..." (reporter cuts him off there).

The reporter continues,

The immigration Minister is not apologizing for his treatment of Somalis. He says Canada has spent more than 26 million dollars to help refugees. But the Somali community says that's not good enough. They want the same treatment that people from Yugoslavia have received.

From this closing statement it can be deduced that from the government's perspective, the Somalis are quite

ungrateful - the aid they have received thus far is 'simply not good enough.' It is not clear whether the \$26 million spent on refugees has all been allocated to Somalia, or whether a part of it was diverted to Bosnia. The implications are that the Somalis are quite ungrateful. The minister's 'tough stand' underlines this image of ungrateful, demanding Somalians. It corresponds to what van Dijk has referred to as the 'firm but, fair' move. As he puts it:

This phrase is mostly used to legitimate immigration restrictions or other limitations of (or refusals to extend) the rights of refugees, immigrants, or resident minorities. (1993:93).

The visual report suggests that the Somalis are quite vociferous in their demands - not only protesting outside on the street, but also threatening the government, as in the vox pop with one of the demonstrators who is not allowed to finish, but whose statement, "if they don't give Somalia..." is left hanging in the air, and up to the audience's imagination to complete.

The image of blacks protesting is a familiar one in contemporary and previous newscasts. In the present corpus, the only other stories in which blacks were constantly depicted dealt with their protests in South Africa. In the recent past, blacks have been shown protesting in the Los Angeles race riots and in the late sixties and early seventies, images of blacks protesting were prevalent in the coverage dealing with civil rights issues (see Fisher and

Lowenstein, 1967). In all these cases, the image of blacks protesting evokes an association with them making demands on society and its institutions.

The stories suggest that the Somali crisis is caused by inter-clan rivalry. Subsequent newscasts affirm this perspective, as for example, The Journal's extensive coverage of the situation in Somalia on August 14, 1992, where a white expert, I.M. Lewis from the prestigious London School of Economics, argues that, "... they're just doing what Somalis did in the past, in the old traditional clan system of fighting between clans...." He adds, "I mean its okay with spears but its quite another matter when these people have bazookas and antitank rifles.." That inter-clan rivalry was set in motion by the colonial powers in their implementation of a divide and rule strategy, is starkly absent in this extensive examination.

A simple binary relationship emerges from the present account which can be seen below. However, what is clear is that the Somalis appear self-contradictory. According to the Immigration Minister, they do not want to leave. Yet, they are asking for "justice." If one recalls the scenes from previous newscasts of Somalia, then the self-contradiction becomes more apparent.

Former Yugoslavian Refugee	Somalian refugee
White females and nuclear families;	Black male, large number of blacks;
Interior shot;	Exterior shot;
People packing clothes, they are dressed and look reasonably healthy;	Protesting outside immigration building;
	Visuals of Somalia showing emaciated children;
Good news for them;	Bad news for them;
Grateful to Canada;	Ungrateful and threatening.
Woman wants to bring her mother over.	According to minister, they 'don't want to leave.'

It is interesting to note that the story immediately following this account of the protest, dealt with the 'deadly light show' in Sarajevo, showing visual footage of the night sky lit up with exploding bombs and grenades. The footage seems to add weight to Valcourt's decision to relax immigration rules for the former Yugoslavian refugees. The same newscast had no other mention of the situation in Somalia.

The Journal on July 31, aired a special feature story on the refugee issue. The anchor interviewed a black male Somali representative, Mohammed Sharmake, and Immigration Minister, Bernard Valcourt. The story was introduced thus:

This may well become known as the year of the refugees. There are 22 million homeless people worldwide, from

the Horn of Africa to the ruins of Yugoslavia. Yesterday the government announced it would make it easier for more refugees to enter Canada from Yugoslavia but critics accuse Canada of neglecting African refugees in favour of those from Europe.

It is unclear who the critics are, except of course, in the course of the interview where Mohammed Sharmake is portrayed as opposing the Immigration Minister's viewpoint on the issue. Sharmake dialogues with Valcourt's allegation that Somalis do not want to leave Somalia. The anchor poses her questions from the point of view that a discrepancy exists between the government's treatment of the two groups of refugees. Yet, not once in her examination of the Minister, does she raise this issue in a concrete form, as for example, why is Canada not allowing Somalian refugees within the country to apply for immigrant status, as are former Yugoslavians? And further, why have only 15,000 or so Somalians been given refugee status as compared to 26,000 former Yugoslavians?

At one point in the preface to the interview she notes that:

There are about as many displaced people there [in Somalia] as in the former Yugoslavia, [and] they're not only dealing with a savage civil war, but with drought and famine that could kill most of Somalia's population.

It would seem that all civil wars are "savage," not just the one in Somalia. While the anchor valiantly tries to elicit answers to her questions, she is often overwhelmed by the Minister, who raising his voice and gesticulating,

argues:

... is it Canada's fault that there is a complete breakdown of communication, of infrastructure, of transport in Somalia? Is it Canada's fault that the offices of the United Commission, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees had to close their own offices in Somalia because of the conflicts there? It is a very difficult situation....

Implicit in the Minister's statements are images of destruction, of a Third World country having no order or infrastructure. Where the anchor could have intervened would have been to point out that Somali refugees have fled to Kenya, Djibouti and Ethiopia, and that Canada does have an immigration office in Kenya.³³ The anchor subsequently asks the Minister about the deportations of Somali refugees from Canada. Valcourt has the last word. He says:

Canada is not deporting anyone to Somalia. In 1990, 92, 3 persons have been deported to Somalia and they were criminals who were excluded under the Immigration Act and who are excluded under the Geneva Convention. [raising his right hand and pointing his finger at the screen] Canada is not deporting refugees, Canada is protecting refugees.

The closure effectively silences any opposing sentiment. Canada 'protects' refugees and its record proves the point. However, insofar as discrepancies exist, the report could have raised the issue of deportation earlier, in the sense of having the Minister define the 'criminals' who are excluded. Are citizens who protest against a dictator, and classified as criminals under that regime, also considered criminals by the Canadian government? And given the similarity of conditions in both Somalia and the

former Yugoslavia, why is it that only Somalia appears to have criminals who need to be deported? These questions may have been on the anchor's list but the potential to answer them was completely usurped by Valcourt's gesticulations and emotively charged responses. Although curtailed, the Journal's investigative piece brought to light (and public consciousness), some of the issues underlying the situation of refugees from Somalia.

Newscasts for the days following this special contained details of events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but there was a conspicuous lack of information concerning Somalia. On August 5, the National included one item, without visuals of the Aid being sent to Somalia. On August 6, The National's fifth story dealt with the issue, albeit in an indirect form.

The story concerned a black, African male who immigration authorities were trying to deport. The problem was that none of the countries in the region near Somalia would accept him. The story was overtly framed as a needless cost to the taxpayers. But given the nature of the stories that were covered before, the plight of Olad Mohamed assumes another light. The anchor introduced the story as follows:

Canada hasn't had much luck in its attempt to deport a man to Africa. Olad Mohamed has spent much of this week on airplanes as several countries fight over where he comes from and where he belongs.

The introduction organizes the story within the

framework of Canada's lack of success in dealing with a refugee related problem - deportation. The implications are that deportations have not been a problem in the past, or when they have involved other countries. In a voice-over accompanying visuals of Olad Mohamed, and then a map of Africa, identifying Somalia, Djibouti and Ethiopia, the anchor continued,

Mohamed says he is a refugee from Somalia. Not true says Canada's immigration department. So they've tried to send him to where they think he really comes from, the neighbouring country of Djibouti. But tonight he is back in Canada - a man without a country.

This establishes the doubtful nature of Mohamed's claim. It also provides a linkage to the reporter's account. The reporter on location picked up the story by first tracing Mohamed's journeys to Djibouti and back. A series of interviews follows, beginning with immigration official, Rene D'aoust, a white male; the black male representative of the Djibouti embassy in Washington; and then, Mohamed who is interviewed as he is being held by immigration officials. While the immigration officer maintains that Mohamed is a citizen of Djibouti, the Djibouti representative argues otherwise. The reporter's voice-over links these two interviews with Mohamed's own statement, introducing yet another element. She states:

So Mohamed returned to Mirabel airport exhausted and confused, and the Canadian taxpayer is left holding the bill for \$15,000 for travel costs.

The reporter's sympathies seem to lie with Mohamed (he

is "exhausted and confused"). The mention of costs to the taxpayer illustrates the needless costs involved in deportation and by association, issues arising from refugee related problems. The sympathetic focus on Mohamed continues with the reporter's voice-over translating French to English, as she recounts his story:

We got back to Canada, he says, and they invented another story. Now they think I come from Ethiopia. Where will they send me next? Russia? Poland? China?

This is followed by some background information on the situation in Somalia and the flight of refugees from that country to neighbouring areas. Visuals of people clambering aboard a ship in water accompany this verbal text.

The camera shifts back to the immigration official who continues to insist that Mohamed is a citizen of Djibouti and will be returned to that country. At this point, the story changes focus by turning to the two immigration officials who accompanied Mohamed to Djibouti. The reporter states:

The two immigration officials who accompanied Olad to Djibouti have not returned to Canada yet. They sent Olad home on the plane by himself and stayed in Paris to rest. It is a rest day that's provided under their collective agreement.

This closing statement ties into the previous insertion regarding the costs of this bureaucratic jumble; costs that will have to be borne by the taxpayer.

There are several kinds of discourses apparent in this story. The most obvious element is the anti-government

bureaucratic sentiment; the second is the veiled attack on the unions and the collective agreement of government workers; and finally, there is the subtext of the continuing and spiralling costs of the refugee problem. Although sympathetic at an overt level, there is the suggestion that these refugees are becoming increasingly problematic - both monetarily and otherwise. There were no attempts to investigate the validity of Olad Mohamed's story. Instead, the problem is resolved by turning the attention to immigration officials who have 'cushy' jobs that allow them to stay in Paris. To an audience that may not share the reporter's sympathetic perspective, the final message confirms the equation of black refugees = problems.³⁴

Throughout the period of newscasts examined here, there were no comparable stories of former Yugoslavian refugees who were being deported; nor of war criminals who were being denied entry to Canada.

NAC and the panel on violence against women

In late July, 1992, several national women's organizations representing approximately 500 groups, withdrew their support from a government-appointed panel mandated to examine violence against women. The issue sparking the withdrawal concerned the lack of representation of women of colour and women with disabilities on the panel. The panel was, with the exception of one woman of colour,

all white. The organizations who withdrew their support included the Disabled Women's Network (DAWN), the Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres (CASAC), the Congress of Black Women of Canada, and the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC).

These groups had approached the panel with recommendations regarding increased representation and support for particular government Bills (personal communication, Sunera Thobani, Member at Large, NAC, November, 1992). They had been involved in an advisory capacity until the point of withdrawal. Their request for representation was denied by the Minister responsible for the Status of Women, who instead offered to appoint special advisors on the basis of their recommendations. According to the Minister, these advisors would engage in discussions with panel members (Huang, 1992). The organizations rejected this move.

The following discussion outlines the media's treatment of this issue.

As with CTV's coverage, the visual element of the CBC story defined the issue as one of black women against white women. No other women of colour were shown, even though they were represented by the organizations who withdrew their support.

The reporter for CBC framed the issue as a "wound opened in the feminist movement," while CTV defined it as a

"rift" in the women's movement. In both stations, the actuality footage consisted of an opening shot of Judy Rebick (President of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women), at a press conference, with representatives of the organizations withdrawing their support, directly behind her. Two black and one Asian women can be identified in the footage. In the CBC coverage, the reporter's voice-over identified the problem as: "the complaint [for the withdrawal], visible minority and disabled women are not adequately represented." There were no disabled women shown in the actuality footage accompanying the entire story on both stations.

CTV first interviewed the Minister responsible for the Status of Women, Mary Collins who was shown stating that the panel could not be changed although she would allow visible minority women to participate as observers. Collins added that the panel was composed of women not organizations. This is followed by an interview with a front-line worker, a black woman identified as Leslie Leekum. Seated at a table, Leekum describes in an interview the shortage of services and information available for immigrant women and indicates that without adequate representation of these women on the panel, their particular concerns will not be addressed.

CTV's report does not explore the issue of representation. Neither is the issue framed in terms of what was regarded as common knowledge at the time (in

women's organizations) - that women of colour had served on the advisory board of the panel, and that the women appointed to the panel represented specific organizations (personal communication, Sunera Thobani, Member at Large, NAC, November, 1992). By personalizing the focus and concentrating on one black woman worker, the story effectively displaced the significance of the larger issue - the politics underlying the issue of representation. The panel was, with the exception of one woman, all white. The lone woman of colour on the panel, Vancouver's Mobina Jaffer, was not interviewed, nor was Judy Rebick asked for clarification on the issue. The issue was simply 'naturalized' as a 'rift' - a momentary rupture in personal relations within the women's movement, an image which fits the common stereotype of women competing amongst themselves.

However, the inclusion of a black woman's voice in this newscast is reflective of a liberal ethos. This departure is evidenced by the contrast between the use of white spokespersons who speak on 'behalf' of the Somali refugees, and the black women interviewed in this story. Nevertheless, the central issue in this story concerned representation, and the lack of attention devoted to the issue may have been predicated on the concern that the media could also be charged with a lack of representation. Thus, the underlying questions regarding the lack of women of

colour on the panel remain unanswered.

In contrast to CTV, CBC's coverage first of all defined the women's movement as a 'feminist' movement, which is a progressive label. However, given the recent backlash against feminism, such a label also serves to position the movement, and the dissenting groups within it, on the margins, if not outside normative society. Unlike CTV's immediate reliance on an official perspective, CBC first interviewed a black woman, identified as Fleurette Osborne of the Congress of Black Women. Osborne is shown saying: "We see this also as a reluctance to share some of the power by people on the panel." This inclusion highlights the fundamental issue underpinning the withdrawal. As in the classic digital framework, the story immediately switches to access an official voice, that of Pat Freeman Marshall, the co-chair of the panel (a white woman). She says:

That characteristic is just so untrue. It is too late to change the structure of the panel. All this discussion is taking the time and space away from critical discussion of the issues of violence.

There is no further interrogation of this position. The salience of the preceding remark concerning power is undercut. Rather, Marshall's perspective is simply taken for granted, that it is 'too late' and that minority women need not figure in any "critical discussion of the issue of violence." Marshall's statement is vague as she does not make explicit reference to those who are engaging in the discussion. For the audience, however, this missing

attribution has been filled in by the actuality footage - the visuals of Fleurette Osborne.

Instead the reporter's voice-over continues with the following:

Marshall and her colleagues did offer to appoint minority women as special advisors but this was rejected as tokenism.

The statement regarding 'tokenism' is vague. The implications are that women of colour have levelled this charge and rejected the offer. Marshall's offer is presented here as a sign of concession to the demands made by the dissenting organizations. However, the report fails to mention relevant background details which shed a different light on this 'offer.'

In the year preceding the event, groups withdrawing their support had been involved in an advisory capacity to the panel. Moreover, they had also made other suggestions to the panel including the advice that the panel's recommendations be vetted by 13 different organizations before being presented to the government; and that the panel publicly acknowledge its support of Bill C-49 concerning sexual assault. The panel had agreed to all these recommendations save that concerning representation.³⁵

An interview with a second black woman, Jennifer Wollcott, specialist in anti-racist training, follows. She is seated at a boardroom table. Her hair is knotted up in the classic dreadlock style of the Rastafarians, connoting

the Jamaican influence. The reporter prefaces the interview with the comment: "She sees all of this as a trend.

Minority groups are finally demanding power." (My emphasis).

Wollcott states:

I think it's part of a wider issue.. what's the alternative? For people to keep quiet, for people to be disenfranchised? I don't think that's healthy.

This is followed by visuals of an exterior shot of Rosemary Brown, a black woman defined as a political commentator. Brown says,

We don't get to appoint the personnel. We don't get to establish the mandate of the Commission, it then becomes a political football...

She is cut off here by the reporter, who, in a stake-out position, reports,

The Canadian panel on violence against women will continue to write its report to present to the government in December. At the same time, the National Action Committee and other national women's groups say they'll do their own work on the issue of violence against women.

The statusquo is re-established. This 'wound' in the feminist movement has been minor enough that it can be ignored and the work to be done, continued. The resolution is presented as being one where all the groups concerned will continue as if nothing has happened. It is interesting to note that while the CTV newscast included a visual segment that identified the problem as being rooted in the panel's neglect of issues facing immigrant women, the CBC newscast omits the immigration angle entirely, with the

exception of the visual clip showing Jennifer Wollcott.

In both newscasts, the common element and one that is accentuated in CBC's coverage, is the portrayal of black women as being too 'demanding', as discontented with their lot and vociferous in their dissent. However, while CTV's coverage included only one black woman's voice, the CBC newscast includes three black women who clearly articulate the central issues and problems involved in the lack of adequate representation. They provide a more in-depth analysis of the issue, pointing to the larger political and social elements that underpin it. Interestingly, the issue of racism is never brought up, either by those interviewed, or the reporter.

On August 6, The National featured a story which involved black feminist, Carolyn Wright. The story concerned the murder of Kirsten French in Ontario and the role of the police in making information about the case public. Wright was interviewed in the context of the debate regarding access to information. She underlined the need for such information, stating: "The more women know about the potential attackers, the better it is." Police in the meantime, were portrayed as defending their actions to safeguard critical information until it had been confirmed. Once again, the sole black female representation was cast in an opposing framework to the forces of 'law and order' - the police. However, the media chose to interview and include a

black woman as opposed to a white woman. That in itself is a significant move given the relative paucity of representations of people of colour, although Wright's representation is confined within the 'demanding' prototype.

Against the backdrop of the stories discussed thus far, it is striking to note the different roles that black men and women play. They are active insofar as protest is concerned. Their initiatives are confined to making demands. But they are also the site of a disturbance in the social order. Their actions are disturbing because they spill over the boundaries of the acceptable. One subtext is that they are too 'demanding' - demanding that institutions change, and thereby threatening the social order. The other is that they are problematic, using up resources that are scarce, and further, complaining that these are inadequate. Their viewpoint is either ignored, subordinated and/or opposed to those who hold power - whether it be the Minister of Immigration, Bernard Valcourt, or Pat Freeman Marshall, co-chair of the panel on violence against women.

Race and racism: The Photo-Police tabloid

Van Dijk has argued that:

. . . the 'problem' of discrimination is not so much represented as an inherent, structural property of a racist society, but as a consequence of the presence or demands of minority groups themselves. (van Dijk, 1988b:225).

On August 6, CTV's National news carried a story about

a Quebec tabloid that had been charged with racism. The anchor introduced the story in the lead as, "Hullabaloo in Quebec, charges of racism against a racy tabloid." This identifies the event as something that is not intrinsically problematic but rather as a 'commotion' resulting from the publication of 'racy' or risque tabloid.

The story, sixth in the line-up, began with the introduction:

Upsetting is a tame word to describe reactions to a Montreal tabloid called Photo Police. Among other things, the paper is accused of making racist remarks about the local native community.

The 'hullabaloo' is now translated as something more than 'upsetting.' The statement is vague, using agentless passives, i.e., it does not refer to those who are 'upset,' or those who have accused the paper. These elements remain to be filled in by the actual account. The reporter continued the story on location. Against a visual of the tabloid, he began:

Its the kind of tabloid that serves a regular weekly diet of grisly murders, suicides and sex crimes. Now Photo Police has added a new twist - racism.

At this point, the camera closes in on the tabloid revealing in a close-up, the capped headlines: "Les Blancs en ont asses des noir." The charge of racism has been doubly contained - first by containing the issue as part of the sensational diet of tabloids, and second by levelling differences between racism and "murders, suicides and sex crimes." Racism then becomes the "new twist."

The scene shifts to the Kahnawake Mohawk reserve, where the reporter's voice over continues with:

This week it's the Mohawks. They are violent terrorists, says the paper, holding the people and the government of Quebec hostage. Criminals who openly flaunt the law.

A close up of the sign on the reserve reveals its message: "Kahnawake Mohawk Jurisdiction, no SQ RCMP". In other words, no police are allowed on the reserve. The sign underscores the tabloid's wording, i.e. "criminals who openly flaunt the law." The connection between the footage and the text clearly draws on the mutual stock of knowledge regarding the armed confrontation between aboriginal communities and the white forces of law and order during the stand-off at Oka in 1990 (see Harris, 1991).

The report continues with an exterior shot of a native man, identified as Joe Norton, Mohawk Chief. Norton says,

It does concern me, certainly, but let's face facts, racism in this country is an institutionalized thing and it's allowed.

Joe Norton's observation regarding systemic racism is neither challenged nor pursued. However, it contributes a critical note to the emerging contextual background of the story.

The reporter's voice-over continues,

In crude language, Quebec's public security Minister is criticized by the paper for not coming down harder on the Mohawks.

Once again, the extract makes reference to the Oka confrontation, clearly directing the blame to the Minister

in charge. The insertion of this quote after Norton's statement serves to reinforce his view regarding the prevalence of systemic racism. The extract corroborates the observation. The usage of the term 'crude' to describe the tabloid's language and accusation, also serves to undermine its credibility. A close-up shot of the Minister's photograph, printed in the paper, follows.

The scene then shifts to the reporter sitting in an office, surrounded by computers, talking with the tabloid in his hands. He turns the pages of the tabloid, saying:

This week it's the Indians. Last week it was Montreal's black community. The headline screams 'Whites have had enough of blacks.' [A close-up of the headlines accompanies this]. The paper claims that white people no longer feel safe walking the streets because of roving gangs and black thugs.

The elaboration provided here demonstrates the paper's consistent targeting of minority groups. The use of such words as 'screams' and 'claims' connote the dubious character of the paper. The implications of the paper's statements are then shown next. A long interior shot of a black male, in a blazer and tie follows. He says, "It hurts inside." The camera reveals him being interviewed by a white male holding a mike. This statement then provides the rationale for the subsequent explanation as the reporter's voice-over continues: "This prominent leader singled out by the paper is suing." The camera shifts back to a close-up of the black male, in a jacket and tie, seated and being interviewed by another white journalist. He is identified

as 'Dan Philip, Black Coalition of Quebec,' and a close-up of him follows as he says:

Because the whole black community is defamed by the paper, the whole black community is looked at as though we are all criminals.

This charge is immediately followed by visuals of a white man, informally dressed, seated at a desk in an office, with shut blinds behind him. He states: "We are reporting what everybody is saying." This constitutes a 'telling the truth' move (see van Dijk, 1993), a reversal which places the blame on the victims of racism. The reporter, in a voice-over, continues:

The publisher and owner of Photo Police denies he has embarked on a campaign of hatred.

At this point, the scene is enlarged to reveal the presence of the reporter speaking with the owner of the paper. A close-up identifies him as 'Yvon Dubois, Photo Police publisher.' Dubois counters,

Is it racist to denounce the warriors? Is it racist to say that we cannot live under two sets of laws?

The statements resonate with 'common sense' knowledge, for the 'warriors' Dubois refers to are the Mohawks who took up arms to defend their land from further encroachment by Quebecois entrepreneurs. The ensuing struggle at Oka (the native reserve area) resulted in a shoot-out with the local police and the army was called in to squelch the struggle. What might have switched the frame entirely would have been to look at the issue from the native and black point of

view, since both groups also live under "two sets of laws."

The scene then shifts to a long shot of four black people, two females and two males, standing in an office, reading the tabloid. The reporter's voice over-continues: "The paper's diatribes have caused a storm of outrage from journalists, civil rights groups, and politicians." This distances the reporter from being seen as making a personal condemnation, while underlining the outrage that the paper has caused, thereby indicating that the paper's diatribes constitute a moral violation. As if to confirm the latter point, the camera shifts to a visual of Jacques Parizeau, nominated as leader of the Parti Quebecois. Seated in front of the flag of Quebec, Parizeau says, "It's shameful, it's absolutely shameful." The inclusion of a powerful and authoritative voice serves to legitimize the condemnation. At the same time, the reference to 'journalists, civil rights groups, and politicians' locates the source of the outrage outside the circumference of the populace.

An interview with a white male on the street follows. As he speaks, the caption identifies him as Nicolas Pouliot of the Anti-fascist league. Pouliot says:

It's hate propaganda. I mean, I deal with this kind of material on a daily basis and the newspaper, The Photo Police is much more heinous than the Ku Klux Klan paper itself.³⁶

The story returns to reporter on the street in a stake-out position. He concludes:

What worries civil rights groups is that this is not

some underground paper, printed in a basement and distributed in secret. It's on the news stands and in the corner stores. 95,000 copies every week. And Quebec Justice officials say there is nothing they can do about it.

Closure. Thus 'we' are initially presented with a problem, which is first defined as a matter of 'fuss.' The audience is then shown the two sides of the story - the publisher versus the victimized minorities - as epitomized by a black male, and subsequently, told that there is nothing much that can be done about it. By this time, the tabloid's accusatory stories have been re-identified as having serious consequences. However, these consequences are translated into the language and realm of moral indignation and concern. It is, as Jacques Parizeau says, "shameful."

Van Dijk argues that within elite discourse (which includes the mass media),

... the expression of racist prejudice, incitement to racial hatred, and systematic discrimination are not seen as crimes but as belonging to a moral order, in which criteria such as the freedom of speech or the freedom of assembly are deemed to be more important than the freedom from prejudice, discrimination, and racism. (1993:104).

In contrast to the inaction of the native chief, the black male - Dan Philip, is suing the paper. The paper's owner, in defence, says he is just circulating commonly held sentiments. This report could have framed its coverage as a human rights issue, but this story-line is never pursued. Rather, the statements that are included point to a

psychologizing of the issue with Dan Philip's comment: "It hurts." And Jacques Parizeau's comment, "It's shameful." The latter indicates that it is some errant behaviour that can be checked by a moral admonishment. The contrast that emerges is polarized thus:

White:Black::Strong:Weak::Reason:Emotion::Initiator:Victim.

However, what remains a mystery are the reasons underlying the lack of government action, especially since the tabloid would appear to contravene the Human Rights Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The implications are that Quebec is located outside the jurisdiction of these acts, an assumption that echoes the common sense view of Quebec in terms of its demands for recognition as a 'distinct society.'

The report makes no mention of the history of black-white relations in Quebec, the protest marches that were held by the black community in its attempt to articulate its opposition to the predominantly white police force; and the death of several black males at the hands of the police (Das Gupta, 1993). In part, this omission may be due to the dehistoricizing tendency of the media (Dahlgren with Chakrapani, 1982), yet the inclusion of such footage in the CBC coverage accentuates its absence in this CTV newscast.

CBC and the Photo Police

CBC's coverage on the Photo Police story was aired two

days earlier than CTV's (August 4, 1992). The anchor introduced the story in the following manner:

It's called Photo Police, a popular Quebec tabloid, that thrives on lurid often bizarre criminal cases. It sells about 60,000 copies a week. And what's selling this week is an issue on race, on blacks and criminal activity. It makes some pretty sweeping allegations and that's got some saying it's the paper that's committed the crime.

Once again, the issue is contained within the framework of the 'bizarre and lurid.' The issue of racism is thus doubly contained - one as being like the lurid cases that tabloids cover, and second as something covered by a tabloid and not worth the serious attention of a noteworthy paper such as The Globe and Mail. Thus, while the introduction seeks to undermine the credibility of the tabloid, it also serves to trivialize the charge of racism, which whether published in a tabloid or within an academic piece, still constitutes a crime.

The reporter on location reinforces this containment.

He begins:

From virtually every cornerstone in Quebec, the crime tabloids feed on lust and prejudice, providing sex, blood and an uncritical venue for the old school of police thinking. But seldom do they equal this week's edition of Photo Police.

An enlarged graphic of the tabloid opened at the centre page is presented. The graphics affirm the verbal text by showing the tabloid's sensational stories. The interesting aspect of this opening is its implicit perspective: the political 'right' is equated with the 'uncritical'. The

reporter continues,

Whites have had enough of blacks blares the front page. [This is accompanied by a close-up of the headlines.] Inside the lead article asks, What's happening with the blacks of Montreal? With their control of drugs, riots, prostitution, clan wars, and rape of young girls, the violence of our black "brothers" has no limit.

As with the CBC coverage, the undermining of the tabloid continues in this extract with the use of words such as 'blares', and an itemizing of the contents which enhances their shock-value and sensationalism. At this point, the visuals shift to a scene showing police beating up a black victim. The film is tinted red, indicating that the event occurred at night. Visuals of a car punctured by bullet holes appear next and are immediately followed by a shot of an ambulance stationed outside a building, its emergency lights still flashing. This footage contrasts with the reporter's voice-over, still reading from the paper:

Police meanwhile have been bullied into submission by black leaders says the tabloid. Leaders who have selfishly capitalized on things like police killings of unarmed black youths.. are tying the hands of police officers.

The visuals shift to a close-up of a car's wind shield pierced by bullet holes, followed by police officers with guns or batons standing over a group of crouched blacks. These visuals contrast sharply with the tabloid's text as read by the reporter, and in so doing, they reveal the paper's racism.

The scene shifts to an interior shot of a white male in

an office. Identified as 'Yvon Dubois, Photo Police Publisher,' Dubois is shown stating:

We have a lot of policemen that confirm that to us. We cannot print their name because they have to continue to be policemen but they're afraid to.

Dubois has painted an image of the police force as being the victims, afraid for their lives because of the growing antagonism and danger posed by the black community. The actuality footage presented thus far, contradicts his point of view. At the same time, it leaves the issue of black criminality unchallenged. For instance, the bullet holes in the car, a black male being beaten by police, and police standing over a group of black males crouched on the ground, imply both that the blacks are a victim of police brutality, as well as that blacks are somehow involved in crime. The contradictory nature of the news text is apparent here.

The reporter continues with a voice-over, accompanying visuals of a black male in tie and suit, holding open the tabloid:

The tabloid singles out black leader Dan Philip as the paper's asshole of the week, with a single-minded defence of his people. Philip calls it criminal hate literature and hopes police will support him.

Philip responds to the reporter's unheard question saying:

It doesn't reflect the truth, doesn't reflect what is happening. So in this context, I would look at the police brotherhood and hope they will stand up and say that they stand against this type of literature.

Once again, the element of emotion has been introduced

into the story via Philip's repeated assertion - "it doesn't reflect the truth," and his "hope" that the "police brotherhood" will stand behind him. The use of the term 'brotherhood' is interesting here, given that the tabloid referred to the black people as 'brothers' as well. It may well be that Philip is using the term in a sarcastic sense.

The adversarial side is then established by the introduction of a third personality - Police Brotherhood President Yves Prud'homme. The reporter introduces him in the following context, using the term 'brotherhood' from the previous extract:

But then the Photo Police's hero of the week is Police Brotherhood President Yves Prud'homme. Someone who has often spoken ominously about the unhappiness of what he calls the force's silent majority. Officers, who he says, risk their careers by arresting a black.

This is accompanied by visuals of Prud'homme, beginning with his photograph in the tabloid and followed by actuality footage where he is shown addressing a large crowd of policemen and women who applaud and cheer his speech. The implications are that he is popular. The inclusion of additional background information in the above extract is interesting since it serves to elaborate the tabloid's own position.

Thus far, the following polarity has been established:

Dan Philip	Yves Prud'homme
------------	-----------------

black male victim/target 'asshole of the week' vocal minority present in story	white male supported by peers 'hero of the week' silent majority absent in story
--	--

The reporter concludes the story in the following manner:

Prud'homme himself refused comment today. A spokesman said he was surprised at being nominated a hero, but would say nothing for or against the Photo Police. The tabloid meanwhile seems to be enjoying all the controversy it has created and it promises next week to examine another favourite topic of the silent police majority, Quebec's Mohawk population.

Unlike the CTV story, CBC's coverage does not touch the issue of civil rights. In fact, these are rendered as immaterial to the story itself which is viewed as nothing more than 'uncritical' rumblings of an otherwise, 'silent majority.' The issue of racism per se, as a violation of human rights, is neutralized in this instance. It is translated as an individual problem expressed by a vocal minority. At the end of the day/event, order is re-established once more. A condition has been translated to an appearance; a racial subject into an individual personality; and, populist power into authority. (see Hartley, 1985:57). In the meantime, the publisher of the Photo Police is left to continue with his task of making public, the private sentiments of those who form the "silent majority."

However, the media's treatment of the issue is somewhat

contradictory. The visual footage accentuates the extreme and sensationalist views of the tabloid. The focus on Prud'homme outlines the populist support behind the tabloid's views, and this seems to force the story to take a step backward. So rather than condemn the tabloid, the report's closure trivializes it by shifting the focus to the tabloid's upcoming story, and the controversy it seems to enjoy. The issue of racism is thus contained - within a tabloid, its audience, and the 'silent majority.'

In both these stories, the event is newsworthy because it has ruptured the social fabric and violated a normative rule. That social fabric may have to do with Canada's image of itself as a 'tolerant' society (see for example, government publications from the Ministry of Multiculturalism, and Secretary of State). Resolution is then arrived at by the closure effected on both stories. In CTV's coverage, the issue is dropped because the government 'cannot do anything about it.' In CBC's coverage, closure consists of the reporter saying the paper will continue to attack its next 'favourite' subject, the Mohawks.

The stories reveal the contradictory nature of news discourse. Bound by the commitment towards objectivity, impartiality and balance, the coverage (as shown in these two stories) is restricted to showing the two sides of the issue, of allowing the owner of an openly racist tabloid to articulate a defence, and of attempting to report the story

'as it is.' Hence, a challenging of the tabloid's owner is not undertaken, nor is any editorializing of the issue permitted.

Without any indication of the wider context, i.e. the currents of racism that inform Canadian social reality, these accounts serve to legitimize a definition of racism that locates it within a particular class and occupation. This definition also limits racism to a case of pejorative statements that castigate a racially defined group.

The stations could have chosen to cover this issue within the framework of existing human rights legislation, or by grounding the issue within a wider context of systemic racism.

The Caribana Festival

This section deals with black representations which appeared in a story aired on The National (August 1, 1992).³⁷ The anchor introduced the story in the following fashion:

Fiery music, colourful costumes, a cast of thousands, it's Caribana in Toronto, a joyous salute to Caribbean culture.

The introduction sets the tone for the rest of the piece, using 'celebratory' language. The story is then picked up by the reporter on location.

In a voice-over accompanying visuals of a colourfully costumed man on the street, the reporter begins by stating:

For eight hours, a section of downtown Toronto is taken over by an old tradition. It's called making mass as in a masquerade. And they mass to the music of the Caribbean Islands.

The visuals focus on a man playing steel drums, and then shift to a black woman, identified as Joan Pierre, Caribana Executive Director. In an interview on the street, she says:

You let go of your problems. In other words, you take the chip off your shoulder. You lay down that axe that you might be carrying for whatever reason. And you just have fun for the day, it's a release of tension.

The extract is interesting in terms of its reference to 'axe' and 'chip on the shoulder.' The terms imply that the people engaged in the celebration normally do have a 'chip' and an 'axe'. The terms are also interesting as they provide a condensation of commonly held stereotypes within elite discourse, regarding people of colour. The first being that they are 'oversensitive,' which could, in common parlance, translate into a 'chip on the shoulder.' The second is that they are 'constantly making demands', or they have an 'axe to grind.' Alternatively, 'an axe to grind' may refer to the problem of racism.

The reporter continues with her voice-over as the camera pans to the street scene where costumed women are dancing, and dwells on a white man, also costumed, and also dancing. She says:

It's called Caribana. This 25th Caribana parade falls on a significant day in black history. In the Caribbean, August 1st is emancipation day - the day in 1834 that slavery ended for blacks in the British

Empire.

In a stake-out position, the reporter continues, "During slavery, carnivals were held in private. After emancipation, they were moved outdoors." The inclusion of this historical background is interesting in light of the absence of such details in previous stories. The inclusion seems to be predicated on the non-problematic nature of this background information, i.e., slavery occurred in a distant past and has since been abolished. The Caribana festival is a testimony to the abolition of slavery since it has moved from a private to a public realm.

With this historical background, the reporter goes on to discuss the success of the Caribana parade noting how it has now become "one of the biggest cultural events in North America." At this point, a West Indian man of South Asian origins appears on the scene, and in an accent, shouts, "Boy didn't you catch the fever yet? Ha, ha, it's carnival fever."

The reporter focuses on this man, who is subsequently identified as Carl Sucherans. She talks about how Sucherans has tried for fourteen consecutive times to win the Caribana prize for the best costume. She adds: "He spends his vacation in a rented warehouse working on his dream - a carnival prize. It's something he has never won but it's something he is still driven to try." Sucherans responds by saying that he would like to win, but the bottom line is

having a good time. With that the reporter makes a linkage with the next scene: "Most seem to. This party draws a million spectators. Many from the U.S. and overseas."

This is followed by a vox pop of those at the event, beginning with a white woman who says the event makes her feel like dancing. The camera then shifts to two black women that have made the long and arduous journey on a bus from Detroit to see the Caribana. They have done this for eight years successively. The camera then pans across the crowd lined up to see the parade, revealing the presence of blacks, South Asians, Asians and whites. The reporter concludes her story with the following:

Organizers attribute the parade's popularity to the way it shows that within Caribbean culture there is diversity and that different people can be brought together in Canada, a land of diversities and share their ways with the even wider mosaic.

This closure serves to reaffirm Canada's multicultural image, and by implication her tolerance for diversity. The celebratory nature of the Caribana helps to ease its incorporation within the discourse of multiculturalism. This dominant discourse is then reappropriated and broadcast by the media. Caribana becomes a sign of multiculturalism and tolerance, thereby reaffirming Canada's image of itself. Representations of West Indians laughing and spending their time, money and effort for this yearly celebration, are the embodied signs of the multicultural discourse.

Kogila Moodley notes that as long as ethnic diversity

can be maintained within the familiar categories of exotica, it does not represent a threat (1983). However, when it spills out into other areas of life, areas held to be sacrosanct by society, it becomes problematic. It has to be recontained, neutralized, marginalized or trivialized. As she puts it:

As long as cultural persistence is confined to food, clothes, dance, and music, then cultural diversity provides colour to an otherwise mundane monotonous technological society. (Moodley, 1983:326).

Judging from the newscasts that have been presented thus far, the one area in which blacks are unproblematic is when they are dancers and musicians. This is heightened by the absence of black representations in other areas of social life, as for example, in government and business, in human interest stories, and their portrayal as writers and critics.

From sports to Caribana, the representations of blacks in these newscasts is problematic. In virtually all instances, except the last, they are rendered as a 'problem', either opposing a system or an institution within society, or demanding that it change to accommodate their needs. This conflictual framework includes the submotif of an unchallenged assumption regarding the criminality of blacks - from Ben Johnson's 'sin' of ingesting performance enhancing drugs, to the understated but nonetheless constant theme of black crime in the Photo Police story.

Notes

29. I am indebted to Ali Rattansi for this observation. Personal communication, May, 1993.

30. This does not include stories concerning black personalities in the United States, as for example, musician ICE-T, whose controversial song, 'Cop Killer' was the subject of one of the news stories in this sample, or the Journal's interview with black novelist Toni Morrison.

31. However, the 'truth value' of this strategy would have suffered a major setback given the recent evidence of Johnson's continued ingestion of performance enhancing drugs.

32. This in itself is a common stereotype of the Third World (Fatima Alloo, panel presentation, CRIAW (Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women) Conference, Toronto, 1992). See also Hart (1989) and Reeves (1989).

33. In a National Film Board documentary entitled, Who Gets In?, (Greenwald, 1989), the filmmaker reveals that there are a disproportionate number of immigration offices in Hong Kong, Europe, and the States. In contrast, Eastern Africa has only one - located in Kenya. The head of the immigration officer in Kenya candidly admits, in an interview in the film, that his task is to find suitable immigrants and refugees, ones who could live in the same neighbourhood as his 'mother.'

34. There was no further coverage pertaining to Somalia until August 14 when it was included as one of The Journal's feature stories.

35. Personal communication with Sunera Thobani, Member at Large for the National Action Committee on the Status of Women.

36. This point may not have been pursued given the commonsense understanding that pervades Canadian society, that the Ku Klux Klan are an American phenomenon, and that in contrast to the blacks in the United States, blacks in Canada are not the targets of racism. In fact, the Canadian variant of racism, as I have argued elsewhere, is signified by its denial of racism.

37. This story may have appeared on CTV but due to a power outage, newscasts for this day were not available.

CHAPTER V

'RACE' AS NEWS: ASIAN REPRESENTATIONS

The idea of "distinguishing marks" is in fact central to racism, the differences being, according to racism, due to nature, not to nurture. The danger is therefore that any emphasis on, or allusion to, differences harks back in fact to a racist system of thinking...

Colette Guillaumin, (1974:78)

Asians have a long history of representations in the western mainstream media. As with other racial minorities, they have often been cast as a menacing threat, and as a magical, exotic peoples. Common ideas and symbols about the Asians, such as 'yellow peril,' have almost become an engrained element in the Western imagination (McAllister, 1992). Isaacs (1958) notes that even information regarding the population of China caused the Americans considerable concern in the 1800s. It was thought that the Chinese would over-populate the earth and would thus become a formidable invasionary force. At the same time, this construction was often reinforced by conceptions of the Chinese as an extremely industrious 'race.' The Chinese 'coolie' thus became a source of concern for the colonialists in various parts of the empire (Huttenback, 1976). As with other racial minorities, laws were enacted to curtail Chinese immigration to the colonies (see appendix A).

The social construction of Asians as a monolithic category was a common phenomenon at the turn of the century.

In Vancouver, an anti-Asian league was formed at the time, and its express purpose was to inhibit the flow of Asian immigration into the north west (Armour, 1984). Yet, Asians were/are not a monolithic group. Consisting of immigrants and sojourners from China and Japan, these groups also differed in terms of their geographic areas of settlement and the particular occupations in which they were engaged. Although these differences were apparent, the media treatment of both groups followed a similar pattern of coverage. Both were represented in Manichean ways, as being diabolical, cunning, dirty, hardworking, inscrutable, docile, exotic and threatening. In fact, in Southern Australia, the Chinese were often referred to as 'celestials' and 'rice eating people' who were, according to popular descriptions, also dirty and immoral (Huttenback, 1976).

Representations of Asians have become more complex in recent times. For one, the Asians have a variegated history. Japan is one of the few nations that has not been colonized by a European power. Hence, representations of the Japanese, though sharing the same derogatory features as the Chinese, were predicated on different motives. The internment of the Japanese-Canadians during World War II was in part legitimized by their negative representations as the "enemy within." Their citizenship status was afforded any recognition.

In contemporary Canadian society, the underlying logic of representations of the Chinese reflects both 'continuity and change' (van Dijk, 1993) as compared to the colonial period. The Chinese, in recent times, have become a focus of attention and negative representations, as a result of their real or imagined economic wealth. However, the continuity between current and historical representations is evident in the underlying logic, that whereas before the Chinese posed a threat because of their cheap labour (the very reason for which they were recruited), they now pose a threat because of their economic capabilities (the reason for which they are 'allowed' to enter the country).

Asians in TV news

Representations of Asians in the corpus of newscasts examined here reveal that they cluster around specific categories. Asians are most often represented as background figures in the actuality footage of various news stories. Asian children figure dominantly in this cluster, as they are often shown greeting Olympic athletes, or attending some public relations affair.

Within the newscasts examined, Asians were interviewed as experts on two different occasions. A predominant cluster of Asian representations features them as blue collar workers. Within this category, Asians are shown gutting fish, sewing umbrellas, working in the aircraft

industry, garment factories of various sorts, and in factories churning out technological products. They are rarely shown as white collar workers, and when they do occupy these positions, it is usually as subordinates - as lab technicians (as for example, in CTV's news story on children and sleep, July 28, 1992, and CBC's story on contaminated blood, July 30, 1992).

The association between Asians and money coheres another cluster cluster of representations. This category includes news stories concerning the immigrant investor program (CBC local news); the story of an Asian athlete whose attendance at various sports events is made possible because of his father's ethnic heritage (BCTV); and, the story of Faye Leung, the realtor who became a household name because of her connection with the former premier of British Columbia, Bill Vander Zalm (BCTV). The Japanese purchase and conversion of a hotel in Victoria to an ESL Institute also falls in this category as the dominant message in the newscast hinges on Japan's economic power (CBC local news). A newscast dealing with the conflict at a strata building, whose units were sold by an Asian female realtor also falls in this category (BCTV), as does a story concerning a Korean couple who would not let local residents moor at their marina (CBC, local news).

The local CBC station evidenced a larger quantity of Asian representations than did BCTV. In addition to the

above, it broadcast a story on the economic plight of Ballet B.C. which featured an interview with empresario David Lui, and actuality footage containing representations of Asian males dancing (August 13, 1992). As well, a video essay on Gastown included a visual shot of an Asian man playing a yangqin on the street (August 9, 1992). This contrasted sharply with the visuals in the rest of the essay which tended to focus on pedestrians' feet rather than their bodies or faces.

While both stations contained coverage of Asian athletes at the Olympics, most of this was in the form of a running commentary discussing the performance of various countries. The only exceptions to this were CBC's local sports anchor's introduction to the Chinese victory, wherein he introduced the victory as: "China doesn't usually lead the world in anything except population and post-natal depression, but today..." (CBC News Final, July 26, 1992); and, the story on Pentathlon competitor Laurie Shong (BCTV, July 25, 1992). This last story also falls within the Asian-money category as mentioned above.

The last and final cluster of representations coheres around images of Asians as criminals and deviants. This category includes illegal refugees (CTV, July 27); irresponsible landlords (BCTV, July 26, 1992); Asians as suspects in a murder case (BCTV and CBC local news, July 31, 1992); and an Asian man who held his daughter hostage (BCTV

and CBC local news, August 4, 1992). In addition to this, CBC's local news covered the story of one of the arrested suspects who complained of police brutality (August 2, 1992).

Stories on the Journal for this period did not contain any representations of Asians with the exception of a shot of Japanese workers included in the visual footage accompanying the story on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (August 12, 1992). However, several episodes of The Journal alluded to Asian practices and representations. The first of these appeared in a documentary on feet where examples of Chinese foot coverings used in the practice of foot-binding were shown (August 6, 1992). The second, referred to a visual segment included in a story on detective novels, consisting of footage of old detective films which featured an evil, Chinese underground character similar to Dr. Fu-Manchu (August 3, 1992).

Thus, the clusters identified in this corpus of 46 hours of news, consist of the following types of representations: Asians as background people; experts or persons with authority; workers; having or dealing with money; as athletes, dancers and, as criminals or deviants. The following analysis concentrates on those stories where Asians were identified as playing a pivotal role - they were either the subject of the story, or they played a major role in it.

The inauthentic immigrants

In the material analyzed here, news concerning Asians first appeared on CTV's national news on July 27, 1992, in a story on immigration (see the previous chapter for a detailed discussion). The story cohered around a distinction between legal and illegal refugees, but the actuality footage accompanying this story identified illegal refugees as predominantly Asian and South Asian in origin. The increase in illegal immigration was defined as "a booming industry in counterfeit Canadian documents and the smuggling of illegal immigrants," by the anchor. According to the newscast, the government is portrayed as introducing 'tough' new regulations to separate out those fleeing persecution from those fleeing prosecution, i.e. the 'criminals and bogus refugees.'

Van Dijk (1988b) in his study of press coverage of immigrant ethnic groups in Europe points out that representations of white authorities and institutions take on a dualistic character. On the one hand, they are represented as accomplishing a 'difficult' task by helping refugees settle in the country and providing them with needed resources. On the other hand, they are portrayed as 'taking a tough stand,' attempting to stem the tide of immigration. This finding holds true of the treatment accorded to immigration stories in the Canadian news media (Ducharme, 1986).

In his study of the Vietnamese refugees, Lam (1983) notes that anti-Asian refugee sentiment was prevalent at the time that the 'boat people' arrived in Canada (1983). In the summer of July, 1989, BCTV featured several stories on Asian gangs (Jiwani, 1991). More recently, the association between criminals and refugees has been reinforced by the local paper's, The Vancouver Sun, coverage on Asian immigration (see for example Ben Tierney's article on 'Criminal Admissions', September 26, 1992). In fact, Sun reporter Frances Bula, in an article written in 1989, estimated that 659 stories concerning Hong Kong immigrants alone had been written in 1988. It is not surprising, given the general prevalence of an anti-Asian immigrant/refugee sentiment, that CTV should frame its story in the manner that it did - Asians and South Asians = illegal refugees and immigrants.

Included in the newscast were visuals of Asian and South Asian women being taught to discern forged documents from authentic ones. The person teaching them was a white male. However, the connotations that emerge from the inclusion of this piece imply that having Asian and South Asian immigration officers may increase the government's chance of weeding out bogus and illegal immigrants from authentic ones. Actuality footage of a continuing line-up of Asian and South Asian people, captioned illegal immigrants, raises questions regarding the racial character

of 'legal and authentic' immigrants.

The news account of this story includes the usage of words such as "booming," "industry," "smuggling" evoking connotations and associations with underworld crime. This is further reinforced by the anchor's statement: "They're criminals who shouldn't be in Canada." Thus, the government's 'tough' stance and 'cracking down' attitude is legitimized as a natural response. Added to this legitimation is the notion of 'reform' indicating that previous government immigration policy was flawed; it was responsible for the cracks through which these undesirable elements entered the country.

"Counterfeit" further underscores the inauthentic nature of these immigrants; their status as "illegal immigrants" and "bogus refugees" is determined by counterfeit documentation. The implications are that they have the purchasing power necessary to obtain such documentation, and it seems, they receive this from smuggling illegal aliens into the country. The Asians (like the blacks) here are a site of disturbance to the social order, and the government's intervention is designed to contain and resolve that threat.

There are several oppositional relations apparent here as can be seen in the following:

Bogus Refugees/immigrants	Government of Canada
People of colour Criminals Opportunistic Threat to the social order 'Them'	White authority figures Law abiding, law generating Benevolent and fair Protecting the social order 'Us'

The coverage of immigrants and refugees offered in the context of this story stands in sharp contrast to a news story which appeared on CBC's National, on July 29. This time, the specific group identified as refugees were the former Yugoslavians. (See the previous chapter for a detailed description of this story). The anchor, introduced the subject as follows:

Thousands of people who fled their homes in the former Yugoslavia may soon find new ones here. The Federal government is about to announce special measures for refugees from that conflict, rules that will make it easier for them to live in Canada.

This introduction is followed by actuality footage featuring an interview with the Debronowic family who "don't have much in Canada, [and] they have even less in Bosnia." The family is clean, well-dressed and grateful, and consists of a little girl who sits on her father's lap and a young boy (a nuclear family as befits the idealized norms of Canadian society).

The criminal element so conspicuously absent here is subsequently pursued in other stories dealing with Asians. Both of the following stories were covered by BCTV and CBC local news, with some differences in the way the material

was presented, but both framed the event in similar ways.

Asians as criminals and deviants

The 'Asian gang' phenomenon has become somewhat of a moral panic in Vancouver. However, gang activity has been an inherent feature of social organization in the lower mainland of Vancouver. Since the mid eighties, the media have made it a point to provide periodic updates on gang activity. Most of this has been covered under the rubric of 'Asian gangs' even though Asian communities have vociferously protested against the use of this term.³⁸

Eric Wong has referred to the presence of a white, Riley Street Gang (panel presentation, 1987), and by far the largest 'gang' has been the Ku Klux Klan. In part, the recent identification of gangs as 'Asian' emerged from the movement of organized crime from Asia to Vancouver. The fact that there are other gangs in Vancouver that are not Asian remains a peripheral issue, as does the movement of right-wing groups from the United States to British Columbia (personal communication, BCOFR, May, 1993).

The following local newscast, which aired on CBC on July 31, 1992, touches on the Asian gang issue. The story concerned nine suspects who were apprehended because of their supposed involvement in a murder case in Toronto. A graphic visual consisting of two brown hands cuffed with the message "Gang arrests" superimposed, signalled the story.

The colour of the hands combined with the sign of handcuffs, reinforced the expectation that the story dealt with crime and Asians. The anchor introduced the story as follows:

Vancouver Police surrounded an Eastside neighbourhood this morning looking for a suspect involved in a Toronto murder. About two weeks ago, a young Vietnamese refugee was gunned down outside a Toronto movie theatre. Today, Police took nine people in for questioning.

The introduction locates the source of the crime by linking it to the refugee's cultural identity (Vietnamese). This referencing is unnecessary, and fits within the category of the 'overcomplete' description discussed by van Dijk (1993). The story is picked up by a reporter on location. She provides contextual background with visuals of the victim killed in Toronto. Footage of the nine arrested reveal them to be Asian - six males and three females. They are shown being escorted to a waiting police van outside an apartment building. The camera then moves into the apartment building and stops outside a door. At this point, the screen image is taken up with a visual of the door. The reporter adds in a voice over:

The place was rented to a young Oriental man and woman. Police suspected that the man wanted was inside.

The visual emphasis on the door implies that this was the site of the 'crime,' even though the text has mentioned that the shooting occurred in Toronto. The last shot consists of a police van leaving the scene 'of the crime,' implying, by association, that the nine arrested were

actually involved with the shooting.

The visuals switch back to the anchor, who concludes:

At last report, these nine people have been released from custody and the Vancouver police have not said if they have any other leads...

Closure is established, not by the reporter on location, but by the anchor back in the studio.

The racial identification of the couple who rented the place was superfluous given that the visuals had already provided that piece of information. However, it added to the drama of the story as did the actuality footage of the camera entering the building and taking the audience to the actual apartment occupied by the suspects. Had the reporter herself closed the newscast with the information that the nine had been released, the effect would have been anti-climactic. It would have accentuated the spuriousness of the story. The manner in which the story was closed, enabled the newscast to sustain its level of dramatic suspense, leaving the case open, i.e., "police have not said if they have any other leads."

There are several other signs within the story that connote images of gang warfare, as for example the use of words such as "gunned down" and "police surrounded." Moreover, the story highlights a common theme of the troublesome refugees (see for example, the section on black representations). "Eastside neighbourhood" not only helps to situate the site of the possible crime - as in a possible

shootout, (given that the police had to 'surround' the entire neighbourhood), but also affirms the connection with refugees and the working class, both of whom have traditionally lived in the 'Eastside.'

The notable aspect of this story was that it was, in newsroom argot, a 'non-story.' The nine who had been arrested were clearly not involved in the gang murder. Their arrests had been a case of mistaken identity on the part of the police. Hence, the actual story around the event concerned the police rather than these individuals. However, the police were not interviewed in the story. In fact, their sole representation consisted of escorting the nine to a police vehicle.

An interesting element about this story is the anchor's introduction. While he mentions the cultural identity of the murder victim (a Vietnamese refugee), he does not mention the identities of the nine arrested. Similarly, while the victim is identified as a refugee, the nine suspects are not. However, by allusion and association, the overall story implies that the nine are also Vietnamese refugees. The visuals actualize these associations.

Interestingly, the BCTV coverage of the same event was significantly different in that the racial identities of those arrested were not mentioned. Instead, the story was presented as a potential battle between police and the suspects. The anchor introduced the story as follows:

Vancouver Police weren't taking any chances this morning. Members of the Emergency Response Team were out in full force staking out an East Vancouver apartment building after receiving a tip from Toronto police. But when it was all over, it turned out they had the wrong people. A small army of emergency response police and police from the province's crime unit descended on an apartment building. The streets were sealed off and police were zeroing in on one apartment. After an hour long stand off, they moved in and took nine people into custody. They said they were acting on a tip from Toronto police about a gangland style of murder a year ago, but tonight Toronto police are saying the people taken into custody have been released and are definitely not suspects in the case. (July 31, 1992).

The introduction mentions the case of mistaken identities and refrains from alluding to the cultural backgrounds of the suspects or victim. However, it communicates the precautions that were taken by police, describing these in great detail. The overall organization of the message is contained within the cognitive framework of 'Asian gangs.'

This introduction is followed by visuals of the police 'staking out' the apartment, a close-up of the apartment building and police taking an Asian female, with her hands cuffed, to a waiting vehicle. Two other Asian males are shown, with hands cuffed, being escorted to the police wagon. From the information presented by the anchor, it is clear that police expected a shoot-out. The visuals combined with mention of a 'gangland' murder underline the connotative message that the suspects were part of an Asian gang.

As with the CBC story, the cultural identities or

status of the suspects are not mentioned but implied by the visual footage. The police are not interviewed, nor is the story constructed around their misidentification and extreme reaction. Rather, the story hinges on the 'possible' - that these suspects could have been part of an Asian gang. The element of possible violence and unpredictable response is underscored by the reference to the different police units that were called in, i.e. the Emergency Response Team, the provincial crime team, and the local police. The visuals of the 'stake-out', the apartment building and the arrested suspects enhance the dramatic nature of the story.

It is difficult to imagine the same story being told had the nine suspects been white. For one, the spuriousness of the story would have come through - that it was not a story about the suspects but a case of mistaken identities. The dramatic build up and the footage of the arrests gives the story its connotative power and holds it together. Had the story concerned nine white suspects, it may not have included actuality footage of them being handcuffed and escorted to a waiting police vehicle. Such footage might have evoked outrage from the audience about police practices.

In the ensuing days following this story, one of the suspects arrested came forward with a complaint about police mistreatment. The following news story concerns this complaint.

The story was identified at the outset as a 'crime' story with a graphic insert behind the anchor of a hand reaching out from broken glass to a knob on the door. The anchor provided the following introduction:

On Friday, police raided a house in East Vancouver. The Emergency Response Team moved in on six men and three women saying they were looking for information concerning a Toronto murder. Police also said they were looking for weapons. None were found and no charges were laid. The occupants of the apartment including a pregnant woman charged the police abused them. (CBC, August 2, 1992).

The introduction references the previous story in considerable detail. It also adds a new element - the search for weapons. The inclusion of loaded words such as 'raid', 'murder' and 'weapons' explain the police action, and seem to legitimize their intervention. That 'no charges were laid' presupposes the obverse - that charges could have been laid, given that the police perceived the potentiality of a crime. However, the inclusion of the last sentence and the mention of a pregnant woman seems to raise doubts about the legitimacy of the police actions. It suggests a moral violation.

The reporter on location followed the story with an interview with one of the men arrested and abused. His first sentence in the voice-over accompanying a visual of an Asian man, began with:

Twenty-four year-old Benjamin Chung said he was kicked and stepped on by officers who entered the suite.

Chung's age becomes a major focal point of

identification here. He is shown with tousled hair, wearing a T-shirt with the word "America" written on it, smoking a cigarette while sitting on a sofa in what appears to be a basement suite. In an interview, he describes the abuse inflicted on him by the police, and shows the scar on his leg, saying:

I don't have nothing, then they used this gun and knocked me back. I fell down. Then they kicked me [shows scar on the leg]... They locked my hands.

Chung's speech is heavily accented and at times, difficult to understand. However, the content of his testimony reveals the extent of the abuse he suffered upon his arrest. The camera's close-up of the scar, underlines the charge of police abuse. The reporter concludes the story saying:

The incident at the apartment has drawn reaction from the Vancouver Police. A Department spokesman says police are prepared to open an investigation if the occupants file a complaint regarding their treatment.

The visuals accompanying this closing statement include file footage of Chung being escorted to a police wagon, and the wagon driving away. The visuals implicate the police. The lack of a police presence also contributes to the validity of Chung's experience.

Given that the story was initially identified as a 'crime' story, the question that arises at the end of the coverage is: whose crime? The police appear to be open to an investigation and are ready to act if Chung files a complaint. On the other hand, Chung, as he is represented

here, is a dubious character. He cannot speak English well; appears to be an immigrant; appears as an unkempt youth; smokes, and identifies with America. His legitimacy is questionable, as is his loyalty, although the reality of his bruises cannot be denied. The closing visuals of the scene depicting him being escorted by police to a waiting vehicle also raise doubts about his legitimacy. Had these same visuals opened the story, they would have signalled another kind of meaning, namely, reminding the viewer of the news story that had been broadcast before and/or setting the stage for the complainant's case.

The contradictions within this story are most apparent in the tension between the verbal and visual texts. While the verbal text alludes to Chung's age, the visuals focus pointedly on the bruises he suffered at the hands of the police. Such tensions are also apparent in the verbal text, as between the anchor's introduction and the reporter's account. The former builds up the story and then introduces the point of contention - the complainants. The latter focuses on the complainant (continuity), but implies police responsibility (change). Here too, the visual text while initially coherent with the verbal report outlining the police position, departs from it by showing actuality footage of the arrest, thereby underlining the possibility of Chung's guilt whilst simultaneously, implicating the police. In this context, while Chung may have been

victimized by the police, he does not appear to be the victim of the situation. He becomes a sign of the larger issue - the unresolved story of the suspects who murdered a Vietnamese refugee, and who are gathering weapons. The multiaccentuality of the sign is apparent here, for the story can be read in different ways.

On July 31, both the local stations carried another story about crime, involving an Asian man. The story concerned a situation where the man had taken his child hostage.

A graphic insert of a blindfolded and gagged person with the lettering HOSTAGE superimposed on the image indicated the nature of the story. The anchor began the story with:

A terrifying ordeal for a Vancouver child. She was rescued by police after being held and threatened for 30 hours by her own father. The man was despondent over the break-up of his marriage and as Alyn Edwards reports, the Emergency Response Team had some tense moments before retrieving the child. (CBC, local news, August 4, 1992).

The beginning sentence describes the event from the child's point of view, i.e. "ordeal," "terrifying," "threatened." She is represented as a "Vancouver" child, a designation which is quite different from those in the preceding stories. The rest of the introduction provides relevant background details to the story.

The reporter on location begins with a voice-over describing the Emergency Response Team's operations as it

attempted to communicate with the 'distraught man.'

Actuality footage of the Team is followed by an interview with Constable Jack Froese of the Vancouver Police Department. Froese mentions that they had received a call, ...at about 4:40 this morning from the Burnaby RCMP regarding an incident where a male, a Chinese male, had taken his daughter hostage.

When Constable Froese reveals that the hostage-taker is the father of the child, a reporter's voice, off-camera exclaims, "his own child?" The constable replies, "Yes his own child." The mention of the man's cultural background was irrelevant to the story, and according to the Vancouver Police Department, officers are not permitted to identify suspects, apprehended or otherwise, in terms of their cultural or racial background (personal communication, Manager of Support Services, Vancouver Police Department, January 1993).

The story continues with extensive footage of the Emergency Response Team, carrying rifles, discussing floor plans of the building, and driving away. In the meantime, the reporter's voice-over informs us of the progress of the situation - "they freed the hostage without incident." Pan shots of the building follow, focus on the windows of the apartment where the hostage-taking occurred.

A second interview with Constable Froese links the above footage with the actual resolution of the conflict. The interview centres on the methodical manner in which the

Emergency Response Team assembles and carries out its tasks. Over a visual of an Asian man being taken into custody by police officers, the reporter concludes:

The suspect was taken into police custody without injury to himself or his daughter. Police patience paid off. Charges against the man are pending.

The end result is that a disruption to the social order has been contained, due to the painstaking efforts and patience of the police. There is stark contrast here between the rationality of the police force and the irrationality of the hostage-taker.

The mention of the hostage-taker's cultural identity as a Chinese male excommunicates him as a 'Canadian.' The two categories seem to be mutually exclusive. The Emergency Response Team members symbolize the Canadian category. Had this hostage-taker been a white male, the coverage might have been considerably different. For one, there would have been no allusion to a cultural identity. The resulting connotations would have placed the story within an interpretative framework that defined it as yet another case of psychologically unstable individual, this time reacting to the extreme social and economic pressures. However, these pressures do not stem from a notion of difference. In contrast, the implications here are that this Chinese male has transgressed normative and legal rules, and the source of his transgression is his difference. The reference to cultural identity is further contrasted by the anchor's

introduction which identified the child as a "Vancouver child."

The emphasis on difference as a source of immoral and criminal behaviour is not one communicated by media accounts alone. Rather, the preceding account draws on a common stock of knowledge shared by the audience. The mention of 'Chinese male' evokes connotations within the collective stock of knowledge. It implies an immigrant status, an ignorance of society's normative rules and regulations. It also evokes familiar stereotypes of Chinese families as being tight-knit and as disallowing their members any freedom.

BCTV's reportage of this same situation differs to the extent that its dramatic build-up uses a slightly different sequence of shots. The frame of the story is 'siege,' also identified on the graphic insert behind the anchor. The anchor introduced the story as follows:

Vancouver Police spent several tense hours this morning waiting out a domestic dispute that evolved into a hostage taking. Police were called to an apartment in the 5100 block of Victoria Drive. The suspect, a distraught man, the victim his ten year old daughter.

A conflict situation is immediately set up by the anchor who pitches the story in a simple binary format: "The suspect, a distraught man. The victim, his ten year-old daughter." The police are then placed in the role of mediating (rescuers) agents. Once again, the piece ends on a note valorizing the police.

However, the element of siege was considerably more enhanced in the coverage of the story itself. The story begins with a shot of Constable Froese, surrounded by journalists. He is shown saying:

Make sure you know not to broadcast any of this at this time because you know, the suspect, we want to have the element of surprise. So until he's in custody, please hold off.

The reporter on location begins by saying:

Secrecy was needed because police had been called to an extremely tense domestic situation. The Emergency Response Team was preparing to enter an apartment in the rear of 5179 Victoria Drive where a man was holding a young hostage.

This is followed by visuals of the Team in Khaki fatigues, scrutinizing floor plans. A shot of the apartment building follows. Constable Froese is shown next, surrounded by reporters, and as he speaks, the camera shifts back to a visual scan of the building. Says Froese:

He's threatened to kill a child and himself at this time. Basically it's a dispute between himself and his wife. He's divorced from her and he is using the child, I guess, as a lever to get back. [off camera voice: 'his own child?'] His own child, yes.

Thus far, there has been no mention of the man's cultural identity, as per the CBC news coverage of this event. Instead, the story focuses on escalating the element of suspense, as in a crime drama. The situation has been defined as a domestic dispute.

Against visuals of cars and people, and a shot of the house across the back lane behind the building, the reporter continues in a voice-over:

When ready, eight ERT (Emergency Response Team) members moved from the staging area to the actual location. They set up a look-out across the lane and prepared to act quickly. They evacuated neighboring apartments and as an extra measure of caution, businesses on the opposite side of the building were also cordoned off.

He adds:

The Team usually prefers to wait until the suspect is bored into giving up, but today with the threat on a young girl's life, they had to move quickly.

The visuals accompanying this text include a shot of the building from the point of view of the look-out. The camera then shifts to a close-up of the apartment's front door.

The reporter adds:

The police phone-call separated the suspect from his young hostage and a blow from the sledgehammer opened the door.

At this point, the camera shifts to an exterior shot of police leading a cuffed, Asian male out of the building and into the police car. As the car drives away, the reporter concludes the story as follows:

Like all other ERT operations this year, the incident came to a conclusion without any shots being fired. Police say they were taking every precaution in this case because the suspect allegedly told his estranged wife that if she didn't come back to him, he was going to take himself and their daughter to a more peaceful place. Charges are being considered and no names have been released.

The story makes no allusions to the hostage-taker's cultural identity. With the exception of the reference "to a more peaceful place," the story appears to follow the format of crime stories in general, where a tense situation is first identified and then the stake-out, police

intervention and the resolution are reported.

Both news stories cohere around the oppositional elements which identify the hostage taker in one way, and the police in another:

The police	The hostage taker
White males/Canadians	Chinese male
Team work	Single with forced captive
Armed	Unarmed (?)
Organized	Disorganized
Rational	Irrational
Law and Order	Criminal behaviour
Practical	Impractical
Us	'Other'

Throughout the news stories, these oppositions are made clear in a number of different ways - the organized, team work of the police is contrasted to the hostage-taker's disorganized and selfishly motivated crime. The latter is lured to another room by a phone-call which then allows police to break into the apartment and rescue the daughter. The hostage-taker's impractical attitude is communicated by the reporter's statement that he "allegedly told his estranged wife that if she didn't come back to him, he was going to take himself and their daughter to a more peaceful place." The last statement also communicates the hostage-taker's alienness, for what other 'peaceful place' is there in an instrumental culture?³⁹ His irrationality is conveyed by his action of taking his own daughter hostage and his threat to kill himself and the child if his wife did not return to him.

The above stories demonstrate the interplay of different discourses - the discourse of race (as in the first story), and the discourse of crime, as these are mediated by television news. The BCTV coverage indicates that the reporters present at the site of the event were told not to broadcast the story until after the situation had been resolved. The stories were then assembled adhoc. Both featured interviews with Froese and yet, only CBC included the extract of the interview that identified the cultural origins of the hostage-taker.

The wealthy investor

In 1986, the government introduced the Immigrant Investor Program. The program was designed to attract entrepreneurs who would invest their capital in the Canadian economy, as well as create businesses and jobs. In 1986, business immigrants (which includes the investor category) constituted 5.9% of the total immigrant population (Statistics Canada, 1990).

The stories concerning the wealthy investor program began with a newscast on BCTV, August 6, signalled by a graphic image of a windswept BC flag, with the caption 'Immigration.' There were no visuals accompanying the story, and the item was quite short in duration. The anchor delivered the item as follows:

B.C. attracts almost half of immigrant investors who come to Canada, but not all of their money. A federal

report says while 49% of the immigrant investors live in B.C., only 15% of their business is conducted in the province.

On August 11, an item concerning the economy appeared on the National news. The anchor mentioned that due to a lack of investor confidence, the economy was not recovering as well. On August 13, the National featured several stories dealing with the NAFTA trade deal and its impact on Canadian industries.

Featured in one of these reports, was an interview with investor Lawrence Feng of Doulton Company Ltd. The report dealt with the potential of the NAFTA agreement to move industries out of Canada to Mexico. Feng was identified as a Hong Kong investor who had set up a factory in Mexico because of its cheap labour. In the interview, Feng defended his move saying that the textile industry tends to be the one hardest hit by changes in trade agreements.

Assessing the reactions of the other side, namely Mexico, the reporter stated that the Mexicans 'feel' that Canada has its own set of advantages which outweigh Mexico's cheap labour. One of these advantages, according to the reporter, is Canada's "easy immigration rules for investors." An interview with Mexican Consul General, Augustine Gutierrez Canet, reinforced this last message, as Canet stated, "Chinese investors are connected with the Chinese. In Mexico, we don't have a large Chinese community." The inclusion of this interview extract is

interesting as it presents a certain image of the Chinese community, i.e. that they are all wealthy and that they tend to be exclusive, only moving to areas in which their communities are well represented.

The subtext emerging from this piece is one of contained threat - the threat that Mexico will 'steal jobs' from Canada, and that this movement of capital will be facilitated by Chinese investors. At the same time, the nuances of the message indicate that Asian investors are not to be trusted - that they will go where it is economically opportunistic for them to be. Nevertheless, if Canada is to attract investment dollars, it has to safeguard its attractiveness to these investors.

CBC's News Final for August 7 reflects this concern with protecting investments. The anchor introduced the story as follows:

Wealthy immigrants who invest money in Canadian companies to gain citizenship may get more protection from smooth operators. An All Party Committee wants to tighten regulations governing the billion dollar immigrant investor program, but the protection will come too late for one group of investors who got burned in a dubious venture.

The introduction immediately identifies wealthy immigrants as those 'who buy' their citizenship. The implicit presupposition is that this makes them less authentic than immigrants who may be motivated by other reasons, or native-born Canadians. The story is then picked up by the reporter on location, who elaborates on immigrant

investors who 'got burned.' The visuals shift to a conference table presided over by Members of the Legislative Assembly representing the All-Party Committee. Each discuss the merits of the program they are advocating. The reporter's voice-over continues as the visuals switch to an anchor reading the news on a television station in Hong Kong. Behind her is a map of North America and the Canadian flag. The reporter's voice-over continues,

The word has gotten out in Taiwan and Hong Kong about one particular investment fund that went off the rails in Canada.

He then provides background information on the business venture that did not succeed, visually identifying (through a still), the man responsible for the failed enterprise. (He is white).

The story continues in this vein, and then moves back to the Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLA), one of whom, Simon de Jong, states:

It's been damaging the reputation of the program and the reputation of Canada. We believe it's important to, now that both the federal and provincial governments, to ensure that the hucksters, the swindlers are weeded out (sic).

The reporter ends the story on the note that:

Committee members hope that their recommendations become law by year's end, and that the message gets out to prospective Asian investors.

The camera then pans to a shot of the audience, revealing them to be Asian men and women, with an Asian man at the mike. The reporter identifies his location as being

the Fraser Valley (in British Columbia).

The message that comes across clearly in the first statement of the anchor's introduction is that these investors are highly opportunistic. Their only reason for investment is to buy citizenship, an assumption that contrasts quite sharply with the implicit notion of patriotism, love for the country and an identification with it that is presumed to be part of the native-born citizen's stock of knowledge. Despite this, Canada appears to be doing everything possible to protect these investors from the 'hucksters and swindlers.' Hence, while Canada may be honourable, its Asian investors are not (recall the previous newscast which mentioned that only 15% invest in British Columbia).

Once again, these connotations are not solely evoked by representations of Asian-Canadians as businessmen and entrepreneurs. Rather, these representations gain their connotative power from the audience's stock of knowledge, a stock informed by dominant media (see van Dijk, 1993).

Most of these stories were local. At the local level, there has been considerable concern about wealthy Asian investors, who are perceived as buying up property and thereby raising real estate values beyond the financial capabilities of an average Canadian (Bula, 1989; Garrett, 1989). The social construction of the Asian investor is one which identifies him/her as being opportunistic and

selfishly motivated. These investors are often perceived as violating social norms by building 'monster houses' which alter neighborhoods, and creating difficulties for those living close to them. This construction is apparent in everyday talk where people have been heard to refer to Vancouver as "Hongcouver," the suggestion being that wealthy Chinese investors are buying out the city.

Had these stories focused on European investors, the resulting impression might have been quite different. With Europe also struggling to get out of the recession, the movement of capital to markets that offer cheap labour, would have been naturalized as a necessary response. According to Garrett (1989), Asian investment in British Columbia is limited to 20-30%. The remaining 70% originates elsewhere. However, the news stories chose not to focus on the other 70%.

The media might have created a different impression if they had chosen to include in their coverage, Asian-Canadian investors who were residing in Canada and who contributed to the local economy by creating jobs for others. Yet another alternative, would have been to focus on the workers who will likely be the most affected by the NAFTA trade. Many of these workers come from racial minority backgrounds (Walsh, 1992). While these workers were shown in the background, they were not interviewed.

The connotative message that Asians have no loyalty

towards Canada is echoed in the following news story dealing with a completely different issue - the proposed merger between Canadian Airlines International and Air Canada. Both airlines were shown to be experiencing an economic decline, and this resulted in a situation where Canadian Airlines was searching for a partner company. The story had been a key feature in the national news on both stations for days preceding and following the particular coverage detailed here.

On August 6, 1992, CBC's News Final aired the latest developments in the airline merger story. The piece began with visuals of Pacific Western Airline (the parent company of Canadian airlines) employees protesting the proposed merger. Interviews with the employees confirmed their opposition to the merger, and a vox pop with people in the airport also showed a strong opposition to the deal. Many, in the vox pop, argued that having one airline would contribute to a monopoly and reduce competition. Virtually all the people interviewed in the vox pop were white. The outcome, they argued, would be drastic for consumers. The employees, in the meantime, had approached various provincial governments and their union to draft up a proposal that would enable them to purchase shares in the airline and thereby keep it afloat.

The reporter followed the story to the University of British Columbia, where she interviewed an Asian-Canadian

male, as expert, from the Department of Commerce and Business Administration. Interviewee Tae H. Oum, offered his expert judgement on the matter, and what he revealed was completely contradictory to what the previous footage has established as the accepted perspective on the issue. Oum, speaking with a strong accent, argued that a merger between the two airlines would not be detrimental, and further, that it would be a preferable alternative to Canadian staying independent or joining forces with American Airlines.

In this broadcast, Oum's expert opinion is pitted against the loyalty of Canadian Airlines employees. Visuals of their protest march showed them holding placards and shouting, "Keep Canadian in Canada." Moreover Oum's perspective is diametrically opposed to the views expressed in the vox pop - reflecting the commonsense attitude that one airline would create a monopoly and hence reduce competition, whereas two separate airlines constituted a healthier economic sign.

Had Oum's viewpoint been articulated by other individuals, he would not have been isolated as the sole dissenting voice. Obviously, the airline company saw the merger as its best alternative. Its executives could possibly have offered the reporter a similar perspective. In this instance however, Oum is isolated by the populist orientation of the coverage. The story, as presented, seems to align the station with the airline's employees, the

consumer who stands to lose from such a merger, and the politicians who are intent on keeping Canadian Airlines in Canada. The theme of patriotism runs strong throughout the coverage.

However, the inclusion of a person of colour, as an expert, in the story serves to puncture its dominant white character. That Oum was consulted may in part be a function of his accessibility to the media (perhaps the other professors were not available for comment), or could be predicated on a liberal perspective of inclusion. In the latter case, however, his representation would have been 'balanced' by the inclusion of other people of colour.

The local scene

The connection between Asians and money has been a predominant theme in the press coverage of Asian immigrants (Bula, 1989), and is apparent in BCTV's story on a Chinese-Canadian woman, Faye Leung (July 28, 1992) and her relationship to the former premier of British Columbia, Bill Vander Zalm. Leung has been a media figure for some time. She is well known for her innumerable hats, and her revelations regarding the questionable practices of the former premier. The following story is unusual in the sense that it seems motivated by the premier's hostile relationship with the media.

This story was introduced as follows by the anchor:

There is one woman whose name is synonymous with Vander Zalm and we're not talking about his wife Lillian. Realtor Faye Leung has been linked to the former premier ever since she laid the foundation of his downfall. Not one to shy away from the spotlight, Leung is hoping to cash in on her notoriety and her former ties to Bill Vander Zalm.

The image constructed is one of an opportunistic woman. The visuals accompanying this piece move from the anchor to a shot of Leung at a press conference at the Vancouver Court House. The reporter on location explains that Leung is attempting to sell tapes of her recorded conversations with the former premier. Leung is shown saying, "this is important history, it should be condensed." The closing shot is a tight close-up of her smiling while the off camera sound transmits Vander Zalm's voice criticizing BCTV reporters.

It may be that Leung is an opportunistic woman. On the other hand, by making Vander Zalm's private deals public, she effectively removed a dubious politician from power. To a media sympathetic to such a move, Leung could have been a local hero. However, her notoriety from the Vander Zalm affair, and her cultivation of media attention through her numerous 'hats', public speeches and so forth, have evoked a framework that defines her as an eccentric, opportunistic, rich woman. Through her actions to sell records of private conversations, Leung reveals herself to be unethical. Her statement regarding "this is important history," is shown to be rather vainglorious given the anchor's statement that she

"is hoping to cash in on her notoriety."

Nonetheless, the opportunism that Leung symbolizes is not without danger. She above all, represents the woman who was the "downfall of the premier." There is an obvious contrast here with Lillian, the former premier's wife, who supported her husband and stood beside him throughout his rise and fall. She is the unseen, faithful wife. He is the pawn in Leung's game. By linking Leung to the former premier and his wife, the anchor has set up the classic love triad - the man, his wife, and the 'other' woman. Leung is the 'other' woman. The premier of course is the transgressive male. And the last sound heard on the broadcast reaffirms this point, as we hear a tape-recording of Vander Zalm's voice berating BCTV and its reporters. He was a corrupt politician, and he was unfaithful to the media.

Leung may have been trivialized here, or represented as the 'dragon lady,' because she was instrumental in revealing the corruption of the political system, a system that is based on elite, white male dominance.⁴⁰ Her eccentricity and opportunism become one way in which her validity/legitimacy can be diminished.

The polarities presented in this newscast are as follows:

Lillian Vander Zalm	Faye Leung
Absent from scene White Faithful wife honourable generous	Present on scene Chinese 'Other woman' notorious avaricious

The story on Leung was cast as a playful piece - blending the lines between a news story and a human interest story. The inclusion of this story might have been predicated on the fact that Vander Zalm had been a constant media figure. Hence, continuity may have been a factor in assessing the story's newsworthiness and inclusion. Alternatively, the story may have been included because of Vander Zalm's diatribe against BCTV (which is heard at the tail end of the coverage).

Yet, given the story's portent, i.e. Leung's 'principal' contribution to Vander Zalm's fall, the story could have been told as a serious news item. Leung was not romantically involved with Vander Zalm. Nor was she the sole reason for his downfall, as in the case of the biblical Samson and Delilah, where Samson was the naive, trusting hero. Vander Zalm had been involved in a series of dubious ventures in which he had been an active participant. And Leung was instrumental in terms of bringing them to public attention.

The association between Asians as shrewd investors and dealers, and as opportunistically inclined, appears to

underpin the following news story presented on CBC's News Final on August 8, 1992. The anchor introduced the story as follows:

People who live along Indian Arm say there is a threat to their tranquil way of life. Those who commute to Vancouver to work everyday say their decade's old relationship with the only marina on Indian Arm is going sour. They say they will soon be without a place to moor their boats. This morning, they took to the water to make a point about what will happen if someone does not step in and resolve the situation.

The situation has been framed as one of 'threat,' 'conflict' and a disturbance to a 'tranquil way of life.' A relationship 'has gone sour.' Someone will have to 'step in and resolve' the conflict. This begs the question as to who has disturbed the order of things, and further, who has the power to resolve the conflict.

The reporter takes up the story on location, in Deep Cove. Through a voice-over accompanying visuals of the site, boats and people, she says:

Indian Arm highway - the only way to commute from the wilderness of an alternative lifestyle to urban responsibilities. In the summer, it's a charm, but in the winter...

This idyllic life-style is subsequently shown to have some real shortcomings. The visuals switch to an interior of a tug boat with a man at the helm. A male voice-over says:

When it's really windy and there's, and it's very cold, the windchill factor freezes, actually freezes that dot and you actually get a layer of ice on it. When I was driving a water taxi we had a problem bringing the kids in the morning because it was so icy. You can imagine people climbing over in their shoes - you know in dress shoes.

The scene shifts to people mooring their boats in an apparently cramped space. One man, in a vox pop, says, "We all pay taxes, I thought there would be ample docking space." This forms the linkage to the next statement where the reporter says,

Not with almost a third of the 130 daily commuters gathered at this government wharf in Deep Cove and this is where they may have to moor everyday come the fall.

The cramped space and obvious displeasure of those mooring their boats adds an element of sympathy to their plight. The reporter adds:

The marina has handed out eviction notices effective September 30th. This is a test case to see if the government can handle the demand.

At this point, it is clear, from the visuals, that the wharf will not be able to handle the demands. Bill Ekins, a representative of the Indian Arm Ratepayers Association is interviewed next. He states:

It was entertaining while we had the time to play with it but no one would do this on a consistent basis, just simply not safe, not practice and it wouldn't be allowed.

The source of the problem is then introduced by the reporter, as she states:

For the past two decades, commuters have moored at the only marina on Indian Arm. That's ending because the owners say the 60 year-old facility needs repairs they feel they can't afford and they feel threatened.

From a long pan of the marina, the visuals shift to an interior shot of a house where the reporter is shown interviewing an Asian woman. The woman is identified as as

Alice Kim, Seycove Marina Ltd. In the interview, Alice kim reveals her side of the story:

At one time I was called in the morning that the docks are dangerous. He slipped, he is going to sue the marina. I get many comments like this.

One would assume that this would be an understandable reason to close the marina, but then, the reporter adds another dimension to the problem. In a voice-over, she states:

Alice Kim and her husband want to subdivide one-third of an adjacent 17 acres into ten single home lots. Refurbishing the marina hinges on getting civic approval to do that. Until that, no commuter traffic will be allowed to moor here.

At this point, the message that comes across is one of the Kims' holding the local residents hostage. If they get civic approval for subdividing the adjacent area, they will then go ahead and fix the marina. If not, local residents will have to suffer. The accompanying visuals lend credence to the Kims' plan to sell the lots. The camera focuses on a close-up of building plans identifying where the marina is located on the model of the proposed development. It then cuts to a chart showing the area divided into ten lots. At this point, the reporter interviews Mr. Kyong Kim, also of Seycove Marina Ltd. Mr. Kim pursues the subject of personal threats that he and his wife have received:

So once they start contemplating suing us, every time they fall they start threatening physical harm sometimes to us and we run the small business, we can't afford that kind of liability.

The issue of threats is immediately contrasted with a visual scan of the congested docking area first shown in the

story. The implications of the abrupt transition imply causality - that the threats have resulted in the situation. Interviews with a local community leader follows, wherein he states:

I think it's time for the district to say, okay marina, we accept it. It's time for us to takeover the operation of this marina as a public facility needed by both commuters and the recreation element of our community.

The inclusion of this interview extract suggests a note of resignation - "we accept it." It also implies that the local residents would rather take control of the marina than be inconvenienced by the present situation. A vox pop with other local residents (who are all white) follows.

One white man says:

I would like to see the federal government, I think they should provide a marina and the people who use it should pay for it over a period of time. Nobody has a problem paying mortgage.

A white woman, near the boats who appears to be frustrated, says:

Well, if you're on the inside then you're just going to have to move every boat over until you can get to your boat and get it out. It's not going to be a very pleasant situation so the best thing to do is to be the last one here and the first one to leave. Five hour day.

With a pan shot of boats, a crowded dock and children climbing the rungs, the reporter concludes her story with the statement:

The district of North Vancouver and Transport Canada say they don't have budgets to accommodate this need on short notice. So what happens October 1st?

To which, an unidentified local resident says,

All hell breaks loose, it's a mad rush to the docks to see who gets the first spot.

The story clearly outlines the residents' frustrations with having to moor their boats in this dock. The source of this frustration are the Kims' and their refusal to extend the use of their marina. What is hinted at in this account, especially given the substance of the Kims' interviews, is that they may not have the money to refurbish the marina unless they sell the lots. Mr. Kim has already mentioned that they run a small business and that they cannot afford the liability of a legal suit.

However, this message is subordinated to the overall thrust of the story which clearly focuses on the residents' frustrations and the inability of the government to provide assistance. Nevertheless, within the context of the story, the Kims' come across as rather uncaring for the plight of the local residents. This frame is further entrenched by the story's apparent down-playing of the subject of threats, and its accentuation of the sale of property (visuals which focus on the building plans etc.). The issue of threats and the responsibility of the residents are peripheral issues, although the visual switch from the floor plans to the frustrated residents at the dock, could be construed as a sign of causality, i.e. that the residents are partially responsible.

Had the station wanted to present an alternative version of the story, it could have begun with a focus on

the Kims' and their predicament. The emphasis could have been placed on the threats that the Kims are experiencing and their tight financial situation. A perspective of this kind could have been further reinforced by a vox pop which features individuals who are sympathetic to the Kims' plight. As well, the story could have continued in this vein by interrogating Transport Canada's inability to provide docking services to tax-paying residents.

The connotations emerging from the above coverage were also present in an earlier story aired on BCTV (July 26, 1992). This time however, the reporter was not able to obtain an interview with the errant, irresponsible landlord. However, even though the landlord was not shown, he was identified as being Asian. The story concerned a wasp infested house in Langley rented by a white family. Inconvenienced by the wasps, the family had to sleep in the living room and outside, in the car. The reporter emphasized that the rent was quite high - \$750 per month. In the course of the reporter's investigation, it was found that the whole complex was owned by one man - Andy Wong. According to the reporter, Mr. Wong could not be reached for an interview. So the cameras led the audience to Mr. Wong's place of business - a low level building with the sign, 'Hawaiian Village.' In the meantime, the story continued with the plight of the unfortunate family and ended with a closing statement about the serious threat that the wasps

posed to the neighbour next door given that her daughter was allergic to stings.

According to the Tenants Rights Action Coalition (TRAC), there are about 10,000 callers, on the average, every year, who complain about irresponsible landlords. The majority of landlords are European (personal communication, TRAC representative, Boyd Piper, June, 1993). The provincial government's Residency Tenancy Branch fields 100,000 calls from tenants experiencing difficulties with landlords.

It can be argued that the story was motivated by the difficulties of these particular tenants who might have contacted the media. Additionally, BCTV's populist orientation (as seen from this and the previous story), is a significant factor underlying the selection of this story. Nevertheless, given the large numbers of errant landlords, the majority of whom are European, the story could have framed the issue within a wider perspective.

As part of its coverage on local athletes participating in the Olympic Games, BCTV featured a news story on July 25, 1992, which focused on Laurie Shong, a pentathlon athlete competing in the Games. The newscast starts out ostensibly as a bit of local coverage pursuing the story from a human interest perspective. It identifies Laurie Shong, discusses his various medals and awards, and interviews his parents. His father is the first to be interviewed and the visuals

reveal him to be a Chinese male. His mother is a white woman. In the context of this coverage, the reporter mentions that one needs,

money to reach Laurie's level of excellence, and that's where mum and dad come in.

The mother's voice-over continues with the linkage, saying:

Laurie's father is Chinese and the Vancouver Alliance Club is very proud of him and they had a fundraiser for him. They're hoping to have another one.

The community clearly supports Laurie. The reference to culture is subsequently underlined as visuals show Laurie learning how to cook a stir-fry. The report closes with a visual of Laurie practising shooting, and the last sound on the newscast is a shot piercing the air. The reporter adds another twist, Laurie can "never look forward to getting rich."

While the coverage initially portrays the Chinese community as supporting its athletes, the last sentence implies that by pursuing an athletic career, Laurie can never hope to achieve the same magnitude of wealth as that evident in his community. However, the reference to culture may have been predicated on the desire, on the part of the media, to communicate the heterogeneous character of the Asian communities. Here Laurie's position as an athlete serves to identify him with other athletes, who come from a variety of backgrounds. As well, the inclusion of Laurie's mother (a white woman) is suggestive of working cross-

cultural relationships. The focus of Laurie cooking a stir fry, serves to personalize him and to show him as if he is 'one of us.'

It is interesting to note that comparative pieces of coverage of local Olympic athletes did not feature such an intense examination of their home lives. Even in a special series dealing with women who have succeeded at their occupations, the coverage did not pursue them into their homes, kitchens and bedrooms, with one exception - a story on a South Asian media personality. The discourse in the above story is contradictory - Laurie Shong is both like 'us' and different from 'us.'

The notion of Asian communities as being inherently rich is also evident in the following news story aired on CBC's News Final on August 12, 1992. This time, the story dealt with the Japanese. The anchor provided this introduction:

The West Coast has become a favourite tourist destination for the Japanese and some of them are spending the summer at a hotel in Victoria. But, as Steven Hauser reports, they are there to do more than just sight-seeing.

The reporter on location elaborated on this introduction specifying that the Royal Oak Hotel ("a bit of merry old England") is now the Victoria Language Institute. He added that the hotel was purchased by the Japanese for a sum of \$8 million. This is followed by more detail on the

students - Japanese girls who attend the Institute to learn English. The Institute's

...three month course isn't cheap - about seven thousand dollars. But one big incentive for coming all the way to Canada is that a similar course in Japan would cost nearly double that.

Thus the rationale for the eight million dollar purchase and for students coming to Canada is established.

The Institute's director is then interviewed. The extract of her interview indicates the reasons motivating the Japanese interest in learning English:

Their economy is based on trade. Most trading nations or the kind of products they get come from English speaking nations so they have to, if they want to get involved in trade, they have to speak in English.

The story then shifts to elaborating on some of the advantages of learning English in Canada. The students get to practice their language skills for one, and as one teacher puts it:

It gives them a chance to experience informal English. They get a chance to talk to other Canadians. Most of them aren't afraid to go and say, hi, how are you?

The visuals accompanying the story focused on the students as they were collectively engaged in language exercises, eating, going to the beach, and sitting in a tour bus. Most of the time, they were shown laughing and having fun.

One of the interesting and apparent features of this news story is the fact that everyone interviewed was white, and further, they all occupied positions of power - as the

Institute's Director, teachers and instructors. Moreover, while these individuals were interviewed and shown separately, the students were always shown in groups or pairs. Despite the fact that the students "aren't afraid to" speak to anyone, according to one teacher, the reporter did not interview them. The impression communicated is that the story really does not concern them, but rather is an example of Japan's economic power; power which is used here in an instrumental fashion to prepare its children for trade. British Columbia happens to be a site of their training because of its current economic climate. However, Japanese purchase of land and historic buildings ("a bit of merry old England"), is changing the character of the province.

This allusion to England establishes an immediate oppositional relationship, for one it intimates the gradual destruction of old traditions. However, the image of Victoria as an imitation of England was a deliberate construction in the early part of this century. And ironically, it was created as a tourist ploy by American immigrants who had settled there (Jiwani and Crocker, 1990). The reporter's allusion to 'merry old England' evokes connotations of the Japanese as invading and destroying the 'original' character of the landscape.

Secondly, the allusion to the \$8 million transaction only serves to entrench the perception of wealthy Asians.

Properties in Victoria, as elsewhere, are constantly bought and sold. Would the \$8 million have been significant piece of information had a British investor bought the hotel? Alternatively, the mention of the millions used to buy the property could have been framed in another way - as an \$8 million infusion into the local economy. This perspective could be underscored by highlighting the number of jobs that the Language Institute has created for the local population. Finally, the report could have included interviews with the students, asking them about their perceptions of Canada.

What emerges from some of these newscasts is the effective positioning of Asians as non-Canadians. They are either portrayed as immigrants, refugees, investors or visitors. The exceptions to this were the coverage devoted to Laurie Shong, and the mention of a "Vancouver child." Asians only appeared as experts in two stories. The first dealt with the airline merger story, and the second, concerned a local story on Hamburger disease, where a Japanese-Canadian spokeswoman at a hospital was shown discussing the multiple ways in which meat can get contaminated (CBC, local news).

Some of the stories assume an explicit oppositional perspective, emphasizing an 'us' versus 'them' distinction. Others, however, are more contradictory, vacillating between a populist perspective which positions Asians as an "Other", and a paternalistic, liberal view, which attempts to show

Asians as being somewhat assimilated, and thus, like "us".
As the following chapter reveals, this relational pattern is
also apparent in the case of South Asian representations.

Notes

38. For example, Hayne Wai of the Human Rights Commission argued against this label at a seminar held by the Centre of Investigative Journalism, entitled Multiculturalism and Myopia (1987).

39. This alienness also draws from the discourse about fundamentalist religious movements and cults.

40. I am indebted to Lorraine Chan for this analysis.

CHAPTER VI

SOUTH ASIANS IN THE NEWS

The social and historical organization of images of ... South Asian people in general, must be understood from the relations of domination that make us absent from the general superstructure, and relegate us a place in the lowest basement of social production...

Himani Bannerji (1986:7-8).

From their earliest settlement in British Columbia at the turn of the century, South Asians were considered to be a threat to the social order (Buchignani and Indra, 1985). The province took a lead in formulating and enacting anti-Asian immigration laws, some of which were subsequently adopted and passed by the Dominion government of Canada. Commonly held sentiments at the time can be seen in the following quote, written by commentator, John Nelson, in the 1920s.

British Columbia is one of the last frontiers of the white race against the yellow and the brown. It is a land where a hoary civilization meets a modern one, and where the swarming millions of ancient peoples, stung into restless life by modern events, are constantly impinging on an attractive land held by sparse thousands of whites... a community which stands in the sea gate of the northwest Pacific, and holds it for Saxon civilization. (cited in Buchignani and Indra, 1985:5).

South Asian migration to Canada began in 1902, when a small group of 83 officers stopped in British Columbia on route to England where they were attending Edward VII's coronation. The Punjabi soldiers in the contingent received considerable media attention which dwelt on their 'exotic

character.' From 1903 to 1908, when the Continuous Voyage Act was passed, South Asians began migrating to Canada, most particularly to British Columbia in small numbers (Buchignani and Indra, 1985).

While the initial immigrants came to British Columbia via Hong Kong, subsequent immigrants came from the Punjab and Calcutta in response to the recruitment practices of the Canadian Pacific Railway agents. In 1908, the practice was curtailed as a result of local pressures. The government of Canada, at the behest of the government of British Columbia, passed an Order-in-Council which declared that no immigrants would be allowed to land on Canadian soil unless they could prove that they had come via a continuous journey from the land of their birth. Although the Order did not make any specific reference to South Asians or the Japanese, it was designed to put an end to migration from the Indian subcontinent and Japan as no ships could undertake a continuous voyage from these areas.

Substantial changes did not occur in the status of South Asian immigrants in Canada until the post-war period when India's independence and general international pressures forced the Canadian government to implement a quota system for South Asian immigrants. In 1967, immigration rules were relaxed, and this period signalled an increase in South Asian immigration to Canada.⁴¹

In her pioneering work in this area, Indra (1979;

1981), describes representations of South Asian immigrants that were common in British Columbia's press from 1907 to 1976 (see introduction for additional details). Indra concludes that while the representations had changed in minor ways, the overall construction of the South Asian immigrant as a violent, law-breaking, unassimilable individual remained a continuous thread.⁴² In terms of the changes that have occurred, Indra points to the labelling of South Asians as 'Hindoos' first, whereas in more contemporary coverage, they are referred to as 'East Indians.' This reference to cultural origins forms part of larger discourse on 'race' as per Hall's notion of cultural racism alluded to earlier.

Scanlon's (1977) study of the portrayal of Sikhs in the Vancouver press from 1944 to 1974, identifies similar themes. He found that the press consistently focused on conflicts within the community. Sikhs were constructed as being dangerous, violent and uncontrollable. Both studies conclude that the portrayal of South Asians in the press, until the mid-seventies (which was the cut-off point for their analyses), depicted them as immigrants who were a social problem.

Indra notes:

. . . the newspapers have generally sought news about ethnic groups in accord with stereotypic, group-specific expectations. Groups which have had stigmatic social identities have been more frequently associated with deviant or threatening behaviour in the papers than have groups with more positive social identities.

For instance, Asian immigration has always been an issue which has received heavy and negative press coverage while the traditionally larger British immigration figures have been routinely ignored. When a member of a visible minority commits an act of violence his or her ethnicity is far more likely to be mentioned by the press than if he or she were a British or American immigrant. Ethnicity itself has news potential and this further separates press portrayals from reality. (1981:71).

While these studies are more than a decade old, they provide a valuable historical perspective. Unfortunately, there have been no recent studies which provide an updated analysis. Nevertheless, given the longevity of most representations, it would seem that contemporary representations would resonate with these historically inscribed images.

South Asians in TV news

Representations of South Asian people in the newscasts examined in this study were very limited. As the table in the appendix indicates, many of the representations are confined to background footage, providing a context for the specific stories being told. As with the Asian representations, South Asians were often portrayed as workers and as background figures. In sum, they appeared 24 times in a total of 74 newscasts.

The few instances where South Asians are represented as active agents, or where they are the focus of the stories being told, dealt with issues of immigration, their opposition to particular issues, events or institutions, and

their involvement in fraud and patronage. This oppositional framing varied according to the nature of the story, and spanned the entire spectrum from opposition to health care budget cuts and their impact on services, to an articulated opposition to police practices regarding situations of domestic violence.

From the material examined here, there were only two instances where South Asians were represented in stories that did not concern their communities, racism, immigration or their opposition to a particular situation. These particular examples include an interview of a South Asian male student who was asked to comment on a recent constitutional conference he had attended (BCTV, August 12, 1992), and a panel interview/discussion with a South Asian male owner of a book store specializing in murder mystery novels (The Journal, August 3, 1992).⁴³

Illegal immigrants and refugees

Representations of South Asians as illegal immigrants and refugees has been a current theme in much of Canadian media (see for example, Bannerji, 1986; Jiwani, 1992; Indra, 1979, 1981). These representations have also spilled into fictional programming, as for example, the Canadian production Night Heat, which in 1988 featured a story on the arrival of illegal Sikh immigrants in containers (a theme derived from news coverage at the time).

Thus, given the prevalence of this frame, it is not surprising that one of the few stories featuring South Asians and Asians in the national broadcasts of CTV, dealt with the issue of illegal immigration. The story in question has been described in detail in previous chapters, but portions of it are reiterated here to highlight the nature of the representations presented.

CTV's first story began with a lead by the anchor who announced, "Closing the door on illegal immigrants" which was immediately followed by visuals of a line-up of illegal immigrants who were mostly Asian and South Asian (identifiable also by the one of the men wearing a blue turban). The anchor continued: "Ottawa stands firm while millions clamour to be let in." At this point, the camera closes in on a white, female, immigration officer interviewing a man (whose back faces the camera). A close up of the passport she is shown holding, reveals the words 'Fiji' on the cover. The anchor's introduction to the story later in the newscast (the story is eleventh in the news line-up), began with:

Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt went before a Commons Committee today to defend a tough new bill to reform the Immigration Act. Valcourt wants to crack down on false immigration claims and bogus refugees. He says that many refugee claimants are legitimately fleeing persecution. Others however, are fleeing prosecution. They're criminals who shouldn't be in Canada. In tonight's focus report, Craig Oliver focuses in on a booming industry in counterfeit Canadian documents and smuggling other illegal immigrants.

The reporter on location began the story with a pan of Mirabel airport. His accompanying narration situates the problem as such: "At Mirabel's airport, immigration officers say that almost every refugee had fraudulent documents or none at all." This is immediately followed by the same visual that was used to advertise the story earlier on - a line-up of illegal immigrants who are mostly Asians and South Asians, with a caption at the bottom of the visuals saying 'illegal immigrants.' The camera then focuses on the white, female immigration officer as she asks a South Asian male, "Where did you get the visa to travel to Canada?" A close-up of his passport shows that he is from Fiji. The camera follows her as she goes into the back and makes a telephone call. She then shakes her head as if to say 'no.'

In the meantime, the reporter's voice-over accompanying the visuals, provides the following context:

In its proposed new legislation, the Federal government wants to give broad new powers to immigration officers like this in Toronto. Right now she can check out an arrival's story but has no powers to search or confirm identity, nor can she refuse entry to anyone calling themselves a refugee.

The story is thus defined as a legitimate attempt on the part of the government to separate out the 'true' refugees from the 'false' ones. This visual footage coheres around several contrasting elements:

Immigration Officer	Illegal Immigrant
White female	South Asian male
Symbolizes law and order	Symbolizes disorder and criminality
Gatekeeper	'Invader'

From these visuals, it would appear that the South Asian man shown in the actuality footage does not possess valid documentation and that he is one of the 'bogus' refugees alluded to in the introduction to the story. A white male expert (Gord Cheeseman, Chief Intelligence Division) is then interviewed for his opinion on illegal immigrants and refugees. He identifies three kinds of migrants who use forged documents - criminals, terrorists and economic migrants "who come to Canada and claim to be refugees." He adds as an afterthought, "indeed there are genuine refugees travelling on forgeries as well." The last statement indicates an apparent concession, i.e., some are genuine refugees (see van Dijk, 1993).

Against file footage of Third World poverty and Asians being incarcerated in Kampuchea, the reporter adds:

Many are forced to. Growing Third World poverty, spreading ethnic and civil wars have spawned a multi-billion dollar industry in counterfeit documents and human smuggling of desperate illegal immigrants.

The inclusion of the visual footage and narrative text provide a counterpoint to the classification of most refugees as being "terrorists," "criminals," and "refugees."

They contest that definition by revealing the range of conditions that may force refugees to migrate.

However, in the very next sentence, the focus shifts back to the "multi-billion dollar industry in counterfeit documents and human smuggling" that plagues Canadian immigration officials. In the ensuing footage, the camera follows an immigration enforcement officer at the airport as he tries to differentiate between the 'desperate illegal immigrants' and the genuine refugees from the people coming through a door. The camera is positioned directly behind him, so the audience 'sees' the scene from his perspective. The shots of people coming through the doors is brief revealing a marked absence of people of colour. The officer does not stop any of the people coming through the door. The implications are that these are 'genuine' immigrants.

Immediately after this survey of incoming people, the visuals shift to an interior location. Using an overhead shot, the camera focuses down on a dim lit room, surrounded by bars. An officer appears to be speaking with another, shadowy figure. The reporter's voice-over conveys the following:

In a recent one month crack down abroad, they caught 900 people trying to board planes to Canada using phoney travel documents.

Thus, although the story so far has demonstrated the plight of refugees (by its inclusion of footage pertaining to conditions in the Third World), and the lack of

inauthentic refugees coming through the doors, this extract reinforces the previous theme of the illegal immigrants. It indicates the 'reality' of the 'problem.'

The story then moves to a classroom situation where the visuals show immigration officers being trained to differentiate forged documents from authentic ones. The students in the classroom include women of colour. The instructor is a white male. A pan of the classroom reveals the officers busily engaged in trying various technologies to verify the authenticity of travelling documents. Close-ups of a white male trying a particular technology, and a white woman using ultraviolet light to discern the hidden codes (these are subsequently shown), follow. The reporter notes:

Front-line immigration officers from across the country are attending training sessions learning to spot phoney visas and bogus passports, some of them highly sophisticated. To foil counterfeiters, the federal government is printing new immigration documents using high tech methods such as hidden codes only visible under ultra-violet light.

The sophistication of the 'bogus' refugees and 'illegal immigrants' has been established. The reporter adds:

A package including accompanying (sic) smuggler and counterfeit papers can consist as much as \$25,000. A government expert says the business is so profitable it's attracting international drug barons.

The high costs and the connection with drugs is reinforced by an interview with a white male expert, identified as Immigration Investigator, Philippe Gerard.

Gerard states:

Many people involved in drugs are switching to moving people rather than moving drugs because the penalties are much less stiff than they are for drugs and the profits are enormous.

The refugee crisis is thus explained by reference to drugs, and to the profitability of the enterprise. According to van Dijk (1993), political and media discourse frequently make use of the "Fake Refugee Schema." This schema consists of negative evaluations of economic migrants, focusing on illegal immigration, counterfeit documentation and "the activities of traffickers, seen as the merchants of human misery." (1993:79). The coverage thus far, fits within this schema.

Actuality footage of Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt at a press conference is featured next. Valcourt states:

Today with the mass movements of people in the world, 80 million people are on the move today as we speak, we need the tools in our Act to properly deal with these pressures.

The numbers are alarming - 80 million people. Van Dijk (1993) mentions that politicians frequently use the 'numbers game' to legitimize their attempts to stop immigration. As he puts it:

This rhetorical use of quasi-objective figures, convincingly suggesting how many 'come in' every day, week, month, or year, is one of the most compelling scare tactics in the formation of public opinion. Figures need not be lied about or exaggerated. It is the way they are presented or extrapolated that makes them impressive. (1993:107).

Thus far, the story has posited that there are "millions" who are desperate enough to try anything to get

into Canada. Nine hundred were caught in one month and there are another 80 million on the move. Preceding this, is the information that "over the last two and half years, 100,000 people have shown up" without authentic or proper documentation. The image built up is one of an avalanche of immigrants and refugees, most of them inauthentic, "fleeing prosecution rather than persecution" within their own countries. Added to this, is their presumed involvement in the drug trade - with the drug barons providing the means for their illegal transit.

The report shifts to the plight of the genuine refugees. Immigration lawyer, Lorne Waldman, (white male) is presented next. He opposes the government's new bill.

Waldman states:

There is no evidence of major abuse of the system that would justify the haste with which the government is operating.

The reporter adds:

One of many coalitions being formed across the country to fight government policy held its first meeting in Toronto tonight. Organizers say Ottawa's hard line will hurt genuine refugees.

The visuals accompanying this statement are interesting as they reveal the presence of several people of colour.

All are seated around a conference table with Waldman on the side. At this point, Waldman is shown again, stating:

If you are a refugee who is fleeing persecution in your country, you don't have the possibility in most cases of going to the authorities and applying for a passport.

At this point, the reporter cuts in to make his closing statement, in which he states:

This is probably not the easiest time for Canada to be closing the door tighter on refugees, legitimate or otherwise. The dissolving nations of Central Europe are creating millions of homeless desperately in search of a safe haven. And that is creating pressure for governments everywhere to loosen the rules and open the doors wider. Pressure they may find hard to resist.

The closure attempts to tie together the contradictory elements in the news text. Waldman's redefinition of illegal refugees as legal refugees is resolved in this narrative (i.e. "legitimate or otherwise"), as is the reference to desperate Third World refugees. At the same time, the image of a refugee 'invasion' is heightened by the reference to the "dissolving nations of Central Europe," and the "millions of homeless," resulting from this.

As mentioned previously, this news story creates an oppositional relationship between the South Asians and Asians as bogus refugees and illegal immigrants versus the Government of Canada, as symbolized by Minister Valcourt, and the legitimate refugees from Central Europe (see chapter IV). Whilst the government is attempting to curb those who come to Canada under false pretences, the bogus refugees and illegal immigrants are busily engaged in an underground booming industry - the production of counterfeit documents. The criminality of South Asians as illegal immigrants is further evidenced by the inclusion of footage showing a South Asian man whose documentation cannot be verified. The

fact that the immigration officer cannot confirm his documentation suggests that he has lied. The only counterpoint to this representation is the reference to Third World refugees, who are portrayed as victims of "poverty," and "ethnic and civil wars." The other point of contradiction is the inclusion of visual footage which shows women of colour as immigration workers being trained to detect counterfeit documentation. However, they are portrayed as background figures. The visuals which focus on the officers trying out new technologies are limited to a white man and woman. The authoritative voice belongs to white male instructors and officers.

The association of South Asians with criminality in terms of violating immigration rules was also the subject of various news stories in the local paper, The Vancouver Sun, during the month of this newscast. In July, headlines concerning South Asians and immigration were as follows: "Sponsorship pact led to marriage of misery," (July 22, 1992); "Indo-Canadian blows whistle on wedded bliss" (July 25, 1992), and "Punjabi man was given 7 requests for blood test, immigration department says" (July 31, 1992). While the first two stories dealt with the arranged marriages between Indo-Canadians and the South Asians they had sponsored (in order to enable them to stay in Canada), the last dealt with a Punjabi man's assumed violation of immigration rules. He was required to undergo a medical

examination, which he subsequently completed. However, the department 'lost' his records and claimed that he had not fulfilled the requirement and hence was liable for deportation.

Given the entrenched framing of Asians as illegal immigrants, it is difficult to imagine how this story might have been told were it not to reproduce this same frame. Yet, there have been numerous times, in the history of Canada, that other groups have also sought refuge within the country and often slipped through as illegal immigrants. More recently, since the break-up of the USSR, Russians and East Europeans have been arriving to Canada as illegal immigrants and refugees (see for instance, CTV March 3, 1993).⁴⁴ Yet, this story does not allude to their presence. Rather the focus is entirely on the Asians who are cast as bogus refugees and illegal immigrants.

Had the story provided an historical background to the question of immigration, and immigration criteria, it might have offered its viewers a different impression. Given that historically, immigrants from Asia were the ones most discriminated against, in that specific laws were created to prohibit them from coming to the country, it would follow that the only way in which they would gain entry would be by circumventing the legal system. The story could then have focused on systemic exclusion of certain categories of immigrants as evidenced by the distribution of immigration

offices in various parts of the world (Greenwald, 1989). The latter clearly reveals which countries are the preferred sources for immigrants.

South Asians and crime

This association with criminality is apparent in yet another story, aired on the same night, on CTV's local station - BCTV. While it did not contain any visuals, the story was indicative of the community's need to defend itself in light of what it regarded as a criminal association. The anchor introduced the story as follows:

B.C. Sikh leaders are distancing themselves from a man being questioned by Indian police in connection with the 1985 Air India bombing. Indian police say Manjit Singh has admitted taking part in the bombing and that for a while he hid in a Vancouver area Sikh temple after the explosion. But officials of the International Sikh Youth Federation say Manjit Singh is not a member of their organization and have not heard of him.

As per most news stories, there is an oppositional relationship established here between the statements of the Indian police, and those of the International Sikh Youth Federation. The latter organization has not enjoyed much public credibility in Vancouver over the last five years as a result of its involvement and support for Khalistan, separate from India.

In contrast to BCTV's coverage, the CBC's News Final covered the issue in greater detail providing visuals of the International Sikh Youth Federation's press conference.

Interestingly, CBC also sent in its lone South Asian female reporter, Belle Puri to cover the event. The anchor introduced the story as such:

Members of the International Youth Federation called a news conference in Vancouver today to deny allegations that the group was involved in the bombing of Air India flight 182. The denials came a week after the arrest of a leading suspect in the bombing by Indian authorities. Belle Puri reports.

Puri's report began with an external shot of the site of the press conference - which she described as the offices of,

...the only weekly Punjabi newspaper in Canada dedicated to the cause of a separate state in India.

She underscores the denotation here with the following statement:

Inside executive members of a Federation dedicated to the same fight gather to, in their words, set the record straight.

This mention serves to evoke images of Sikhs as a people intent on bringing the struggles of their homeland with them to Canada.⁴⁵ It also foregrounds the message that the position presented is one that belongs strictly to the Sikh organization, i.e., "in their words," and is not shared by the reporter (see Lerman, 1985).

The scene shifts to an interior long shot of three Sikh men at a table with mikes. The spokesman, identified as Ranjeet Singh Dosanjh of the International Sikh Youth Federation, says:

Manjit Singh or whoever this person is that the Indian

authorities have under their custody is not a member of our organization. Nor do we have any knowledge who this person is. We have no record of him in any of our files.

This denial is immediately followed by file pictures of Manjit Singh. These include mug shots from the FBI showing him with long hair, and short hair with a turban and beard. File footage of the Air India flight taking off, and wreckage of the crashed plane, comes next. The camera then shifts to a close-up of the front page of the local newspaper, focusing on the headlines: "Bombing Suspect Spills the Beans," "Air India Probe Reveals Links to B.C. Sikhs." Accompanying these visuals is the following narration:

Manjit Singh arrested in Bombay last week has confessed to the bombing of Air India flight 182 in June 1985 and has implicated several people in B.C. as cohorts. The International Sikh Youth Federation is upset that recent reports have linked Singh to their group. Today they tried to keep their distance.

Additional visuals of an open newspaper follow. The headline states: "Air India Blast Suspect Names Terrorist." The headline accompanies a mug shot of Manjit Singh.

The Federation's denial assumes a different light in the context of the visual footage. It confirms Puri's assessment of the organization's denial as a distancing act. The headlines "Bombing Suspect Spills the Beans," implies that the denial is predicated on a fear of being exposed. Thus, the distancing suggests the organization's implicit

involvement and hence renders it guilty of being complicit in terrorist activities. Excerpts of Ranjeet Singh Dosanjh's statements corroborate the guilty verdict by their tenuousness and repetitiveness, as he says:

The International Sikh Youth Federation is the biggest organization in the world, Sikh organization in the world. There is no possible way we could possibly know all our members without going into our files. There is no possible way we would know how many of our members know whom.

However, Puri's linkage statements and the visuals connecting the two times that the Sikh spokesperson is shown talking, present a different interpretation that undercuts the legitimacy of the International Sikh Youth Federation. This is reinforced by Puri's next statement:

It is believed Singh was provided sanctuary by a Federation member when he was living in British Columbia. That member now holds the highest position within the Federation.

This narrative is accompanied by a mug shot of Manjit Singh. The complicity of the organization is now made apparent. However, it is contested by the Federation's spokesman, Ranjeet Dosanjh who says:

If somebody has a personal relationship with Manjit Singh I don't think that means he would be a member of our organization.

Dosanjh's statement clearly delineates the view that not all Sikh's are members of the Federation, and further, personal relationships do not necessarily connote membership. The statement opposes Puri's definition of guilt by association. Puri closes the story with the

following:

The Federation says its 'reported link to Singh is a story fabricated by the Indian government.

The Federation's perspective offers the last word in this story. However, the allocation of the 'blame' elsewhere does not detract from the implications of the organization's involvement with the bombing. The Federation's complicity is strongly underlined by the visuals presented.

Both reports fail to provide any contextual background to the issue. Instead, the issue simply 'hangs' on the slim thread of 'facts' strung together. The only element that coheres this story is the revelation that Manjit Singh came to Vancouver and received refuge at a local Sikh temple. The impression constructed is one of the Indian government versus the International Sikh Youth Federation: The former reflecting the legitimacy of the state, the latter reflecting the illegitimacy of a separatist group associated with (more so with the denial), a suspected terrorist engaged in violent activities.

In a publication entitled Soft Target (1989) Zuhair Kashmeri and Brian McAndrew, examine how the Government of India conspired to 'frame' members of the Punjabi community in Canada as militants and terrorists. The journalists uncovered evidence indicating that the Indian government deliberately misled the RCMP investigation and provided fabricated evidence to implicate the involvement of the

Sikhs. However, prior to publishing their investigation, the print media assumed that the Sikhs were responsible and carried detailed stories on various Sikhs who were supposedly involved in the bombing of the Air India flight. This particular news story could have drawn on Kashmeri and McAndrew's work which is widely known and which is credible given that it is written by two journalists, Kashmeri, a journalist for The Globe and Mail, and McAndrew who writes for The Toronto Star.

The association with criminality is further underscored by BCTV's news story on ICBC fraud cases. Aired on August 12, the story dealt with the Insurance Corporation of British Columbia's (ICBC) hiring of four more private investigators to deal with fraud cases. As the reporter's voice-over provided additional information regarding ICBC's attempt to expose cases of fraud, the visuals presented a shot from a hidden camcorder's viewfinder, of a South Asian male raking leaves in a garden. The man was obviously a complainant who was filing for compensation for an injury he presumably suffered in a motor vehicle accident. The visual showing him raking his lawn indicates that he is in good health and signifies that he is one of the fraudulent cases that the Corporation is attempting to expose.

CBC's coverage of this same issue also included similar actuality footage. This time however, the fraud case was not a South Asian male. The inclusion of the South Asian man in

the previous newscast creates a representation that resounds with a cultural stock of knowledge in which the image of South Asians as criminals, violating normative rules and regulations, is an entrenched one (Indra, 1979; Scanlon, 1977). There is a certain connotative charge attached to representations of South Asians in a criminal context. One way in which such a charge could be defused would be by including shots of other fraudulent cases, with suspects other than just South Asians.

South Asians in Opposition

As mentioned previously, both news stations aired several stories featuring South Asians articulating their opposition to various public and state institutions. BCTV featured three such cases which ranged from a South Asian business man's opposition to the government controlled liquor board's move to stock cold beverages; South Asian cricket players' opposition to the staging of a public concert by the popular Canadian musician Bryan Adams in Stanley Park, and two South Asian women articulating their opposition to police practices in the handling of cases dealing with violence against women.

Of the three, two stand out in terms of how they represented the opinions of South Asians in the respective stories. The first of these occurred in a story about a proposed rock concert in Stanley Park. The second is

highlighted by its coverage of South Asian women at a protest rally concerning police practices and treatment regarding violence against women.

Bryan Adams, cricket and the colonial legacy

During the summer of 1992, there was much speculation at the local level about Bryan Adams, a popular Canadian musician, and his plan to host a free public concert in his home-town, Vancouver, in Stanley Park. Previous newscasts had included the story in terms of the reaction of Park Board members to the proposed concert. The Board feared that the concert would cause heavy damage to the Park. On the other hand, many of the local residents, particularly, the younger members of the public, were in favour of the concert given the musician's popularity and worldwide reputation. Hence, the issue had already been defined in an adversarial format.

The news story which aired on BCTV (July 25, 1992), was preceded by a short clip reporting on Bryan Adams' rescue role in a car accident that had occurred in Switzerland. Against a Swiss road map, a man is heard saying that Adams was very "nice." The anchor then introduced the cricket field story as follows:

Adams got mixed reviews today at the Cricket Pitch in Stanley Park. The site of a free concert that Adams wants to stage on Labour day. The show is expected to be approved by the Vancouver Park Board on Monday. But there is fear that it will damage the manicured lawn used to play cricket despite a promise by Adams' people

to cover the entire field with plywood and post a damage deposit with City Hall.

The introduction provides the relevant contextual details but implies the strong reluctance of the Park Board's members. The story begins with visuals of the Cricket field, with children playing on it. The reporter's voice-over narrates:

Even when kids play, it is close to proper as you can get, quiet, civil. Both sides wear the same colour uniform but they are a different sort.

The reporter then interviews a white boy, asking "what do you think of Bryan Adams?" The boy replies, "I've never heard his music before." The reporter seems shocked, "You've never heard of Bryan Adams? Are you serious? But he is the most popular Canadian musician around." The boy repeats that he is not aware of Adams' music. The reporter then questions a young white girl. She too says she is unaware of the concert. The reporter adds: "The older players know about the concert, just as they know about having a headache." This forms the linkage statement to the next set of vox pop style interviews.

A West Indian man of South Asian origins is interviewed next. The following exchange takes place.

Man: Have it in West Van, or North Van, or wherever it is.

Rep: Why?

Man: Keep them out there.

Rep: Keep who out there?

Man: The 42,000 fans.

Rep: You don't want them here.

Man: No.

Clearly the man does not want the concert to take place on the cricket field.

The reporter then interviews a black male, whose accent indicates a southern African origin. He is also against the concert taking place on the field, saying "it's crazy." He adds:

Just for a few music. I mean the music is fine, I've got nothing against music. I've got a problem against a stampede, of people, of feet.

The camera shifts to a close-up of a white male. As he talks, one can detect an accent. The man says:

They've got to have a concert, Bryan Adams is probably the best musician Canada's ever had. It would be really nice. I'd love to attend. [Reporter: Which is more important?] For myself personally? At the expense of the wicket (or wicked?), I'd say we'd rather have cricket.

The camera pans out on the cricket field revealing children and adults playing the game. It lingers on a South Asian man with a red turban, a pink shirt that is hanging out (which is sharp contrast to the white uniforms around), and jeans. The man appears to be taking notes. The reporter states:

Cricket to be cricket has its propriety and its neatness. They fear rockers don't wear white.

The narration clearly continues the thread of the previous range of vox pop, by expressing the element of fear

underpinning the responses given so far. However, the visual text and the narration in this instance, collide and collude. The focus on the South Asian man, wearing a red turban, pink shirt, and jeans underlines his departure from the norm of the white cricket uniform. The narration seems to be implying that while certain transgressions of norms are accepted (i.e. the presence of a different dress), other transgressions are not permitted (i.e the "rockers" who "don't wear white."). At the same time, the visual text and the narration contradict each other, because clearly the South Asian man is obeying the rules of propriety and neatness.

The reporter then engages in eliciting another set of views. He asks two boys, one South Asian and the other white, about their views on the concert. The white boy replies, "I mean they're going to pollute all their drinks and that," the second boy inserts his affirmation here, "They're going to..., they're going to..."

The reporter asks, "cricket people don't make a mess?" The boys motion to the field, saying,

No, do you see a mess here of cups, etc., and beer cans. Cause it's going to happen at the Bryan Adams' concert if it's here.

Having gauged the reaction on the field, the reporter closes with the following:

As the excitement of this day dragged on, we got to thinking about cricket. It has spread around the world and it has survived the decline of the British Empire, and at least some of the players here believe that if

it came to it, it would also survive one day of rock and roll.

There are several elements that seem to be at work in this account. The first is the favorable orientation to Bryan Adams and the proposed concert. The clip which preceded this account implied that Adams was identified as a Canadian hero. His proximity to the local scene is enhanced by the common understanding of him as a "local boy" who has achieved success, thereby putting his home town on the map. The other element is BCTV's populist orientation which is infused in the account here by the favorable construction of Adams, and the assumed common sense knowledge, that everyone knows about Bryan Adams. That orientation also comes through in the reporter's overt shock when confronted by a young boy and girl who are not aware of Adams. After all, the narration implies that 'everyone' knows about Bryan Adams.

Cricket and cricket players are portrayed as a conservative group of people - 'different' in a variety of ways. They are "quiet," "civil," "neat," and wear the same uniforms. Yet, this overt homogeneity is subsequently ruptured by the different faces that are seen, and the different voices heard. Nevertheless, the apparent differences are unified by common beliefs - that the cricket field is more important than the Adams' concert. The tenuous character of the homogeneity is underscored by the contrast between the apparent rules of propriety that are

inherent in cricket (i.e. the white uniforms), and the presence of the Sikh man, not in uniform, on the playing field, revealing once again, that the conservative and negative response of cricketers seem to be predicated on the imagined negative consequences of the concert rather than an apprehension of the 'reality'; the 'reality' in this case being the celebratory home-coming of a local star, and his benevolent gesture of holding a free concert for the town's residents.

Notwithstanding the above, the conclusion to the story raises other connotations. For one, within the range of vox pop included, virtually all indicated their opposition to the concert. Only one white male seemed to recognize the positive aspect of the concert. However, when confronted with a choice between cricket and the concert, he too opted for the former. So the statement, "some players believe" is contradictory.

The evocation of Empire is interesting in this account. It seems to emerge from the range of voices accessed (their accents and racial differences), as well as the common sense knowledge about the British origins of cricket. The Empire becomes the larger sign within which race, colonialism and cricket are subsumed. The closing shot of the news story showed a young South Asian boy walking on the cricket field implying, that cricket, South Asians and the Empire signify each other - the latter having contributed to the migration

of the sport and its colonial subjects.

Another interesting element of this story is the inclusion of men of colour within the vox pop. In the case of the black and Asian representations, such an inclusion is rare, and only occurs when the story concerns the particular person or her/his community (e.g. the Caribana). In this case, the inclusion may have been predicated on the colonial overtones of the game. However, there were many other white people on the cricket field the particular day in which this story was recorded. They can be seen in the background. But, only the young, white boy and girl were interviewed.

Had the reporter refrained from using the image of the Empire, and had he reiterated the response of his interviewees, the story would have provided a more accurate coverage of the situation.

Militant Women

Prevailing stereotypes of South Asian women usually define them to be passive, oppressed and 'backward' (Thobani, 1992). Yet, this BCTV newscast showed otherwise (August 14, 1992). The event was preceded by the murder of a young white woman, Alexandra Pesic, at the hands of her in-laws. Pesic had been stalked by her murderers for years prior to her death, but the police had limited their investigation of her complaints until her murder. Women's groups had organized a rally protesting the police's

treatment of violence against women in response to Pesic's death. The rally took place on the steps of the Vancouver Courthouse, and visuals revealed that it was 'sparsely attended.'

The reporter began her story of the event by focusing on the issue of violence against women. After interviewing a white woman who had completed a report on the subject, the visuals switched to the site of the rally, revealing a South Asian woman addressing the women gathered there. A close-up of one of the women, Seema Ahluwalia of SAWAN (South Asian Women's Action Network) follows as she says:

Studies of police response reveal that violence against women is not even viewed as serious work by the police.

This is followed by an extreme close-up of another South Asian woman, identified as Sayeeda Noorani who is shown saying,

Despite her [Alexandra Pesic] pleas, she was given no protection. The system failed her as it has failed other women, and it will go on failing unless something is done.

Interestingly, there were several other women, white women, at the rally who had also spoken. Yet, the news story only included footage of the two South Asian women.

From an analytical point of view, this news story demonstrates what Julien and Mercer (1988) have called the 'burden of representation.' The burden of representation is essentially a double-bind. The general scarcity of representations of people of colour results in a situation

where when such representations occur, they are imbued with a charge. Thus, while the above news story represents an affirmative view of South Asian women - as active agents, rather than as the passive, oppressed group they are normally depicted as, their very selection as signs in the context of the news story opens up a critique of their representations.

Such a critique draws on the stock of common sense knowledge that is available to South Asian women who are forming their own discourse about media messages (see Dubois, 1993). Thus, according to this critique, given the general absence of South Asian women's representation in mainstream media, any representation that does occur must be predicated on the dominant discourse of race. In other words, the inclusion of South Asian women as a sign will be motivated by the resonance of that sign, or its 'fit' within the exotic/victim/threat/difference paradigm or as a sign of the assimilated South Asian woman who valorizes the West and functions as a cultural power broker. The latter term describes those women who have risen to positions of social power and who then function as representatives of the wider community (Dubois, 1993).

Admittedly, this is a minority counter-discourse. However, it makes a valuable contribution in deconstructing representations from a particular position. For as Stuart Hall notes, "...you can begin to interrogate the seamless

web of that particular story from the viewpoint of another story as it were." (Hall, 1984:12).

Within this counter-discourse then, the representations of South Asian women described above resonate with the prevailing commonsense notions of South Asian cultures as being extremely patriarchal; that the women in South Asian communities are more likely to be subject to domestic violence than their white counterparts (Thobani, 1992). This bit of knowledge is so entrenched that recently an immigrant services agency implemented a special "assaultive husbands" program aimed directly at the South Asian communities (personal communication, MOSAIC, May, 1993). The women included in the above news story then represent the articulation against this violence. The choice mediating their inclusion is seen as predicated on the mutual knowledge that because South Asian women are more likely to suffer domestic violence, they are therefore, more militant in voicing concerns about adequate police protection.⁴⁶

An alternative reading of this text would propose that these representations signify 'ungrateful' and 'demanding' women of colour. Such a reading corresponds to the representations of black women that were discussed in chapter IV. South Asian women, within this context, are presented as denouncing the 'system.' Yet, this is the very 'system' that enabled them to enter the country, and to

access services.

Hence, this story touches on a range of associations regarding the nature of South Asian women. Thus, their insistence on denouncing a system is 'understood' within the parameters of their defined oppression within a patriarchal cultural framework. Perhaps one way in which this story could have been constructed differently would be through the inclusion of other women who spoke at the rally. This would achieve the effect of showing that critiques of the system were commonly held among the women at the rally, and not confined to the particular South Asian women shown.

Violence against women would then be defined as an issue concerning all women, regardless of their cultural or racial background.

Despite these readings, however, the distinct departure of this representation from the historicity of previous representations indicates some measure of change. That South Asian women are shown as active agents indicates the degree of departure, for as Indra (1981) has shown, women of colour were largely absent in the local press coverage from 1907-1976.

On 'postive' representations

The CBC newscasts analyzed contained only four other instances of South Asian representations in total. One of these has already been discussed, the other three positioned

South Asians in a 'positive' manner.

The first of these stories deals with the coverage on health care in Saskatchewan and focuses on the closure of hospitals as a result of rising health care costs. The story began in the small town of Radville, Saskatchewan where the town hospital was to be closed down. The residents were upset about the decision, and the local doctor, a South Asian male, identified as Dr. Indra Patel was asked for his response to the situation. He stated: "older people will be affected the most" adding that the town would "die" with the closure of the hospital. The story pits Dr. Patel's testimony against that of the hospital administrator, a white male, who denies the negative effects of the closure. The administrator argues that the new health care centre which is to replace the hospital, is more efficient and cost-effective.

The representation of Dr. Patel within this story is an interesting one in that while the story is focused on a conflict situation, i.e. between the local residents and the hospital administrator, he is clearly portrayed as supporting and being supported by the local residents. He is neither the site of the conflict nor opposed to the general populace. As a physician (elite status), his representation contrasts sharply with the representations of South Asians as illegal refugees and criminals.

On July 31, 1992, the CBC local news carried a story

about patronage appointments within the provincial government. Moe Sihota (South Asian male), the Minister responsible for British Columbia Hydro, was interviewed as part of the coverage. As befits most political reporting, Sihota, a New Democratic Party Member of the Legislative Assembly, was interrogated by the media about the government's appointment of Mark Ellisen as head of B.C. Hydro. The story was framed as one of government patronage appointments given that Ellisen has been a long time member of the New Democratic Party. In response to the allegation, Sihota mentioned that Ellisen was indeed the best man for the position. He cited Ellisen's extensive experience in heading Ontario Hydro.

While this story involved the representation of a South Asian male, it is somewhat atypical in the corpus of material analyzed given that it evokes a previously established relationship between the press and politicians, wherein the press act as a the 'fourth estate' trying to make politicians accountable to the public. Thus, based on this prior relationship, the questions put to Sihota are similar to the questions that may be asked of a white politician given that it is the status of the individual, in this case, that takes precedence over his racial characteristics. This of course, depends on the nature of the story. Had Sihota been discussing employment equity legislation, the connotations and framing would have been

quite different. He might then have been presented in the typical fashion of a one-issue minority member who is constantly making demands for the special interest group he serves (see Entman, 1990).

There were two other stories that dealt with South Asians in a way that portrayed them as 'ordinary' citizens. The first was a studio interview with a young South Asian male student, Taleeb Noormohamed (August 12, 1992). Noormohamed had just returned from a student commissioned National Conference in Ottawa. The tone of the interview can be surmised from the following introduction offered by the anchor:

A lot of people have been doing a lot of talking about Canadian unity and other issues affecting this country in the past months, and goodness knows many of us are feeling talked out by the whole process. But that hasn't stopped the Prime Minister from calling a First Ministers' Conference on the Constitution. He might do better to listen to a few suggestions from 225 high school students who gathered for the student commissioned National Conference in Ottawa last week. One B.C. delegate returned home today from that conference and Taleeb Noormohamed joins us now. Welcome back.

The congenial tone of this introduction and the subsequent questions that were posed to Noormohamed are striking. The report reflects the potentiality of news makers to re-present minorities in an acceptable way. The inclusion of this piece serves to demonstrate that minorities are not always victims or criminals. However, the format of this piece differs considerably from the normal fare of television news. For one, it was a studio

interview. Second, Noormohamed was not dealing with a threatening issue, as for example, racism, employment equity and the like. Neither was he making demands.

The second story, which is equally interesting, is a piece that BCTV aired on an issue of concern to cold beer and wine store owners (August 5, 1992). The story began with the following introduction:

If you are looking for a cold case of beer or a chilled bottle of wine on a hot summer's day, in most cases, the nearest place to go is your local beer and wine store. But that may soon change. The provincial government is thinking about putting refrigerators in some of its liquor stores, a move that has the owners of beer and wine stores more than a little worried.

The report begins with an interior shot of a beer and wine store. A white male goes to the back, picks up a six-pack of beer and brings it to the counter. The woman behind the counter is South Asian. She rings in his money, and he leaves. As he goes out the door, a young South Asian male walks in. The reporter's voice over begins at this point: "Cold beer and wine have been available from private retailers in B.C.". At this point the camera focuses on Paul Uppal, the proprietor of the store. The reporter continues, "It took Paul Uppal two and half years just to get his license and that was just the beginning."

In the meantime, the camera follows Uppal as he shows the different areas of the store. The camera lingers on the beer in the transparent refrigerators. This is followed by an exchange between Uppal and the reporter:

Uppal: I invested about \$300,000.

Reporter: Plus what you had to spend to go through the approval process, a referendum.

Uppal: Yes, we went through a referendum. We had to do an appeal on it. And totally, it cost us \$30,000 to go through the whole process.

The reporter then contextualizes the conflict. As the camera moves to the exterior, the audience is presented with a frontal shot of the beer and wine store, its name clearly identifiable (J.P. Mallone is the name of the store). The reporter adds:

Uppal's cold beer and wine store is located in Richmond, and now only 16 months after it opened, the liquor board may open its own store with coolers in the mall across the street.

The camera pans across the street and focuses on the mall in which the government plans to open its store. The scene shifts back to the interior of J.P. Mallone, and Uppal is shown stating:

They can undercut me because I've taken out a loan to put the building up and to put all this here, and I have to bring in so much to cover that loan, whereas, being the government, they don't have to worry about it as much as I do.

The visuals switch to an exterior shot, outside a building which can be identified as the Liquor Distribution Branch. A white woman is shown outside and subsequently identified as Leslie Myers. In defence of the government's move, she says:

We are trying to be as customer driven as possible, and this is something they have been asking for and we are now considering it.

Thus far, the report has outlined Uppal's position in a sympathetic manner, and the government response/defence of their actions. The reporter then interviews another party - the representative of the Pub and Beer Store Owners Association, John Edmondson. In an interior of a bar, with Edmondson behind the counter, the reporter solicits his views on the matter (unheard). Edmondson states:

The government liquor stores didn't want to deal in beer. They said it was too much trouble, it was too much work. Now they are reversing their position. [The reporter asks why] I think the government needs money.

The visuals shift to an exterior location with the reporter in a stake-out position outside an unidentified building. A linkage statement follows, in which the reporter states:

A lot of cold beer and wine sotres say they're afraid to speak out publicly because they don't want any license hassles but speak to them privately and they'll tell you that a lot of pressure on the government to start selling cold beer is coming from down here, the headquarters of the B.C. Government Employees Union.

Thus, the 'real' source of the conflict is now made apparent. The news story thus far, seems to side with the beer and wine store owners. The anti-union, anti-government sentiments become increasingly apparent.

An interior shot follows and reveals a white male behind a desk, with the reporter on the other side. The man is subsequently identified as Cliff Andstein, of the B.C. Government Employees Union. Andstein comments:

No we have made no demands for any political payoffs. On the alcohol side, we have a social policies issue which has to do with government control and regulation of alcohol and we're also interested in protecting the

jobs of our members, of course, we're a trade union. That's what we're hired to do.

While the reporter's questions are not articulated in the story, it can be assumed from the answer that a possible payoff was raised as an issue.

The visuals return to an interior shot of J.P. Mallone with Paul Uppal stacking wine bottles, and his employee, the young South Asian male, stacking boxes. The reporter concludes:

Paul Uppal now worries if he'll be able to pay the major bank loan he took to set up his store. And his employees now fear losing their jobs if the government decides to let civil servants do the work instead.

The story is interesting on several accounts. In the first instance, it demonstrates the 'David versus Goliath' schema that the media impose and construct (Hallin, 1986). In this case, Paul Uppal is like other small businessmen. He has taken out a loan, set up what appears to be a successful venture, and is now in danger of losing this because of an impending government decision. Moreover, he, unlike other owners, is not afraid to articulate his concern or fears. The government is portrayed as being selfishly motivated, and as ceding to the demands of the union. The union's agenda is to save its members' jobs. Uppal has been victimized by this move.

However, the news story does not portray him to be a victim in the classic sense. He is neither helpless nor devastated by the condition. Rather, he is shown to have

taken initiative and as being unafraid to voice his concerns. His problem is shared by other beer and wine store owners, many of whom are afraid to complain.

This news story and the previous one concerning Dr. Patel indicate that the media's populist orientation (particularly in the case of BCTV) elides any reference to race. When minorities are supported by, or support the populist orientation, they are accorded a more accepting treatment, than when they go against this tendency. In the case of Dr. Patel, his views were widely shared by the local residents, as attested to in the vox pop.

While this may suggest the overall orientation within the media, i.e. to cater to the popular, where the popular as defined here constitutes small businessmen, it also implies another logic. That as long as minorities assimilate into the popular stream, they are rendered acceptable. However, if they choose to deviate from that - whether it be in cultural, behavioural or other terms, then their difference is heightened, and rendered problematic.

In contrast to the previous chapter which examined Asian representations, South Asians in this corpus of newscasts enjoyed a more favorable range of representations. Though portrayed in oppositional/conflictual situations, they were shown as active agents, and their voices were often elicited within the range of vox pop included in the particular story. Moreover, their representations were not

simply confined to issues of immigration and crime, although two of the stories examined deal with these issues.

Nevertheless, the range of representations portrayed here contrasts sharply with representations circulating in press accounts (Indra, 1979; 1981; Scanlon, 1977; Jiwani, 1992; Thobani, 1991, 1992; Dubois, 1993). However, this may be a function of the particular time period in which these newscasts were taped.

Given the paucity of South Asian representations in the corpus of newscasts examined here, the following two chapters continue this analysis by focusing on another event that generated considerable media attention, and that involved a South Asian community.

Notes

41. For a more extensive account of the history of South Asians in Canada, see Buchignani and Indra (1985).

42. While Indra does not mention the colonial legacy of these representations, her overall findings suggest a strong link.

43. The other two panellists were white women, one a critic for The Globe and Mail, the other a murder mystery writer. In the exchange between the three, it was clear that the critic dominated the discussion.

44. This story was extremely interesting in that it featured a group of Romanian refugees who had arrived as stowaways. The men were shown coming out of the ship, smiling. They were subsequently interviewed, in vox pop style, by the reporter on location. One man wore a leather jacket and carried a guitar. The atmosphere conveyed was one of joy and relief on the part of the refugees, and a tone of acceptance on the part of the officials greeting them.

45. This is a widely prevalent image amongst the groups I have taught in various cross-cultural awareness workshops. As well, other trainers have corroborated on this (e.g. Sandy Berman of Circa Enterprises, personal communication).

4

6

In 1990, the media concentrated their attention on a physician who had set up a clinic in Seattle in which he provided his clients with a sex selection technology, promising them advance knowledge of the sex of their unborn children. The doctor aggressively targeted the South Asian community, on the supposition that the preference for male children was an inherent part of this community's cultural framework. The South Asian women's community effectively fought against the doctor's right to practice sex selection technology, and provided evidence that the preference for a male child was in fact a global phenomenon, and not one confined to South Asian cultures. Yet, the media's emphasis contained this issue as a South Asian cultural preference on the grounds that as men were valued, so women within the community were devalued. And the filter remained the same regardless of how much evidence was presented to the contrary (Dubois, 1993, Thobani, 1990).

CHAPTER VII

'AS MUCH HATE AS THE MARKET CAN BEAR'⁴⁷

No person shall publish or display before the public, or cause to be published or displayed before the public, a notice, sign, symbol, emblem or other representation indicating discrimination or an intention to discriminate against a person or class of persons in any manner prohibited by this Act.⁴⁸

Canadian Human Rights Act, Chapter 22, section 2(1).

. . . racism is rarely called by its name, but rather is reduced to a personal quirk that needs correction. (Sally Steenland, 1989:21)

In late December 1989, a controversy erupted in Alberta over the production and sale of a lapel pin. The lapel pin depicted a barefoot black man, wearing a loin cloth and holding a spear; a South Asian man in a turban, and a Chinese man in a coolie hat. All three were portrayed surrounding a white man in a business suit. The pin's caption read: "Who is the minority in Canada?" At approximately the same time, a calendar depicting a Sikh man in the traditional RCMP uniform but this time, wearing a turban, also made an appearance. The caption at the bottom of the picture asked, "Is this Canadian or does this make you Sikh?"

There were several other pins that made their appearance at this time. One depicted a Sikh and an aboriginal man, standing on either side of an RCMP officer. The caption read: "Don't mess with the dress" (The Vancouver Sun, February 26, 1990). Another described white people as

a "vanishing breed." (The Vancouver Sun, March 1, 1990). According to press reports of the time, the pins seem to indicate a populist-based opposition to the Canadian government's impending decision to allow South Asian members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to wear turbans, as opposed to the uniform Stetsons, while on duty.

The lapel pins and calendar as news

The coverage of the "Who is the minority?" lapel pin and the above described calendar, provide one avenue by which to examine the media's treatment of issues concerning or impinging on racial minorities. For one, the pin in question, depicted black, Asian and South Asian representations. The calendar played on South Asian cultural/religious characteristics. For another, the pins and calendar touched on a larger issue - that of freedom of expression, an issue of particular importance to the media, as well as anti-racist and minority rights groups who have been attempting to curtail the dissemination of hate propaganda (e.g. the British Columbia Organization to Fight Racism (BCOFR), Committee for Racial Justice (CRJ), and the B'nai Brith). These underlying factors may have been the reasons motivating the extensive coverage of the story. As Hall et. al., note:

Concentrated media attention confers the status of high public concern on issues which are highlighted; these generally become understood by everyone as the 'pressing issues of the day.' (1978:62).

The coverage of the pin and calendar issue is also interesting at another level. Since laws have been formulated against explicit forms of racism, and within media organizations, adherence to the principles of balance, objectivity and factual reporting often work against the expression of overt racism, news discourse about 'race' is often indirect. It is inferential (Hall, 1990). Fears of litigation and counter-actions by minority groups which could cause economic and social reprisals also militate against overt expressions of racism on the part of the media (van Dijk, 1989; 1993). The end result is often a more subtle, layered and indirect discourse of 'race,' which may not explicitly reference 'race' at all, but which draws on other discourses to communicate it. Hence, the coverage of the pins provides a case analysis of how these different discourses may be manifested, intertwined and reproduced.

The issue itself meets several criteria of newsworthiness. First, the pins and calendar were an unexpected element, partly because they ruptured the image of the country as a tolerant nation; second, they represented a continuation of a related issue - that of the RCMP uniform being altered to accommodate Sikh members; third, the stories involved the reactions of elite people - heads of government organizations such as the Canadian Human Rights Commission; fourth, the pins and calendar were a novel and dramatic way of communicating opposition to

government policies; and finally, they reflected a populist response which had created a conflict situation. In addition, the story resonates with an existing stock of knowledge regarding immigrants in general, and people of colour in particular. It could thus be located within a culturally defined universe of meaning at the local level of lived reality (Galtung and Ruge, 1973; Schudson, 1982).

Minorities in the news

According to van Dijk, minorities tend to be featured as "active, responsible agents, and not victims," (1989:213) in media coverage about negative topics, such as crime, illegal entry, employment and the like. They tend to be less quoted, and even then, their quotes are identified through the use of various discursive techniques (van Dijk, 1993; also see Lerman, 1985). In his analysis of representations of ethnic minorities in the Dutch press, van Dijk found that such coverage tends to be evaluative, and frequently evokes a cluster of images which typify immigrants as causing problems for the society at large.

Van Dijk (1989) argues that this coverage results from several contradictory forces within news organizations themselves. Journalists tend to be socialized into telling stories in accepted and entrenched ways (Schudson, 1982; Tuchman, 1976; Darnton, 1975). As well, time pressures inherent in the process of news production (Clarke, 1981)

militate against telling news stories in alternative and novel ways, and serve to perpetuate existing and predefined frames of organization. The media thus play a prominent role as secondary definers of issues. They translate definitions that have been provided by authoritative and credible sources, by transforming them in language that is accessible and commonsensical to their audiences (Hall et. al., 1978; Hartley, 1982). At the same time, the media are active agents in this process of translation. For by selecting certain events and recasting them within culturally consonant 'maps of meaning', they reproduce dominant definitions.

This active agency is most apparent in the way that news stories are organized, the discursive practices that are used to 'explain' issues and situations, the combination of visual items, extracts of interviews, and the verbal texts that are constructed to link these elements together. Hence, from the initial point at which an issue or personality is defined as newsworthy, to the production and broadcasting of a news item, media personnel play a critical role in determining what elements will be selected, deleted, edited, and combined to produce a message that makes sense (Hall, 1974; Cottle, 1991; Clarke, 1981).

The manner in which the pin and calendar are framed, discussed and positioned within the discourse of news also indicates the positioning of the issues and actors they

represent within the larger symbolic order of Canadian society (Bagley, 1973; van Dijk, 1993; Hall, 1979).

The following two chapters examine the national news stories which aired on CTV, CBC's National and The Journal, that dealt with the pins and calendar. In total, 12 news stories were scrutinized with respect to the framing of the issue, the construction of various characters involved, and the themes utilized for communicating the issue. The coverage spanned a three month period, beginning in January and culminating in March, 1990.

As per the previous chapter, an informal textual analysis was carried out, focusing on the connotative dimension of descriptive words and categories used. However, unlike the previous stories examined thus far, the present analysis is restricted to transcripts of the coverage of the lapel pins and calendars. It was not possible to obtain video tapes of the newscasts for the period.

The present chapter focuses on CTV's national coverage of the issue. The subsequent chapter focuses on the coverage of the same issue on CBC's national news and The Journal. It should be mentioned at the outset, that CTV represents a more populist orientation to news coverage than does its national counterpart, the CBC (Hackett, 1991). From impressionistic evidence, the CBC, because of its close proximity to government and its dependence on this source

for funding, appears to be more conservative and establishment-oriented in its news coverage.

However, this does not detract from a common finding in studies regarding the news; that the media play a powerful role in reproducing the definitions and interpretations of the elite, and that they serve both as primary and secondary definers of a given issue or situation (Hall, 1978; van Dijk, 1989; 1993).

CTV's coverage of the lapel pins and calendar

Story #1

CTV's national coverage of the lapel pin issue began on January 2, 1990. The anchor introduced the story thus:

A lapel pin has gone on sale in Calgary, and it's causing an uproar. A number of people have called it 'racist' and are complaining to the authorities. The designer says he's not prejudiced, and adds that the pin simply expresses an opinion.

The introduction implies that the social fabric has been ruptured - there is a problem, and the problem has been caused by the sale of the lapel pins. The 'sale' has resulted in an uproar. An unknown and unnamed 'number of people' have reacted to it by labelling the pin and complaining about it. In contrast, the pin's designer is given singularity and his views provide the counterpoint to those offended by the pin. The notion of 'freedom of expression' is then contrasted to the charge of racism. The quotes surrounding the term racist, indicate a distancing

move. Racism is downplayed by allocating the charge to a 'number of people.' Van Dijk (1993) notes that such disclaimers are prevalent in press coverage concerning issues of racism.

The reporter on location begins her story with an immediate focus on the pin's 'designer' - Peter Kouda. That Kouda is introduced and interviewed first indicates that he is the source/cite of the problem. However, it also enables him a space in which to define the issue. The reporter's opening focuses on the business angle as evidenced in her introduction of Kouda as an entrepreneur. She states:

Peter Kouda says his pin business is booming at a local flea market. Within a week, he sold nearly all of the 500 pins, and has ordered 5,000 more to fill orders here and from across Canada.

The numbers imply the popularity of the pin ("booming", "500," "5,000"). This impression is enhanced by her next statement, "Another local businessman wants to use the design on a T-shirt." The reporter goes on to describe the actual design and content of the pin. She subsequently provides additional contextual background locating the designer's motives:

Kouda says he designed the pin after hearing friends complain about federal employment laws and immigration restrictions they say discriminate against whites. But Kouda claims he is not a racist.

Hence, a rationale for Kouda's behaviour has been presented in order to 'explain' it. However, the reporter distances herself from these opinions by attributing them

directly to Kouda and by her use of the words "they say" in her verbal text. Her last statement forms the linkage to Kouda's defence, wherein he states:

And like we can't put four businessmen and try to change the colour on a pin ta make one man look black, one man look chine yellow, (sic) and one, ah, man look sort of brown, right? You cannot do that on a pin. So what do you do to get attention, to do the national costumes? Like if someone was to do Czechoslovakia they'd do the dress costumes, and what, is, is that being prejudiced because you're doin' their national costume?

The allusion to cultural costumes serves several functions. First, it defuses the charge of racism, as racism is understood in common sense language. Within this framework, racism is interpreted as an extreme action towards another group, based on the skin colour of the latter (see van Dijk, 1993). The pin is merely a minor issue. Additionally, Kouda's statement also trivializes the concern about racism by his location of the pin within the language of freedom of speech. This justifies the pin in common sense terms, as an expression of an individual opinion.

The conventions of broadcasting require that a 'balanced' view be presented to the public (Arno, 1985; Hall, 1974; Tuchman, 1972). This is often accomplished by presenting the different sides to the issue. In this broadcast, there was an attempt to 'balance' Kouda's view with a statement from Marsha Hogg of the organization, Citizens versus Discrimination. Hogg's statement

immediately follows that of Kouda, as she says:

Depictions of ethnic minorities on the pin are extremely offensive. Ah, they're, they're just the grossest sort of, of racist stereotypes.

The reporter concludes the story by referring to a previous incident. She mentions that a year ago, there had been a pin protesting the RCMP's decision to allow Sikhs to wear their turbans while on duty. She adds:

The group, 'Citizens against Racial and Religious Discrimination' says these pins are a symptom of a larger problem - racism - and it plans to complain to the Alberta Human Rights Commission.

Peter Kouda's denial of racism is stated three times in this piece. Once by the anchor, the second time by the reporter and the third time, by Kouda himself. There are seven active verbs used to describe Kouda's endeavours. Kouda's portrayal as an active agent, (and as the site of this problem/rupture), contrasts sharply with the portrayal of the opposing side. The latter are represented as passive agents whose sole activity consists of 'complaining' - complaining about the depictions, complaining to the authorities, and planning to complain again. Van Dijk (1989) has argued that minorities are seldom portrayed in active roles except in situations in which they are seen as causing trouble.

The focus on the quantities of pins sold provides evidence of its popularity and implies that it is a thriving business. The business angle introduced in this first story remains consistent in subsequent stories. However, what is

interesting in this context is Kouda's own remarks. He makes the assertion that the depictions reflect the cultural backgrounds of the men shown on the pin; that in fact, the loin cloth worn by the black male is akin to the national costume of a Czechoslovakian. This assertion remains unchallenged. Similarly, the language that Kouda uses, as for example, his notion of 'Chine yellow' is never interrogated. Instead, the common sense meanings are taken for granted, that chine yellow means the Chinese. The descriptive language used condenses fragments of historically derived images of the Chinese 'coolie' and the Chinese as 'yellow peril.' For implicit in Kouda's defence is the notion of the "Other" as a cultural threat.

In the same vein, the idea that the pin simply reflects an opinion is also taken for granted and reiterated by the anchor, the reporter and Kouda himself. That the pins may constitute a violation of the Human Rights Code is not examined, save for the mention that groups who find it offensive plan to complain to the agency which administers this Code.

Within the introductory statements to the story, the use of the words "A number of people have called it 'racist'" indicates that those opposed to the pin are a minority. In the transcripts, the word 'racist' is surrounded by quotation marks suggesting that the claim is dubious and/or extreme (see van Dijk, 1993). The issue has been

contained within a moral framework, in which, according to van Dijk (1993), "criteria such as the freedom of speech or the freedom of assembly are deemed more important than the freedom from prejudice, discrimination, and racism."

(1993:104).

For those opposed to the pins, their sole representation in the story occurs in the form of Marsha Hogg. From the transcripts it is not clear whether Hogg is herself a member of one of the minority groups depicted on the pin. However, Hogg's organization has been involved in opposing other pins. Thus, she represents the "other" opinion which, within the framework of freedom of speech, is equally valid, but not more so than the opinion expressed in the pin. The adherence to 'balance' thus serves to present the two sides to the issue, even though the one expresses racial prejudice, whilst the other an anti-racist orientation.

Impartiality constrains the report's potential to interrogate either side. Hence, the report's failure to question Kouda on his definitions of culture, or prejudice for that matter; the extract of the interview with Hogg also shows a similar lack of interrogation. Why are these stereotypes offensive? What do they indicate about the groups portrayed? And further, given that Kouda uses the argument of cultural or national dress, does the business suit fit within the same category? Interestingly enough,

Peter Kouda's ethnicity is never explored. Is he Czech? His unnamed ethnicity represents his universality as a white male.

In the same manner, while one group defines these pins as 'racist', Kouda uses the term 'prejudice.' This difference is unquestioned. However, it bolsters the argument regarding 'freedom of speech.' Prejudice simply means to prejudge something, and an act emanating from that prejudgment is defined as discrimination. In contrast, racism and the racist act are based on a prejudgment about the inherent inferiority of groups who are of a different skin colour (Tierney, 1982). That prejudgment is often backed by the formal and informal structures of power in society, leading to a situation of systemic racism.

By depicting the men of colour in derogatory ways, or identifying them solely through the use of cultural symbols, as for example, the turban and the Chinese hat, Kouda seems to be implying their inferiority. He is also emphasizing their difference. This is underlined by the contrast between these men and the white male in a business suit - which symbolizes the 'acceptable' form of dress and one consonant with business, modernity, respectability and white male power. The notion of difference here is infused with an element of threat. The encirclement of the three men of colour around a white man, implies that the former are 'taking over', and usurping the rights of the vulnerable

looking white male.

Tierney argues that:

Modern-day racists will often attack black people [people of colour] on the basis of the supposed inferiority of their cultures, and counterpose these 'alien' cultures against white culture. (1982:37).⁴⁹

By using the term 'prejudice', Kouda's definition of the issue as an expression of opinion is legitimized. Kouda's opinion is then like any other opinion and in the classic arguments used by right wing groups, an opinion regarding the supposed inferiority of some groups is equivalent to the opinion of those who regard the pins offensive (see van Dijk, 1993). Everything becomes a matter of opinion and the playing field is levelled as one opinion attempts to counter another.

However, in this news story, Kouda's opinion appears to have popular support as evidenced by the quantities of lapel pins that have been sold. Moreover, there are eight positive phrases and words used by the reporter to describe Kouda and his actions, as for example, he supports his friends by articulating their sentiments against employment equity legislation and immigration; he is portrayed as speaking on behalf of that part of the population whose views are not acknowledged or acted upon by the federal government; and, he is an entrepreneur, engaged in a booming business. The imagery that comes across is of David, the vulnerable, powerless 'little' guy against Goliath, here referring to the Government of Canada (see Hallin, 1986).

An alternative reading of this story would argue that CTV's coverage emphasizes the widespread nature of animosity against racial minorities and thereby underscores its importance as an issue to be addressed. However, this coverage could also communicate the acceptability of Kouda's views by its very inclusion in the broadcast (Thackara, 1979). Had the station wanted to heighten awareness of racism and anti-immigration sentiment, it could have begun its coverage by focusing first on the difficulties that immigrant groups from racial minority backgrounds, experience living in a hostile environment. The pins could have been one example of the animosity they face. Instead, this particular story, the first in a series of stories, focuses directly on Kouda.

Hallin (1986) has suggested that the populism of television journalism often comes across in the defence of the ordinary citizen against the powerful state. Moreover, the report could have been constrained in its coverage by the need not to offend audiences who may share these sentiments. Finally, CTV's coverage tends to be oriented towards right-wing populism (Hackett, 1991).

In oppositional terms, the perspectives of the two sides in this news story are expressed as follows:

Peter Kouda	A number of people Marsha Hogg + organization
Entrepreneur/creator Pin designer	Complainers
Not prejudiced	Calling it 'racist'
Expressing an opinion	Condemning the opinion
Supporting his friends	
Created the uproar	Constituted the uproar

It is interesting to note that this story did not include interviews with government officials. Had CTV wanted to frame the issue as one of the opposition to Employment Equity, it could have chosen to interview a spokesperson from that department, or a representative of the Ministry of Multiculturalism, or even a spokesperson from the Human Rights Commission. However, while these elements are absent in the present news story, they do occur in subsequent segments dealing with the lapel pins and the calendar.

Story #2

On January 19, 1990, the anchor provided the following update on the lapel pin issue:

A Calgary man has been given the go-ahead to import more of those controversial lapel pins from Taiwan. Canada Customs ruled today that the pin does not constitute hate propaganda and, therefore, will be allowed to enter the country. For several weeks now, the pin has cause, has caused an uproar in Alberta,

where it's being sold. Ethnic and Human Rights groups complain it's racist. The pin shows a Sikh wearing a turban, an oriental wearing a coolie hat, and a barefoot black man holding a spear. All three surround and stare at a man of European descent, and lettering on the pin asks, "Who's the minority in Canada?" The pin's designer, however, calls it harmless and says he expects a shipment of 10,000 pins next week.

As opposed to the previous story, this update does not define Peter Kouda by name. Instead it refers to him as "A Calgary man". However, the juxtaposing of a single male with Canada Customs seems to reinforce the David versus Goliath image. The fact that the pins are from Taiwan adds irony to the story; that a nation of people of colour or what Kouda would refer to as 'Chine Yellow' would have no qualms about producing the pins. This helps to forefront the business element of the story which is reinforced by the anchor's statement that the pin maker is expecting 10,000 more. The fact that Canada Customs does not find the pin problematic renders the complaints of ethnic minorities and human rights groups impotent. According to the anchor's account, their complaints have resulted in an 'uproar.' Kouda's 'explanation' of this uproar as resulting from something quite 'harmless' closes this item.

Unequal power relations are naturalized here, as 'ethnic and human rights' groups are marginalized because of their opposition to the pin; an opposition that is not supported by the Government and hence trivialized. Kouda's explanation of their reactions not only ends the story but is also advantaged over other definitions of the situation.

The views of minority groups are not articulated in the same, direct way as is Kouda's statement. The expression of 'racism' is translated into an expression of 'opinion' by Kouda and legitimized by its inclusion and conclusion of the text. By ending on the pin maker's perspective, the news story seals a particular interpretation of the event.

Hartley argues that:

Stories never just stop. The whole idea is to produce sense, which will be left behind in the viewer after the story is over. Hence closing does not refer to the 'end' of a story, but to the discursive 'end in mind', as it were - the closure of various possible interpretations of the event and the preferring of just one 'reading' of it. The story means this. (1982:119).

To define the pins as 'harmless' as it were, is to trivialize the issue of racism as it is expressed in the pin. It also trivializes the nature of its offensiveness to those opposed to the pin. However, the focus on Kouda in terms of his singularity and inclusion in this news story may have to do with media conventions. The media tend to personalize issues rather than deal with larger social structures and situations which such issues may symbolize (Fiske, 1987; Hartley, 1982). Kouda had already been identified as the source/initiator of the controversy and this heightened his newsworthiness. In contrast, Marsha Hogg of the Citizens versus Discrimination organization is not so newsworthy. Furthermore, van Dijk (1989) has also observed that there is a certain reluctance among journalists to consult members of ethnic and racial

minorities. As he puts it:

White journalists primarily write as White ingroup members and hence represent ethnic minority groups in terms of 'them' and not as part of 'us.' Since ethnic minorities are also predominantly working class, are less organized in powerful institutions, and have little political influence, the two dimensions of race and class combined produce social cognitions and therefore social practices among journalists that tend to ignore these outgroups or represent them in a consistently negative framework. (1989:204).

This may have been one of the reasons why the groups portrayed on the pin were not consulted at the outset, or included to the same degree as Kouda in subsequent stories.

Story #3

CTV's coverage of the lapel pins continued on January 28, 1990, with a feature-length story. The anchor introduced it as follows:

They've been called racist and unbelievably offensive but they're selling like hot-cakes. They are pins, pins that express points of view, and they have many people worried about attitudes towards visible minorities in Canada. Bruce Yaccato has prepared this special report on what has become a disturbing trend.

In contrast to the distanced view of the first two stories, as communicated by, "it's caused an uproar," this story begins with a more involved approach which translates into an active definition of the situation, i.e., "a disturbing trend." However, the first two sentences express an oppositional relationship by the anchor as in 'racist and unbelievably offensive' versus 'selling like hot-cakes' and expressing a different viewpoint. The association of brisk

sales with the expression of a different point of view indicates high public demand for the pins and the notion that they communicate a viewpoint that is otherwise suppressed, and curtailed from full expression. Unlike the previous newscast, this introduction does not mention Peter Kouda, and further deflects attention from the pin-maker by concentrating entirely on the pins themselves. Thus, the site of the controversy or disturbance is redefined as the pins rather than their creator.

In one sense, the use of the term 'many people' in the second sentence ("... and they have many people worried"), serves to locate the source of the worries elsewhere. 'Many' remains undefined at this stage and is used in the passive sense as a vague move (i.e., "who is worried?" see van Dijk, 1993). However, Lerman (1985) has argued that reporters tend to use impersonal discourse to distance themselves from problematic issues, to communicate an 'objective' stance, and to convey the consensual backing behind an issue. She adds:

Citation of others 'validates' an opinion or a question about a P-topic [problem topic] as 'news', fact, and if the others are generalized, as in 'many people'... the concern or opinion is further legitimated, distanced from personal expression. (1985:204).

In a similar vein, Connell (1980:150) and Hartley (1982) indicate that the use of a term such as 'many' helps to anchor a particular sentiment by giving the impression that it is a widespread and dominant view. The use of the

term within the above news story suggests an interpretation that is closer to Lerman's - that it is in fact a evasinary tactic used to handle a problematic topic. This is evidenced by the statement immediately preceding the use of 'many' which states, "They are pins, pins that express points of view." The repetitious beginning underscores the triviality of the issue - they are just pins and nothing more.

Significantly, only one group is directly named in the introduction - the visible minorities and they themselves do not seem concerned about the pins but rather 'many' are worried on their behalf. This may be a way of suggesting that the issue is one of general concern, shared by visible minorities and the invisible majority.

The reporter begins the story on location at an antique store in Airdrie, Alberta. He identifies the store owner, Betty Jones, as an individual who:

sells among other things, pins, lots of pins - pins that cheer the Flames, pins that ridicule the Prime Minister and protest the Meech Lake Accord.

This situates the lapel pin as one among many pins sold at the store. It also implies a disclaimer, i.e that the proprietor is not a racially discriminatory person. She simply sells pins. Betty Jones is then interviewed and proceeds to describe the various pins. The reporter adds:

But now there's a whole section of pins vying in their disapproval of allowing ethnic dress as part of the RCMP uniform. But the store is just about fresh out of the most popular pin of all, captioned 'Who's the

minority in Canada?'

He then describes the pin, omitting any detail concerning the way racial minorities are depicted, their dress or positioning. (Given that these are transcripts of the actual text, this omission may have been compensated for by a visual still of the pin).

Jones provides further contextual information regarding the popularity of the pins. She states that only two customers had protested against it, whereas "ninety-eight percent of the public want this type of pin." Following this statement, the reporter brings in the opposing side, stating that:

The Mayor of Calgary calls them racist. Anti-discrimination groups call them unbelievably offensive. The Alberta Human Rights Commission is looking into the banning of their sale. Still some of those most alarmed by the pin's popularity were reluctant to give interviews fearing that more publicity will only serve to boost sales.

The mayor's condemnation of the pins is interesting. It represents the elite position, in that, the pins are construed as a sign of unacceptable behaviour emanating from a particular class within society. The absence of counter-acting groups is thus explained in terms of their fear of escalating the pin's popularity. This is contrasted with a subsequent statement which focuses on the pin-maker Peter Kouda who is enthusiastic about the publicity generated by the pin, adding that it only contributes to increased sales. The choice of the words 'reluctant' and 'fearing' in

describing those groups who are offended by the pins, indicates timidity. These descriptions could have been rendered in an active fashion as in 'groups opposed to the pin chose not give interviews on the grounds that the resulting publicity may contribute to increasing sales.' Instead, the image conveyed by the use of words such as 'fearing' and 'reluctant' is one of cowardice and weakness.

The passivity of groups opposed to the pin is highlighted by the immediate shift to Kouda actively ordering quantities of the lapel pin:

Five, six hundred for Vancouver, Winnipeg - thousand, Toronto about four or five hundred, Regina, Saskatoon - five thousand.

The numbers that Kouda is ordering are inversely proportionate to the size of the population in the various cities. For example, why would a metropolitan city such as Toronto only merit four or five hundred such pins, while Regina with a considerably smaller population merit five thousand? And Vancouver only five to six hundred? The impression conveyed is that the pin's popularity is a regional phenomenon. And further, that opposition to ethnic/racial minorities is concentrated in Alberta and the prairie regions. Against this backdrop, the reporter adds:

The pin's depiction and popularity is justified, he says [referring to Kouda], by a reaction against pushy ethnic groups and a right to freedom of speech. Though Kouda himself has an eye cast on the bottom line.

In one sense, the reporter's use of Kouda's words, i.e., "pushy ethnic groups" lends these sentiments

legitimacy. For why, given that Kouda is present and interviewed, are these words re-articulated by the reporter? Lerman (1985) and others have indicated that reporters will often rely on direct quotes to communicate a message that is perceived to be problematic. In this instance, however, the reporter not only chose to paraphrase Kouda's reasons but used them as a preface to a direct quote from the pin maker himself. The assumption that ethnic groups are 'pushy' is taken-for-granted and reinforced by what follows.

Peter Kouda is interviewed again and the extract of the interview shows him stating:

Minority groups, or whatever they want to be called, you know I think they're the ones who are causing all this problem. I mean they're making people either, you know, either say you're with our visible minority groups or you're racist.

The inclusion of this statement and its double articulation (first by the reporter, then by Kouda) seems to suggest its possible affinity to CTV's own concerns about freedom of expression. On the other hand, it indicates that the media are under considerable pressure to present different sides to an issue as a way of maintaining their own credibility (Hall, 1974).

The connection between the issue of freedom of speech and Kouda's perspective, is apparent in the reporter's paraphrasing of Kouda's perspective, i.e., "reaction against pushy ethnic groups and the right to freedom of speech." However, Kouda's statement adds another layer of complexity

to the issue. For at one level, Kouda is obviously attacking racial minorities when he says they are the cause of the problem. On another level, the attack seems to be aimed at the federal government. This is made apparent by his reference to "they're making" and "our visible minority groups." The government is the culprit, forcing individuals to make a choice. And the use of the term 'visible minorities' also indicates this linkage, as it is most commonly used in government discourse about multiculturalism. This opposition to the government is also apparent in the previous news stories when Kouda referred to government legislation concerning Employment Equity and immigration (see van Dijk, 1993 regarding similar attitudes expressed towards the Dutch government).

The reporter shifts location to a small town in Alberta. He introduces the context by stating:

In fact, offensive depictions of ethnic groups are becoming something of a cottage industry in Alberta, and a growing one as well. At this variety store in Langdon sales of this calendar are brisk. The suggestion that Sikhs be allowed to wear turbans and join the RCMP is an unpopular one here.

The use of word as "cottage industry" suggests a certain disdain. The implications are that while the sales are "brisk", they are predicated on a widespread anti-Sikh sentiment. The description of the town as well as the location of the production, i.e. cottage industries, implies that the anti-Sikh sentiments are rooted in the working class.

The calendar-maker, Herman Bittner, is then interviewed. Extracts of his interview that are presented reveal him as saying:

For Halloween, I dressed up with a turban and I really got a lot of positive reaction from the people.

While this appears as a sort of trivial joke based on the common sense understanding that everyone dresses up for Halloween and 'exotic' costumes are part of the ritual, the reporter claws the interpretation back to the main line of the story - 'the real reason'. He states:

Herman Bittner says he did this because the politicians aren't listening any more, because everyone thought it was funny.

The 'real reason' then is the failure of the government to hear the 'voice of the people,' as represented by Bittner, and the small towns in Alberta. The texture of the narrative is contradictory at this point. For one, anti-Sikh sentiment is clearly contained in the working class population of small town, Alberta. Thus, its economic basis is explained (see van Dijk, 1993). On the other hand, the sentiments articulate a frustration with government policies, and hence are presented as being justified. The liberal ethos and populist orientation of the station appear to contradict each other.

Bittner's comment that 'everyone' thought of his joke as being funny gives him and the joke an added legitimacy, particularly since it is not challenged in the report. He is portrayed as articulating commonly held sentiments which

others are reticent to express. In contrast, the government is depicted rather negatively'. It is presented as protecting racial minority groups and complying to their demands. Van Dijk has observed a similar perception of governments aligning with minority groups in news accounts and popular discourse within the Netherlands (1987, 1988).

To the reporter's preface, Bittner adds:

It's actually meant to be a joke, as that's my feeling towards them dressing like that, I think it's a joke because they're really meddling with our tradition.

So the joke seems to be on the minorities themselves. Their dress and traditions are construed as funny by Bittner, but the comedy is also laced with an element of threat - 'they' are seen as 'meddling' or corrupting 'our' traditions. The 'us' versus 'them' dynamic is foregrounded here. This effectively personalizes the issue and removes it from a wider social and political context. Fiske has noted that the news,

. . . constructs an understandable and authentic version of the real . . . through the actions, words and reactions of the individuals involved. Social and political issues are only reported if they can be embodied in an individual, and thus social conflict of interest is personalized into conflicts between individuals. The effect of this is that the social origins of events are lost, and individual motivation is assumed to be the origin of all action. (1987:294).

At this point in the story, an official voice is accessed so as to present an institutional side to the issue. Brian Edy of the Alberta Civil Liberties Association is interviewed. The portion of Edy's interview shows him

stating:

Our position is that individuals do have the right to be stupid and that these people are certainly exercising their right.

The story has evolved from a matter of a joke (infused with threat), to that of 'stupidity.' It is thus naturalized into the realm of expected human behaviour. Racism has not been mentioned thus far, except in the anchor's introduction. The reporter adds that,

Those who oppose the pin insist its popularity does not reflect the attitude of the community at large.

The use of the term 'insist' implies that the reality may be otherwise. An extract of Edy's interview is presented immediately after this, thereby adding weight to the reporter's observation. The extract shows him saying:

We don't believe that this is indicative of any great rising tide, we think that what it is is symptomatic of a problem that is common in Toronto, Vancouver, indeed Montreal, of coming to terms and grips with the new Canadian reality.

The issue has now been redefined and naturalized as one of coming to terms with the "new Canadian reality." Rather than pursue this angle by having Edy define this 'new Canadian reality,' the report abruptly shifts the focus.

The reporter notes:

Things have been done in response, they thought up a counter-pin, and a counter T-shirt saying, 'who cares who the minority is.' The mayor has met with multicultural groups about the need to sensitize the community.

There is no mention of who 'they' are. Rather the implication is that 'they' are the multicultural groups, who

have now been appointed by the mayor with the task of changing perceptions within the community. The charge of racism has now receded into the background completely. This move fits within the schema of 'blaming the victim', as identified by van Dijk (1993). The implication is that the trouble has arisen because of the presence of these groups and hence it is incumbent upon them to "sensitize the community."

The shifting definitions of this discourse also suggest other equivalences, that visible minorities = multicultural groups. This implies that other groups do not possess culture, or that their culture has become the universalized standard against which other cultures are measured. Moreover, the presupposition is that only racial minorities are burdened with 'problem' cultures, i.e., those that stand out, because they transgress the norms. These cultures (visible) are foregrounded against the background of the 'universalized Canadian culture' (the invisible dominant culture). Given the invisibility of the dominant culture, any threat against its institutions, e.g. the RCMP, is then construed as a threat against the dominance of the cultural system itself.

Connell and others have argued that one of the criterion of newsworthiness is the unexpected nature of an event. This criteria operates against a background of the expectedness of everyday life, where that expectedness is

grounded in the routine, taken-for-granted shared cultural norms. These norms form the invisible background against which the visibility of unexpectedness stands out (1980).

As he puts it,

It is ... the meaningful and consonant, the expected, which operates as a yard-stick for determining the 'unexpected.' The expected, if it is manifested in the utterances of television journalism at all, does so as 'what everyone knows' and, therefore, does not need to be spelt out. (1980:150).

When extrapolated to this news story, Kouda and Bittner represent the 'unexpected' by their actions. They have ruptured the normative values of 'tolerance.' At the same time, within the new stories themselves, there is a distinction between the invisibility of the dominant culture, and the marked visibility of racial minority cultures.

The story switches to a classroom setting where, according to the reporter's narration, "a third of the students speak English as a second language. . . ". The children are being taught a program which exposes them to the history of games in different cultures. A teacher is interviewed and she confirms the beneficial impact of the game on the students saying,

It leaves a positive impression in their mind of someone from another cultural background.

The inclusion of this piece in the news story lends weight to the preceding analysis regarding cultural differences. For one, it focuses on children who have been

identified as students of English as a Second Language (ESL). They may consist of only a third of the student population but their very identification as such, gives them an added salience. In addition, the children are being taught the 'history of games' which effectively positions the cultures being examined to a historical framework - where culture is indicative of a distant past in contrast with a definition of culture which identifies it as a dynamic, adaptable and contemporary tradition. They represent the 'new Canadian reality,' thereby, presupposing the waning influence of the 'old Canadian reality.' (Implicit here is an 'us' versus 'them' distinction).

At the same time, the focus on children indicates that one way of resolving the issue of the pins and calendars is through education. Education, the implicit argument maintains, leads to tolerance. And it is this line of reasoning that seems to be privileged, for the next bit of information presented is an extract of an interview with the Alberta Human Rights Commission Chairman, Fil Fraser, a black male, who provides a rationale for such an approach.

The reporter prefaces the interview by stating:

The Chairman of the Province's Human Rights Commission has denounced this pin and banned the sale of another but he still says the issue is one to be treated delicately.

This contradicts the introduction to the story where the Commission was merely 'looking into the issue.' Fraser goes on to say:

Change is difficult and change which produces fear always produces a need for a whipping boy and the whipping boy traditionally, in any society, has been the last people off the boat.

As the most authoritative accessed voice, Fraser's views have an added legitimacy. His racial identification adds another layer of complexity to the issue. For as a black man, if his reaction is tempered by 'reason' and 'understanding,' as evidenced by his statement, then the issue, it would seem, is not that serious. However, Fraser is also articulating an official perspective - that of the provincial government.

Change is then seen as emanating from those who have recently arrived - "fresh off the boat," and racial minorities, in the popular imagination, have been the last ones to arrive. (Historically, this is not the case. Racial minorities have been in Canada since the 1800s. See appendix). They are thus defined as "natural" targets for animosity. By treating the matter 'delicately,' the Commission's Chairman seems to be indicating his desire not to alienate supporters of the pin. At the same time, actions such as 'banning' and 'denouncing' are not 'delicate' but rather quite assertive, indicating that the matter is not as trivial as it seems.

This desire not to alienate what seems to be a significant proportion of the population then manifests itself by deflecting the responsibility for change on to the targeted groups themselves and psychologizing racism (see

van Dijk, 1993). In other words, it reduces racism to attitudes that are held by a segment of the population. This detracts from a definition of racism as a systemic phenomenon, backed by institutional support, and translated into social life through practices of exclusion, containment and marginalization (Miles, 1989; Praeger, 1972-72; Blauner, 1976; van Dijk, 1989).

As those 'last off the boat,' it is up to the racial minorities themselves to make themselves less problematic. And one of the most direct and efficacious route to that is through assimilation. While this is not overtly stated, it is suggested through the use of a historical allusion - that it has been the practice traditionally (and since other groups survived and became unproblematic over time, through assimilation, retreat and the like, so too can this latest batch of immigrants); through the definition employed to describe the school children, i.e. as ESL students; by the mayor's request that multicultural groups 'sensitize' the community, and by Herman Bittner's statement.

Moreover, Fraser's statement also resonates with the liberal paradigm, that is, through education, racist attitudes can be changed. The identification of racist attitudes as emanating from fear, makes it possible then to address the fear through educational means. The inclusion of Fraser's statements combined with other elements in the story so far, help to naturalize this perspective. They

forward an explanation of the event which naturalizes it as a xenophobic reaction that is, in essence, a dislike or fear of strangers/foreigners. Van Dijk notes that a common denial of racism in political discourse rests on its translation and explanation as xenophobia and/or discrimination (1993:82). Racism is thus translated into a natural phenomenon.

However, given the differential treatment accorded to immigrants of colour, as opposed to immigrants who are white, the explanation of the behaviour as xenophobic is only partial given the pervasiveness of systemic racism in Canadian society. For if the English were the last ones "off the boat" - would they also be the "whipping boys?" The differential framing of immigrant-refugees from Bosnia versus immigrant-refugees from Somalia, attests to the racial underpinnings of normative values in Canadian society (see also, Bolaria and Li, 1988).

Notwithstanding the above, the explanation of xenophobia provided by Fraser and included within this news story, has a certain amount of credibility attached to it within popular discourse. For one, within the prairies, it is common knowledge that there was a great deal of discrimination directed towards ethnic groups in 1800s. Religious persecution against groups such as the Hutterites, and European groups such as the Polish, forms part of this historical backdrop. While the Hutterites retreated into

enclaves, many of the other groups assimilated, and/or privatized their ethnicities (Mackey, 1980). Thus, there is a legitimate background and stock of mutual knowledge which underpins Fraser's statement.

The reporter's closing statement is as follows:

But the pins and calenders continue to proliferate, and the only limits on their popularity and distribution, so far, are ones of supply and demand. Entrepreneurs willing to sell as much hate as the market will bear.

The business angle is forefronted, but this time the supply and demand are identified in terms of a commodity of 'hate'. While the anchor had introduced the issue by distancing the emotive charge, as in "They've been called racist and unbelievably offensive but they're selling like hot-cakes," the reporter has managed to retain the sales angle but this time, his phrasing is more direct and charged by his use of the word 'hate.' This implies the lack of ethics within the marketplace.

In one sense, this closure seems to be critical of the government's handling of the issue. The definition of the pins and calendars as constituting "hate" stands in sharp relief to Brian Edy's (of the Civil Liberties Association) definition of pin-maker's actions as an exercise in stupidity. It also weakens the argument that these actions are rooted in traditional practice. And finally, it seems to be couched in a 'no nonsense' kind of discourse which places the issue squarely in the marketplace; the analogy here indicating that ethical considerations are irrelevant.

This however, works to legitimize the presence of racism - for if the market "can bear it," then it will simply continue to be perpetuated. That racism is a crime or a violation of rights is evacuated from this definition.

Throughout the news story, visible minorities are equated with multicultural groups and recent immigrants. The categories become synonymous by the end of this coverage. There is a conspicuous lack of contextual background factors concerning these groups or the differences between them. Neither is the perception that these groups are 'pushy' interrogated. Instead, Peter Kouda and Herman Bittner's statements define the issue, and it is a definition that is contested, but not subordinated. They are presented first and only countered last. While the pins are described negatively, the pin-maker and calendar-maker are described in positive terms and associations. Against their active agency, minority groups are simply not portrayed. Their absence is 'explained' by reference to their fear and reluctance, which in this context, represents them as timid and weak. The only mediating voice between these groups and Kouda or Bittner, is that of Fil Fraser, a black, government spokesman.

It is interesting to note that while the press cited the specific laws that were perceived to be applicable to the situation, i.e., sections of the Human Rights Code, and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (The Vancouver Sun,

January 19, 1990), this news story did not mention either. This may well have been due to time constraints and the emphasis on using material that is visually oriented. Alternatively, it may stem from the nature of the medium itself, which seems to favour a more simplistic and digital framing of events (Postman, 1985). Nonetheless, had the issue been framed in terms of a violation of these rights, the story might have had a different composition and orientation to it.

Story #4

On February 7, 1990, CTV dealt with the pin issue from another angle. It was the eleventh story in news line-up. The anchor introduced the story by referring to a poll concerning discrimination.

Tonight our poll deals with discrimination in the workplace. To what extent Canadians think it is a problem and what they think should be done about it.. [specifics on the poll are included here]. . . It appears most Canadians don't think visible minorities get a raw deal at all. Our poll shows sixty-two percent believe visible minorities are treated the same or better in the workplace. Only twenty-nine percent believe they are treated any worse than others. In spite of that, most of those polled are in favour of affirmative action, hiring quotas for visible minorities. Fifty-four percent support such programs, thirty-seven percent oppose them. That may back up Canada's notion of itself as a fair society, one that takes care that its minorities are not discriminated against. As Bruce Yaccato reports, it's a notion that is easily challenged.

The 'problem' is outlined in this introduction, namely that there is a dissonance between the way the population

thinks of itself and the nation, as opposed to the 'reality' that is about to be presented. The introduction suggests that CTV regards the problem of racism and discrimination as a serious issue - an issue that challenges the notion of Canadian tolerance towards minority groups.

The second proposition, however, positions the issue of discrimination as a 'problem' with the view of eliciting what 'Canadians' think can be done about it. How visible minorities might perceive it is left out of the frame, and what they think should be done about it is a non-issue. In fact, the minority perspective is completely absent from this introduction, for there are a plethora of studies that indicate that racism at the workplace is systemic and widespread (e.g. Billingsley and Muszynski, 1985; Henry and Ginzberg, 1985; Bolaria and Li, 1988; Henry, 1986). The use of the word 'discrimination' instead of racism is interesting in light of the fact that it is the modality of skin colour that is the site of discrimination that is being discussed here (see also van Dijk, 1993).

The introduction also raises other associations. For one, the use of the term 'affirmative action' which is subsequently defined as 'hiring quotas', calls forth the American experience. Within Canada, the accepted Canadian government terminology which refers to the encouraged hiring of particular target groups, is 'employment equity.' There are obvious differences between the two. (Statistics Canada,

1989-90; personal communication, Byron Kunisawa, April, 1993).⁵⁰

After reiterating the anchor's construction of Canada as a tolerant society, the reporter goes on to provide recent evidence which offers a contrary view. He begins with the observation that, "racism and discrimination while discreet, is also widespread." The nature of contemporary racism and discrimination are then elaborated upon by an expert interviewee, Dr. Wilson Head (a black male) of the Urban Alliance. The organization's full name - The Urban Alliance on Race Relations, is omitted. In addition, Wilson's institutional affiliation - as a professor at an Eastern Canadian university is also omitted. This may be a function of television news practices, but it is an interesting point of omission when contrasted with an interview on CBC with a white academic which listed his institutional affiliation and position to the fullest (see chapter VIII). Wilson's interview extract focuses on his description of contemporary racism in Canada. He states:

. . . it's much more hidden, much more polite, much more subtle, than in the States. In the States some people say we don't hire niggers here. In Canada we say, 'I'm sorry the job was just taken an hour ago. Had you come earlier you could have gotten the job.'

This extract highlights the difference between the United States and Canada. Its placement ties in with the anchor's usage of American terminology, and further, emphasizes the difference and continuity between Canadian

and U.S. race relations. The reporter goes on to provide additional contextual background to the issue of systemic racism, thereby reinforcing Dr. Wilson's description. He states:

The most recent and damning indictment of endemic racism comes from the volumes of studies of the Marshall inquiry in Nova Scotia, one of which found strong evidence that racist attitudes and practices, are significant aspects of contemporary Nova Scotia society. And well beyond Nova Scotia there has been a whole sordid litany of inquiries into the racial incidents. The treatment of natives in Manitoba, police shootings in Toronto and Montreal, to name a few. Though violence is a disturbing, relatively new trend, the revelations of systemic racism, showed the traditional face of racism in Canada.

This background provides a more in-depth perspective to the report as it shows the widespread nature of racism and links it back to the past, i.e. "the traditional face of racism." However, the violence the reporter mentions is not a "relatively new trend," but rather a historical continuation. Historical evidence indicates that racial minorities, along with other minority groups, have been the victims of violence since they first arrived. The internment of Japanese-Canadian is one such instance of institutional violence. The first 'race riots' occurred in British Columbia at the turn of the century and were directed against Asian residents (Armour, 1984).⁵¹

Immediately after this statement, a second expert is interviewed. Dr. Frederick Case of the University of Toronto states in his interview:

The particular form of racism in Canada, has

particularly been one of excluding people. And not just simply excluding people from, from migrating here, but exclusion from participation, and even exclusion from the consciousness of what a Canadian is.

Perhaps to show that one of the forms of exclusion is the manner in which a group is represented, the reporter turns the focus to the pin issue. Case's interpretation of Canadian racism is thus not explored but seems to be accepted as a point of departure from which to examine the issue of the pins and calendar. In a linkage statement, the reporter notes:

In Western Canada it seems every complaint to Human Rights Commissions about recent insulting depictions on pins and calenders, of the rapidly growing Sikh community there, only serves to increase their popularity and boost sales. Suppliers can't keep up with demand, and they say their message is not racist.

Against the backdrop of the previous definition of contemporary racism which defines it as a subtle and discreet phenomenon, one based on exclusion, the reporter relocates the subject by focusing first on the 'complaints' side of the issue, and second, associating these complaints with a large Sikh population, and finally, on the high demands for the pins. The last statement indicates the widespread popularity of the pins and the implication that they are simply expressing an opinion.

Thus it seems as if the stage was first constructed by telling audiences that racism is a prevalent and systemic issue. This was accomplished by the extracts of the two interviews and background information. The pin and calendar

are introduced within this context, demonstrating the continuity between racist practices and behaviour, and their expression in different forms. However, the linkage is accomplished by the notion of "complaints to the Human Rights Commission," and by the reference to the "rapidly growing Sikh community."

The emerging logic from the above statements suggests that the numerous complaints about the pin are a natural outcome of the increasing population of a particular group. The 'complaints' and racism are thus naturalized. A large population of a particular group is then defined as a threat, and the definition goes unchallenged. However, according to the 1986 Census statistics, South Asian communities in Alberta constituted 1.29% of the total population (30,090 out of 2,340,265). The report does not provide these statistics. Instead, the assumption of a significantly large population is simply taken for granted.

In the context of such an assumption, the pins and calendars are naturalized expressions to a perceived threat. Peter Kouda, the pin-maker is featured next, and his interview shifts the direction of the story. Kouda states:

It's our opinion, that it's not racist. It's their opinion that it is. And that's what the freedom of this country's all about. People they can think what they want, they can say what they want.

This effectively neutralizes the charge of 'racism.' For if one party thinks something is offensive, and the other does not, the illusion of equality between both sides

is maintained, and the notion of 'freedom of speech' is kept intact. The inclusion of Kouda's interview also conjoins with the media's requirements of 'balance' - by presenting different sides to the issue and thus maintaining the claim to objectivity.

To 'balance' this perspective, the next interview features a member of the targeted minority. Moni Sandhu, a South Asian spokesperson, of the Council of Sikh Organizations, states in a brief sentence:

The issue is uh, one that's a Canadian issue, it's not really a pin issue. Uh, you know the whole of Canada is going through change, it's evolutionary process.

Uncomfortable change or evolution, and not racism is the key issue. The pin and the issue of racism are both reduced to symptoms of change. And interestingly, this translation is accomplished both by Kouda, the pin-maker, and by a representative of the racial minority group that is the target of the pins.⁵² The notion of power inequalities between the different sides, as articulated first by Wilson Head in terms of the inequality of opportunity erected by racism, is now excommunicated by this exchange. The issue is redefined as one of contesting opinions and evolutionary change. The commonsense underpinnings of this view ascribe it a greater legitimacy - for it makes 'sense.'

The latter point is subsequently underscored by Fil Fraser, a black male, of the Alberta Human Rights

Commission. The extract of his interview featured in the news story, reveals him as saying:

It comes from fear. Comes from fear of change which is something we all have. Human beings like things to be the way they are, but better still the way they were.

This definition of change, which psychologizes racism, is privileged by the fact that it displaces contrary definitions of change - the notion that change is vital and integral to the evolutionary process itself. Fraser's perspective harkens back to a 'golden past' where everything was fine. The binary relations that are posited so far are as follows:

Us Canadians 'Golden past'	Them Immigrants Rapid change
----------------------------------	------------------------------------

The commonsense underpinnings of this story gain legitimacy from the knowledge that the minorities themselves are articulating this position. However, this interpretation of racism (i.e. fear), is downplayed by the next segment.

The reporter shifts back to the original story - the issue of equality at the workplace. The shift is quite dramatic and sudden as he turns his attention to a consultant who makes his living by assisting companies to recruit employees from racial minority backgrounds. He presents the issue by stating:

This Toronto consultant has a business that's growing because there is discrimination in the workplace.

He then asks the consultant:

If employment equity programs were working would you have a business?

The consultant answers a simple 'no.' Any further exchange between the consultant and reporter is not recorded/shown.

This translation of discrimination as a source of business resonates with the previous news story, where the reporter presented the pin issue as one of supply and demand, adding that there is as much 'hate as the market will bear.' On the one hand is the hate, and on the other, exclusion. Both breed businesses for those entrepreneurial enough to take up the challenge. However, the sudden shift also implies that the issue of racism is not simply one of rapid change, and that its wider ramifications are apparent in other sectors of life, as for example, the workplace.

The reporter then turns to an accredited source - the Minister of Multiculturalism. He prefaces his interview with the Minister by saying:

The Minister of Multiculturalism Gerry Wiener admits there is a gap between Canadian's perceptions and reality.

The Minister in turn, states:

There is unfairness. There is uh, a lack of opportunity. Anyone of us looking at any of our institutions, can realize that they don't reflect our diversity.

The issue of racism is now translated to 'unfairness,' lack of 'opportunity' and 'diversity.' The connotative

charge around the word 'racism' is rendered impotent. The issue of why Employment Equity was legislated in the first place is not examined, neither is the government's lack of enforcing such legislation pursued. However, these absences though significant, may have to do with the structuring of television news, where time constraints and the inherent nature of the medium exercise tremendous influence over how much can be said about any given topic (Clarke, 1981).

Nevertheless, given that the story began with an examination of racism and its implications for employment, the report could have focused entirely on the issue of equality in employment rather than involve the pin issue, or given air time to the pin-maker and opposing groups. In this instance, the news could have questioned government policy and accountability in the area. However, it chose not to. Instead, what was selected and combined served to create an associational link between racism at the workplace, employment equity legislation, and the pins and calendars. The connection between the first two elements are commonsensical in that racism at the workplace has resulted in unequal opportunities for people of colour and this in turn, has resulted in the creation of legislation based on a quota system to resolve the lack of access. The pins and calendars come in as a response to this government intervention (and the large size of the problematic ethnic groups). Hence, the latter are 'explained' by reference to

the first two.

Gerry Wiener's statement is immediately followed by a man asking someone (whether that individual was a member of a racial minority is unclear from the transcripts), to "come early in the morning and bring your immigration papers with you." The inclusion of this piece is confusing until the reporter presents his conclusion to the story. Within the context of the story, the mention of 'immigration papers' implies that the individual being spoken to is looking for work, is a recent refugee or immigrant and perhaps a racial minority group member.

The tie with immigration implies that the problem of racism, equity in employment and the popularity of the pins are all connected to immigrants and refugees. The reporter's closing statement touches on all these issues as he says:

In spite of all the recent revelations of racism and discrimination the real test of attitudes may be yet to come. Immigration and demographic patterns will more and more change the face of Canada, and challenge its cherished perception as a tolerant nation.

On the one hand, the report presents evidence demonstrating the existence of racist attitudes and practices in Canadian society. Yet on the other hand, these are dismissed by the concluding note that the "real test" is yet to come as intimated by the changing demographics. The whole thrust of the argument rests on the problematic dimension of immigration, and the growing

numbers of racial minorities (those who are so 'different' that they are changing the 'complexion' of Canada). The 'real test of attitudes' - as measured in Dr. Wilson Head's study or alluded to by Dr. Case, is trivialized. It is simply not 'real' enough. The 'cherished perception' of Canadian tolerance is safe for the moment until it is threatened by yet another 'wave' of immigration from the Third World. Immigration is the source of racism.

Nonetheless, to its credit, the report did make an attempt to deal with the issue of racism by bringing it to national attention and placing it on the national agenda. It also tied the issue of the pins and calendars to racist behaviours and practices. Nevertheless, the explanation of racism it proffered reduced it to the level of attitudes; attitudes sparked by the presence of large numbers of immigrants who are culturally and physically different. That this population merely comprised 1.29% of the total provincial population in Alberta, was never outlined. The threat of a populist uprising against further immigration is simply underlined as an impending possibility.

Van Dijk (1993) argues that:

Sympathy with the oppressed is a noble sentiment. There are, however, even more forceful argumentative moves to persuade both liberal white elites and minorities, namely, the threat of intolerance, discrimination, and racism. Who would be in favor of racism; who would condone popular resentment? Thus, to persuasively argue against immigration or against favoritism or other alleged privileges for minorities, one only needs to conjure up the specter of racist reactions among the white population at large.

Obviously, this is a specific elite strategy, because it exclusively attributes potential racism to the white lower class, and in particular to those in the inner cities. The argument is: Stop immigration or stop Affirmative Action because otherwise, we will get even more racist. (1993:99).

The media are an elite institution. They are also 'structured in dominance', articulating, albeit in different ways, the views of the power elites. This news story demonstrates the ways in which populist racism combine with elite racism, to generate a commonsense perspective on the ills of immigration, and thereby the justification for exclusion.

Story #5

CTV's coverage on the pin issue ended on March 29, with a brief item by the anchor, eighth in the news line-up. The story was delivered as follows:

Canada's Human Rights Commissioner, Max Yalden, warned the country today that it is becoming intolerant. In his annual report, Yalden said that not only does injustice to native people continue, but there are new problems. These include bigotry over Sikhs wearing Turbans in the RCMP, the sale of racist lapel pins, and finally outright sexism. He said Canadians must become tolerant, not just talk about it.

'The warning' from an accredited source serves to position this as a serious issue.

Without background information, it is difficult to state how much of the bulletin was abstracted from an official news release or from the print media's coverage of the issue. However, the use of particular words to describe

Yalden's "warning" raises certain associations. For instance, the use of the word 'tolerant' and 'intolerant' defines the issue of racism as one of attitudes and individual practices, rather than as an institutional barriers and systemic phenomenon. Second, 'tolerance,' according to Husband and Chouhan, can be defined as:

. . .the exercise of largesse by the powerful toward the oppressed. It starts from the premise that there is something intrinsically intolerable, which must be tolerated. (1985:277).

Thus the impression created, albeit unwittingly, is that 'Canadians' have to learn to live with difference. White group dominance is maintained. They may not appreciate it or celebrate it, but they have to co-exist with it. The call to action, i.e. "Canadians must become tolerant, not just talk about it," communicates a sense of urgency to the matter. The resolution to the 'new problems' of racism and sexism, then lies in the act of tolerance. As mentioned before, racism and sexism are not 'new' to Canada. Yalden is warning Canadians that their image of Canada as a tolerant nation is being threatened.

An extract of Max Yalden's interview is then presented and reveals him as saying:

All these things are important matters here, at home, and our, ah, political leaders, and our leaders in society generally have to give more attention to them than they, than they do, and not, as we say, ah, in our report, just once a year on the platform on the first of July.

This concludes the item. Yalden focuses on political

leaders as needing to take more responsibility over the issues of racism and sexism. However, in the context of the political structure, it is Yalden's department which is responsible for ensuring that Human Rights are respected and upheld.⁵³ The segmented division of responsibilities and its attendant outcome is taken-for-granted, i.e. that racism is confined to a particular level of social life in terms of individual interactions and attitudes, and within the political structure, responsibility for it is confined to a particular department.

What is more interesting is the change in approach. The anchor's introduction to the annual report, makes it appear that the Commissioner is taking a hard-line stance towards the general public, accusing it of being intolerant. Yet, the interview extract, presents Yalden as hesitant and as deflecting attention away from himself and the public, to other political leaders. The call to action - to actively uphold 'tolerance' in the introduction is subsequently undermined by the interview extract.

It would have been interesting had CTV questioned the Commissioner on the particular measures his department had undertaken to investigate and resolve complaints regarding racism and sexism. Moreover, given that the pin issue had been defined as one pertaining to the freedom of expression, how was the Human Rights Commission interpreting this as an incident of racism? The weight of official interpretation

is evident here as compared to the content of previous news stories where the only group that considered the pins racist was a small minority comprised of groups such as the 'Citizens against Discrimination.'

The media, as noted by Hall, are 'structured in dominance' (1974). On the one hand, they tend to rely on accredited sources for information and material. These sources include government spokespeople and the elite. On the other hand, the media need to maintain their credibility and legitimacy with their audiences. As Hall argues,

. . . television's functions are locked into this process: those occasions when it elaborates interpretations and accounts of the world on its own behalf, and those many occasions when, via the skewed structures of access, it is obliged to reproduce and validate the status of accredited witnesses. (1974:26).

Thus, without contesting Yalden's warning, CTV simply reproduced it. However, in so doing, it reinforced the notion that racism was on the 'rise' evoking implicitly, the source of the 'problem.'

In conclusion, there are several themes that emerge from the CTV coverage of the pin issue. What is most striking about the coverage is the implicit manner in which the racist character of the pin is acknowledged, (with the shift from the coverage regarding racist attitudes and behaviour, to coverage concerning the pin issue). However, this definition remains rather 'slippery' wavering between a definition of the pin as 'racist', and its potentiality as an expression of opinion. These definitions are skillfully

contested by Peter Kouda, the pin maker.

The coverage, while beginning with a focus on Kouda, subsequently deflects attention away from him, to the larger issues of immigration. Concomitantly, the focus shifts from the pin-maker to the pins themselves. It is as if the pin is a separate entity from Peter Kouda. The pin remains an autonomous object - like other pins with unknown creators, expressing common opinions in a marketplace filled with the cacophony of such dissent. And it is the marketplace that defines the pin - whether it sells like 'hotcakes' or sits on the shelf; whether thousands are ordered, or only a few are sold.

The other point that emerges from these stories is the consistent placement of Kouda's perspective as the first to be presented. Both Kouda and Bittner get the first chance to outline their claim; a claim which is subsequently, though implicitly, supported by the opposing side. Even the racial minority spokespeople define the issue as one of a response to change. However, this opposing side is also presented as being constantly engaged in the act of complaining; it is heavily weighted by academics and government spokespeople; and appears as an overall passive, and timid force.

Finally, the extracts of the various interviews presented in these stories suggest that their selection and combination work to 'explain' Kouda and Bittner's position

and thereby afford the latter a greater degree of legitimacy. In so doing, the issue of the pins as constituting and perpetuating racism is trivialized, (they are just pins like any other pins), and translated into a commonsense reaction to the threat symbolized by 'pushy ethnic groups.' The latter are defined by their visibility and difference. This translation is completed by the equation multicultural groups = immigrants = visible minorities.

CTV's lack of interrogation of Kouda's position or of the basis for employment equity legislation, or even the historical fact that Canada is a land peopled by immigrants, works in favour of the definition of the pins as a mere expression of opinion, albeit a racist opinion. Similarly, the lack of interrogation and the open air-time given to Kouda while he spouted derogatory descriptions of people of colour, e.g. 'Chine yellow' indicates CTV's complicity in the matter, for it implies that such statements are sanctioned and suggests racism by omission rather than commission. Had Kouda made a derogatory comment using similar language about women, would CTV have allowed it on air? It may have so as to allow the audience to "see" and judge Kouda for themselves. On the other hand, if swear words are blotted out of the audio text because they are considered offensive (as they generally are), why then would descriptions such as "Chine Yellow" not also be blotted out?

Perhaps, the latter are only offensive to a minority of the audience.

Notwithstanding the above, the coverage engaged in an attempt to explore the issue of racism in terms of its wider ramifications, e.g. employment and racist attitudes in the workplace. However, it linked these to the threats posed by immigration. The station also gave the pin and calendar issue considerable coverage, suggesting that it was perceived to be an important issue.

The following table illustrates, the amount of coverage devoted to Kouda, Bittner and their supporters as compared to ethnic and human rights groups who were opposed to the pin. The points of comparison revolve around the number of times Kouda, Bittner and their supporters were directly interviewed and the number of words they spoke. This is contrasted to the number of times ethnic and human rights groups were allowed to speak and the number of words they spoke.

Interviews	Kouda, Bittner and supporters	Ethnic and human rights groups
Number of times they spoke	7	2
Number of words they spoke	271	51

Any notion of 'balance' is contested by these figures. One of the factors that emerges from the analysis of the newscasts is the pivotal role of the government. The

government is perceived to be entrusted with the role of safeguarding minority groups' rights. Hence, the following table outlines the number of times that government spokespeople were allowed to speak and the total number of words they spoke. This is contrasted with the number of times that Kouda, Bittner and their supporters spoke and the total number of words they spoke.

Interviews	Kouda, Bittner, and supporters	Government spokespeople including Human Rights Commissioner
Number of times they spoke	7	3
Number of words	271	116

In terms of the actual narration, it is interesting to note that more was said about Kouda, Bittner, their supporters and the pin than about any other group involved in the story. The table below highlights this point.

Narration	Number of times	Number of words
Kouda, Bittner and supporters	12	351
Pins & calendars	8	244
Ethnic and human rights groups	4	58
Government spokespeople	7	151

In all, more was said about Bittner, Kouda, their supporters and the products than about other groups. These tables are not designed to communicate the nature of what

was said. Rather, the aim is merely to highlight the amount of coverage devoted to the various groups involved in this issue.

These tables highlight the contradictory character of the news coverage. On the one hand, there was a clear attempt to explore the issue of racism in its various manifestations - from the level of opinions and attitudes, to the level of exclusionary practices in the work place. In an effort to link these different facets and to provide some depth to the charge of 'racism' as articulated by the groups opposing the pin, the news stories sought to include the voices of accredited sources - government spokespeople, and a few members of ethnic/visible minorities.

Yet, the extracts of these accessed sources, though limited, provided a definition of the situation which trivialized the racially inscribed characteristics of the pins and calendars, and their constitution as racist signs and symbols. Rather, the definitions afforded by these voices ascribed the situation to a naturalized outcome of recent immigration policies, a natural response in the face of perceived threat, a historically common practice and a psychological fear of strangers. That some of these voices and perspectives came from people of colour - those targeted by the pins and calendar, legitimized these definitions even more. (They were presented as articulating the views of entire communities).⁵⁴

Had the issue been defined, at the outset, as a violation of human rights, the coverage might have been different. For one, it could have begun with a focus on the difficulties that racial minorities face - the range of racial incidents to which they are exposed, from the inability to find jobs, because of the deskilling they experience and the lack of recognition afforded to their credentials, to the everyday occurrences of exclusion, stigmatization and discrimination that impinge on them (see Essed, 1990). The pins and calendars could then form one instance of this chain of discriminatory practices and attitudes they encounter. However, the critical factor is that such coverage not be used to further legitimize an end to immigration, a move predicated on the notion that the increasing population of people of colour is likely to stimulate an increase in racism. Census statistics reveal that South Asians are a small minority, as are other racial minorities, within Alberta's total population (1.29%). As a small minority, the extent of the reactions directed toward them, points to the existence of a deeply entrenched and pervasive form of racism - one that has, and continues to take different forms.

Notes

47. This title is part of a description offered by a white, male journalist, in his report of the lapel pin issue.

48. Although this Act clearly specifies limits to the expression of freedom of speech, its jurisdiction is weakened by several factors such as the segmentation of areas of responsibility between the federal and provincial governments.

49. Tierney is writing in context of Britain where all people of colour are referred to as 'black.'

50. Kunisawa is well known for his cross-cultural training work in the United States.

51. See table in Appendix A which highlights racist legislation and practices in British Columbia.

52. Sandhu may have said considerably more in this interview but only this segment was aired. The extracted piece in itself is interesting in terms of its selection and subsequent combination with other interviews, as for example, that of Fil Fraser, in order to create a simple and unambiguous interpretation of the story - i.e. the notion of change as eliciting negative response toward ethnic groups.

53. Interestingly, the Canadian Human Rights Commission (i.e. the federal body) only has jurisdiction over federal government departments, federal crown corporations, airlines, banks, inter-provincial transportation, ports and telecommunications. The provincial counterparts have jurisdiction over provincial government departments, provincial crown corporations, civic governments, colleges and universities, hospitals, hotels, landlords, restaurants, retailers, and resource industries.

54. Fisher and Lowenstein (1967), as well as Arno (1985) note that there is a tendency among the media to 'create leaders' within racial minority groups, by consulting these individuals for their opinions when a story deals with their particular communities. These leaders are then seen to represent entire communities.

CHAPTER VIII

'AS MUCH HATE AS THE MARKET CAN BEAR': PART II

. . . Because we occupy the same society and belong to roughly the same 'culture', it is assumed that there is, basically, only one perspective on events: that provided by what is sometimes called the culture, or . . . the 'central value system.'" (Stuart Hall, cited in Hartley (1982:83))

Story #1

Unlike CTV, CBC's coverage of this issue did not begin until five days after, on January 7, 1990. It was the eighth item in the news line-up. The anchor offered the following introduction:

There's a growing controversy in Alberta over the sale of a lapel pin. It's a pin depicting visible minorities, and many people consider it not only offensive but downright racist.

The words 'controversy', 'visible minorities,' 'offensive' and 'racist,' serve to locate this story as dealing with subjects outside the pale of society's normative boundaries. The controversy marks a rupture in the social fabric. The source of the controversy is, as per CTV's coverage, not the pin itself, but its sale. The use of 'downright racist' indicates a vigorous objection, and one possibly shared by the media, ("many people").

According to Hall, conflicts of this topical nature fall within the area of toleration. Issues dealt with here pertain to:

. . . social questions, prisoners who can't get

employment after discharge, little men and women against the bureaucrats, unmarried mothers, and so on. The more maverick witnesses who turn up in this group get, on the whole, an off-beat but sympathetic 'human interest' - even at times a crusading - kind of treatment (Hall, 1973:88).

The reporter on location immediately begins with a focus on the brisk sales of the pin, rather than the issue of racism. He starts with:

There was one booth at Calgary's flea market busier than any other this weekend.

This is followed by a statement from Peter Kouda, the pin-maker:

The public support is just ah, ah, it's beyond, beyond belief!

The reporter adds:

It was over owner Peter Kouda's pin, a pin some call racist... He calls an expression of free speech.

The polarity has been established, but the interesting aspect of the story thus far is that it begins with a focus on Kouda, rather than on the groups who oppose the pin. If the Human Rights Code were the foundation of the moral order in society, then it would follow that Kouda's actions would be construed as criminal - as a violation of this Code. Using the principle of substitution, if the story dealt with crime, the common practice is first to interview the victim of the crime, rather than focus on the criminal and the 'rewards' of crime. Yet, this has not been the practice, either in this CBC interview or in the preceding CTV coverage. Furthermore, the statement that "some call [it] racist," suggests that this view is not pervasive.

The reporter has defined the situation in binary terms - racism versus free speech. This contextual statement is followed by an interview with Kouda. Kouda argues, "... it stands or what it means that they're buying it for." (sic). The reporter provides the following description of the pin:

This is what it shows, the figures of a Sikh and an Oriental and a bare-footed black man looking at the white man; on the rim, asking 'Who's the minority in Canada?' Kouda sold out last week. Since then, he's been taking 100 orders an hour.

This description omits any mention of the derogatory features of the pin. However, a visual of the pin may have been shown. The focus in the last sentence clearly shifts back to the sale of the pins. The next few segments highlight this element.

A woman is shown ordering the pins. The reporter adds that 10,000 people have bought the pins, "even this man who raises money for the needy." A customer is interviewed in a vox pop style. He says:

Every time a new race comes to Canada, we have to change our laws to accommodate 'em. I don't believe in that.

This offers an explanation for the brisk sales. To demonstrate that the view is not widely shared, the reporter shifts the attention to the marketplace again, this time, concentrating on the other vendors' reactions to Kouda. He says:

The other vendors in the flea market met last week to discuss removing Kouda's stand. They decided that

would only generate even more sales.

The issue is then defined as a dilemma - to 'speak out' or remain silent. Ralph Kersey of the Vendor's Association represents the 'silent side' of the dilemma, as he states, "We've decided a hands-off policy, and not promote it any further." The next interviewee, Marsha Hogg, states, "There are an awful lot of people who share these sentiments." From this statement, it is difficult to determine whether Hogg is referring to those who would rather stay silent on the issue or those who are supportive of Kouda. The reporter adds:

Marsha Hogg leads a coalition of groups trying to battle discrimination. At first, she too decided to say nothing about the pins, but that made people think she approved.

Hoggs affirms this in the following statement:

I wish it were the wish that, if you ignored it, it would go away. We've tried that. It doesn't work.

The issue is presented as a no-win situation. On the one hand, if one protests, it is likely to help increase the sales of the pins. On the other hand, if one remains silent, then it is assumed that it implies that there is a tacit approval of the pin-maker's actions.

This is succinctly contained in the reporter's subsequent statement:

Alberta's Human Rights Commissioner isn't ignoring the pins. He'll rule on them, but he won't talk about them yet. He agrees that would only increase sales. Still the word is spreading.

And with that, he links it back to the business issue,

saying, "This distributor in Winnipeg is reporting record sales there too." An interview with the distributor follows, and he presents his rationale for ordering the pins:

I, I feel strictly, it's, it's a humour product. That's my set feeling on this product that we're handling.

To 'balance' this perspective, the reporter notes that "Some groups are now calling for charges under the Criminal Code." A representative of one of these groups is presented next, Lyle Smorden of the B'nai Brith. Smorden argues,

... they're inciting hatred uh, that's our feeling and I think that we have a very good argument in that respect.

The polarities posited thus far are as follows:

Humour	Hatred
Expression of opinion	Expression of racism
Single entrepreneur	Groups
Active	Reactive
Widespread sentiment	Minority viewpoint
Committed to action	Caught in a dilemma

The reporter ends the story by drawing it back to his initial point of departure - the brisk sale of the pin, and by association, the fact that it appeals to a large number of people. He states:

There's no denying they're also generating a lot of customers for Peter Kouda. By next weekend, he plans to have T-shirts, coffee mugs, and clocks available with the same logo and same question, a question that seems to be reflecting a bitterness that's becoming hard to ignore.

The spin-off products from the pin sales show that they are catering to popular opinion. The numbers cited in the

report combined with the information presented in this concluding statement, indicate that the pin expresses a popular opinion. At the same time, the opinion itself is given legitimacy by the reporter's last statement that Kouda's question "seems to be reflecting a bitterness that's becoming hard to ignore."

The 'bitterness' is simply taken-for-granted. It is assumed that the pin appeals to people because it formulates a perceived threat, and second that this threat is rooted in the increasing numbers of racial minorities in Canada (as per the pin's message). At this point the story could have juxtaposed the notion of threat, as articulated by the pin, with the demographics of blacks, Chinese and South Asians in Alberta. The 1986 Census data shows that the combined size of these groups constituted 3.73% of the total population of the province in Alberta.

Racial minorities are a perceived threat not only because of their numbers, but also because of the associations of a 'cultural invasion.' As one of the interviewees put it, "Every time a new race comes to Canada, we have to change our laws to accommodate 'em." This suggests that minorities are changing the structure of Canadian society and its institutions. However, this view is immediately countered within the news story by the rapid shift to the 'other side'. The groups opposing the pin are shown to be varied - ranging from the vendors at the flea

market, to human rights groups such as the B'nai Brith. The definition of the situation afforded by the latter group communicates the seriousness of the 'crime.'

However, the reporter's closure lends legitimacy to the issues underlying the pin - that it reflects a response to a perceived threat, and that it articulates a "bitterness." Seen in this light, Kouda's actions are once more, rendered as a natural reaction, and legitimized in terms of the social concerns they express.

Story #2

CBC's coverage on The National continued with an item concerning the pin issue on January 11, 1990. It was the tenth item in the news line-up. The anchor introduced the story thus:

In Alberta today, the province's Human Rights Commissioner weighed in with his opinion of that controversial lapel pin that singles out ethnic minorities. Fil Fraser says he finds the pin offensive, but says he wants to do some more research before deciding whether he can or should do anything else. As Kevin Newman reports, many Albertans have already made up their minds.

The introduction refers to racial minorities as ethnic minorities.⁵⁵ The equation of race with ethnicity serves to reduce the charge around the former and focuses the issue on the dimension of culture - cultures that are problematic. The Human Rights Commissioner, Fil Fraser, a black male, is undecided about the pin. However, as the concluding sentence implies, his decision has no bearing on the rest of

the population. It is irrelevant in the face of a populist force.

The subsequent segment features an excerpt of a radio show where a woman interviewee says, "I see nothing wrong with the pin, and I, before you go... I'm a minority." (My emphasis). The reporter adds, "That's being heard a lot, that Peter Kouda's pins pose an innocent question." Kouda's own innocence is affirmed, and reaffirmed by the following extract of him stating: "I didn't say nothing on that pin, except, who is the minority in Canada?" This last statement is not challenged by the reporter who could easily have pointed to the recent statistics to show the demographic reality (see previous chapter). According to the 1991 Census figures, people with British and French ethnic background constitute the largest groups (55%) in the country. Other non-racially identified groups include Europeans (at 15%). (Statistics Canada, 1991 Census).

Van Dijk (1993) notes that preferential quoting of minority groups who support the prevailing viewpoint, is a strategic move designed to enhance the credibility of the views being advanced. The conjoining of the minority woman's assertion about the innocence of the pin, and Kouda's assertion of innocence, results in lending these views a certain amount of credibility. The lack of interrogation of these views, or the presentation of countering information, adds to their legitimacy.

The report could have highlighted the contradiction between Kouda's presentation of himself as asking an "innocent question," and his defence of the pin as constituting an expression of opinion. At this point, the reporter inserts another description of the pin, omitting the manner in which the different men are represented. This insertion seems to turn the question back to the audience, i.e. is it racist? The reporter's description of the pin is as follows:

The question is engraved on the rim of a pin, with caricatures of a Sikh, an Oriental, and a Black man, looking down on a white man.

Since the question is 'engraved on the rim' - it is not centre place, and hence, its importance or problematic value is downplayed. The different races are also mentioned as 'looking down' on a white man - a description which differs dramatically from the previous ones presented by CTV, which described the men as surrounding the white businessman in a suit. In this description, there is nothing to suggest why the pin is unacceptable to racial minorities or human rights groups.

In contrast to the anchor's introduction that the Commissioner is still researching the matter, the reporter notes that:

After remaining publicly silent about the pins for weeks, Alberta's Human Rights Commission has now called on others to speak out.

Since the Commissioner himself has not decided on

whether the pin constitutes a violation of the Code, it is unclear as to why is he asking others to 'speak out,' or, why he has remained silent? It could be argued that he is constrained by his position - as a representative of a government body. On the other hand, the previous story has already communicated that the Commissioner is reluctant to condemn the pin for fear of boosting sales. In his defence, the Commissioner is quoted saying:

We cannot allow Alberta's image to be tainted by the mean-spirited views of a small minority.

The inclusion of this statement in the news story locates Kouda's actions within the province of human emotions and attitudes. In other words, these actions are emanating from a small group of vicious individuals.

In commenting on the press coverage given to right wing political parties and groups in Europe, van Dijk (1989) notes that:

The overt political rhetoric against such parties was an ideal strategy of positive, liberal self-presentation. Thus racist groups played the role of scapegoats for more widespread and structural racism, and as useful idiots of the more respectful parties. (1989:201).

This sheds some light on the Commissioner's statement, but also highlights the possible reason for its inclusion in the news text. However, the focus on this type of characterization serves to trivialize the issue of racism.

The reporter elaborates on the Commissioner's views, adding:

The Commissioner calls the pin personally offensive, but he says he's not yet sure if they are racist, if they infringe on the rights of minorities. Some were hoping for something stronger.

To indicate that the pin is 'personally offensive' is to relegate it to the area of personal opinion. In this sense, the Commissioner's perspective coincides with Kouda's for both regard the pins as an expression of an opinion. The populist power behind Kouda's success combined with the views of an accredited and legitimate source such as the Commissioner, and the extract of the woman on the radio show, lend credibility to the overall interpretation of the issue as one of freedom of expression.

Opposing groups who were "hoping for something stronger" do not have the same relational power as Kouda and the Commissioner. Moreover, they are not defining the issue as one of freedom of expression but rather as one which violates the rights and freedoms of specific groups in society. This difference in perspectives contributes to the impression that the Commissioner is caught in the middle - on the one hand, bound by the strictures of his position to condemn the pin as a negative expression of a small, bad-tempered minority, and on the other, bound to his personal viewpoint that the pins are "offensive."

The 'some' that the reporter refers to, are featured next, and represented by Pearl Bennett of the Equality Action Committee, and Jasbeer Singh of the Sikh Society of

Alberta. Bennett's single sentence depicts her as saying that she expected, "a statement, yes, saying, that, well, telling them to stop it." Singh adds:

It could have been definitely stronger, but uh, I'm satisfied that at least they have taken a small step in the right direction.

In the context of Kouda's statement that the pin constitutes an 'innocent' expression of opinion, the approach of groups such as the above seems to indicate a censorship stance on the issue. Yet, the grounds on which these groups are articulating their views is not examined. Instead, the reporter adds:

One group says more must be done now, so the B'nai Brith has drawn up a pin promoting ethnic diversity, with its own message.

Without a historical context or even a contextual grounding that anchors these groups' opposition, the B'nai Brith strategy of producing another pin - this time, celebrating cultural diversity, serves to reinforce the argument of freedom of expression. One opinion or view counters another - on a level field. Kouda's pin communicates racial diversity as a threat, the B'nai Brith pin celebrates this same diversity. The relationship is a binary one. This is reinforced in the next statement where Kouda mentions that he will be calling his customers, and the reporter adds:

The original pin's designer welcomes the competition. He says he'll keep selling his pin, even if the Human Rights Commissioner asks him not to.

While the CTV coverage indicated that Kouda had designed the pin as a way to 'express his friends' discontent and disagreement with Federal policies of Employment Equity and legislation, CBC's coverage omits this information. Hence, when Kouda states that he will 'keep selling the pin' despite what the Commissioner says, there is no explanation provided for his behaviour. Instead, it appears intransigent and childish, and his subsequent statement - "I can't see no reason why I should stop" reaffirms this view.

Within CTV's coverage, Kouda's action was explained on the basis that he was articulating a common-held sentiment. Thus, whereas CTV seemed inclined towards Kouda and cast him as a David against the Goliath of the state, CBC's coverage differs in the perspective it employs. The stories so far seem to portray Kouda as engaging in his right to express an opinion, and as an entrepreneur, profiting from the enterprise. The focus is almost exclusively on the issue of freedom of expression.

The reporter concludes the story, stating:

The Canadian Human Rights Commissioner, Max Yalden, has called the pins deplorable and says sales should be stopped, but Alberta's Human Rights advocate isn't sure he has the power to do that, so Fil Fraser will keep examining the province's hate laws, to determine whether the pins are racist or simply, as he says, name calling.

This closing statement offers another alternative to the definition of the situation. That, rather than racism, these pins are merely 'name calling.' The latter definition

trivializes the issue as it evacuates any notions regarding the implications of stereotypical depictions, and further, renders immaterial the concerns of minority groups who may be affected by these portrayals. However, in the way the news story is pieced together, it is perhaps not surprising that it ends by collapsing the distinction between name calling and racism, for at the very beginning of the story, a minority woman says, "I see nothing wrong with the pin..." Thus if the minorities themselves are divided on the pin issue, then it makes 'sense' that the authorities cannot decide on them either. The 'innocence' of the pin is confirmed by the omission of its racist characteristics.

The contrast between Yalden's explicit denouncement of the pins and Fil Fraser's continual search for a legal basis on which to condemn the pins, portrays Fraser, a black official, as weak and uncertain. CBC, in this particular news story, does not provide background information concerning the lack of hate laws in Alberta, or the fact these laws were struck down in the recent history of the province (see subsequent newscasts).

Story #3

CBC continued its coverage of the pin issue on March 8, 1990, with a brief item on the pin issue. This time however, it was linked to another story - the RCMP's decision to allow its Sikh members to wear turbans. The

story was eighth in the news line-up. The anchor introduced it as follows:

And it's beginning to look as if we may soon see Mounties wearing turbans. Thousands of people, mostly from Western Canada, have signed petitions against allowing changes in the Mounties' dress code. The Solicitor General is supposed to make a decision on the matter soon, but today, the Prime Minister said he's in favour of letting Sikhs on the Force wear turbans. He was also forceful on another issue today: pins that have sprung up, suggesting that immigrants are taking over the country. Mulroney says the pins are racist; worn by the same type of people who would wear the hoods of the Ku Klux Klan.

While brief, the news story is complicated by the number of different positions it presents. Beginning with the problematic result of a government decision, the story goes on to document the widespread protest against the decision, and ends with a re-articulation of the Prime Minister's views. Mulroney's views are not challenged or recast in the same manner as the other groups who opposed the pin in the previous stories. At the same time, the anchor's choice of words such as "It's beginning to look as if.." evokes a sense of inevitability; that no matter how much protest has been articulated (by the petition), the decision has been made.

Galtung and Ruge (1973) have observed that much of news tends to focus on elite people. Hall (1974) not only concurs with this view but argues that by re-articulating the views of the powerful, the media help to legitimize dominant views and perspectives (Hall, 1979; van Dijk, 1989; 1993).

It is interesting to note that this is the first news story concerning the pin issue in which an official voice - of the highest office within the political realm - makes the direct point that the pins are racist and further equates them to the symbols of the Ku Klux Klan, a white supremacist American group. Against the accessed voices of the Human Rights Commissioner of Alberta, who cannot decide whether the pins are racist or mere name calling, Mulroney's perspective appears forceful and final.

However, despite Mulroney's verdict which is privileged in the news story, (but which is also the last sentence to be articulated), the equation of racial minorities with immigrants comes through clearly, as does the notion that these 'immigrants' are destroying traditions and forcing change. This impression is reinforced when examined in the context of the previous stories where individuals articulating these views were given airtime. Smitherman-Donaldson and van Dijk (1988) have noted that symbolic racism often takes the form of casting ethnic groups as 'invaders' or highlighting the incompatibilities between these groups and the white, dominant culture. Hence, the mention of the 'thousands' who signed petitions against the Sikhs is evidence of this kind of symbolic racism, for it emphasizes the point of difference - the wearing of the turban, and construes this as a threat to the cultural survival of a long-standing tradition of the RCMP.

The above news story could have positioned Mulroneys' statement within a legal context - identifying the various laws that protect minorities' rights, as for example, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Multicultural Act. Or, it could have been framed within the notion of Canadian tolerance. The press coverage of the time indicates that journalists covering the issue made specific reference to this legal framework (e.g. The Vancouver Sun, February 24, 1990). Moreover, the print media explicitly pointed out that the Government had no choice in the matter as minority rights were protected by law.

An alternative wording of the bulletin is provided below. While the example retains virtually all the elements of the actual item, it omits the mention of "Thousands of people", and adds a piece of information regarding the evolutionary changes in the RCMP's dress code.

The Prime Minister made a comment today saying that he supports the right of Sikh officers within the RCMP to wear turbans. The Solicitor General is supposed to make a decision on the matter soon. Mulroneys also condemned the anti-Sikh pins that have sprung up, saying that the pins are racist, worn by the same type of people who wear the hoods of the Ku Klux Klan. The statement came in response to the signed petitions from Western Canada against allowing changes to the Mounties dress code. The dress code has been changed on a number of occasions to better enable the RCMP to perform their duties in different climates and to include women in the Force.

While this account serves to minimize the allusion to a widespread opposition to the RCMP's changing code, it does not reduce the media's involvement in the reproduction of

the dominant social order. The example merely illustrates modifications at a practical level, and a particular moment - the articulation of the message.

The Journal

On March 14, 1990, CBC's Journal carried three feature stories that covered the pin issue. The Journal can be described as fitting the format of a news magazine program. Hence, the coverage tends to be more detailed, than is afforded in the regular news. The three segments on the pin and calendar issue included a special documentary report, a live studio interview with a South Asian male who had been accepted into the RCMP force, and a panel discussion with two white experts. The lead into the program began with an unidentified man saying:

Am I really being a racist, or am I standing up and trying to save something that, you know, can be lost forever?

The sentence effectively frames the debate in either/or terms - either to risk being labelled in a negative way, or to protect a cherished tradition. The anchor/interviewer then introduces the 'two' sides to the issue, saying: "This man says turbans don't belong in the RCMP" in referring to Bittner, the calendar-maker; and, "this man wants a career in the Mounties" in referring to a Sikh man, Baltej Dhillon. "What does the battle tell us about Canadian attitudes?" she adds.

The metaphor of 'battle' evokes connotations of war - a war against the visually white, old-timers like Herman Bittner (as shown in the opening segment), and the South Asian 'others,' like Baltej Dhillon (also shown in the opening segment). The battle is located in the realm of "Canadian attitudes" rather than practices, even though the issue of modifying the RCMP uniform is in fact a change in practice.

According to press coverage, the RCMP has historically changed its uniforms several times so as to adapt to different environments. It gave up the pillbox hat in favour of the Stetsons in 1901 (incidentally, the Stetson came from South Africa), and also adopted the parka in the North. Changes to the uniform were also introduced to accommodate women. These changes did not result in widespread opposition or comment (The Vancouver Sun, March 19, 1990).

The anchor/interviewer introduced the story as follows:

Good evening. I'm Barbara Frum. It's been almost a year since the Commissioner of the RCMP, Norman Inkster, recommended to the Government that orthodox Sikhs who join the Mounties be allowed to wear their turbans. Tomorrow, Solicitor General Pierre Cadieux will finally announce his decision, and he's expected to support Inkster. This will affect only a handful of Sikhs, who want to join the RCMP. But the issue has touched a deep chord among many Canadians. More than 150,000 people have signed petitions objecting to that change in the dress code. Some people have gone even further. In Alberta, a cottage industry has sprung up to produce anti-Sikh calendars and lapel pins that many consider obnoxious, even racist.

Unlike the CTV coverage, the pins are explicitly framed

as a response to the government-imposed changes on the RCMP uniform. Further, the pins are tied to the petitions indicating that this is a populist based opposition taking multiple forms of expression. The numbers - 150,000 combined with the word "cottage industry" communicate the widespread nature of the opposition. However, the anchor quickly puts this opposition into perspective, by mentioning that there are only a "handful" of Sikhs that wish to join the RCMP. Against this handful, the opposition of the multitude seems extreme and implies that such changes are viewed as a threat. The active agency of this opposition, i.e the act of signing petitions, of engaging in an industry, is contrasted with the passivity of those who are against the pin since they simply 'consider' it to be 'obnoxious.' The latter appear weak and ineffectual in contrast to the former.

Segment #1

The first segment of the Journal begins with a documentary exploring the issue. The reporter on location begins his coverage as follows:

Sunday morning in Langdon, Alberta, population 280, a town so small most people in Calgary, 20 Kilometres to the West, don't even know it exists. Almost everyone in Langdon is white and protestant. At the only church in town, Langdon Baptist, the topic of the sermon is 'tolerance.'

At this point, the attention shifts to the sermon itself with the Minister saying:

People are not garbage. People are not detestable and worthless. People are people, created in God's image. Things are rubbish, but people are not rubbish.

This background is then 'explained' by the reporter who says:

This part of Alberta has been producing a whole host of controversial products, currently being bought across the country - pins, T-shirts, calendars - products that many people have called racist. And one of the most controversial is being produced just down this road, outside of Langdon.

The context has been established as a small, dominantly white town, in a rural area. The story emphasizes, by its inclusion of the Baptist minister, that there is an attempt among some parts of the population, to encourage a more humane attitude towards others. The description of the population as being white and in the rural areas, also suggests that the production of pins and calendars from this locale has more to do with lack of interaction and ignorance, than with any inherent tendencies towards discrimination. This humanization helps to limit the charge of racism by showing the ordinariness of the townsfolk. The mention of 'white protestant' reinforces the image of what Canada has traditionally seen itself to be - "White man's country."⁵⁶

The story then shifts to focus on the calendar maker, Herman Bittner. The reporter introduces Bittner in the same humanizing and personalizing manner, saying:

Forty-three-year-old Herman Bittner is a welder, inventor, and creator of this calendar. That's him dressed up as a Sikh in a Mounties' uniform. Bittner

strongly opposes the thought that orthodox Sikhs should be allowed to wear their turbans as an accepted part of the RCMP uniform. The calendar is his way of protesting. His slogan: Is this Canadian, or does this make you Sikh? His alter ego: a character he calls Sgt. Camel Dung.

Bittner is then shown imitating a Sikh (this is mentioned in the transcripts). He says:

I love Canada. I want to live here, and have my children. I want to bring in lots of more family, and we all want to live here happy.

Compared to CTV's coverage, CBC's not only includes additional details, but also gives more airtime to Bittner. The fact that Bittner is allowed to imitate what he thinks is the Sikh perspective and style of 'talk' suggests that his open denigration of this minority is considered as being newsworthy enough to be given airtime. Moreover, it adds authenticity to the actuality report as if indicating that this is 'really' what people like Bittner do.

The inclusion of Bittner imitating a Sikh, combined with other details such as the mention of his calendar, his alter ego - "Sgt. Camel Dung," may have been motivated by a desire to show first hand, an example of racist talk and beliefs. To an extent, the air time spent on Bittner may have served this end. However, the end result depends on the nature of the audience exposed to such a message.⁵⁷

The explicitness of this kind of talk, in the backdrop of a personalized introduction to Bittner, reduces its offensiveness. It makes Bittner's message comical. If it was truly considered to be offensive, as is swearing, then

it might have been blotted out.

Even as a comic element; the statements Bittner makes on the air legitimize a perspective in the same way as do ethnic jokes (Hall, 1990; Kassam, 1993; van Dijk, 1993). Within the latter, there is an element of recognition that enables the listener to laugh at the appropriate moment, to 'catch on' as it were. As Hall argues:

Telling racist jokes across the racial line, in conditions where relations of racial inferiority and superiority prevail, reinforces the difference and reproduces the unequal relations because, in these situations, the point of the joke depends on the existence of racism. Thus they reproduce the categories and relations of racism, even while normalizing them through laughter. (1990:18).

From the minority perspective, the inclusion of this imitation serves to lend legitimacy to an 'offensive' perspective, as it legitimizes the stereotyping of Sikhs by generalizing a particular trait across an entire community. The obverse side to this stereotype, namely that other groups also sponsor their relatives and also have children in Canada is hidden (see for instance, coverage of the Debronovics in Chapter IV).

The reporter then comments to Bittner, "Some people say what you're doing is just offensive." Bittner in turn, replies:

Haha. Well I guess, ahm, you have to be, ah, a little bit provocative to get people's attention. If we did something that didn't create a, a stir, well then no one would, wouldn't take notice and then we'd be wasting our time.

This redefines the issue as one of 'getting attention'

and the use of derogatory labels, as in 'Sgt. Camel Dung,' become a ploy towards getting that attention. The question is 'whose attention' is Bittner soliciting here? Clearly, if it is the townsfolk, then Bittner has accomplished his aims. However, the implication seems to be that Bittner and Kouda are both trying to get the attention of the politicians and the media, by expressing their protest against laws they perceive as favouring specific groups.

The issue of 'getting attention' and its attendant outcome - either to be seen as expressing a popular opinion or to be categorized as a 'racist' is reiterated by the reporter when he asks, "What about those that call you a racist?" To this, Bittner's comment which was featured at the beginning of this story is aired again. He responds by saying:

Ahm, whenever you go against the grain people label you as something. I mean, ah, am I really being a racist, or am I standing up and trying to save something that, you know, can be lost forever?

The reporter does not pursue this redefinition of the issue, i.e. taking a stand to protect a 'cherished tradition.' It is interesting to note that the 'cherished tradition' is in fact a policing agency mandated with maintaining 'law and order.' The reporter focuses instead on the other side to the issue, namely, the reluctance of printing shops to print the calendar. This shift in attention may be motivated by the desire to show that others do not share the same view. Thus, he states:

Bittner went to four printing shops before he found one that would produce the calendar. But since he began selling them two months ago, demand has taken off. He's had to hire help to handle the mail orders. Business has been so good, he's turned his welding shop into a distribution centre.

This information could have been used to create a linkage with groups who oppose the calendar. Such a connection would highlight the sectors of the population who are opposed to the calendar, and the particular strategies and actions they are undertaking to combat its distribution and sale. An intervention of this order could have worked to balance the story so far. Instead, the popularity of the calendars is underlined in the next segment which shows Bittner sending his calendars out.

A salesman, Stan, comments that the orders are "Good. Oh great! Hot cakes!" The reporter adds:

Bittner has another, more direct way of getting his calendar out. In this Calgary parking lot he meets up with a couple of travelling salesmen. They take bundles of hundreds at a time, for resale across the West.

Once again, one of the salesmen is questioned. He too says the calendar is an "easy sell," adding that while retailers are reluctant to take large quantities at first, they soon "triple the order..".

It appears from this that even though the retailers are hesitant at first, customer demand convinces them to order more of the calendars. The implications are that the calendars resonate with widespread feelings and perceptions about the Sikhs. The reporter notes that the calendars are

accessible through flea markets and stalls, and not from department stores, indicating that the distribution network operates through 'unofficial channels', through interpersonal interactions among the working classes and the poor - those who are likely to attend flea markets and stalls.

This is followed by additional coverage of the retailers selling the calendars. The focus is on a woman, who is ordering the calendars and sending them elsewhere. Another exchange follows, this time, with a woman retailer in a suburban mall. Betty Roucette, the store owner, says, "I appreciate the prompt delivery." The brisk sales, distribution channels used, and the final comment on 'prompt delivery' communicate the image of the calendars as a thriving business - catering to a popular demand. Racism as underpinning this business is absent in the portrayal.

However, the concentrated attention on the calendar and the distribution channels that are used to market it, suggests that the phenomenon is contained within a particular class of the population - a class that is rurally-based, white, Protestant and working class. Racism is thus 'explained' in an implicit manner, as a white, rural, working class phenomenon (see also, van Dijk, 1993).

This construction of the calendars as a business venture forms the link connecting the calendars to the pins. The reporter states:

Almost anywhere you find the calendar, you also find the so-called 'Who is the Minority' pin, and anti-turban pins. In just eight weeks, close to 13,000 calendars have been sold, to customers like Larry Kunamin. If it was a book, it would be a Canadian best seller.

The calendar is then shown to be part of a larger chain of products, all articulating a similar message. The quantities sold indicate that the popularity of this message is high among a broad base of the population - a "Canadian best seller." The reporter attempts to refocus the issue back to racism by asking an individual, Kunamin, who purchased the calendar, "What do you say to those that, that think it's a racist calendar?" Kunamin answers:

They're out to lunch. They're really, ah, it's not racism at all. [When asked to define the calendar], well, freedom of speech, I guess, basically.

From Kunamin's point of view, "they" are outside the range of the normal - being 'out to lunch' meaning, in this context, that they are creating a furore over nothing, they're reading too much into the issue, and they're over-reacting. It is interesting to note that the feminist movement has often been accused of these very tendencies by organizations to the political right, and also by the general populace. The reporter could have asked an individual who was not purchasing the calendar what s/he thought of the matter. Such an inclusion would have presented 'both' sides of the issue.

The focus shifts back to retailer, Betty Roucette, who the reporter describes as selling both the calendar and its

message. In an interesting exchange that follows, Roucette says:

They can join the RCMP, I see absolutely nothing wrong with it. But if they do, let them wear our uniform.

The reporter counters:

What if they argue it's part of their religion to keep their turbans?

Roucette answers:

Well so what if it is part of their religion? I profess to be a Christian. Jesus wore a beard. But you don't see us all walking around with beards, do you, now really, do ya?

At this point, the reporter could have answered Roucette's rhetorical question by saying that people do wear beards and that beards have not been a criterion for excluding men from joining other professions. And further, that beards have not prompted the production and circulation of calendars, pins or jokes that intimate the inferiority or unacceptability of bearded men. At the same time, he could have portrayed the Sikh perspective more actively, i.e., instead of "What if they argue" - to "The Sikhs maintain." The use of 'they' by the reporter indicates a vague and a distancing move (see van Dijk, 1993).

The reporter then interviews the first Sikh to appear in the story, who says:

By singling out the highly very easily identifiable Canadians, ridiculing them, stripping them of their dignity and their self-esteem, driving them to the ground, that's not enriching a society, that's not strengthening a society.
He introduces Jazbir Singh, as the Vice-President of

the Edmonton Chapter of the World Sikh Organization. He notes that Singh, "says the calendar is racist, and dangerous." Singh elaborates on this:

It is offensive to me because they have presented the figure looking like that of a Sikh person in a very laughable manner, a Sikh caricature, and basically which will bring out the very very negative sentiments in the minds of people who view that.

Against the active agency and initiative of Bittner and Kouda, Jazbir Singh's portrayal appears to be that of the 'complaining' minority, reactive and victimized. Singh's view that the calendar is 'dangerous' appears as an extreme reaction, particularly when seen in the light of Bittner's humour over the situation. The notion that a caricature of a group could incite negative sentiments makes Singh's statement sound hollow, for caricatures exist about everything and every group. The lack of a historical context or even information about the power of representations to influence behaviour, tends to make his 'complaint' seem trivial, yet natural - since he belongs to the minority group and hence it would be in his interest to formulate the 'complaint.' However, in contrast to the previous coverage, Singh's denunciation of the calendars is refreshing. It reflects a departure from the view that positions the calendar as a humorous product and/or an expression of opinion.

The reporter reverts his (and our) attention immediately back to Bittner. He asks Bittner, "How often do

you chance to meet Sikhs?" Bittner responds, "Ahm, I haven't met any at all." To this, the reporter responds:

Some people might say that shows a pretty intolerant attitude if you've never met, met a Sikh and yet you're poking fun at them in the calendar.

The use of 'some people' effectively distances the reporter from the statement, while allowing him to articulate what may be his opinion, or the opinions of his assumed audience. It also underlines Bittner's ignorance. However, this distancing leaves a sufficient space so as to enable Bittner to insert a defence of his actions. Bittner, however, responds by saying, "Ahm, what, what would I gain by meeting one? I don't know."

The possibility that Bittner might change his mind about Sikhs if he met one is then dismissed by Bittner himself. His intolerance is highlighted by his inability to entertain a possible change in attitude. However, this intolerance is also trivialized. It is portrayed as emanating from a childish reaction - "poking fun" at another group and its source is identified as ignorance, i.e., "not having met a Sikh."

On the one hand, Sikhs are perceived to be a group like any other group in society, equal and hence equally likely to be the material of jokes and the fodder for pins and calendars that caricaturize them, just like the pins that ridicule the Prime Minister or the Meech Lake Accord. On the other hand, in the mutual stock of knowledge articulated

by Bittner or Roucette, they are not equal - they do not have the right to wear their turbans if they are to join the RCMP, or to express the right to have their children here, or bring their relatives from abroad. These actions are viewed as being the inherent right of all Canadians except for the Sikhs in this instance. And this definition of the issue is not challenged, pursued or interrogated by the reporter. The reporter could have interjected and said that the desire to have children is a natural inclination among all peoples. Or that all immigrants have at some point or another, encouraged their relatives and friends to settle in a country which they regard favourably.

Rather the reporter shifts immediately from Bittner's last statement to the lack of reaction in other quarters.

He says:

Official Alberta government reaction to the controversy has been strangely quiet, considering most of the products are produced here. Other provinces have been more outspoken. Manitoba is threatening to prosecute anyone caught selling the calendar, and Saskatchewan has condemned the 'minority' pins as being racist. But here in Alberta, the Multiculturalism Minister has been criticized for not taking a similar tough stand.

This abrupt switch suggests that the reporter locates the 'blame' for the existing situation as emanating from a lack of an official intervention. He contrasts Alberta's reticence to act with the actions of the other provinces. That other provinces have taken the lead, to curtail the distribution of the pins and calendars, could have been used by the reporter/report as a point of intervention. The

story could have moved on to Saskatchewan or Manitoba, detailing the various counter-measures that have been instituted. But it remains in Alberta.

Doug Main, the Multiculturalism Minister is then given a chance to defend his inaction on the matter. He says:

I'm reluctant to, ah, stand up on tops of buildings, pointing at these things, saying 'this is horrible, this is terrible.' 'Cause what it tends to do is give credibility to it, and, and draw attention to it, and just continues to inflame the situation.

That the pins have already received considerable attention undercuts Main's credibility. The news story so far has evidenced the popularity, widespread distribution networks and the high sales of the products.

The reporter mentions that:

Doug Main says there's not much the Alberta Government can do to legally stop the calendar, because a court decision struck down the province's hate literature law. But critics say, as multiculturalism minister, it's his job to speak out and defend minorities.

Main's lack of action is thus 'explained' in this statement. However, the last sentence effectively communicates a certain perspective, that minorities are a special group, set apart from the general population, to be protected by the state. This view is shared by the "critics." The narrative does not identify 'who' the critics are, but by association, it could include the media.

Contrary to the official rhetoric then, minorities are not an integral part of Canadian society. Rather their very

difference renders them a target group which needs to be protected from, one would assume, the larger population itself. To some extent, this is the rationale used by the state in its implementation of Employment Equity legislation and the Act of Multiculturalism. The report's unquestioning acceptance of this definition of minorities reveals how the media themselves perpetuate the perspectives and interpretations of those in power (Hall, 1973; 1974).

As a special group, protected by the state, minorities can then easily be perceived as receiving favourable treatment, and as being privileged by state measures and funding. These 'favours' are perceived to be at the expense of the rest of the population. Within this framework, any presence of such a privileged minority is construed as a threat, and if there is a perception that their numbers are increasing, then the intensity of the perceived threat also increases.

The reporter then engages the Minister, Doug Main, in the following exchange. He starts out asking: "Why haven't you simply denounced these calendars and pins?" Doug Main, the Minister, replies: "It's been done. I condemned the pin." The reporter asks him again, "You ... this thing then?" (sic). Main answers, "I condemned the pins." His subsequent question then takes another point of departure: "Why has it taken so long?" Main answers, "It hasn't taken this long. I'm just repeating what I've said to anybody who

has cared to ask, right from day one."

From this exchange, it seems that the reporter is forcefully trying to get the minister to admit his inaction on the matter, and his accountability to the groups whose interests he is supposed to be protecting. While the reporter is unsuccessful, his next interviewee, an expert, Professor David Bercuson from the University of Calgary, articulates what the reporter seems to have been trying to say. Bercuson begins by stating, in response to the minister:

Thank you, Doug, and I, I, I'll believe you, then how do you explain what you're not doing?

The reporter formally introduces the expert stating his affiliation in full, as "... a historian and dean of Graduate Studies at the University of Calgary." He adds that Bercuson,

...says Main's performance in front of our camera is what he should have been doing publicly all along.

This is reiterated by Bercuson whose viewpoint is subsequently contrasted with that of Doug Main. Bercuson notes,

I want him to stand up, ah, in very public podium in, in Alberta, in, in Edmonton, in Calgary, in Red Deer, in Lethbridge, and I want him to say to the people of Alberta, 'I don't like what's going on here. This is not what Alberta stands for.

Bercuson's statement stands in sharp contrast not only to Doug Main's defence of his inaction, but also stands in sharp relief to Jazbir Singh's previous statement. Singh

had argued that these depictions are dangerous and negative to minority groups, that they victimize these groups. Singh was portrayed as complaining and reactive. In contrast, Bercuson's statement is assertive. His is an active voice demanding that the government act. He communicates his views with a sense of conviction, patriotism and agency - as a citizen of the state demanding action.

In his defence, Doug Main emphatically condemns the pins and calendars adding that:

I don't know why that message is not getting out. But again, I condemned the pins. I don't like the pins. The pins are bad. The calendars are bad. They're wrong. They're bad. We condemn them. We don't support them. We don't endorse them. End of story. I think. I hope.

This categorical condemnation of the pin is immediately contrasted with a scene of a crowd chanting (mentioned in the transcript), with the reporter stating:

But it's not the end of the story. Herman, the calendar-maker, has become Herman the hero - at least here at his favourite Calgary bar. He walked into this bar last Halloween, dressed as a Sikh in a Mountie uniform. The response led him to create the calendar.

A vox pop of the men at the bar follows and reveals that Herman is well supported. The reporter adds, "Support has snowballed." Another woman says: "I think it's great. I think he's done a really good job." And a man adds, "Herm's got the right idea." Yet another woman comments,

And what they have to do is adapt to our customs. We don't have much left of our tradition. Adapt to us.

A man says: "If they're gonna come to Canada, live as we do

in Canada." It appears that Doug Main's condemnation has either come to late or is irrelevant to Herman Bittner's peers and supporters. The inclusion of this footage seems to be designed to show this.

In the meantime, the reporter provides additional contextual background about Bittner and his supporters, saying: "Herman meets up with his wife Linda, and other Friday night regulars at the bar." The impression conveyed is that these are just regular people meeting up for a drink after a long, hard week and not hard-core racists if one accepts the view that the calendars and pins are racist (or the view that hard-core racists do things differently).

Linda Bittner's statement follows, as she says:

That's right. How would you know if somebody's driving down the street, they pull you over, they have a turban on, how do you know if these are taxi drivers or if these are RCMP? You don't know. Who the hell is gonna stop for somebody that's got a turban on.

The reporter does not question the validity of Linda Bittner's statement by mentioning that the RCMP car is quite different from a taxi, and that the turban does not mean that the entire uniform will be changed. Linda Bittner's last sentence adequately sums up the core issue - the recognition that a Sikh would not get the same respect that is ordinarily directed to a law enforcement officer. The prevalent stereotype of Sikhs as taxi drivers is unchallenged.

In his article about news photographs, Hall argues

that:

The ideological concepts embodied in photos and texts in a newspaper, ..., do not produce new knowledge about the world. They produce recognitions of the world as we have already learned to appropriate it... (1973b:186).

In this instance, Linda Bittner's statement seems to articulate a taken-for-granted reality, an implicit recognition, that because Sikhs are different - most explicitly by virtue of their turban, they will be treated differently, they will be dismissed. The equation of Sikh RCMP officers with taxi drivers is again derived from the common stock of knowledge - that most taxi drivers in Alberta would appear to be Sikhs. And the status of a taxi driver is far lower than that of an RCMP officer, so the logic of the argument suggests that if one takes a person who has a lower symbolic status (i.e., a Sikh) - into a higher status occupation (the RCMP), it would automatically reduce the status of that occupation (see, Pineo, 1987). This bit of 'common sense' evokes the prevalent and commonly articulated fear that if a certain group of immigrants who are visibly different move into a neighbourhood, they will automatically bring down the real estate value of that neighbourhood. The association of a negatively valued difference as an innate characteristic of the particular group comes through in this example. It is neither challenged nor interrogated by the reporter.

Linda's statement is followed by the reporter's

observation that her views are "shared by the majority in this working class bar." The allusion to these sentiments as being 'working class' in one sense, enhances their legitimacy. For it is often assumed that it is the working class who have the most to fear from minority groups (see van Dijk, 1993). The latter are either seen as taking away jobs or as ready recipients for welfare handouts. In contrast, the consensual middle class perspective (implicit in this report) is deemed as being non-racist by virtue of its liberal worldview and its access to education. (In this instance, both Bercuson and Doug Main are reflective of this perspective).

Additional vox pop interviews of people at the bar confirms the reporter's observations about the prevalence of Linda's sentiments. One man says:

There isn't many people at this table sittin' here that would like to be pulled over by one, [a Sikh officer] accept the idea.

Another says, "Ahh, I think I'd probably die laughing."

And yet another says:

Some guy pulls me over wearin' a goddam Sikh thing on his head, no...

Another passes around a petition for signing.

The popular support that Herman Bittner has garnered makes him a hero according to the reporter. He reiterates this image immediately after the vox pop stating:

Herman has managed to become the spokesman for thousands of people, who feel their voices aren't being heard, the calendar giving form to their bar room

philosophy. In an adoring audience like this, there's just one lone voice willing to take on a lonely fight.

The descriptive phrase 'bar room philosophy'

effectively locates the symbolic status accorded to working class talk. On the other hand, it also trivializes the charge of racist talk. At this point, the attention shifts to the 'lone' voice - a man also in the bar, it would seem, who refuses to sign the petition. The following exchange takes place between Bittner and the man:

Man: I hope that in 20 or 30 or 50 years, that something like this is not really an issue.

Bittner: In other words, that you think the RCMP should be wearing turbans then in 50 years?

Man: My question to you was, why shouldn't they?

Bittner: Well, because if there, if they wear turbans, they're not being Canadians.

Man: All I'm saying is that, my point is very simple. When you don't change, I feel that you don't grow. Very simple. And it's not a racial issue, it's not a cultural issue. It's nothing. You have to change to grow. Plain and simple. And that's all I'm saying.

Bittner: Why don't, no, you don't, you can still grow and, and not change some things.

Man: Well then we're just talking about two different issues.

Bittner: No, they, when people come to Canada they should be told this is going to be Canada, you know, and that's it.

This exchange is interesting because it juxtaposes the voice of 'reason' against Bittner's emotive defence. Within the overall narrative text of the news story, this exchange provides a pivotal turning point - it opens a space where

Bittner's ideas are challenged, by a 'lone voice.'

The thousands are contrasted with the one lone voice. They are portrayed as protecting a tradition, of maintaining the order as it is. However, the challenge continues with another 'lone' voice - that of Dr. David Bercuson who states:

I would no more argue with Herman Bittner than I would argue with Adolf Hitler. Because what you're dealing with there is a frame of mind that can't be changed.

He adds:

You know, in a sense there's another group of innocent victims to all of this, and that's the Canadian public who don't understand what the issues are, who haven't been educated to the real nuances of this problem, and who say, yeah, that's right, that's a Canadian symbol, by God, I don't want them to change a Canadian symbol. You have to explain to people that the image that, ah, of a, of a laughing, jovial, jolly, nice, good-natured guy, that's fine, he may be all of those things. It's ah, it's his ideas, it's his ideas that are dangerous.

Bercuson's equation of Bittner with Hitler provides a strong 'balance' and opposition to Bittner as hero. The latter is beyond redemption because of his 'frame of mind.' In one sense, this attribution helps to support Bittner's own views, that he is merely expressing an opinion, his opinion as derived from his frame of mind. And Bercuson's following statement underscores this point as it is the ideas that are dangerous, not the individual per se. This echoes the CTV coverage where it was the pin's reaction that had caused the problem, not the pin's creator. The separation between the actor and his actions, or the creator and his creation is interesting because it serves to deflect

the attention away from individual responsibility. Offensive pins and calendars simply become objects 'out there' - dislocated from those who have created them or their social context/responsibility.

The 'explanation' is still to come, for Bittner comes on next defending the calendar by equating it with political cartoons that satirize politicians. What is interesting though is the placement of Bercuson's statement. Had it immediately preceded or followed Jazbir Singh's, the latter might have gained more legitimacy. For one, it would have added to the weight of the Sikh representative's voice to have an expert confirm his view. For another, Bercuson, one would assume, is white. To have a white man, who is also an academic in a respected position, articulate the same concerns as a member of the targeted minority might have made Singh look less like a complainer. And Bercuson's subsequent statement provides a vital link that might have contributed an added dose of credibility to Singh's statements. For his part, Bercuson adds:

That's what we do in wartime, when we wanna teach ourselves to hate the enemy. We have to reduce the enemy to an abstraction. We, we, we make cartoons about Japanese with back, with teeth backward and funny wire-rimmed glasses. We did that during the second World War, so that we could bring ourselves to dehumanize the enemy, so it's easier to kill them.

This critical connection forms another point of intervention where the story could have taken a different path. The reporter could have pursued Bercuson's

observations by bringing forth information about other groups that had been stereotyped in similar ways, as for example, the Jews in Nazi Germany, or the Chinese in the United States and Canada immediately prior to the passing of legislation aimed at excluding their migration.

However, the reporter returns to Bittner for a comment. Bittner shifts the focus back to the issue of freedom of expression, saying:

Well, I think, ah, a lot of the Canadians are, are scared to speak out, because right away they're labelled racist. I think a person would have to really, ah, study it, get some books, a dictionary, well like what really is a racist, I don't know. I'm naive about that, you know.

Bittner then comes across as an ignorant individual with a closed mind, unwilling to change. However, he is also comes across as articulating a common sentiment, one which people are afraid to express. The latter aspect gives him a populist-backed power that the media cannot ignore - for they serve the same audiences. In this way, CBC may have been constrained by how much attention it might have wanted to devote to Bercuson and his perspective.

The reporter continues to focus on Bittner and makes the link back to the pin issue. He says,

Until he finds that out, Bittner will continue to put more products on the market. For one venture, he's throwing in with Peter Kouda, the Calgary creator of 'Who's the Minority' pin. They're planning to market a pin with Bittner's slogan: 'Is this Canadian, or does this make you Sikh?' [read sick]. It'll be made in Taiwan.

So the product line will continue to provide as much "hate

as the market will bear" to quote the CTV reporter.

Kouda is featured next, 'placing an order for additional pins. His inclusion at this point serves to underline the importance of the market demand in engendering the product line. The reporter continues to elaborate on the products Bittner plans to introduce saying:

Bittner also has other products planned: A smaller executive-sized version of his calendar, so executives can have one for their desks; bumper stickers with a new slogan; and a so-called magical cap that bears a striking resemblance to a turban, and supposedly gives the wearer special privileges. It's still on the drawing board but he already has orders for 100.

The notion of the imitation turban granting its wearer special powers evokes the image of Aladdin and his magic lamp. However, whereas the lamp fulfilled one's wishes, the imitation turban is a source of denigration and derision. Framed in this way, the caricature becomes acceptable and even palatable. It resonates with the fact that Aladdin himself was an 'eastern' figure.

Bercuson is featured next almost as if to balance the emphasis on products. He states:

The thing I fear the most is that, you get, you, you come to a degree of public acceptability, that it becomes o.k., it becomes almost cool, it becomes almost mainstream, to wear a T-shirt that says, 'I'm proud to be a White Canadian.' But that stuff is getting out there. That stuff is poison.

The implications of this statement are interesting in that they allude to the racialization of groups. For if the Sikh turban is positioned as a sign of the 'brown race', and further seen as an entrenched sign, then a logical

opposition to it would be a sign valorizing the 'white race.' Within this discourse, there is a racialization of culture and religion. And it is this, one would surmise, that is the cause of concern - the "poison," in the race relations environment.

Without a historical context or any notion of the power inequalities in the present system, or even a thorough description of the actual depictions on the pins, it would be difficult to understand why Bercuson's assertion that a T-shirt saying "I'm proud to be a white Canadian" should not be worn. In the context of the story thus far, such a T-shirt would just be one more in a series of products that express personal opinions. In the context of his previous statement regarding pejorative representations as dehumanizing groups, this kind of positive representation should do the opposite. Bercuson's statement hangs in the air - unexplained in light of the previous content.

Bittner, however, gets the final attention with his closure to the story. The reporter prefaces his comment by focusing again on the profitability of the calendar business saying:

Herman Bittner has managed to turn controversy into a cottage industry. There's only one thing that will stop him.

Bittner reinforces this by saying:

I suppose it boils down to, ah, ah, if the public is still buying the products we'll keep makin' 'em, 'an I mean once they, ah, quit buying, we'll, ah, stop.

The story ends on this note with the reporter's signature and location. The closure emphasizes that a lack of demand will force Bittner to stop producing. This will, in effect, resolve the problem. The resolution proposed here differs quite sharply from that advanced in the CTV coverage. In the latter, the position put forward suggested that education was one route to resolve the issue of racism. The second solution was changing the individual consumer so that s/he would not purchase the pins or calendars.

Within this documentary, the business angle is the prominent theme in the story, emphasizing the demand for the products, the quantities sold and ordered. The populist backing that Bittner and Kouda have is powerful enough (given the numbers and the range of voices in the vox pop), to deter the media from explicitly promoting an opposing perspective, even though the latter has been articulated by an elite person - the Prime Minister. It is interesting to note that although the Prime Minister's judgement on the issue was reported days earlier (March 8, 1990), it is significantly absent in this feature story.

The only official voice accessed in this news story - that of Doug Main, the Minister of Multiculturalism, appears weak and exasperated. The only expert interviewee that articulates a forceful opposition to Bittner is a middle-class university professor, Dr. David Bercuson. The polarities that emerge are as follows:

Bittner - entrepreneur Kouda - entrepreneur	Jazbir Singh - minority member David Bercuson - professor Doug Main - minister
Expressing popular sentiment	expressing official/minority viewpoint
'Heros'	anti-heroes
Working class/common folk	Middle/upper class
Ignorant/naive	Learned/educated

The majority of vox pop included in this piece belonged to people who supported Bittner's position. Only one 'lone' voice provided an alternative viewpoint. Similarly, the accessed voices either belonged to academia, government departments, or the minority group itself. Since the pins and calendars were partially aimed at state (i.e., its refusal to hear dissenting voices), the perspectives articulated by government spokespeople condemning the pins lose some of their authenticity. As representing the state, these voices are portrayed as protecting vested interests. Against the background of the previous stories where Mulronev and Yalden both denounced the pin, Main's condemnation appears weak and overdue.

In this sense, the media become the arena of contestation between different viewpoints (the federal government, the provincial government, minority groups, Bittner, Kouda and their supporters), while simultaneously

being caught in a 'double-bind' - faced with the dilemma of either catering to popular support or the government enshrined viewpoint.

The contestation is also evident within the news text. Constrained by the codes of impartiality and objectivity, the reporter tries to get others, minority group representatives, government spokespersons and academics, to challenge the popular perspective (as symbolized by Kouda and Bittner).

Notwithstanding this struggle, however, the populist viewpoint assumes considerable power and force, for it is contrasted with what seems to be, an advantaged group - middle class, knowledgeable, special interest and government supported. In contrast, Bittner and Kouda appear to be ignorant, working class and overall, less advantaged within the system. In this framework, Bittner and Kouda's opposition to racial minorities, who are perceived to be advantaged, and who have government backing, seems to "make sense." The critical point in this translation from inequality (of racial minority groups) to their perceived advantageous position, is at that juncture in the report where the state is portrayed as having special responsibilities towards minority groups - as protecting them from the public.

Unlike CTV, CBC's report also differs on other grounds. First, the report includes a minority perspective that

departs from the populist interpretation of the situation (i.e. Jazbir Singh); second, while it highlights the perceived advantages that racial minorities supposedly enjoy, it does not link this to racism, as was the case in the CTV report. The logic that racial minorities suffer racism and hence, their immigration should be curtailed, does not come through as explicitly in this coverage as it does in the CTV coverage. However, for both stations, racial minorities are still constructed as a problem, and the pins and calendars are rationalized as responses to the perceived threat that minorities represent.

Segment #2

The Journal continued with a second feature on the same night, focusing this time on the turban issue and linking it to the calendars and pins. The format was a live studio interview. The anchor/interviewer began with the following introduction:

One of the people who will be directly affected by the Government's ruling about turbans, is Baltej Dhillon. He's an RCMP applicant, who has passed his admission test. The only thing that's been holding him back is the turban issue. He's in Vancouver.

The focus on Dhillon helps to balance the previous coverage as it seeks to personalize the South Asian applicant in a similar manner as that which the reporter had attempted to do with Herman Bittner. The anchor/interviewer begins her interview with the following question:

Mr. Dhillon, in a way you may be the very person that all that hostility is being directed toward. If you succeed, you will be the first orthodox Sikh accepted by the RCMP. How does so much hatred and mistrust make you feel?

Unlike the previous reporter's contextualization of Bittner in the town of Langdon, Alberta, the only contextual factors presented here deal with Dhillon as being an orthodox Sikh, the first to be accepted by the RCMP. Dhillon's background, in terms of his occupation, hobbies or whatever, are conspicuously absent. His identity is purely defined in terms of his orthodox Sikh religious orientation. He has no 'alter ego' of the kind Bittner does. And whereas Bittner was asked a direct question as in, "Some people say what you're doing is just offensive", Dhillon is asked what he 'feels' about the "hatred and mistrust" directed towards him. The emphasis here is on the emotive dimension of response, as well as the question. Dhillon is personalized only to the extent that he is the victim of "all that hostility." The issue of racism is translated here as 'mistrust and hatred' deflecting attention away from its economic and systemic nature.

Dhillon for his part responds by saying that much of this animosity is rooted in ignorance, and that if people would just "sit down with somebody like myself, or anybody else from the Sikh community," they would understand the issue more fully. The emphasis here is on the liberal notion of education, that through awareness and learning,

people will change. Dhillon's statement corroborates the interviewer's framing of the issue. It underscores the definition of racism as an emotive phenomenon, one that is not grounded in the material reality of social institutions, but simply as a negative feeling that can be erased through contact.

The interviewer then asks Dhillon:

The, the people who defend, ah, their behaviour, say they're just promoting humour. They're not racist. What do you think?

The issue is defined as a polarity - racism versus humour.

Dhillon replies:

Well, humour is o.k. If you, if you, ah, direct it towards an individual. If you take an individual out, ah, from the larger community and say, well, this person made a mistake or this is how this person looks, or make it into a cartoon, that's fine and dandy. But when you take a whole segment of a society and say this society is going the wrong path, or this society is making Canadians look bad and try to portray them in a, in a manner that is not only degrading to that society itself, but also to other Canadians, ahm, I don't think that's humour. Tha, I, I'm not laughing at the calendar myself. So, I'm not sure how this person, ah, relates to me that that's comedy.

Dhillon's response is then predicated on the notion that the calendar generalizes an entire community, and further that the depiction is pejorative. He brings the issue back to the personal domain by saying that he does not find the calendar humorous. The issue of power, which undergirds racism, is implicated in this response, but translated into prejudice. It is after this response that the interviewer begins to 'humanize' Dhillon by asking him

how long he has wanted to be a member of the RCMP. Dhillon takes this opportunity to discuss his long involvement with the Mounties, adding that many are supporting his entrance to the Force.

Dhillon comes across as a firm believer in 'law and order.' At the same time, he sees the role of the RCMP as being somewhat wider - spanning the area of crime control to education by "breaking down some of the walls" erected on the foundations of prejudice and discrimination. Like Bittner, Dhillon is supported by those around him - fellow RCMP officers.

Dhillon's statement is followed by a short exchange which focuses on his imminent six month training program at a college upon acceptance, and whether he is 'excited' about this. Dhillon responds in the affirmative to most of these questions, adding that he will finally be achieving his dream. The interviewer then shifts the attention back to the "hatred". She asks:

What about your parents? What do they think? As you put yourself front, front and centre here, and, and you've been exposed presumably to an awful lot of hatred, I don't know if it's being directed at you personally, are you getting bad phone calls, or mailings?

The question posed here clearly enunciates the view of the RCMP as a national symbol and a privileged tradition of law enforcement; it is a view shared by both Baltej Dhillon and Herman Bittner. The one seeking to join it, the other attempting to maintain it as it is.

By asking Dhillon what his parents think of it, the interviewer casts the statement in a familiar mould, as when an individual asks a child whether his parents approve of his/her actions. In contrast, Bittner was not asked what his parents' thought of the calendar. Rather, the reporter focused on his spouse, Linda, who was directly solicited for her opinion on the matter. To ask a grown man what his parents think of a decision seems rather patronizing. It redirects attention to his outsider status and that of his family.

In reference to the question, Dhillon avoids any mention of his parents, and instead turns the focus to the issue of racism as exemplified by negative phone-calls. He suspects that he will be receiving them soon but adds that he is not deterred by them. For Dhillon, racism is not new. As he puts it:

I've lived with it, I've grown up with it, and, ah, my willpower, my strength, my disciplines, my principles, have been strengthened day by day, by persons who have come up to me, called me names, called me everything in the book, but I've stood my ground, and that only makes my principles and my anchors even deeper. So, ah, these, this calendar, by putting out a calendar, I'm not going to be changing my religion, my 800-year religion because of a calendar, or because somebody wants me to wear a Stetson....

Dhillon frames the issue once again, as stemming from ignorance. He presents a view of racism as something that 'strengthens' the individual, a hardship that is naturalized as an inherent part of growing up in Canada. The power exercised by one group to define a particular tradition, or

to negate the preferences of other groups is significantly absent from Dhillon's view. Nor is there a condemnation of racism. Instead, communication is the panacea to the problem. There is no controversy in this perspective. It is just a matter of 'sitting down' and having a chat.

The interviewer's next question suggests that she is trying to get to the heart of the issue. She asks:

Mr. Dhillon, a good policeman's gotta be a pretty good psychologist. What do you make of those people in the documentary? They get their mouths so tight, and they're so angry, and, and they're so afraid. What are they so afraid of?

The question is interesting because in the context of the documentary, the various people interviewed do not 'sound' angry (as indicated by the transcripts). However, Dhillon is now granted the status of a 'good psychologist.' He is also put in the position of answering the question directly in terms of what he perceives as the motives behind the anger and fear. For his part, Dhillon uses the question to make a link with an identifiable part of the population - women. He says:

Well, I think, ah, the fear is, ah, comparable to the fear that Canadians had in 1974 when women were first introduced into the Mounties. Ahm, at that time a lot of people, ah, didn't think that the, ah, female member had any place in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. I think that has changed quite dramatically over the years. And at the, again, I think, ah, the fear now is that if, ah, the Sikh is allowed to wear the turban, what's gonna come next? It's not so much, let's protect the Stetson, let's see, let's, ah, not get the Sikhs in, because if we allow the Sikhs into the Royal Canadian Mounted police, who knows, ah, what doors are gonna be opened and what's gonna come on next.

This statement corresponds to the views articulated by the various individuals in the previous documentary. The issue is identified as being based on the fear that if one group changes a tradition, other groups will demand the same, and further the first group will continue to make other demands. The definition of racism as an expression of fear and anger is shared by both the interviewer and Dhillon. To this point there has been no mention of multiculturalism as an enshrined right or, of the need for institutions in society to reflect its cultural diversity so as to be equitable. Thus Dhillon's point of view is just that - his perspective, and as a point of view, it stands opposed to Kouda and Bittner's point of view.

The interviewer picks up on Dhillon's definition and proceeds to ask him the root question:

Their argument to you, of course, is there's a great long tradition, this goes back over a hundred years, well over, you want to be a Mountie. Ahm, why don't you join their tradition?

The wording in the question is interesting as it set up a point of comparison between Dhillon's life-time and aspirations with the century-old tradition of the RCMP, thus underscoring the contrast between individual and an institution.

Dhillon's answer critiques the notion of monocultural institutions and their validity, thereby bringing in the notion of Canada as a multicultural society. At the same time, he juxtaposes the notion of a secular institution to a

religious tradition. In his words:

Well, I don't think it's anybody's tradition, ahm. Everybody that comes to Canada brings his own tradition, brings his own culture, brings his own religion. Nine out of ten people, I, I'm, I would dare to say are immigrants to this, to this country. Who am I to say that somebody else should follow my religion or my culture or my tradition, and in the same way I don't expect anybody else to be telling me to give up my religion and adopt their tradition. In the same sense, I, I guess I'm saying that I have been practising my religion for the last 23 years. Now, is somebody really asking me to, ah, protect a tradition, or are they asking me to sacrifice my religion, my principles, my disciplines, my respect in my community, the respect that I have from my family, and all the other things that tie into this religion, what are they asking? Are they asking for, for me to simply wear a hat or are they asking me to strip down my principles and become a skeleton and try to start over again, and if I don't, well, it's too bad. I'm not willing to do that.

Dhillon's answer highlights a number of issues. First and foremost is the idea of assimilation as a negative one. This implicitly questions the integrity of those who have succumbed to the pressures to assimilate. However, assimilation is explicitly defined as occurring in a context where all the groups have equal power. The fact that the dominant culture exercises power in defining the parameters to which different cultural groups are allowed to participate in society is implicit and contested. In one sense, the assimilationist tendency is shown to be dehumanizing as when Dhillon asks, "Are they asking ... me to simply wear a hat or... become a skeleton?" The idea of the RCMP as a necessary institution critical to the maintenance of 'law and order' remains as the unquestioned

backdrop to this debate. Dhillon's main defence is a historical one - that everyone who has come to Canada was at one time an immigrant, except for the First Nations, but they are not mentioned.

In light of Dhillon's response, the interviewer seems uneasy. She responds by saying:

Let's end on this. If you become a Mountie, if you get that badge in six months, what kind of work do you want to do?"

The focus is quickly shifted back to the domain of the less problematic. Dhillon persists in his answer to this question by refocusing the issue on the educational role he sees himself as taking. He references the critique posed in the previous news story about Sikh RCMP officers out in patrol cars, saying:

Well, I think I'm looking forward to, ah, cruising in the streets and, ah, being in uniform, being, ah, able to deal with the public, directly, and meeting some of these people that have these apprehensions of meeting a Mountie with a turban. And hopefully doing some public relations work with these people, trying to get them to understand how important it is for me to wear my turban, and also trying to break down some of these walls. And trying to make them understand that just because I'm brown, just because I wear a turban, just because I have a beard, and just because I'm being called a Sikh, I'm not much different than they are. We're all human beings, and I have a Canadian passport. That makes me a Canadian. And, I'm not so much different than you are. And I think that that would be my message to all these people that, sit down with myself and let's talk this over.

Dhillon has redefined the issue as one based on perceived differences; perceptions he hopes to correct once he is a full-fledged RCMP officer. He equates being a

Canadian with having a Canadian passport. His is the closing statement, sealing the story as such and in one sense, making Bittner, Kouda and their supporters appear to be quite ignorant and xenophobic, but not racist. This observation is based on Dhillon's constant reference to changing people's attitudes, attitudes that are seemingly unconnected to the material base of reality but which emanate directly from ignorance and lack of contact with target groups. In addition, when asked the question about whether the calendar constitutes humour or racism, Dhillon never once attests to it as being racist. Rather, he focuses on the fact that he does not find it humorous. Racism and discrimination are naturalized as an inherent part of a minority group member's life. They serve to 'strengthen' the character. They are neither defined nor contextualized. This is in stark contrast to the definition and interpretation of racism which construes it as a form of violence (see Bulhan, 1985).

The shared frame of reference between the interviewer and the interviewed is what makes this segment 'work.' Dhillon is able to subvert the interviewer's questions by redirecting them to the kinds of messages he wants to introduce in the public arena. His main task seems to be one of neutralizing the charge of 'difference.' Thus, he seeks to make that difference a non-issue, even though, it is the very issue that has placed him in the media's

spotlight. At the same time, Dhillon 'fits' the dominant paradigm of the pioneering immigrant, strengthened but not embittered by the hard years of living in a hostile environment.

Segment #3

The Journal continued with a third segment on the issue. The anchor interviewed Professor Orest Kruhlak, of the Department of Political Science at the University of British Columbia, and associate-editor Catherine Ford of the Calgary Herald in the studio. She introduced this segment by referring to the turban issue, asking the question, "What does a protest against turbans tell us about Canadian attitudes?" She subsequently added the contextual background to the issue, stating:

The Solicitor-General, Pierre Cadieux, is expected to announce his decision on the turban issue tomorrow in the House of Commons. Mr. Cadieux, and other government representatives declined an invitation to appear on The Journal this evening.

That government representatives declined to be interviewed casts a shadow of doubt over the nature of their intentions and position on this issue. However, the interviews to follow are defined as assessing reactions to the imminent announcement.

The interviewer then asks Catherine Ford, "What is this all about?" In the context of the previous two segments, the question seems rather superfluous. Ford replies in an

emphatic tones that:

... it's about fear, ignorance and it is certainly about a federal government that doesn't understand that you have to do what's right, not what's expedient.

The government is positioned as the culprit - vacillating in its decision about how to appease the populist-based opposition and still comply with the law.

The interviewer then asks whether the opinions presented in the documentary are reflective of Alberta. The editor agrees in part, saying,

. . . I think it represents an entire layer of Alberta society. That's not necessarily the society I live in, and I don't think that it represents the vast majority of Albertans, but it certainly represents a very very vocal, fearful minority.

The 'problem' is now contained within a highly vocal and fearful minority. The answer reflects a distancing move and a disclaimer, i.e., "not necessarily the society I live in." This view is subsequently underscored by Professor Kruhlak's response to a question. The interviewer asks Kruhlak a pointed question which places the issue within an historical perspective. She asks:

Professor Kruhlak, she speaks about fear. Ah, these, ah, issues have been a fact of life in Canada for 30 years, multiculturalism's been a fact of reality for 100 years. Why does the fear keep continuing, and why does it take these forms?

To this Kruhlak replies:

There's an unease in the land today, because of the changes that are taking place in society, changes that are not much more than 20 years old, where the percentage of the population, which is non-white, has been slowly increasing. And people are seeing that more, and they're becoming uneasy about it. Anything

like giving turbans to RCMP officers is changing something that they don't want changed. They're not sure why they don't want it changed. They just know it's different, and we well know that people tend to be uneasy about change, change that they don't understand.

The assumption that increasing numbers of non-white people in society are creating a 'problem' is striking. Difference is seen as a threat as is any attempt to change the status quo. This viewpoint offers a particular definition of difference, one that clearly casts it in a negative role. The notion that rapid change causes 'unease' and hence negative reactions resonates with the views of experts featured in the previous news stories.

The position advanced by Kruhlak also collides with the interviewer's critical question, i.e. "that multiculturalism has been ...a reality for 100 years." The answer indicates that the population of racial minorities has only been increasing over the last thirty years (it alludes to the 'numbers game,' discussed in chapter VI). Thus, racism is a resulting problem of this population growth, and minorities are responsible for the current situation. This is the classic case of 'blame the victim' or the reversal move identified by van Dijk (1993).

The interviewer appears to be dissatisfied with this answer, for she shifts the focus back to the people who were featured in the previous documentary. She asks Catherine Ford to describe them. Ford offers the following description:

Well, there, I mean they're just the ordinary guy in the street, in Calgary, and in the small towns, in the farming communities. They are not sophisticated, they don't understand what's going on, they feel they have no control over their own country, and, ah, you know, I'm sorry, but the Federal government can't legislate against stupidity. This whole thing could have blown over a long time ago, if last June, when RCMP Commissioner Inkster, when he recommended that the few Sikh officers be allowed to wear their turbans, if the Solicitor-General had acted and said, of course, this is logical. We changed the uniform to allow women in the RCMP, but this whole thing has been hanging around for so long now, that the sides are polarizing. And we're not hearing the people... [At this point she is cut off by the interviewer's next question].

The class identification comes through clearly in the first two sentences of Ford's description. In the context of the previous interview with Baltej Dhillon, the 'ordinary' characters of those who oppose changes to the RCMP uniform is highlighted. In contrast, Ford and the people she identifies with are not the 'ordinary' Canadians. Neither is Baltej Dhillon. The rest of her answer is devoted to a critique of the government's delay over the decision.

The interviewer's interruption is predicated on eliciting additional information about the polarization of attitudes (the 'battlefield' she had alluded to in the introduction). She adds, "...if there's this kind of polarization, it's because they've been afraid of something, what's out there?" The image evoked is one of something unknown, but also something that is perceived as being threatening. She wants Ford to define that 'something.'

However, Ford for her part, interprets this as

referring to the kinds of activities that 'ordinary' people have been undertaking to communicate their opposition to the changes in the RCMP uniform. For her part, Ford replies:

Well, there's, ah, 210-thousand, ah, signatures on a petition to, ah, stop this move. Ah, but I think this is an excellent case where well meaning people know what is right, the recommendation that, the officers be allowed to wear their turbans, and the government simply has to do it. You can't govern by poll. And the peop, the people who are on the other side have very, ah, soft, shall we say soft, shall we say softer voices, in that they're not out wearing pins and, and buying stupid calendars....

The focus then shifts to those who are opposed to the pins and calendars. Their dilemma and inability to act are emphasized by both Ford and Kruhlak. The contrast between the 'soft' and 'hard' sides of the issue is interesting. The 'soft' in this context seems to imply the invisible, non-vocal, accepting public, while the 'hard' side is emblemized by the Bittners and Koudas. Yet it is the 'hard' side that has received much of the coverage in terms of footage. And this in turn may have to do with its inherent resonance with 'hard' news.

Ford and Kruhlak hold the government responsible for having created the conditions under which the calendar and pins were produced. At the same time, Bittner and Kouda also attack the government for forcing them to express their sentiments in this way. There appears to be a play of elective affinities here. But the debate detracts attention away from the social implications of the pins and calendars insofar as they effect minority groups. Kruhlak

substantiates his attack on the government noting that:

. . . The government should have said something last summer. Had they said it, this would not be an issue that we'd be discussing here this evening. Edmonton, Calgary, Tor, metropolitan Toronto, have authorized Sikhs to wear turbans as part of their uniforms years ago. One never heard anything about it. The government chose to sit on something, allowed an issue to develop. The fact that these are RCMP officers and authority figures, doesn't matter. It's, it's symbolic, and they've chosen to latch onto something symbolic.

At this point, the interviewer deflects the attention away from the government. She chooses not to interrogate the role of the state which is interesting in light of the fact that the government itself was responsible for enacting legislation that protects minority groups from being discriminated against on the basis of language, culture or religion. Hence, the hesitation over the decision to permit Sikhs to wear turbans seems contradictory. Instead, the interviewer concentrates on the issue of racism. She asks Kruhlak about the prevalence of racism in other cities. Before he can finish replying, she breaks in saying, "I mean we just can't say that's just a rural phenomenon, can we?" She clearly recognizes the prevalence of racism, and tries to elicit some recognition of this from Kruhlak. Kruhlak reaffirms this, but contains the matter to a small minority. In his words:

Absolutely not, I agree with you. And we know that 13 percent of the population in Canada, Canada, can be categorized as having hard racist attitudes. But that, I think one must understand, is a very, still a minority, a small minority of the population. I think the whole language issue that's boiled up in the past

number of months, is not fundamentally bigoted attitudes towards French, but a whole pile of things that have compounded themselves, and they're lashing out. There isn't a widespread racism in this society. There are elements, and those elements are troublesome, and we've got to try and do something about it.

The 'hard' core racists are thus a small minority, and a very vocal minority at that. Kruhlak privileges the notion that racism is not widespread among the population but rather is spread geographically within pockets of the population that make up the 13%. The vocal minority is defined as a troublesome element that needs to be neutralized. Furthermore, the indications are that racism is an ephemeral phenomenon where because of other societal changes, groups simply 'lash' out against target groups. The frustration-aggression hypothesis underlies Kruhlak's perspective and thus serves to 'explain' the 'hard' racists that were shown at the beginning of the program.

At this point, the interviewer could have intervened and provided Kruhlak a different perspective. South Asians only constitute an approximate 1.29% of Alberta's population, and people of colour only constitute an approximate 3% of the population of that province. They constitute more of a minority than the 13% of hard core racists in the country at large. The "elements" that Kruhlak refers to, are still larger than the size of the racial minority population in Canada (about 9%). This definition conveniently deflects attention away from everyday racism (see Essed, 1990), systemic racism, as

witnessed by the continual exclusion of racial minorities in all areas of social life, and elite racism (van Dijk, 1993).

The story thus far has evidenced an evolution from an initial definition of the situation as forwarded by Bittner and his supporters which argued that the pins and calendars are simply expressing an opinion and articulating their dissatisfaction with changes in policies, to the rendition of their activities as humorous and trivial. The contesting definitions of the pin and calendars as racist, dehumanizing and dangerous have been used as points to balance the coverage but not explored fully. The definition that evolves from this segment of the program, and advanced by Kruhlak, is that these activities are now perceived and discussed as being racist, but the racists themselves have been contained as a minority without much power, a minority that is 'stupid,' and finally, a minority that is simply venting its frustration onto another group. Racism is then defined as a 'feeling' complex of frustration and ignorance. It is naturalized as xenophobia and/or stupidity, an emotive response to rapid change and perceived threat.

This perspective is reiterated by Catherine Ford who asks Kruhlak, "Don't you think a lot of it is the lack of, the feeling of a lack of control, and the loss of power?" However, the question touches on a key issue - the potential eroding of white dominance. In response, Kruhlak continues with his attack on the government, saying:

They have an obligation to denounce these kinds of materials as unacceptable and tell people, and show leadership that there are ways to behave in this society, that we as Canadians find acceptable and there are ways to behave that we find absolutely unacceptable, and to sit back and use the lame excuse, it's an extremely lame excuse that I'm afraid that I'm adding fuel to the fire. That's just not acceptable.

The interviewer turns the attention back to Ford and asks:

...if they changed the rules tomorrow, where do these people go? Is that view just driven underground?

Ford in turn, replies, "They go back to wherever they were, and the whole issue dies down. Period. It's over."

She asks the question again, "But as, as long as the decision is waiting, it just keeps growing?" To which, Ford replies in the affirmative, saying:

That's right. Because they feel that they can affect the decision if they continue this. Once the decision to do what's right is made, the whole issue dies down.

Throughout this story, the issue of racism is never quite located, despite the interviewer's attempts. It simply drifts from one definition to another but mostly within the parameters of emotive expression. The frustration-aggression hypothesis is put forward as the most logical explanation. The implications are that if government rules effectively and quickly, issues such as these would not come to the fore. There would be no race relations problem. However, studies on racism in Canada indicate otherwise. The structural and systemic basis of racism are not explored even though they are quite apparent

in the history of the coverage thus far, as well as in the coverage devoted to Bittner and Kouda. Both indicated their opposition to government policies - instances in which the government had acted effectively to reduce the inequities in the system caused by the legacy of racism. However, the interviewer does not link up the frustration-aggression hypothesis to this articulated opposition to state-imposed policies. Rather, the image of Canada as a tolerant nation remains. Its intolerance is only mild, contained within a minority who have to be chastised and disciplined by the state. Although the interviewer attempts to interrogate this, she is unsuccessful. The inherent time pressures of the format of this program may have contributed to this.

Nonetheless, while the previous stories tended to portray the Sikhs and other minorities in the role of perpetual 'complainers,' these two stories on The Journal shift away from this stereotype. Dhillon is portrayed as an articulate, liberal, educated and compassionate Sikh; in some ways, he is a hero, both to his community and within the larger system of signs that forms the discourse of the news. He has survived racism, been strengthened by it, and persists in retaining his values and beliefs. His view of racism - as something that can be eradicated through education and communication fits within the dominant paradigms of social change in society and with the perspectives of the federal government. In another sense,

his 'fit' within the privileged discourse rests on his portrayal as a 'pioneer', struggling and staking out a position for himself and his community within the wild, frontier-like terrain of rural Albertan/Canadian society.

Concluding Story

CBC's last story to deal with the pin issue aired the following night (March 15, 1990). Interestingly, CBC's only South Asian national reporter (on a national level), Ian Hanomansing, was assigned to cover the story. The anchor introduced the story as follows:

Sikh Mounties have won the right to wear their turbans while in uniform. The federal government, which delayed its decision almost a year, gave the okay today, saying it was the right legal and moral thing to do.

Hanomansing picked up the story on location with an introductory background to the issue, outlining Baltej Dhillon's long wait. This is followed by an extract of an interview with Solicitor-General Pierre Cadieux stating:

The modifications to the regulations to accommodate religious beliefs squares with Canadian Human Rights legislation and reflects this government's strong commitment to a multicultural society.

Hanomansing does not pursue the question of the length of time it took the government to arrive at this decision; a decision which according to Human Rights expert, Shelagh Day, could have been made sooner given that there was "no legal ground" on which the government could have denied the Sikhs the right to wear turbans as RCMP officers (The

Vancouver Sun, February 27, 1990).

Hanomansing then reverts the attention back to Dhillon who expresses his satisfaction over the decision, saying:

Hopefully now I'll be able to continue on with my goal, my career goals, of becoming an RCMP officer.

He adds that the decision helps to remove a major

...stumbling block that would prevent me from, one, practising my religion, and, on the second hand, serving my country, Canada..."

The leader of the Vancouver Sikh community is interviewed next. Daljit Singh Sandhu echoes Dhillon's sentiments and says, "Oh, we are very excited, very happy... the government of Canada has taken a right decision."

Hanomansing continues on this note, this time, reporting that opposition parties in Ottawa have also applauded the decision, but:

... there was criticism that it took too long to make, that the delay led to an anti-turban campaign, which included petitions, pins and a calendar. All of which they say whipped up anti-Sikh sentiments.

This is then used as a link, connecting the opposition parties' criticism against the government to Herman Bittner, the calendar-maker and his opposition to the government. The reporter mentions that Bittner is "not giving up his campaign." Bittner adds in a direct interview:

No, we're gonna keep on selling them. We've been getting support all across the country this morning. The phone's just ringing off the wall. People telling me not to give up, keep on going.

Obviously, the matter is not going to just 'die down' as Catherine Ford had prophesied in The Journal segment.

And Hanomansing's subsequent report underscores this. He mentions that the Saskatchewan municipalities convention had condemned the decision. It is unclear whether the reporter is referring to the government's decision or to Bittner's decision to continue. The issue is subsequently defined by the vox pop that immediately follows this statement.

First man: It's a true Canadian heritage. Let's not change it.

Second man: The respect the RCMP have is not because of the uniform they wear, it is because of the kind of work and the kind of integrity they have.

First woman: I think it was absolutely the right decision, it should have been made a year ago when the RCMP first suggested it.

Second woman: Well, they are not in their own country. They are in our country. They can follow their own religion, but yet they should comply with our rules and regulations.

This range of the vox pop segment is interesting because of the mix of responses it reveals. In contrast to the Journal documentary where only one man articulated an alternative viewpoint, the men and women (an interesting inclusion) reflect different ends in a range of opinions, thereby contributing to the implicit definition that the pins, and by corollary, racism are a matter of individual opinion.

Hanomansing turns back to Dhillon who, "believes he'll face a lot of resistance, but he is prepared." Dhillon is featured next saying,

And I am willing to take that on. Um, I'm willing to

go on that street, and I am willing to, uh, look at these people in the eye and tell them that I am no different from them.

With this, Hanomansing concludes his story:

The turban is not the only change coming up for the mountie's uniform. The famous brown gun harness will be replaced by a black one. The holster will be exchanged for a more efficient model. And women officers will be trading in their skirts for trousers.

Closure. The problematic issue of racism has been contained and to some extent, defused. In fact, its 'root cause' - the turban, is now levelled with all the other changes taking place in the RCMP uniform. Hence, it is equated with the holster and harness, skirts and trousers. For all of Dhillon's staunch defense of religious tradition and its personal and moral value, the turban is trivialized by its equation with these other changes. The world is contained and made intelligible again. The disorder has been neutralized by effective government intervention. The report implies that Bittner and his companions will gradually tire of their opposition and fade back into rural Alberta.

The RCMP can continue on its evolutionary path, Baltej Dhillon can achieve his career goals, and the status quo is maintained. The opposition parties have done their task of criticizing government delay. But the question of that delay, the reasons underpinning it, and the larger issue of racism as it impinges on the everyday lives of people of colour, and in this instance, as exemplified by the

populist-based opposition to including other minority groups and traditions within the national policing force, remain unanswered. They are relegated to the background where, in the constructed world of the news, they will, to use Catherine Ford's terms, "go back to wherever they were," only to re-emerge the next time a 'problematic' minority comes to the forefront. The image of Canada as a tolerant nation is safe once more.

Comparison of CBC and CTV accounts

The CBC coverage discussed so far differs from CTV's in several ways. While both presented Kouda's perspective first, CBC omitted in its descriptions the most offensive aspects of the pin. Both networks' coverage focused heavily on the pins as a business enterprise (as an indication of its popularity), and in both the issue was subsumed under a binary framework - those who supported the pin's expression versus those who opposed it. In Connell's (1980) terms, 'the ones who are doing versus those who are being done to.'

CBC's coverage highlighted the connection between visible minorities as threats and as exerting undue rapid change which could not be accommodated by the 'ordinary' folk. The role of the government is clearly articulated as safeguarding the interests of minority groups. Yet, not once throughout the coverage are the legal rights of minorities affirmed or mentioned. The coverage seems to be

highly critical of the government, both in terms of failing to protect minority rights, but also, implicitly, as supporting these rights and thereby imposing change from above, favouring some groups over others. This perspective changes by the end of the news stories (March 15), when the government's actions are portrayed as "the right decision." As well, they are portrayed as supporting the cause of minorities.

The 'ordinary' folk in the meantime, are portrayed as the oppressed, largely silenced majority whose only chance of being heard is through the use of such mechanisms as the pins and calendars. They are a 'vocal minority,' driven by 'fear' and 'anger.' They are working class, rurally based and white. This portrayal downplays their validity, and at the same time, contributes to their construction as a strategic focal point - a source of white racism. Constructed in this way, popular racism works to deflect the contribution of other elites towards the maintenance of a racist society (see van Dijk, 1993). Racism is thus doubly contained - as emanating from the actions and views of an 'irrational' sector of the population, and as stemming from ignorance, and perceived threat. Thus, education and the reduction of immigration become the 'natural' antidotes to the 'problem.'

This containment is also accomplished by the various definitions of racism afforded in the coverage. Racism is

translated as an emotive complex, generated by rapid change imposed from above. It is portrayed as a defensive reaction and naturalized in the context of forced change, lack of power, and lack of acknowledgement. The extracts of interviews with minority group members presented affirmed this definition by situating racism within the emotive realm and personal opinions. Racism is thus naturalized as an inherent part of life in Canadian society. Although, in contrast to CTV, the minority positions included in the CBC coverage demonstrated a greater variety, from the woman who says she is not offended by the pins, to Jazbir Singh, who denounces the pins as racist and dangerous.

The most interesting absence in both stations' coverage deals with the lack of other voices. While the pin depicted a man of African heritage, a South Asian and a Chinese man, the only minorities to be interviewed were South Asians and one black government official, Fil Fraser. Implicitly and explicitly, the coverage of the pin and calendars was tied into the other running story at the time - changes in the RCMP uniform.

As with CTV, CBC personalized Kouda and Bittner, the latter more so than the former. However, unlike CTV, CBC's Journal contained a lengthy interview with one South Asian male - Baltej Dhillon, who was personalized in a similar manner. His portrayal coheres around the image of the pioneer cowboy, attempting to survive in the hostile

frontiers of rural Alberta and the 'new Canadian reality,' to quote one expert interviewee.

The focus, by and large, in both CTV and CBC's coverage was on the pins and calendars as constituting a viable business, one which catered to the demands of the public. Neither station actively pursued the other side of the story as represented by the 'quiet' ones who did not purchase these products or who actively protested against them - although, to its credit, CBC included a visible condemnation of the products as articulated by Dr. Bercuson, and Catherine Ford.

In the CBC coverage, the lines between race, culture and religion are blurred. This is interesting in light of the fact that Kouda's depiction of minorities on the pin also blurs these distinctions. In one sense then, the station identified minority groups in the same way as the pin maker, as 'ethnic' groups and in the pin-maker's terminology, 'cultural' groups.

In contrast to CTV's coverage, the CBC coverage clearly linked the emergence of pins and calendars to the indecision of the government regarding the inclusion of Sikhs within the RCMP. The role of the government as ineffectual is criticized in this instance as it is seen to have led to the mobilization of an anti-Sikh sentiment. However, this is not pursued in a direct manner. Rather, the last segment of the Journal attempts to critique the state via the interviews

with Ford and Kruhlak.

In light of the analysis presented above, it would seem that the government's indecision was strategically motivated. It resulted in the escalation of anti-Sikh sentiments; these sentiments then worked to legitimize the view that the increasing presence of racial minorities was the cause of the problem. The government is constrained by its need to appear equitable. It has to cede to minority demands (which affirms its benevolence), and at the same time, it has to heed populist demands.

Finally, both networks' coverage presented the pins as somehow autonomous from their creator, i.e., implying that Peter Kouda was not the culprit, but rather it was the pin that had generated the negative response. In contrast, the CBC coverage of Bittner makes a more tangible connection between the calendar and its creator. Bittner's motives regarding the calendar were discussed, as was air-time devoted to his mimicry of a stereotypical Sikh. Yet, Bittner was personalized to the extent that his final portrayal is that of an 'ordinary' working class 'Canadian' who is simply frustrated by the rapid changes taking place around him.

The following tables outline the number of times that Kouda, Bittner and their supporters were allowed to speak, as well as the number of words they spoke in the series of stories aired on CBC. These tables do not reference the

coverage in The Journal, given the more in-depth quality of coverage afforded in the latter and its different format. These tables rupture the notion of 'balance' - that of according of equal coverage to the different sides of an issue.

CBC National News

Actual interviews	Number of times they spoke	Number of words they spoke
Kouda, Bittner and supporters	8	148
Vox pop: supporters	5	63
Ethnic and human rights groups opposed	4	74
Vox pop: opposers	0	0
Government spokespeople	5	112

While this table illustrates that Kouda, Bittner and their supporters received more coverage as such, it does not indicate the nature of that coverage. Nevertheless, if the human rights/ethnic group category were collapsed with government spokespeople, then it could be argued that the 'two' sides received relatively equal coverage. Yet, it is significant that there were no vox pop included of those who expressed opposition to the pins and calendars. In contrast, vox pop of those who supported the products were represented five times.

The following table highlights how much was said by the reporters about the various groups involved in the story, as well as about the calendars and pins themselves.

From the reporters' narration	Number of times spoken about	Number of words
Kouda, Bittner and supporters	9	195
Pins and calendars	7	143
Ethnic and human rights groups opposed	7	129
Government spokespeople	5	135

In contrast to CTV, CBC's National appears to have given a relatively equal amount of coverage to the various groups. However if the pin and calendars category is collapsed with the coverage devoted to Kouda and Bittner, then it would seem that more was said about the product, its creators and supporters than about the opposition to it. Whether this is a negative or positive element in the coverage is a moot issue, depending on the point of departure one assumes and the kind of implications one attributes to the media's role.

The position taken here is that the heavier coverage devoted to Kouda, Bittner, their supporters and their products is a negative mark against the media, simply because it allows these groups a larger space in which to articulate their views, than minority or opposing groups.

An analogy illustrates the position taken here: If

this were a play, then the racial minorities would in fact represent one actor in the play, along with Bittner, Kouda and other agents playing other roles. The play is about an incident that involves and has implications for the racial minority actor. But s/he is seen only fleetingly. Others (e.g. government spokespeople) speak in her/his interests. In the meantime, while the audience is aware of the racial minority actor, they rarely see her/him. Instead, the stage is constantly occupied by Bittner and Kouda, or by a narrator talking about them. Not only do they become the focal point of attention, but the impression created is that the racial minority actor is unable to stand up for her/his rights as an actor, and constantly needs to be defended. The inherent weakness of this character comes through.⁵⁸

Although this is a rather simplistic analogy, it highlights some of the issues underpinning the lack of representation that racial minority groups are articulating. These issues come through in the coverage of the pins and calendars. For if these products are considered as targeting particular groups of people, offending them in the process and communicating pejorative messages about them, then it would follow that the media would concentrate on the victims rather than the perpetrators of the crime.

Similar data based on the first segment of the Journal reveals the following breakdown:

The Journal documentary	Number of times they spoke	Number of words they uttered
Kouda, Bittner and supporters	29	645
Vox pop of those who supported	14	149
Ethnic and human rights groups opposed	1	45
Vox pop of those opposed	6	135
Government spokespeople	5	140
Academics	6	339

A breakdown of the reporter's narration accompanying this story reveals the following:

Narration to documentary	Number of times he spoke about them	Number of words he uttered with reference to them
Kouda, Bittner and supporters	20	508
Ethnic and human rights groups opposed	2	21
Government spokespeople	2	85
Academics	1	29
Pins and Calendars	4	136

The last two segments of the Journal consisted of live studio interviews and therefore cannot be compared with the documentary. The format was quite different based on the simple question - answer routine. This provides no point of comparison within or between the segments themselves, i.e.,

as to how much was said about particular groups.

However, given the dominant trend in these tables, it is interesting to note the minimal air-time given to ethnic and human rights groups who opposed the pins and calendars. Not only is their overall opposition minimized in these terms, but the range of representations is also restricted to perhaps one or two Sikh representatives, a spokesperson from the B'nai Brith, and a spokesperson from a local coalition against discrimination. As has been noted, there were no other people of colour represented, as for example, Chinese-Canadians and other African-Canadians, with the exception of Fil Fraser.

Had the depictions involved another minority - as for example, women or people with disabilities, would CTV and CBC have afforded them the same kind of coverage? And further, would there have been such an obvious reliance on governmental agencies, e.g. the Human Rights Commission, to protect their rights? Or would the onus have fallen onto such national agencies as the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, or for that matter, the Disabled Women's Network (DAWN) - a national agency representing women with disabilities?

It is interesting to note that while the pins and calendar issue hit the national airwaves, national groups involved in fighting for minority rights were not consulted or included in the program. And, while the distribution of

the pin was being actively fought against in British Columbia, the British Columbia Organization to Fight Racism was not once mentioned in these newscasts (personal communication, Allan Dutton, BCOFR, April, 1993).

Rather, these newscasts paint a picture of the issue as being an uniquely Alberta phenomenon, contained within a province, and within that province's minority. The minority itself came across as ignorant, working class and rurally-based. It was shown as responding naturally to a perceived threat. That the threat was indeed perceived and not 'real' was not clarified by the media. There was no attempt to provide evidence to the contrary. Rather, the media accepted the definition of an increasing population of non-whites as the source of the problem, and Bittner and Kouda's response as a reaction to this problem.

The constant attempt to elicit reaction from the government spokesmen, combined with explicit references about their role, conveyed the impression that minority groups were special groups, to be protected by the state. And this special status then reinforced, albeit indirectly, Kouda and Bittner's position, that racial minority groups were more advantaged than others. This fed into their construction of racial minority groups as a threat, changing traditions and receiving special treatment from the government.

The interviewees from minority groups, academia and

government spokespeople, all colluded in amplifying this definition. For one, virtually all the extracts of their interviews discuss racism in an attitudinal manner. Few discuss the systemic nature of racism, and offer any explanations that would demystify the notion of special treatment that was perceived as being directed towards minority groups by Kouda and Bittner. They either attributed racism to the actions of a hostile minority, afraid of change, or to a common social practice. Even Fil Fraser, a government spokesperson who is black, did not explain, in the extract of the interview that was included, why he found the pins so personally offensive. Racism was thus translated into an emotive phenomenon. The reportage of this issue colluded in this definition, for racism was often translated into prejudice or xenophobia. Kay Anderson notes,

The social relations in these settings [i.e. the colonies] have for years been interpreted in the language of 'prejudice,' 'ethnocentrism,' and 'stereotyping' - the stock in trade of liberal social science. (1991:19).

The media could have chosen to interview individuals with a more critical insight into the issue, and who also shared the same working class background as Kouda and Bittner. Defined as prejudice and xenophobia, racism can be mitigated by curtailing immigration and implementing multicultural education. These strategies fit within the parameters of current legislation and policy-making

initiatives.

Notes

55. The term 'ethnic' is used to refer to culturally defined groups. It is not synonymous with groups who are racially defined. However, racially defined groups also possess cultures. Hence, one alternative has been to refer to them as ethno-racial groups. Since this inquiry is concerned with 'race', I have chosen to use the terms racial minorities/people of colour.

56. See for instance, Peter Ward's 'White Canada Forever: British Columbia's Response to Orientals, 1858-1914,' Ph.D. Dissertation, Queens, 1974.

57. See Introduction and chapter I. Most studies indicate that the open expression of racist attitudes contributes to their acceptability, especially when the medium in which they are articulated enjoys credibility (see Hall, 1990; van Dijk, 1993; Jhalley and Lewis, 1992; Thackara, 1979). At the level of individual attitudes, other studies suggest that the 'effects' are selective; that those individuals who are prejudiced will have their beliefs reinforced (see the Archie Bunker studies). Moreover, it has been argued that those individuals who do not live in high contact areas and interact with minority groups, are more likely to perceive their mediated images as being representative of them (Hartmann and Husband, 1974). The critical question, in my opinion is, how are minority groups affected by these portrayals?

58. I am indebted to Shelina Kassam for this analogy.

CONCLUSION

LIMITS TO CHANGE

...news, among other discourses, plays a part in determining how we see the world, how we act in it, and how we behave towards other people.

John Hartley (1982:10)

As the preceding chapters demonstrate, television news discourse is highly contradictory. The contradictions are apparent in the tensions within the narrative text, and between the actuality footage and the narrative used to explain it. The arrangement of signs in a particular order constrains their multiaccentuality, but to varying degrees of closure. Such tensions are also evident in the struggle between a popular encoding of an event, and the liberal ethos that governs news organizations. The interplay between competing forces is most obvious in the manner in which notions of objectivity, impartiality and balance, inform and delimit the news text.

These internal and structural contradictions manifest themselves in the news coverage pertaining to people of colour, and racism. For example, the adherence to news values that emphasize conflict, results in the positioning of people of colour as either victims or perpetrators. Balance demands the inclusion of 'two' sides to an issue. This works to the detriment of a more responsible coverage

of race-related matters. Individuals espousing racism are then given a public platform from which to articulate their views. Racist talk fits the criteria of newsworthiness. It also provides good copy. Media attention lends it a certain type of credibility, by translating it into an opinion, like any other opinion.

The commitment towards impartial reporting exercises a powerful constraint, for it limits the degree to which a reporter can intervene, interrogate and challenge the assumptions that are articulated by racist groups and individuals. Nevertheless, as one telling example suggests, if the news media are committed to a particular perspective, they will override the limitations posed by the requirement of impartiality.

In The Newsmakers (Frum, 1990), journalist Linden MacIntyre recalls an incident when he was asked to interview James Keegstra for The Journal. MacIntyre, half-way through the interview, realized that Keegstra was using him and the show as a platform from which to advertise his messages questioning the historical authenticity of the Holocaust. MacIntyre re-did the interview, with the view that, "This can't be an interview, it has to be a mugging. This guy deserves to be beaten up." (1990:211). The resulting interview had to be vetted by a lawyer, who said, "We shouldn't broadcast this. But we must." (1990:212).

It can be argued that The Journal has a news magazine

format which gives it the luxury to cover events in a detailed manner. Nevertheless, the above account demonstrates that a commitment towards a particular perspective can override structural and ideological constraints. This is also evident in the media's coverage of the Zundel trial, which dealt with Zundel's distribution of anti-Holocaust propaganda. The media, according to Weinmann and Winn (1986) provided favourable coverage of the trial; coverage which was substantiated with additional stories on the Holocaust, its survivors, and stories concerning Jews in non-conflict situations.

A milieu of perceived tolerance

Hoggart argues that one of the most critical filters in news production is,

...the cultural air we breathe, the whole ideological atmosphere of our society, which tells us that some things can be said and others had best not be said (1976:foreward).

Within the Canadian context, a critical part of this 'atmosphere' is the image of the nation as a tolerant one. Race relations problems are often assumed to occur elsewhere - the United States (Bannerji, 1987). Thus, the discourse on race does not explicitly reference race in the news, except when a story deals with racism or overtly racist groups. Its manifestation at this subtle and indirect level is also predicated on structural constraints - the

possibility of law suits from aggrieved parties, and the existence of laws protecting the rights of minority groups (Clarke, 1981; van Dijk, 1989).

The belief in tolerance is also manifest among television reporters, whose own liberal ethos precludes any allusion to race or overtly racist discourse (see Chapter II). The liberal ethos combined with the image of Canada as a tolerant nation, creates a general concern about issues of racism. Hence, when these issues do surface, the news media are quick to cover the stories. The contradictions that surface in the stories examined here point to the tension between this liberal ethos and the traces of racially inscribed practices and assumptions that inhere within the dominant mass media. Such coverage is also complicated by the media's adherence to notions of freedom of expression. Hence, issues pertaining to racism are placed on the public agenda, but dealt with in a manner that reproduces the racialization of groups. They are dealt with as moral issues, rather than as criminal acts. This enables the privileging of particular definitions of racism, that draw from and reinforce common sense knowledge regarding racism.

It can be argued that rather than representations themselves, it is the mass media's definition of racism that constitutes the greatest danger to racial minority groups. If racism is deflected from its systemic base, and translated into individual behaviour, then the onus falls on

minority groups to 'educate' the public, and to make themselves more acceptable to the dominant society. This orientation is complemented by the state policies that emphasize education as a cure to racism. Recently, school curricula have come under increasing scrutiny from multicultural educators. Their findings suggest that multicultural education tends to concentrate on cultural traditions, rather than employing a critical anti-racist perspective (Tator and Henry, 1991).⁵⁹

The strategic use of racist incidents demonstrates the media's contradictory involvement in advancing elite definitions of social reality. These incidents fit the criteria of newsworthiness. At the same time, the coverage that ensues locates racist practices within a particular sector of society, white, working class and rural as demonstrated in the pin story. The presence of an increasing population of racial minorities is construed as the cause stimulating racism. The underlying logic suggests that if immigration were curtailed, racism would not be an issue. This legitimizes anti-immigration sentiments, and influences policy makers in the direction of terminating further immigration.

Stuart Hall (1990) has identified the differences between two types of racism that are particularly relevant here - overt and inferential racism. The first deals with situations in which openly racist statements are given

favourable coverage. The second deals with the racially inscribed premises that inform stories concerning racial minorities.

Within a milieu of perceived tolerance, inferential racism underpins and informs the discourse of race. The racialization of news discourse then comes through most clearly in the organization of the story - the way a story is told, the particular extracts of interviews that are selected and combined, and the meanings encoded in the text.

'Race' as News

The discourse on 'race' overlaps and intertwines with news discourse at various junctures. First, in using accepted forms of narrative structures, the news activates a certain chain of associations about the way certain stories will be told, and the specific roles that different groups enact. These narrative structures combine with news values to produce an emphasis on items that deal with conflict. For, typically, the narrative structure used is one which begins with a disruption or threat to the social order that is subsequently contained and/or neutralized, and order is re-established. Second, the use of a common stock of knowledge to understand news items indicates that historically sedimented stereotypes, associations and image-clusters regarding particular issues will likely be invoked.

For example, BCTV covered a story on the white spotted

wood bore, an insect that was found on a ship that had docked in Vancouver (BCTV, July 29, 1992, transcript available in the appendix). The story was told in an ironic way; however, it demonstrates the manner in which common sense meanings are activated. The anchor introduced the story within the context of the spraying of bacterial pesticides to combat a particular insect - the 'Asian' Gypsy moth. He added that yet another 'immigrant' insect had been found. The reporter picked up the story at the site of Agriculture Canada's laboratory where footage of the white spotted wood bore was shown. He described the insects as having "large families," as "an unwanted visitor", "known more for its appetite than beauty," and as coming from China. He added:

It's happening because ships from parts of the world we have never dealt with before are coming here now and insects we had never seen before are hitching rides.

Against a large sign stating 'Asian Gypsy Moth,' and shots of moths pinned for display, the reporter went on to say:

The worst visitor so far has been the voracious Gypsy moth. Like the beetle, it has no natural predators here. The only defence is early detection.

While this story was told 'tongue in cheek', it draws out the popular associations and fears that cluster around the word 'immigrant.' The previous chapters have shown how these same associations have been evoked, either through the inclusion of interviewees articulating these sentiments in

an explicit form, or implicitly in the coverage of the issue.

The social construction of immigrants of colour is a negative one within Canadian history and popular imagination (Armour, 1984; Ducharme, 1986; Indra, 1979). The stories dealing with illegal refugees and bogus immigrants clearly touched on this stock of social knowledge (chapter VI), and amplified existing definitions of people of colour. The contrast between these refugees and the white Yugoslavian refugees is striking and underlines the acceptability of one, as opposed to the illegality of the other (chapter IV). However, these stories demonstrate the tendency of news to cover issues which are controversial at heart. The protest rally of Somalians outside the immigration building fits this criterion, and at the same time, provided footage which was visually suited to the medium.

The expectation that immigrants who are people of colour, or who come from a particular country of origin, are likely to engage in criminal activity, is fulfilled by the media's concentration on these groups when they transgress social norms. The story about the Asians who were mistakenly arrested attests to this implicit expectation, an expectation which originated from the police. The media amplified this erroneous impression by covering the story in such a manner as to confirm this impression. When it was found that the police had made a mistake, the story was

neither retracted, nor was the spotlight turned on police inefficiency (see chapter V).

Conflict and controversy are the stock in trade for news, and when these stories involve people of colour, their news value is heightened. In part, this may be due to the lack of representation of people of colour in other non-conflictual sectors of life, e.g. in the realm of government (Ungerlieder, 1991), and in part, it may be due to the historically sedimented stereotypes about people of colour. The material selected for this analysis shows only a few instances where people of colour were consulted as experts (e.g. chapter V and VII).

A critical tendency within the news media is the dehistoricization and decontextualization of factors influencing a story (Fiske, 1987). This is clearly apparent in the material analyzed here. The coverage of the lapel pin issue excluded any background information on the historic treatment of minority groups in Canada, or the enactment of laws to address historically inscribed inequalities. Rather, the pins were construed as a response to a perceived threat of a rapidly growing population of people of colour; a population that was seen as receiving special attention from the state (chapter VII and VIII). Once again, the definitions of racism forwarded by the various interviewees emphasized the psychological and attitudinal aspects of the phenomenon.

The tendency to personalize issues assumes a heightened charge when the story concerns a person of colour. This charge emanates from the historical and contemporary associations and images of people of colour within the social imagination (Bannerji, 1986; Indra, 1979), as well as their general absence in the normal fare of programming. Personalization results in the trivialization and defusion of larger, systemic issues. Thus, in the case of the Photo Police coverage (chapter IV), the issue of racism was narrowed to that of a tabloid's depiction of a particular group, and within that, to the reactions of a leader in the Black community, Dan Philip. The systemic nature of racism, as it pervades Canadian society, remained untouched or unexamined, although it was alluded to in the actuality footage used in this news account. Racism becomes something that 'hurts' groups and individuals. It is translated into an attitudinal, emotional complex.

In the same vein, the coverage of the withdrawal of national organizations in terms of their support of a government appointed panel on violence against women, reveals this decontextualization of factors underpinning the decision (chapter IV). Rather, the portrayal of black women that comes across in these news stories, is one of a complaining minority, which is continuously demanding a greater share of the resources.

Discussing British coverage of black people, Stuart

Hall states that,

.... precipitating factors of conflict are usually absent... They are either missing, or introduced so late in the process of signification, that they fail to dislodge the dominant definition of these events. So they testify, once again, to the disruptive nature of black and Asian peoples as such. (1990:18).

Van Dijk (1993) notes the tendency within press coverage to either provide background information that is 'overcomplete,' and includes details that are irrelevant but that incriminate the individual, or the exclusion of material that provides additional grounding to the issue. The overcomplete nature of the coverage examined here is evident in the story concerning the hostage-taker, whose Chinese cultural origins are referenced in one account (chapter V).

The 'base' grammar of race

Stuart Hall argues that within the colonial framework, a 'grammar of race' informed discourses about people of colour. These "Others" were portrayed in subordinate positions, as inferior races, and their racial characteristics were construed as signs of an inherent and naturalized inferiority. Amongst the signs in this grammar, were images of the "Other" as slaves, natives, and entertainers. These images were deeply ambivalent so that the slave was often cast as a devoted and faithful servant, and/or as a treacherous, plotting betrayer; the natives were either noble savages or 'uncivilized' hordes; and the

entertainers had a natural rhythm, or were lazy and indulgent (see also JanMohamed, 1985). Hall argues that while these 'base images' do not exist in contemporary media, their 'traces' remain.

In terms of the news stories analyzed here, the 'grammar of race' appears to be one where conflict, perceived threat, and minorities as problems, dominate as signs. Other signs that consistently emerge in coverage dealing with racial minorities portray them as complaining, demanding, reacting, or as opportunistic, invasive, criminally oriented, and victimized "others" with exotic and problematic cultures. These images result from the portrayal of racial minorities involved in conflict situations.

These signs cohere around the perceived threat that people of colour represent - as a threat in the economic sphere where they symbolize competing interests over scarce resources; as a threat in the cultural arena because of the imposition of their markedly different cultures; and finally, as threats to the social order, through their acts of deviance and criminality. The similarity of these representations with van Dijk's schema outlining the thematic and cognitive organization of ethnic prejudice are striking (see van Dijk, 1987:61). However, his study focused not on media representations per se, but rather on the way people talked about ethnic minorities. This

consonance between representations of people of colour in the news media and in everyday talk, points to the role of the media as critical agents in the reproduction of social knowledge (van Dijk, 1989).

Since news is largely about the negative, it is the negative element within these ambivalences that often surfaces. However, based on the interview extracts of minorities featured in the news stories examined, several characteristics stand out. For the minorities who were cast as problem people, there was a counter-image of a person of colour who persisted and was ultimately victorious in his quest - as is evident in the story of Baltej Dhillon. Other counter-images include people of colour who articulated the official line, e.g. those who affirmed that racism is a natural outcome of the "evolutionary" change that the country is experiencing (see chapter VII). As for the militant people of colour, who are portrayed as constantly demanding changes, there was the counter-image of the passive person of colour, or of the entertainer participating in a colourful, annual celebration of Caribana (see chapter IV). The departure to this trend occurs in cases where an individual supports and is supported by a popular cause; a cause that is also implicitly backed by the media, as for example, small businessmen against the union.

This 'grammar of race' to use Stuart Hall's terms, emerges despite the fact that there are no overt allusions

to race on the part of the reporters, and in spite of the prevailing liberal ethos within news organizations. In part, this is due to the prevailing discourse on race. As Hall notes, "...an ideological discourse does not depend on the conscious intentions of those who formulate statements within it." (1990:14). (My emphasis).

However, there are some structural factors that contribute to the generation of largely negative representations of racial groups in news media. Van Dijk (1989) notes that ethnic minorities or people of colour are rarely employed as journalists. Second, there is a reluctance on the part of journalists to consult with members of minority groups because of perceived difficulties in intercultural communication, a lack of available contacts within these groups, a certain degree of prejudice, and the absence of 'accredited' sources within minority groups. These factors combined with the internal pressures of news production result in the exclusion of minority voices and perspectives. However, even the voices included tend to be contained within the parameters defined above - they fit into particular signs within the larger discourse.

'Race', racialization and Canadian tolerance

The discourse on 'race' that structures the representation of racial minorities is, as this study suggests, permeable - it draws on and is informed by the

discourses of nationalism; nationalism that is perceived as being threatened and simultaneously valorized. The news media play a critical role in communicating this ambivalence - for on the one hand, they portray the presumed source of this threat (rising levels of immigration), and on the other hand, they superficially challenge the notion of a tolerant image (focus on white, working class racism). But the challenge is limited.

Through news values such as the need to balance different sides of the issue, the racists receive a public platform from which to articulate their messages. The two sides appear on the a level playing field, a field defined by the media. Additionally, while the liberal ethos works to diminish the status of overtly racist individuals, by portraying their class origins and ignorance, the media collude in reproducing official definitions of the situation, that racism is confined to a small minority, and that it is a consequence of immigration and ignorance. This then justifies the implementation of educational programs about cultural awareness, and legitimizes the continued exclusion and exploitation of people of colour (through immigration restrictions, and by deflecting attention away from systemic racism).

Through its ahistorical and decontextualized reporting practices, the media in effect collude in presenting a dominant and taken-for-granted perspective that positions

racial minorities as problems or victims, or as the successful Horatio Alger types (those who assimilate and are aligned with the popular). Through the personalization of issues, the media perpetuate the view of racism as an epiphenomenon, contained at the level of interpersonal interactions, and apparent in the actions of an individual.

The focus on racism and its placement on the national agenda, serves to portray the media as a liberal, non-racist institution, as a 'fourth estate.' However, as van Dijk notes:

... there are only gradual differences between the more liberal ethnic attitudes, and those of the cultural elite of the conservative and more overtly racist New Right. (1989:205).

Underneath this liberal mantle, the notion of Canada as a tolerant society remains unscathed. Racism, while acknowledged, is contained if not trivialized, and the path to change becomes a manageable enterprise. Within the media, this 'change' is translated in a piecemeal fashion, in a way that does not challenge structural practices and assumptions, in other words, - how the stories could have been told differently.

The limits to change

Within the context of the various stories that have been examined, there has been an attempt to answer the question: How could this story have been constructed differently? Alternative versions have been offered, but

the limits to this envisioning of different ways to tell the same story are enormous. It is the stories themselves that have to change. For at the crux of the issue, are commonly held practices, structural features, and a historically sedimented stock of knowledge. It is not only the individual sentiments of a reporter, editor or broadcaster that are at stake, although these naturally infuse the final news product. Rather, it is the very practice of news making with its reliance on objectivity, impartiality and news conventions, that require change.

Given these structural constraints, what then is the latitude within which one can exercise agency towards a more equitable form of representation? Much of the racialization of minority groups within the news comes from their positioning as problematic peoples in society. For representations to change in any meaningful way, this association has to be broken. The issues have to be articulated differently, as Hall argues, so that they can create different meanings when combined in a news story (1990).

Minority rights advocates have long argued that the inclusion of diversity at all levels within media organizations would serve as an antidote to the existing coverage of racial minorities (e.g. Committee for Racial Justice, 1989). But, as Tuchman (1972; 1976) and others have argued, journalists are socialized into a particular

organizational culture and into ways of seeing the world that are consonant with the dominant perspectives of these organizations. They are, as Gitlin suggests, "trained to be desensitized to the voices and life-worlds of working-class and minority people." (1979:28). Thus, having more racial minority reporters does not necessarily guarantee that their perspectives will be radically different. Unless, their difference is valued and their contributions are seen in a positive light.

The news is, according to Fiske (1987), primarily 'masculine' in its orientation. It is directed towards a largely male audience, an audience that is also perceived to be largely white and middle class (van Dijk, 1989). For representations to be changed in any deliberate manner, the news makers would have to take into account a culturally and racially diverse audience. At a practical level, this would translate into additional coverage of minority groups and individuals, and their greater inclusion in the vox pop format, than was evidenced in this corpus of newscasts.

Given that news values are so deeply entrenched, it would be extremely difficult to articulate issues in a different way. On a pragmatic level, however, minority groups have advanced several different measures towards this end. The first revolves around the notion of 'normalized' representations: that rather than focus on people of colour only in a conflict situation, the media portray them in a

variety of different positions and in a range of different stories. This proposal has especially been directed at advertising companies and manufacturers who are involved in the production of television commercials (Bey, 1982). To some extent, the representations of South Asians that were examined, reflect such a range.

The second avenue proposed, insofar as it breaks the chain of connotations about people of colour, is through 'balanced' representation. Hence, for every immigrant racial minority shown entering the country illegally, the coverage should also reflect white immigrant groups who are engaged in the same activity. Thus, the media's concentrated attention on the Asians and South Asian illegal immigrants and "bogus refugees" could be 'balanced' with an inclusion, in the same story, of Romanian refugees who also entered Canada illegally (e.g. the news coverage of the smiling, Romanian refugees aired on CTV National News, March 3, 1993).

While this may work to reduce the connotative charge around 'race,' some studies show otherwise. Van Dijk (1989) mentions a study of crime news in the United States, which found that although blacks were featured in 20% of stories concerning crime (the other 70% being white), media users recalled the opposite figures, that blacks were involved in 60% of the crimes, and whites had committed only 7% of the crimes. The chain of association between blacks and crimes

is difficult to break.

The third way in which connotations around racial groups can be attenuated would be to provide a more in depth account of the factors influencing their actions, i.e. the conditions that are forcing them to migrate and to take such desperate measures as entering the country illegally; the historical conditions that created the 'Third World.' However, implicit in this is the danger of reinforcing the traditional stereotypes about the Third World. Showing footage of poverty, oppressive governments, and violence does not bode well for limiting representations of racial minorities as helpless victims. Nonetheless, the inclusion of an historical context can serve to influence public opinion in a positive direction. The public recognition of the genocidal treatment of aboriginal peoples has created a space in which native self-determination can now be discussed.

In the 'best of all possible worlds,' if all these measures were incorporated in tandem, rather than piecemeal, the news could have a significantly different character. However, the material reality in which news organizations are anchored, and which they reproduce, mitigates against the implementation of the above-mentioned strategies. For the media are ultimately a business enterprise. Their aim is to generate capital. Audiences and sponsors are critical elements in this commercial nexus.

Ultimately, if existing representations are to be changed, then audiences will have to take a proactive stand and challenge the networks and sponsors. And to some extent this strategy has worked in the past (cf. Wilson and Guiterrez, 1985).

In Toronto, the Urban Alliance on Race Relations engaged in one such strategy whereby they sent back all the advertising mail they had received from various department stores. Their argument was that they were not willing to buy the products if the ads did not feature members from racial minority groups. The strategy worked, and within months, the stores started sending out advertising mail featuring models from these communities (Tator, 1984).

While this strategy is appealing and would likely work at a basic level with a simple product, its applicability to the news is impeded by the latter's complex organization and the structural practices that inhere within it. The strategy also connotes an assimilationist perspective, in that cultural differences are 'bleached out' so as to make minorities more amenable to advertisers.

A more competitive and challenging strategy has been the creation of alternative media which address the concerns and issues of specific ethno-racial communities (Lewels, 1974; Soltes, 1925; Fathi, 1979). This strategy has proved to be quite successful within racial minority groups in Canada (Black and Leithner, 1987). However, financial

constraints and the lack of a wider audience base, has contributed to the ghettoisation of minority media.

Finally, the media are only one institution among a network of institutions that produce and reproduce social knowledge saturated with inferential and overt racism. To challenge and transform myths and traces from a legacy of colonialism, is a daunting task at the very least. Substantial changes that are not cosmetic, require the commitment of all institutions towards a sustained anti-racist perspective.

'Meanings given, meanings made'⁶⁰

While this study has focused on news texts at a specific moment in their chain of signification, the interpretations offered here do not foreclose the possibility of other readings. For media texts, like other texts, can be decoded differently, according to the social location and discursive competencies of various social groupings in society (Morley, 1980). However, these texts also privilege particular meanings (Hall, 1979).

The manner in which racially defined groups decode the news has yet to be fully explored. Morley's sample of black west Indians' reading of Nationwide was radically different than that offered by other groups (1980). These groups did not share the symbolic world of the program. They could not identify with it. The meanings that racial minorities

construct in their reading of Canadian television news is an area worthwhile examining in future research. Preliminary research based on interview data gathered in 1988, from 20 South Asian university students (between 18 - 23 years old) revealed the following responses to questions regarding their perceptions of news coverage of ethnic and racial groups:

... a lot of stories just get blown out of proportion, maybe my way of dealing with it is not to listen to that news story or not give it my time in that way because I think a lot of these stories get blown out of proportion, like the Rushdie affair. (female respondent, 23 years of age).

One 24 year old male said that he just watched the news for sports. He then provided the following information about the coverage of Ben Johnson at that time:

...it wasn't really an issue that was important to me until a day after he had won, I thought well this is probably going to reflect well for immigrants simply because it took an immigrant to win a gold medal for Canada, and it would probably make things much easier generally speaking for immigrants in this country. But after what happened, I think it could have had negative repercussions instead, by people saying a real Canadian wouldn't have done this.

He went on to say:

... you might watch the news but not realize the extent of its influence until you've been made aware of something and then you tend to draw on that.

As far as representations were concerned, he replied:

...the representations are just not there, but sometimes, they do have some multicultural commercials, the government sponsored ones, and its good to have them I think, but at the same time, I don't like the idea of feeling that they have to represent me, its almost patronizing, like we're putting you in an ad, be happy. but I guess it would be useful to the kids

that are now growing up to realize that they don't live in an all white society...

This female respondent was clearly aware of the social values governing news delivery. In discussing a South Asian reporter/anchor, she commented that:

I thought he did a really good job and you know obviously if you hear him on radio you wouldn't have known that he was South Asian, like me.... I guess you know you have to look at it both ways, that from the television stand point, you know they have to go with what's accepted so I guess if they stick with a good looking, sophisticated white person doing the news, then if that's what's going to sell for them, then you have to look at it from that stand point, but from a social stand point, it's still wrong.

Another respondent recounted a particular story he had seen in the news which featured members of the Sikh community.

... there was one story about a van full of East Indians [South Asians] who got caught for having too many people in the car and they took them all out, and by that time, it turned out to be forty people and it was just a van or a station wagon. Stuff like that. TV doesn't make us see the good... Because that was silly, all in one car.. .and you could just see the smirks on the reporter's face and you could tell this was not right.

One female respondent made the following comment:

I feel more now that I am looking at it through someone else's eyes, seeing pictures that they want me to see, hearing bits of conversation that they want me to hear, rather than being allowed to form my own opinions, and I think I probably sense this more because of the way the reporting is done on issues on the Middle East and the way Islam is brought into it.

Another male commented:

In the news, it's getting better now. I mean we get one or two Asian as in South Asian reporters. In coverage of issues, they [people of colour] stand out, even if its in a minor context, they stand out. The issues may not be that big, but if its a minority issue, its not considered to be the norm, but an

average white family might be having the same problems but because its a minority, it tends to stand out. Its more newsworthy. Because its an oddity, it gives you reason to stereotype people... They don't give you the full background, they just tell you what the situation is and they present it in such a way that you're biased against it.. but you don't know the whole story, all three sides.

Clearly there is a range of critical insights into the processes that underpin representations in these responses. Yet, many of these respondents also underlined the social learning implications of watching television. The news figured prominently as one site of socialization - of learning about institutions in society, its normative boundaries and the place of people of colour in the Canadian social landscape. However, the social influence exercised by the news or mass media in general, is mediated at the level of lived reality, by the influences of other social agencies, as for example, family, religious institutions, academia, and the ethnic community.

Notwithstanding the above, as Willis' (1977) study demonstrates, individual interpretations gain their meaning from social relations and institutional realities. In Canadian society, these relations are structured within the framework of white group dominance. As Smitherman-Donaldson and van Dijk (1988) have argued:

. . . the discursive reproduction of racism is the enactment and legitimation of white majority power at the micro levels of everyday verbal interaction and communication. (1988:17).

The mass media, in this instance, provide people of

colour with images of prescription (which are largely assimilative and which deny, marginalize or exoticize their difference), and images of description - the ways in which they are perceived by the dominant society (Bannerji, 1986). Thus, the media, ultimately reproduce 'race,' and racism through their particular constructions, selections and combinations of representations of people of colour.

Notes

59. This information is also derived from my work with the Vancouver School Board in 1992.

60. This title is taken from Martin Laba's work in the area of popular cultural production. (See Laba, 1988).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACTRA (1987) Equal Opportunities to Perform, A Study of the Role of Performers who are members of Visible and Audible Minority Groups in Canadian Communications Media. Report undertaken by Rita Shelton Deverall.

ACTRA (1990) Into the Mainstream. Toronto, Ontario.

Amos, Valerie and Pratibha Parmar (1984) Challenging Imperial Feminism, Feminist Review, 17, July.

Anderson, Benedict (1983) Imagined Communities. London and New York: Verso.

Anderson, Kay (1991) Race, Place and the Power of Definition, in Vancouver's Chinatown, Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Angus, Ian (ed.) (1988) Ethnicity in a Technological Age. Edmonton: University of Alberta, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

Ankur Collective (1991) Editorial, Ankur, A New Beginning, 1:1:Spring.

Armour, Monica (1984) The Historical Context of Racism in Canada, Currents, Vol. 2, #1, Spring.

Arno, Andrew (1985) Structural Communication and Control Communication: An Interactionist Perspective on Legal and Customary Procedures for Conflict Management, American Anthropologist, 87.

Atkin, Charles K, Bradley S. Greenberg, and Steven McDermott (1983) Television and Race Role Socialization, Journalism Quarterly, 60:3:407-414.

Bagley, Christopher (1973) Race Relations and the Press: An Empirical Analysis, Race, XV:1:61-89.

Bannerji, Himani, "Now You See Us/Now You Don't." Video Guide, 8:40:5, 1986.

Bannerji, Himani (1987) Introducing Racism: Towards an Anti-Racist Feminism, Resources for Feminist Research, May.

Banton, Michael (1970) The Concept of Racism, in Race and Racialism, edited by Sami Zubaida. London: Tavistock Publications.

- Barthes, Roland (1973) Mythologies. London: Paladin.
- Bataille, G. and C. L. P. Silet (1980) The Entertaining Anchronism: Indians in American Film, in The Kaleidoscopic Lens, How Hollywood views Ethnic Groups, edited by Randall M. Miller. USA: Jerome S. Ozer.
- Bazalgette, Cary and Richard Paterson (1981) Real Entertainment: The Iranian Embassy Siege, Screen Education, 37:55-67.
- Bennett, Tony (1982) 'Media,' 'Reality', 'Signification', in Culture, Society and the Media, edited by Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Jane Woollacott. London: Methuen.
- Berg, Charles Ramirez (1989) Immigrants, Aliens and Extraterrestrials: Science Fiction's Alien 'Other' as (Among Other Things) New Hispanic Imagery, CineAction!, Fall, 18.
- Berger, John (1972) Ways of Seeing. Penguin.
- Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann (1967) The Social Construction of Reality, New York: Doubleday.
- Berry, Gordon L. and Claudia Mitchell-Kernan (1982) (eds.) Television and the Socialization of the Minority Child. New York: Academic Press.
- Bey, Salome (1982) Address at the Conference on Visible Minorities and the Media. Canada: Multiculturalism.
- Bhabha, Homi, "The Other Question - The Stereotype and Colonial Discourse." Screen, 24:6, 1983.
- Billingsley, Brenda and Leon Muszynski (1985) No Discrimination Here? Toronto Employers and the Multi-Racial Workforce. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and The Urban Alliance on Race Relations, May, 1985.
- Black, Jerome and Christian Leithner (1987) Patterns of Ethnic Media Consumption: A Comparative Examination of Ethnic Groupings in Toronto, Canadian Ethnic Studies, xix:1.
- Blauner, Robert (1976) Colonized and Immigrant Minorities, in Race and Ethnic Relations, edited by Gordon Bowker and John Carrier. USA: Hutchinson and Company.
- Bogle, Donald (1989) Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks, An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films. New York: Continuum.

Bolaria, B. Singh and Peter S. Li (1988) Racial Oppression in Canada. Toronto: Garamond Press.

Boxhill, Wally and Josephine Stanic (1989) Approaches to the Collection of Data on Visible Minorities in Canada: A Review and Commentary, Employment Equity Programme, Statistics Canada.

Brand, Dionne (1991) Sisters in the Struggle, National Film Board documentary, produced by Studio D.

Brunsdon, Charlotte and David Morley (1978) Everyday Television. London: British Film Institute.

Buchignani, Norman and Doreen Indra, with Ram Srivastava, Continuous Journey, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985.

Bula, Frances (1989) Accessing the Media, in The News Media and Race Relations Seminar Proceedings, compiled and edited by Aziz Khaki, Committee for Racial Justice, Vancouver, July 24, 1989.

Bulhan, Hussein Abdilah (1985) Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression. New York and London: Plenum Press.

Burney, Shehla, "The Exotic and the Restless: Representation of the "Other" in Colonialist Discourse." Paper presented at the International Institute of Semiotic and Structural Studies, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., 1988.

Canada, House of Commons Debates (1971) Federal Government's Response to Book IV of the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, October 8.

Canada, House of Commons, (1984) Equality Now! Minutes of the Proceedings and Evidence of the Special Committee on Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, March 8.

Canada, Multiculturalism (1982) Visible Minorities and the Media Conference Report.

Canada, Multiculturalism and Citizenship (1989) Eliminating Racial Discrimination in Canada.

Canada, Multiculturalism and Citizenship (1990) Working Together Towards Equality.

Cantelon, Hart (1988) How Television Tracked Ben, Content, Nov-Dec., pp. 9-10.

Caplan, Gerald Lewis, Sauvageau, Florian, Cote, Francine, Lavigne, J. Conrad, Blache-Fraser, Felix Randolph, MacDonald, Finlay, and Mimi Fullerton (1986) Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy. Canada: Minister of Supply and Services.

Cashmore, Ernest and Barry Troyna (1983) Introduction to Race Relations, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Chan, Lorraine (1980) The Vancouver Sun's Coverage of Japanese-Canadians from 1942-45, Unpublished paper, School of Journalism, Carleton University.

Chung, Sue Fawn (1976) From Fu Manchu, Evil Genius to James Lee Wong, Popular Hero: A study of the Chinese American in Popular Periodical Fiction from 1920-1940, Journal of Popular Culture, 10:3, Winter.

Clarke, Debra (1981) Second-hand News: Production and Reproduction at a Major Ontario Television Station, in Communication Studies in Canada, edited by Liora R. Salter. Toronto: Butterworths.

Cohen, Phil and Carl Gardner (1982) (eds.) It ain't Half Racist Mum, Fighting Racism in the Media. London: Comedia.

Comstock, George and Robin E. Cobbey (1982) Television and the Children of Ethnic Minorities: Perspectives from Research, in Television and the Socialization of the Minority Child, edited by Gordon L. Berry and Claudia Mitchell-Kernan. New York: Academic Press.

Comstock, George and Robin E. Cobbey (1979) Television and the Children of Ethnic Minorities, Journal of Communication, 29:1.

Connell, Ian (1980) Television News and the Social Contract, in Culture, Media, Language, edited by Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Willis. Britain: Hutchinson in association with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham.

Conquergood, Dwight (1986) 'Is it Real?' - Watching Television with Laotian Refugees, Directions, Vol. 2, #2.

Cottle, Simon (1992) "Race", Racialization and the Media: A Review and Update of Research, Sage Race Relations Abstracts, 17:2 May.

Cottle, Simon (1991) Reporting the Rushdie Affair: A Case Study in the Orchestration of Public Opinion, Race and Class, 32:4:45-64.

Cripps, Thomas (1980) The Dark Spot in the Kaleidoscope: Black Images in American Film, in The Kaleidoscopic Lens, edited by Randall M. Miller. USA: Jerome S. Ozer.

Dahlgren, Peter with Sumitra Chakrapani (1982) The Third World on TV News: Western Ways of Seeing the 'Other,' in Television Coverage of International Affairs, edited by William C. Adams. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

Dahlgren, Peter (1980) TV News and the Suppression of Reflexivity, Urban Life, 9:2:201-16.

Darnton, Robert (1975) Writing News and Telling Stories, Daedalus, 104, Spring.

Das Gupta, Tania (1993) Is it possible to conduct Anti-racist Feminist research from Academia - Some Theoretical and Methodological Questions, paper presented at the Canadian Association of Sociology and Anthropology Meetings, Learned Societies, Ottawa.

Deroche, Constance and John Deroche (1991) Black and White: Racial Construction in Television Police Dramas, Canadian Ethnic Studies, XXIII:3.

Desbarats, P. (1982) Address at the Conference on Visible Minorities and the Media. Canada: Multiculturalism.

Dhillon-Kashyap, Parminder, "Locating the Asian Experience." Screen, 1988.

Dick, Ronald S. (1985) Minorities and the Canadian Visual Media, in Minorities and the Canadian State, edited by Neil Nevitte and Allen Kornberg. Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press.

Dorr, Aimee (1982) Television and the socialization of the Minority Child, in Television and the Socialization of the Minority Child, edited by Gordon L. Berry and Claudia Mitchell-Kernan. New York: Academic Press.

Downing, John D. H. (1988) "The Cosby Show" and American Racial Discourse, in Discourse and Discrimination, edited by Geneva Smitherman-Donaldson and Teun A. van Dijk. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Downing, John D. H. (1985) 'Coillons... Shryned in an Hogges Toord': British News Media Discourse on 'Race', in Discourse and Communication, edited by Teun A. van Dijk. New York and Berlin: de Gruyter.

Dubois, Marie-France (1993) South Asian Women in Canada and

Media Discourse: A Feminist Analysis. M.A. thesis draft, Department of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.

Ducharme, Michele (1986) The Coverage of Canadian Immigration Policy in the Globe and Mail (1980-1985), Currents, 3:3.

Dunn, Edward W. Jr. (1975) Mexican-American Media Behaviour: A Factor Analysis, Journal of Broadcasting, 19:1, Winter.

Dutton, Allan W. (1984) Capitalism, the State and Minority Ethnic Relations in British Columbia. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Victoria, B.C.

Ellis, John (1982) Visible Fictions: Cinema: Television: Video. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Eng, Susan (1984) Visible Minorities in Advertising, Currents, 2:2.

Engelhardt, Tom (1971) Ambush at Kamikaze Pass, Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 3:1, Winter-Spring, 1971.

Entman, Robert, M. (1990) Modern Racism and the Images of Blacks in Local Television News, Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 7:332-345.

Erin Research (1991) Social Trends in CBC Television Programming, 1977-1990, A Content Analysis Commissioned by The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Canada: CBC.

Essed, Philomena (1990) Everyday Racism, Reports from Women of Two Cultures, translated by Cynthia Jaffe. Claremont, California: Hunter House.

Fathi, Asghar (1973) Mass Media and a Moslem Immigrant Community in Canada, Anthropologica, 15:201-230.

Feuer, Jane (1989) Reading Dynasty: Television and Reception Theory, The South Atlantic Quarterly, 88:2, Spring, 443-460.

Fleming, James (1991) The High and Mighty, interview with James Fleming, Saturday Review, The Vancouver Sun, November 23.

Fiske, John (1987) Television Culture. London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Fiske, John and John Hartley (1978) Reading Television. London and New York: Methuen Inc.

Fisher, Paul and Ralph L. Lowenstein (eds.) (1967) Race and

the News Media. USA: Frederick A. Praeger.

Freeth, Tony (1982) Racism on Television: Bringing the Colonies Back Home, in It ain't Half Racist Mum, edited by Phil Cohen and Carl Gardner. London: Comedia.

Frum, Linda (1990) The News Makers, Behind the Camera with Canada's top TV Journalists. Toronto, Ontario: Key Porter.

Galtung, Johan and Mari Ruge (1973) Structuring and Selecting News, in The Manufacture of News, edited by Stanley Cohen and Jock Young. London: Constable and Co.

Garrett, George (1989) Freedom of Expression and the News Media, panel presentation, in The News Media and Race Relations Seminar Proceedings, Vancouver: Committee for Racial Justice, July 24.

Generations Research Inc. (1988) The Portrayal of Canadian Cultural Diversity on Canadian Network Television. A Content Analysis. Prepared for the Secretary of State.

Gerbner, George (1964) Ideological Perspectives and Political Tendencies in News reporting, Journalism Quarterly, 41:4:495-516.

Ghosh, Ratna (1983) Sarees and the Maple Leaf: Indian Women in Canada, in Overseas Indians, edited by George Kurian and Ram P. Srivastava. India: Vikas Publishing House, Pvt. Ltd.

Gitlin, Todd (1979) News as Ideology and Contested area: Toward a Theory of Hegemony, Crisis, and Opposition, Socialist Review, 9:6:11-54.

Gitlin, Todd (1980) The Whole World is Watching. Berkely: University of California Press.

Gitlin, Todd (ed.) (1986) Looking Through the Screen, in Watching Television. USA: Pantheon Books.

Granzberg, Gary (1982) Television as Storyteller: The Algonkian Indians of Central Canada, Journal of Communication, Winter, 43-52.

Granzberg, Gary (1984) The Portrayal of Visible Minorities in Canadian Television during the 1982 Prime-Time Season, Currents, 2:2.

Graves, S. D. (1975) Racial Diversity in Children's Television: Its Impact on Racial Attitudes and Stated Program Preferences. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Gray, Herman (1986) Television and the New Black Man: Black Images in Prime-Time Situation Comedy, Media, Culture and Society, 8:223-42.

Greenberg, Bradley S. and Charles R. Atkin (1982) Learning About Minorities from Television, in Television and the Socialization of the Minority Child, edited by Gordon L. Berry and Claudia Mitchell-Kernan. New York: Academic Press.

Greenberger, Allen J., The British Image of India, A Study in the Literature of Imperialism 1880-1960. London: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Greenwald, Barry (1989) Who Gets In? National Film Board of Canada.

Griffin, Kevin (1990) Turban wearer expected to win, The Vancouver Sun, February 24.

Griffin, Kevin (1992) in Life Without Fear, a video produced by the B.C. Teachers' Federation, Vancouver, B.C.

Guillaumin, Colette (1974) Changes in Inter-ethnic 'attitudes' and the Influence of the Mass Media as shown by research in French-speaking Countries, in Mass Media and Race, edited by James D. Halloran. Unesco, Paris. (1974:78)

Guppy, Niel (1993) Panel presentation, Workshop on Ethnic Relations and Cultural Diversity, University of British Columbia, April 1.

Hackett, Robert A. (1989) Coups, Earthquakes and Hostages? Foreign News on Canadian Television, Canadian Journal of Political Science, 22(4).

Hackett, Robert A. (1991) News and Dissent: The Press and the Politics of Peace in Canada. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, Chapter 4.

Hall, Stuart (1973) A World at One with Itself, in The Manufacture of News, edited by Stanley Cohen and Jock Young. Britain: Constable.

Hall, Stuart (1973b) The determinations of News Photographs, in The Manufacture of News, edited by Stanley Cohen and Jock Young. Britain: Constable.

Hall, Stuart (1974) Media Power: The Double Bind, Journal of Communication, 24:4:19-26.

Hall, Stuart, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John Clarke and

Brian Roberts (1978) Policing the Crisis. London, Britain: MacMillan Press.

Hall, Stuart (1979) Culture, the Media and the 'Ideological Effect,' in Mass Communication and Society, edited by James Curran, Micheal Gurevitch and Janet Woollacott. London: Sage Publications.

Hall, Stuart (1980) Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance, in Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism. Paris: UNESCO.

Hall, Stuart (1980b) Encoding/Decoding, in Culture, Media, Language, edited by Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Willis. London and Birmingham: Hutchinson and CCCS.

Hall, Stuart (1982) The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies, in Culture, Society and the Media, edited by Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott. London: Methuen.

Hall, Stuart (1984) The Narrative Construction of Reality, Southern Review, 17:3-17.

Hall, Stuart (1989) Convocation Address at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Hall, Stuart (1990) The Whites of their Eyes, in The Media Reader, edited by Manuel Alvarado and John O. Thompson. London: British Film Institute.

Hallin, Daniel C. (1986) We Keep America on Top of the World, in Watching Television, edited by Todd Gitlin. USA: Pantheon.

Halloran, James D. (ed.) (1977) Race as News. Paris: Unesco.

Hammond, Dorothy and Alta Jablow (1977) The Myth of Africa, USA: The Library of Social Sciences.

Harris, Debbie-Wise (1991) Colonizing Mohawk Women: Representation of Women in the Mainstream Media, Resources for Feminist Research, 20:1-2:15-20.

Hart, Adrian (1989) Images of the Third World, in Looking Beyond the Frame, edited by Michelle Reeves and Jenny Hammond. Britain: Links.

Hartley, John (1982) Understanding News. London and New York: Methuen Inc.

Hartley, John and Martin Montgomery (1985) Representations and Relations: Ideology and Power in Press and TV News, in Discourse and Communication, edited by Teun A. van Dijk. New York and Berlin: de Gruyter.

Hartmann, Paul, Charles Husband and Jean Clark (1974) 'Race as News, A Study of the Handling of Race in the British National Press from 1963 to 1970', in Race as News, edited by James D. Halloran. Paris: Unesco Press.

Hartmann, Paul and Charles Husband (1971) The Mass Media and Racial Conflict, Race, XII:3.

Hartmann, Paul and Charles Husband (1974) Racism and the Mass Media, London: Davis-Poynter.

Henry, Frances and Effie Ginzberg (1985) 'Who Gets the Work?' A Test of Racial Discrimination in Employment. The Urban Alliance on Race Relations and The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, January 1985.

Henry, Frances (1986) Race Relations Research in Canada Today: A 'State of the Art' Review, Report for the Canadian Human Rights Commission, September 25, 1986.

Himmelstein, Hal (1987) Television News and the Television Documentary, in Television, The Critical View, Fourth Edition, edited by Horace Newcomb. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hoggart, Richard (1976) Forward in Bad News, volume 1. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

hooks, Bell (1982) Ain't I a Woman, Black Women and Feminism. London and Sydney: Pluto Press.

hooks, Bell (1990) Yearning, Race, Gender and Cultural Politics. Toronto, Ontario: Between the Lines.

Huang, Agnes (1992) Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women: Some Things Never Change, Kinesis, September.

Hume, Stephen (1990) It's not the Mountie Uniform. It's the Mountie wearing it, The Vancouver Sun, March 19.

Husband, Charles and Jagdish M. Chouhan (1985) Local Radio in the Communication Environment of Ethnic Minorities in Britain, in Discourse and Communication, edited by Teun A. van Dijk. New York and Berlin: de Gruyter.

Huttenback, Robert A. (1976) Racism and Empire, White Settler and Colored Immigrants in the British Self-governing

Colonies, 1830-1910. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Iiyama, Patti and Harry H. L. Kitano (1982) Asian Americans and the Media, in Television and the Socialization of the Minority Child, edited by Gordon L. Berry and Claudia Mitchell-Kernan. New York: Academic Press.

Indra, Doreen M. (1981) The Invisible Mosaic: Women, Ethnicity and the Vancouver Press, 1905-1976, Canadian Ethnic Studies, 13:1.

Indra, Doreen M. (1979) South Asian Stereotypes in the Vancouver Press, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 2:2.

Isaacs, Harold (1958) Scratches on Our Minds. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

JanMohamed, Abdul R. (1985) The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature, Critical Inquiry, 12, #1, 59-87.

Jhalley, Sut and Justin Lewis (1992) Enlightened Racism, The Cosby Show, Audiences and the Myth of the American Dream, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Jiwani, Yasmin and Gary Crocker (1990) Victoria: The Last Outpost of Empire, poster presentation at the Canadian Communication Association Meeting, Learned Societies, Victoria, B.C., 1989.

Jiwani, Yasmin (1991) The Problem of Authenticity in Documentary Filmmaking, Independent Eye, Spring/Summer.

Jiwani, Yasmin (1991) The Mediation of Inequality, in Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada's Broadcast News Heritage, edited by Richard Lockhead. Kingston, Ontario: Quarry Press.

Jiwani, Yasmin (1992) To be or not to be: South Asians as Victims and Oppressors in The Vancouver Sun, Sanvad, 5:45, August.

Jiwani, Yasmin (1992) The Exotic, the Erotic and the Dangerous: South Asian Women in Popular Film, Canadian Women Studies, 13:1.

Julien, Isaac and Kobena Mercer (1988) De Margin and De Centre, Screen, 2-11.

Kashmeri, Zuhair and Brian McAndrew (1989) Soft Target, How the Indian Intelligence Service Penetrated Canada. Toronto:

James Lorimer and Company.

Kassam, Shelina (1993) When Humour is no Laughing Matter: Two Views, Windows and Mirrors, Vancouver, The Hastings Institute, May issue.

Katz, Elihu, Hanna Adoni and Prina Parness (1977) Remembering the News: What the Picture Adds to Recall, Journalism Quarterly, 54:231-239.

Katz, Elihu and Tamar Liebes (1987) Decoding Dallas, Notes of a Cross-Cultural Study, in Television, The Critical View, 4th Edition, edited by Horace Newcomb. New York: Oxford University Press.

Khaki, A. and K. Prasad (1988) Depiction and Perception: Native Indians and Visible Minorities in the Media. Vancouver, B.C.: the Ad Hoc Committee for Better Race Relations.

Knight, Graham (1982) News and Ideology, Canadian Journal of Communication, 8:4:15-41.

Kube, Art (1989) Do Immigrants Take Away Jobs? Proceedings of a Workshop convened by the Committee for Racial Justice, November 22, 1986. Compiled and edited by Aziz Khaki. Vancouver: Committee for Racial Justice.

Laba, Martin (1988) Popular Culture as Local Culture: regions, Limits and Canadianism, in Communications in Canada, edited by R. Lorimer and D. W. Wilson. Toronto: Kegan and Woo.

Ladner, Joyce (1987) Introduction to Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman, in Feminism and Methodology, edited by Sandra Harding. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Lam, Lawrence (1980) The Role of Ethnic Media for Immigrants: A case study of Chinese immigrants and their media in Toronto, Canadian Ethnic Studies, 12:1:74-92.

Lam, Lawrence (1983) Vietnamese-Chinese Refugees in Montreal. Unpublished Ph.d. thesis, York University, Toronto, Ontario.

Lather, Patti (1986) Issues of Validity in Openly Ideological Research: Between a Rock and a Soft Place, Interchange, 17:4:63-84.

Lawrence, Errol (1982) Just plain common sense: the 'roots' of racism, in The Empire Strikes Back, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. London: Hutchinson.

Lazar, Barry and Ross Perigoe (1989) Visible Minorities and native Canadians in National Television News Programs, unpublished manuscript.

Lee, C. Allyson (1990) Confessions of a Sinophobe: The Etiology of an Endogenous Racism, Fireweed, 30, Spring.

Lerman, Claire L. (1985) Media Analysis of a Presidential Speech: Impersonal Identity Forms in Discourse, in Discourse and Communication, edited by Teun A. van Dijk. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Levine, Meredith (1988) Canadians Secretly Relieved at Johnson's Fall, New Society and Statesman, 1:18:8

Lewels, Francisco, J. Jr. (1974) The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement. USA: Praeger Publishers.

Lipsitz, George (1988) The Meaning of Memory: Family, Class and Ethnicity in Early Network Television Programs, Camera Obscura, 16:79-116.

Lockhead, Richard (1991) (ed.) Beyond the Printed Word: The Evolution of Canada's Broadcast News Heritage. Kingston, Ontario: Quarry Press.

Lull, James (1980) The Social uses of Television, Human Communication Research, 6:3:197-209.

MacDonald, J. F. (1983) Black and White TV: Afro-Americans in Television since 1948. Chicago: Nelson Hall.

Mackenzie, Shelagh (1991) Remember Africville. National Film Board production.

Mackie, Marlene (1980) Ethnic Stereotypes and Prejudice: Alberta Indians, Hutterities and Ukrainians, in Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada, edited by Jay E. Goldstein and Rita M. Bienvenue. Toronto: Butterworths.

Martinez, Thomas M. (1969) How Advertisers promote racism, Civil Rights Digest, fall issue.

McAllister, Kirsten Emiko (1992) Asians in Hollywood, CineAction, 30:8-13.

McBratney, John (1988) Images of Indian Women in Rudyard Kipling: A Case of Doubling Discourse, Inscriptions, 3-4.

McLuarin, P. (1987) From Beulah to Clair Huxtable, You've Come a Long Way Girl, or Have You: The Black Woman and Television. Paper presented at the International

Communication Association Meeting, Montreal, Canada, May 24.

Memmi, Albert, The Colonizer and the Colonized, Boston: Beacon Press, 1965.

Meyrowitz, Joshua (1985) No Sense of Place, The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour. New York: Oxford University Press.

Miles, Robert (1989) Racism. London and New York: Routledge, Key Idea Series.

Miller, Randall M. (ed.) (1980) The Kaleidoscopic Lens. USA: Jerome S. Ozer.

Millett, David (1981) Defining the Dominant Group, Canadian Ethnic Studies, 13:3.

Mills, C. Wright (1959) The Sociological Imagination. London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Minh-ha, Trinh T. (1989) Black Bamboo, CineAction!, Fall.

Minh-ha, Trinh T. (1988) Not You/Like You: Post-Colonial Women and the Interlocking questions of Identity and Difference, Inscriptions, no.3/4.

Mohanty, Chandra (1988) Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses, Feminist Review, No. 30.

Molotch, Harvey and Marilyn Lester (1974) News as Purposive Behaviour: On the Strategic Uses of Routine Events, Accidents and Scandals, American Sociological Review, 39:101-12.

Moodley, Kogila Adam (1983) Canadian Multiculturalism as Ideology, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 6:3, July.

Moodley, Kogila Adam (1987) The Predicament of Racial Affirmative Action, in Ethnic Canada, Identities and Inequalities, edited by Leo Driedger. Ontario: Copp, Clark Pitman.

Moore, Timothy E. and Leslie Cadeau (1985) The Representation of Women, the Elderly and Minorities in Canadian Television Commercials, Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 17:3.

Morley, David (1976) Industrial Conflict and the Mass Media, Sociological Review, May, 245-268.

Morley, David (1980a) Texts, Readers, Subjects, in Culture, Media, Language, edited by Stuart Hall et. al., London: Hutchinson.

Morley, David (1980b) The Nationwide audience: Structure and Decoding. London: British Film Institute.

Morley, David (1986) Family Television: Cultural Power and Domestic Leisure. London: Comedia Publishing.

Morley, David (1988) Domestic Relations: The Framework of Family viewing in Great Britain, in World Families Watch Television, edited by James Lull. USA: Sage Publications.

Morris, Joann Sebastian (1982) Television Portrayal and the Socialization of the American Indian Child, in Television and the Socialization of the Minority Child, edited by Gordon L. Berry and Claudia Mitchell-Kernan. New York: Academic Press.

Moscovici, Serge (1981) On Social Representations, in Social Cognition, edited by J. P. Forgas. New York: Academic Press.

Mouammar, Mary (1986) When Cartoons are not Funny, Currents, 3:3, Spring.

Murray, Nancy (1986) Anti-racists and other Demons: The press and ideology and Thatcher's Britain, Race and Class, 27:3:1-20.

Nevitte, Neil and Allen Kornberg (eds.) (1985) Minorities and the Canadian State. Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press.

Nichols, Bill (1990-91) Embodied Knowledge and the Politics of Power, CineAction, 23, Winter.

Ouston, Rick (1989) Freedom of Expression and the News Media, in The News Media and Race Relations Seminar Proceedings, compiled and edited by Aziz Khaki, Committee for Racial Justice, Vancouver, July 24, 1989.

Parmar, Pratibha, (1984) Hateful Contraries, Media Images of Asian Women, Ten8, 16.

Peac Media Research Inc. (1982) The Role of Non-Whites in English Language Television and Advertising in Canada. Final Report, prepared for the Secretary of State.

Pearson, Geoff (1976) 'Paki-Bashing' in a North East Lancashire Cotton Town: a Case study and Its History, in Working Class Youth Culture, edited by Geoff Mungham and

Geoff Pearson. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Peter, Karl (1981) The Myth of Multiculturalism and Other Political Fables, in Ethnicity, Power and Politics, edited by Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando. Toronto: Methuen.

Perez, Richie (1985) Committee Against Fort Apache the Bronx mobilizes against multinational Media, in Cultures in Contention, edited by Douglas Kahn and Diane Neumaier. Seattle: The Real Comet Press.

Pineo, Peter C. (1987) The Social Standing of Ethnic and Racial Groupings, in Ethnic Canada, edited by Leo Driedger. Toronto, Ontario: Pitman.

Powell, Gloria Johnson (1982) The Impact of Television on the Self-Concept Development of Minority Group Children, in Television and the Socialization of the Minority Child, edited by Gordon L. Berry and Claudia Mitchell-Kernan. New York: Academic Press.

Porter, John (1965) The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Porter, John (1979) The Measure of Canadian Society: Education, Equality and Opportunity, specifically the chapter on Canadian Character in the Twentieth Century. Canada: Gage.

Postman, Neil (1985) Amusing Ourselves to Death. USA: Penguin Books.

Praeger, Jeffrey (1972-73) White Racial Privilege and Social Change: An Examination of Theories of Racism, Berkley Journal of Sociology, 17:117-150.

Press, Andrea (1991) Women Watching Television, Gender, Class and Generation in the American Television Experience. USA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Qureshi, Kish (1992) Living as 'Other', Canadian Women Studies, 13:1.

Ramcharan, Subhas (1982) Racism, Nonwhites in Canada. Toronto: Butterworth and Company.

Rex, John (1970) The Concept of Race in Sociological Theory, in Race and Racialism, edited by Sami Zubaida. London: Tavistock Publications.

Rex, John (1986) Race and Ethnicity. England: Open

University Press.

Richmond, Anthony (1988) Immigration and Ethnic Conflict.
Hong Kong: The MacMillan Press.

Riggs, Marlon (1991) Colour Adjustment (film). San
Francisco, Alifornia: California Newsreel.

Roberts, Lance W. and Rodney A. Clifton (1982) Exploring the
Ideology of Canadian Multiculturalism, Canadian Public
Policy, 8:1:88-94.

Roth, Lorna (1990) The Prism of Cultural Diversity:
Multiculturalism in Canadian Broadcasting Policies and
Practices, paper presented at the annual meetings of the
Canadian Communications Association and the Association for
Canadian Studies, Victoria, British Columbia, May 31.

Said, Edward (1978) Orientalism. New York: Random House.

Said, Edward (1981) Covering Islam, How the Media and
Experts Determine How we See the rest of the World. New
York: Pantheon.

Scanlon, Joseph (1977) The Sikhs of Vancouver, in Ethnicity
and the Media. Paris: Unesco Press.

Schneider, William, (1977) Race and Empire: The Rise of
Popular Ethnography in the Late Nineteenth Century, Journal
of Popular Culture, XXI:1, Summer.

Schudson, Michael (1982) The Politics of Narrative Form: The
Emergence of News Conventions in Print and Television,
Daedalus, III:4.

Schudson, Michael (1989) The Sociology of News Production,
Media, Culture and Society, 11:263-82.

Schwartz, Anthony (1973), Hard Sell, Soft Sell, Deep Sell,
in The Responsive Chord, Garden City, New York: Anchor
Books.

Seiter, Ellen (1986) Stereotypes and the Media: A Re-
evaluation, Journal of Communication, Spring, 14-26.

Shaheen, Jack (1984) The TV Arab. Bowling Green, Ohio:
Bowling Green State Univeristy Popular Press.

Shankman, Arnold (1978) Black Pride and Protest: The Amos
'N' Andy Crusade, Journal of Popular Culture, Fall, pp.
236:52.

Sharma, Ashwani (1990) Black Audiences, Do They Think We're Uloo?, in The Neglected Audience, edited by Janet Willis and Tana Wollen. London: British Film Institute.

Singer, Benjamin (1982) Minorities and the Media: A Content Analysis of Native Canadians in the Press, The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 19:3:348-59.

Sippi, Diane, (1989) Aping Africa: The Mist of Immaculate Miscegenation, CineAction!, Fall.

Sivanandan, A. (1973) Race, Class and Power: An Outline for Study, Race, XIV:4.

Smitherman-Donaldson, Geneva and Teun A. van Dijk (1988) Discourse and Discrimination, Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Soltes, Mordecai (1925) The Yiddish Press: An Americanization Agency. New York: Columbia University Teacher's College.

Stam, Robert and Louise Spence, (1985) Colonialism, Racism and Representation: An Introduction, in Movies and Methods, Volume 2, edited by Bill Nichols. Berkeley and California: University of California Press.

Stasiulis, Daiva K. (1985) Antinomies of Federal Multiculturalism Policy and Official Practices, paper presented the international symposium on Cultural Pluralism, Montreal, October 19-20.

Statistics Canada, (1990) Immigrants in Canada, Target Group Project.

Statistics Canada, Employment Equity Program Annual Report, 1988-89.

Steenland, Sally (1989) Unequal Picture, Black, Hispanic, Asian and Native American Characters on Television. National Commission on Working Women of Wider Opportunities for Women. Washington, D.C.

Steinberg, Stephen (1981) The Ethnic Myth, Race, Ethnicity and Class in America, Canada: McClelland and Stewart.

Stott, Rebecca, (1989) The Dark Continent: Africa as Female Body in Haggard's Adventure Fiction, Feminist Review, 32, Summer.

Surlin, Stuart and J. R. Dominick (1970-71) Television's Function as a "Third Parent" for Black and White Teen-Agers,

Journal of Broadcasting, 15:1:55-64.

Sykes, Mary (1988) From 'Rights' to 'Needs': Official Discourse and the 'Welfarization' of Race, in Discourse and Discrimination, edited by Geneva Smitherman-Donaldson and Teun A. van Dijk. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Tator, Carol (1984) Mail Back Campaign, Currents, 2:2.

Thackara, J. (1979) The Mass Media and Racism, in Media, Politics and Culture, edited by Carl Gardner. Great Britain: MacMillan Press.

Tharu, Susie, (1989) Tracing Savitri's Pedigree: Victorian Racism and the Image of Women in Indo-Anglian Literature, in Recasting Women, Essays in Colonial History, edited by Kukum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid. New Delhi: Kali for Women.

Thobani, Sunera (1990) Position paper submitted on behalf of Women of Colour of British Columbia to the Canadian Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies.

Thobani, Sunera (1991) News in Black and White, Divya: Journal of South Asian Women, Autumn.

Thobani, Sunera (1992) Culture isn't Cause of Violence, The Vancouver Sun 3 Jan.

Thornton Dill, Bonnie (1987) The Dialectics of Black Womanhood, in Feminism and Methodology, edited by Sandra Harding. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Tierney, Ben (1992) Criminal Admissions, The Vancouver Sun, September 26, A12.

Tierney, John (1982) Race, Colonialism and Migration, in Race, Migration and Schooling, edited by John Tierney. London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Trowler, Paul and Mike Riley (1984) Topics in Sociology. Britain: University Tutorial Press.

Tuchman, Gaye (1972) Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity, American Journal of Sociology, 77:4:660-79.

Tuchman, Gaye (1976) Telling Stories, Journal of Communication, 26, Fall, 93-7.

Ujimoto, Victor K. and Gordon Hirabayashi (1980) Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Asians in Canada. Toronto: Butterworths.

- Ungerlied, Charles S. (1991) Media, Minorities and Misconceptions: The Portrayal by and Representation of Minorities in the Canadian News Media, Canadian Ethnic Studies, 23:3.
- Van den Berghe, Pierre L. (1976) Ethnic Pluralism in Industrial Societies: A special Case, Ethnicity, 3:242-255.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1983) Discourse Analysis: Its Development and Application to the Structure of News, Journal of Communication, 33:20-43.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1985) (ed.) Discourse and Communication. New York and Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1987) Communicating Racism, Ethnic Prejudice in Thought and Talk. USA: Sage.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1988a) How 'They' Hit the Headlines, Ethnic Minorities in the Press, in Discourse and Discrimination, edited by Geneva Smitherman-Donaldson and Teun A. van Dijk. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. and Geneva Smitherman-Donaldson (1988b) Introduction: Words that hurt, in Discourse and Discrimination, edited by Geneva Smitherman-Donaldson and Teun A. van Dijk. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1988c) News Analysis, Case Studies of International and National News in the Press. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1989) Mediating Racism, The Role of the Media in the Reproduction of Racism, in Language, Power and Ideology, edited by Ruth Wodak. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: J. Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1991) Racism and the Press. London and New York: Routledge.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1993) Elite Discourse and Racism, Sage Series on Race and Ethnic Relations, Volume 6. USA: Sage.
- Vidmar, Neil and Milton Rokeach (1974) Archie Bunker's Bigotry: A study in Selective Perception and Exposure, Journal of Communication, 24:1:36-47.
- Visram, Rozina, Ayahs, Lascars and Princes, Indians in Britain, 1700-1947. London: Pluto Press, 1986.
- Walsh, Heidi (1992) Free Trade with Mexico: Competing to be Poor?, Kinesis, December-January.

- Weber, Max (1958) The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. USA: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Weinfeld, Morton (1981) Myth and Reality in the Canadian Mosaic: 'Affective Ethnicity,' Canadian Ethnic Studies, 13:3.
- Weinmann, Gabriel (1984) Images of Life in America: the Impact of American TV in Israel, International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 8:185-197.
- Weinmann, Gabriel and Conrad Winn (1986) Hate on Trial, The Zundal Affair, the Media, Public Opinion in Canada. Ontario: Mosaic Press.
- White, Mimi (1987) Ideological Analysis and Television, in Channels of Discourse, edited by Robert C. Allen. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press.
- Wilden, Anthony (1987) The Rules are No Game. London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Wilkinson, Gerald (1974) Colonialism through the Media, The Indian Historian, 7:3:29-32.
- Williams, Raymond (1987) Television, Technology and Cultural Form, New York: Schocken Books.
- Williams, Tanis McBeth (ed., 1986) The Impact of Television, A Natural Experiment in Three Communities. Orlando: Academic Press.
- Willis, Paul (1977) Learning to Labour, How working class kids get working class Jobs, London: Saxon House.
- Wilson, C.C. II, and Felix Guitierrez (1985) Minorities and the Media, Diversity and the End of Mass Communication. California: Sage.
- Winks, Robin W. (1988) The Sinister Oriental: Thriller Fiction and the Asian Scene, Journal of Popular Culture, 19:2, Fall.
- Winn, Conrad (1985) Affirmative Action and Visible Minorities: Eight premises in Quest of Evidence, Canadian Public Policy, XI:4:684-700.
- Winston, Michael (1982) Racial Consciousness and the Evolution of Mass Communications in the United States, Daedalus, III:4.
- Woll, L. (1980) Bandits and Lovers: Hispanic Images in

American Film, in The Kaleidoscopic Lens, edited by Randall M. Miller. USA: Jerome Ozer.

Woollacott, Janet (1982) Messages and Meanings, in Culture, Society and the Media, edited by Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott. London: Methuen.

Young, Anthony (1989) Television Viewing, Canadian Social Trends, Autumn, 1989.

Young, Thomas W. (1967) Voice of Protest, Prophet of Change, in Race and the News Media, edited by Paul L. Fisher and Ralph L. Lowenstein. USA: Frederick A. Praeger.

Youngs, Tim (1991) 'Framed in the doorway:' the Observer and the 'Yemeni brides' affair, Media, Culture and Society, 13:239-247.

Youngs, Tim (1989) Morality and Ideology: The Portrayal of the Arranged Marriage in Contemporary British Asian Drama, Wasafiri, Vol. 9, Winter.

Zubaida, Sami (1970) (ed.) Race and Racism. London: Tavistock Publications.

Zohoori, Ali Reza (1988) A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Children's Television Use, Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 32:1:105-113.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

EXAMPLES OF EXCLUSIONARY LEGISLATION PASSED IN CANADA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA

- 1850 Aboriginal people placed on reserves
- 1850s Small numbers of Chinese and Indian immigrants brought over to work in the mines, forest industry, railroads and shipyards.
- 1865 160 acre parcels of land given away to white settlers; aboriginal people were only allowed 10 acres of land for each person to live on.
- 1872 Aboriginal peoples denied the right to vote in B.C. elections.
- 1875 Chinese people denied the vote in provincial elections.
- 1880s Aboriginal children removed from their homes and families and sent to residential schools.
- 1884 Potlatch ceremony outlawed.
- 1885 Legislation passed restricting Japanese, Chinese and South Asian workers from employment.
- 1885 Federal government imposed a \$50 head tax on Chinese immigrants.
- 1886 Chinese work camps forcibly broken up by whites, forcing the Chinese to leave Vancouver either by foot or sea.
- 1887 Chinese labour boycotted and at Coal Harbour, a Chinese work camp was attacked by white mobs.
- 1895 Japanese persons denied the vote.
- 1900 Federally imposed head tax on Chinese immigrants raised to \$100.
- 1903 Chinese head tax increased to \$500. In addition, Ottawa passed legislation that decreed that every Chinese immigrant had to have \$200 in his

- possession before he could land.
- 1907 Riot against Chinese and Japanese in Vancouver, led by the Asiatic Exclusion League.
- 1907 South Asians denied the vote.
- 1908 Continuous Voyage Act designed to exclude South Asian immigration.
- 1908 Schools in British Columbia segregated.
- 1908-9 Attempt to move South Asians in B.C. to the British Honduras.
- 1914 Komagata Maru incident where South Asians arriving in Vancouver were forcibly turned back after having waited on the ship for two months and denied entry. Many of these people were shot when they reached India.
- 1919 Legislation passed in Ottawa that decreed that any immigrant could be denied entrance because of his customs, habits and inability to assimilate. This was directed at Chinese immigrants.
- 1920 Chinese denied the vote in Federal elections.
- 1923 Federal government began decreasing the number of fishing licenses it granted to Japanese-Canadians. (From 38% in 1922 to 14% in 1931).
- 1928 Gentlemen's Agreement with Japanese revised to reduce the number of Japanese immigrants to 150 per year.
- 1942 Internment of Japanese-Canadians.
- 1947 South Asians and Chinese given the vote in B.C.
- 1949 Japanese given the vote. Aboriginal peoples also given the vote in B.C. as a by-product of the enfranchisement of other racial groups.
- 1960 Aboriginal peoples given the right to vote in federal elections. Simultaneously, residential schools began to be closed down.
- 1967 Immigration laws 'relaxed' to allow quotas of non-whites to enter Canada.

APPENDIX B

REPRESENTATIONS IN CANADIAN TELEVISION NEWS

Representations of Blacks on CTV and BCTV News

July 25 - 31, 1992 No minority reporters shown.
 August 3 - 6, 1992
 August 9 - 14, 1992

Date	Subject/topic	Nature of Representation
25/7	Opening of the Olympic Games	Actuality footage of the Dream Team, one of whom says he "just wants to have fun." Followed by press conference interview.
25/7	Olympics showing that this is the "first time that all the countries are participating."	Visual of Nelson Mandela and the South African team Actuality with v.o.
25/7	Olympics and the Canadian team. Ben Johnson's past shame - "notorious Ben" - everyone hoping for a clean run.	Visuals of Curtis and Johnson. Focus on Johnson.
25/7	S. Africa: ANC Demonstration "planned to topple the white government."	Overhead shots of blacks marching in protests. Visuals with v.o.
26/7 *F	Famous singer, Mary Wells died of cancer. She was a heavy smoker.	Focus on her song and a replay of her singing.
27/7	Olympic athletes getting huge sums of money as reward for winning. This exerts pressure on athletes and increases the likelihood of cheating - Ben Johnson case.	Focus on endorsements showing black athletes in ads; Visuals of Seoul Olympics with Johnson running. Actuality footage of Ads, Seoul rerun, Olympic elite, with v.o.

28/7	S. Africa: Police brutality against blacks - revealed by white pathologist.	Interview with white pathologist and white Minister of Law and Order . Stills of black victims; actuality footage of black kid who was beaten.
28/7	Black musician ICE-T and his controversial song, 'Cop killer.' Police argue that it incites hatred against them. The report shows contradiction between ICE-T's public statements and private sentiments.	Shots of white policemen protesting; visual footage of ICE-T saying he wants to blow up the 'White House' at the time of the L.A. riots, and then publicly announcing the withdrawal of the song from his album because of death threats.
29/7	Government wants to make it easier for refugees from Eastern Europe to come to Canada. Canadian Ethnocultural Council spokesperson Emmanuel Dick disagrees with move - on grounds of unfairness; Amnesty applauds move.	Focus on Dick and interview with him. He says other groups have been waiting, "should they take a backseat?"
29/7	Conflict at Olympics. Ben Johnson's latest faux pas - "people just can't seem to forget." - He is hiding from the press, speculation that his old Coach is in town.	On site comments from other black athletes: 'old foe' Carl Lewis "saying he'd welcome back a drug free Johnson." Shot of Leroy Burrell at press conference. File footage of Johnson running.

30/7	Gold medalist caught cheating at Olympics. Story concerns black British athlete, Livingston. Reporter says this emphasizes need for drug testing programs.	Focus is on black athlete and comment from black Canadian runner Anthony Lewis Shots of Livingston, Anthony Lewis, and two white athletes who are also disqualified. They are interviewed and say they will appeal the decision.
30/7 *F	Somalia refugees and the double standard of government policy regarding refugees from Somalia versus those from E. Europe. "Somalis are different," says Valcourt.	An interview with a black woman from Somalia who says she will be killed if she returns, followed by a press conference shot of Valcourt who says you can't treat the two groups the same way; then to NDP critic, Dan Heap who says its a sick joke Actuality footage of famine stricken Somalia.
31/7 *F	Olympics: Ben Johnson vs. Silken Laumann, both written off. Johnson tested 10 times but many feel the two year ban was not enough. Then onto Silken Laumann - the miracle kid. Focus on whether Johnson should be allowed to run.	Vox pop with 2 white man who say no, 1 white woman who says yes, one black woman says yes, and another white man says yes, we should forgive. Visuals of Johnson running in semi-finals. Interview, background and footage of Silken Laumann.

31/7 *F	Rift in Canada's women's movement. Conflict between women's groups and the government appointed panel on violence against women. Groups have withdrawn because of lack of representation. One woman talks about lack of services for immigrant women; interview with Minister Mary Collins saying panel represents women not organized groups.	Actuality footage and interview with black, frontline worker; Minister Collins, and footage from press conference where groups announce their withdrawal.
31/7	Actors audition for parts.	Shot of black male dressed up in the line-up. But interview with white woman actor.
3/8	Olympics: Black athlete wins gold. Admitted to using steroids before but credits Black British athlete for his turnaround.	Visuals of Mark McKoy - black athlete. Actuality footage of race, and him accepting the gold medal. This is followed by an interview.
3/8	Olympics: Black runner who pulled hamstring persisted in seeing the race through - he reflects the 'true' Olympic spirit.	Visuals of black runner limping to the finish line and then helped by his father.
3/8	S. Africa: Violence results as millions launched protest.	Street scenes of corpses and wreckage. Actuality footage with v.o.
4/8	Olympics: Dispute over winners between Kenya and Morocco. Kenya is furious.	A replay of the race. Interview with white representative.
5/8	S. Africa: Thousands of blacks protest against minority rule.	Visual of Nelson Mandela giving speech; white response based on interview with De Klerk. Overhead shots showing masses protesting.

5/8	Olympics: Athlete pulls out because of injury. Michael Smith, earlier defined as hope for gold.	Actuality footage of Smith.
6/8 *F	Quebec's racy tabloid - The Photo Police charged with racism. Publisher says, "is it racist?" Frame - it's a shame and an outrage but nothing can be done about it; its only a tabloid.	Interviews with Philip - black leader; with white male editor; comments from P.Q. leader, antifascist league spokesperson (white), also from native chief - the next target.
6/8	Gas powered lawnmowers may increase employment in Ontario - if US company doesn't start producing them.	Interview with black spokesperson from company (U.S). Actuality footage of white man mowing the lawn.
/8	Olympics: Johnson did not win; but US black did in wrestling - medal contested by Russians.	Focus on Kevin Jackson and conflict with Russian athlete. Actuality footage of Johnson's race - timing off.
/8 *F	Bridal registries: Brides today asking for radically different types of things.	Interview with white female store owner. Background shot of black bride.
9/8	End of Olympics focusing on the celebrations.	Visuals of black male dancing; black Mayor of Atlanta.
9/8	Olympic rehash - the winners and losers - McKoy versus Johnson. Shift to Johnson as controversy, his shame - his latest faux pas, and now Canada is rescued from it all because of those who won and those who were courageous (referring to Silken Laumann).	Focus begins with the winners, but then shifts to Johnson as the loser, and then to Canada's redemption in this Olympics. Actuality footage of McKoy, Johnson, then back to celebrations.

9/8 *F	S. Africa: Mass protest of black people, violating state imposed laws by carrying spears.	Visuals of people carrying spears into the streets. A sense of disorder is communicated by the footage.
/8 *F	Olympics Heroes, focusing on their courage, determination, and above all, their ability to transcend international conflicts.	Visuals of black athlete from Britain who pulled hamstring; Gail Dewers, U.S. black female, who fell, black Ethiopian woman embracing by white S. African. Ends with visuals of celebrations.
10/8	Bosnia and detention camps. Discussion of American intervention. Focus on General Mckenzi Lewis	Actuality footage of meeting in Washington - shows black general.
10/8 *F	Fetal therapy - How medical science can fix defects before birth.	Visuals of white family who had this operation done. Interviews with family and doctors. Actuality footage of operation; background shots and location pans show black male lab worker and black female nurse.
10/8	Olympic winners: Calgary greets winners - celebratory welcoming.	Focus on Tewksbury - gold medalist. Actuality footage of winners at press conference - pan reveals black cyclist with his child.
12/8	NAFTA deal: Quebec's response. Story on the effect of the deal on the garment industry with an interview with owner of one of the factories.	Interview with white male owner. Location shot of factory shows black male worker.
12/8 *F	Program Notes for morning show. Focus on Winnipeg Folkerama defined as a 'celebration of many cultures.'	Visual of black woman dancing.

13/8 *F	UN Resolution regarding conflict in Sarajevo.	Interview with white male, influential in the Council. Visual pan of council shows black man and woman.
13/8 *F	Somalia: defined as "A human tragedy - on the verge of committing suicide." Conflict within has led to this situation. "International community has turned its back on Somalia."	Visuals of emaciated bodies, skeletons of those who have died of starvation; armed men and marauding gangs. Actuality footage with v.o.
13/8 *F	Olympic athletes: Some athletes don't make anything but they have other rewards. Interview with black shotputter Georgette Reed who says its hard to see others get so much.	Actuality footage of Reed signing autographs, interview with Silken Laumann, & Mark Tewksbury.
14/8	S. Africa: Blacks killed in squatter camps.	Visuals of black corpse - black violence.
14/8 *F	Somalia: Getting food to the hungry.	Visuals of mothers feeding their children near docks.

*F - indicates the presence of black women.

BCTV News for same dates:

July 25 - 31, 1992

August 3 - 6

August 9 - 14

Date	Story	Nature of Representation
25/7	Bryan Adams proposed concert in Stanley Park, frame shifts to cricket playing in the Park. Reporter says cricket has survived the decline of Empire, Stanley park will survive too.	Vox pop interview with people in the park - 1 black male who says 'no' to proposed concert.
26/7	Sports	Athletes
27/7	Airline merger story.	Interview at airport. Black spokesperson for Canadian Airlines.
27/7	Sports	Athletes
28/7	Sports and Olympics	Athletes
29/7	Sports and Olympics	Athletes
30/7	Sports	Athletes
31/7	Sports	Athletes
3/8	Sports and Olympics	Athletes, McKoy rerun of race
3/8	Gay Pride and Christian parades - "a testimony to tolerance in the province"	Black male in Christian parade - pan shot. Interview with white organizers.
4/8	Sports	Athletes
5/8	Sports and Olympics	Athletes
5/8	Marilyn Monroe anniversary	Black male on street in visual footage. (background)
6/8	Sports and Olympics	Athletes, male and female

9/8	Arsonists set fire to churches. Interview with pastors and white church goers.	Black woman, Abby Ndukew crying. Described as an African Canadian who had donated many African items to the church. Black male grieving outside another church.
9/8	Sports and Olympics	Athletes
10/8	Olympic homecoming	athletes - cyclist with daughter
11/8	Sports	Athletes
11/8	Kids plotted to kill teacher they did not like. One planned to kill the teacher by slipping some poison into her coffee, the other told the teacher.	Two 8 year old black kids being escorted away by the sherrif.
12/8	Sports	Athletes
13/8	Sports	Athletes
13/8	Black Siamese twins, separated from each other, one of them ready to go home.	Visual of three heads - two of the twins and the other, in the middle of the mother.
14/8	Sports	Athletes - interview with Glenroy Gilbert - Black Canadian Olympic trainer in track and field.
14/8	Rally protesting police handling of Pestic case	Black woman in the background, on stairs where rally is occurring.
14/8	Urban violence in Dallas Kid who shot himself with grandmother's gun.	Black kid, 2 years old - actuality footage.

Representation of Blacks on the CBC National,
The Journal, and CBC's News Final

July 25 - 31, 1992

Minority reporters:

Ron Charles (black male)

August 3 - 14, 1992

Jeanie Lee (Asian woman)

Date	Subject/topic	Nature of Representation
25/7	Olympics - the opening of the Games in Barcelona.	<p>Visuals of Nelson Mandela, Blacks in team from S. Africa, Canadian blacks,</p> <p>Michael Smith (black) described as "One of this country's best hope for gold." (voice-over)</p>
25/7	Human interest story of man who set up Canada's first boxing hall of fame.	Full size poster of Muhammed Ali and other small posters of black boxer, Mike Tyson.
26/7	<p>South Africa's Chief Pathologist protests police brutality. Interview with Pathologist (White); Minister of Law and Order (white).</p> <p>Black woman speaks:</p>	<p>Graphic insert of black male behind prison bars behind the anchor. Then stills of black prisoner who was beaten to death; file pictures of Steven Biko and his death; and interview with black Soweto couple whose child died in prison. The mother is crying as she describes the injuries inflicted on her son by prison authorities.</p>

26/7	Ben Johnson at the Olympics Mesley - "hope it will release the bad memories of 1988..."	File footage of race in Seoul, Johnson winning, embracing another black athlete. Actuality footage with Diana Swan's v.o.. Shots of two black Olympic officials; one Asian woman; repeat shot of Johnson hugging another black athlete and accepting his medal. Then onto in-studio interview with two panelists - both of whom are white.
27/7	Missing	Missing
28/7	Constitutional Meetings	Background: shot of black male aide/journalist behind Mulroney.
28/7	US response to NAFTA agreement	Background: Visual shot of black supporter with Clinton's flag in a rally; black woman walking on the street behind the reporter who assumes a stake-out position.
28/7	Olympics - Barcelona	Shot of Stella Umeh, a black female gymnast who is competing at the Games.
29/7	Italian Canadians rally in protest against the Mafia.	Background. Black male walking away from scene behind the reporter who is in a stake-out position.
30/7	Drug Scandal at Olympics. Knowlton Nash starts with: "Something that grabbed a lot of headlines in Seoul, Korea, made headlines again."	Visuals of the two suspended white British athletes being sent home, visuals of two black athletes running in race (rerun of Johnson's race).

30/7	Conflict over government treatment over two refugee groups - the Somalians and the former Yugoslavians.	Shot of Somalia with emaciated bodies of women and children. Shots of Somalis protesting outside the immigration building and calling for justice. Vox pop type interview on the street with Somali man demonstrating. He is cut off.
31/7	Withdrawal of national women's groups from the advisory panel on violence against women. Reporter: Kelly Crowe.	Shot of the group reps. withdrawing, behind Judy Rebick. She speaks first, then we hear the rep from the Black Congress of Women, Fleurette Osbourne. We see but do not hear the other two reps, one black and the other Asian. Then interview in office with Pat Marshall - white woman, and one with black woman, Janet Wollcott. There is a brief side shot of Mobina Jaffer which includes other panel members but the camera does not focus on her.
31/7	Charities - do they deserve what they get? Story focuses on the rising number of queries to Revenue Canada.	Shot of black man and asian man at a food bank; shot of South Asian and black woman at a table with others folding newsletters. They are working for a charity.
31/7	Olympics - Barcelona	Visual of Ben Johnson as he finished fourth in a qualifying race.

1/8	Olympics - Ben Johnson failed to qualify. Kevin Newman, anchor, begins with Johnson's failure in Seoul and then his failure in Barcelona. Johnson's own convictions in winning a medal are overlaid on visuals of his actual performance.	Graphic insert of Ben Johnson superimposed on the Olympiad rings as anchor talks about his past performance in Seoul. Then a rerun of Johnson's race as the voice-over mentions his stumbling start. Then Ben Johnson's voice over as the visuals focus this time in slow motion over the stumble and the defeat. Then visual of another black sprinter - Montreal's Surin, who finished fourth. The medal went to Britain.
1/8	Caribana in Toronto, with Jenny Lee - Chinese Cdn reporter.	Jenny Lee - Chinese female; interview with Indo-Caribbean male who participates in the Carnival competition; shots of blacks, Asians and South Asians in the crowds watching and dancing in the carnival. Also, interview with black woman organizer of the carnival.
2/8	Sunday Report with Kevin Newman. Tension in South Africa - panel on the effectiveness of the ANC's strategies	Actuality footage of Nelson Mandela addressing blacks who have gathered en masse. In studio interview with black representative of the ANC, a white South Afrikaner, representative of the S. African Embassy, and a white priest.

3/8	Olympics - gold medal Interview with Mark McKoy who, "left the last Olympics saying he was upset when Ben Johnson was caught using steroids. But later he admitted to trying drugs that helped his performance. That led to a two year suspension but today's gold medal made up for that."	Interview with Mark McKoy Actuality footage of black boxer; Moroccan runner; black British runner.
3/8	South Africa - insert graphic of blacks carrying flags	"Black South Africans demonstrated their power today. Millions of them stayed home from work." vox pop. with black male on the street at the rally. Blacks shown dancing and marching.
4/8	South Africa - mass action Story on the protest and the death of those who refused to participate - "5 were shot and hacked to death."	Visuals of mass gathering of blacks, marching and dancing. Shots of cars burning and wreckage on the streets. Statement by white Minister of law and Order who says violence has increased by 200%
4/8	The Photo-police tabloid story.	Interview with black male identified by the tabloid as 'asshole of the week'; shots of blacks on the ground with police hovering over them holding batons or guns.

5/8	South Africa - mass action protests.	Overhead shot of 'tens of thousands' of blacks marching. "Defiant blacks" unfurled the ANC flag. Actuality footage of Nelson Mandela giving a speech outside on the street. Counter shot of de Klerk watching from the balcony, wearing suit and tie.
5/8	Rodney King, anchor states that the police officer who beat King will be charged with violating his civil rights.	Graphic insert of King behind anchor.
6/8	Olympics	Visual of Chris Johnson, wrestler, who received a bronze medal, and of Gail Dewers, black female U.S. athlete.
6/8	Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict	Background: Black military aide near Bush.
6/8	Murder of Kristen French. Story concerns police reluctance to make details of their investigation available to the public.	Black female activist interviewed. She identifies the need for more information as a safety issue. She is wearing a baseball cap. She says: The more women know about the potential attackers, the better it is."
8/8	Olympics - Barcelona	Visuals of Carl Lewis and the Dream Team.
8/8	Story on two rival cities - Toronto and Montreal, with Torontonians attending Montreal's birthday. Story by black reporter: Ron Charles.	Background scene shot which shows black male dancing, and one black male in the background when the cake is being cut.
12/8	Impact of NAFTA trade deal on the textiles industry	Interior shot of factory shows black male ironing.

12/8	Somalia	Emaciated black people - men, women and children in Bardera.
13/8	Olympic medalists welcomed home	Visual of black male in the crowd greeting the athletes.

CBC	THE JOURNAL	REPRESENTATIONS OF BLACKS
30/7	Story on Pizza - its evolution, its contemporary manifestations	Black woman eating a slice of pizza. She is with others. Brief shot of Whoopie Goldberg (black woman) who hangs out at a particular pizza joint in Hollywood; a black male cook at Dominoes Pizza.
31/7	Story about the discrepancy between the way Canada is accepting refugees from Somalia and former Yugoslavia	Interview with black male representative of the Somali community, and then interview with Minister of Immigration, Bernard Valcour (white male)
4/8	Story on the accordion	Visuals of black males playing the instrument. One of the blacks is identified as a pioneer in the tradition. Reporter mentions that if you could cut through his french, you would find the familiar song about wine, women and song.
4/8	Section dealing stories to come in the future	Black female walking with Gloria Steinem - subject of a future story on the Journal; visuals of black male dancer, and Asian and black dancers embracing as background to a future story on Martha Graeme.
6/8	Documentary on feet - a repeat	Fictionalized representation of evolutionary growth from ape to humans, showing black figures to demarcate the changes that have occurred.

7/8	Taking stock of Canada's performance at the Olympics	Visuals of Mark McKoy and Ben Johnson; interview with 2 white panelists.
7/8	Black author Toni Morrison	Feature story on her and her latest book.
11/8	The Alaskan Highway, 50th anniversary feature.	Section on the contribution of blacks to the building of the highway. Interviews with 3 black males, who served in the U.S. army at that time.
13/8	Julia Child's 80th birthday	Segment from various shows that have satirized her - one is a muppet show with a black male actor.
13/8	Story on Bare naked Ladies - a musical band	One of the band members is black, and he is interviewed with the band.
14/8	Story on Somalia including some historical background	Visuals of Siad Barre, dictator who wrested power and brought an end to 'democracy.' Actualy footage of emaciated Somalians, armed black males in trucks, armies marching. Interview with one black Somalian woman and 1 white male expert, as well as one white female official rep.

CBC	NEWS FINAL	REPRESENTATIONS OF BLACKS
25/7	Sports	Black male athletes
26/7	Sports and Olympics	Black male athletes
28/7	Sports and Olympics	Black male athletes
29/7	Sports and Olympics	Black male athletes - including Curtis Hibbert - a rerun of footage showing his stumble and dismounting problems.
30/7	Sports and Olympics	Black male athletes
31/7	Habitat Conference	File footage of Japanese and black delegates attending the conference. The voice over says: 'well dressed delegates talking about the world's poor.'
31/7	Sports and Olympics	Black male athletes, including an interview with Dennis Mitchell who trained with Ben Johnson.
1/8	Funeral of youth shot in Surrey	Actuality footage of those gathered at the funeral home shows a black male standing outside. The camera focuses on his back. He is wearing a Malcom X T-shirt so all we can see is a big 'X'.
2/8	Sports and Olympics	Black male athletes
3/8	A day of demonstrations in Vancouver.	Pan shots of people in the demonstration shows black male in the Christian parade.

3/8	Sports and Olympics	Mark McKoy won gold. Dwyer says: "Canada's Mark McKoy raced out from under the dark shadow of Seoul.." Other black male athletes
4/8	Sports and Olympics	Black male athletes
5/8	Sports and Olympics	Black male athletes
6/8	Sports and Olympics	Black male athletes
7/8	Sports and Olympics	Black male athletes
8/8	Sports	Black male athletes
9/8	Sports and celebratory ending of the Olympics	Black male and female dancing; visual of the Dream Team; shot of black U.S. Olympic official giving press conference; mention of Ben Johnson's shameful ending of the Games.
10/8	Sports	Black male athletes
11/8	Murder of Alexandra Pesic, story focuses on her funeral	Black male is one of the pall bearers.
11/8	Sports	Black male athletes
12/8	Sports	Black male athletes
13/8	North Okanagan passes vicious dog laws	Actuality footage of three black males struggling with what appears to be a vicious dog. Dog owners interviewed were all white.
13/8	Sports	Black males
14/8	News final was unavailable	for this day.

Representations of Asians on the CTV National News

July 25 - 31, 1992
 August 3 - 6, 1992
 August 6 - 14, 1992

Date	Subject/topic	Nature of Representation
25/7	Khymer Rouge refuses to disarm.	Visuals of guerillas in Pnom Pen.
26/7	Story on Adoption Abuse, features a little Asian girl by the name of Melissa. Story then shifts to Romanian orphans.	Interview with Melissa's white father, and shots of her.
27/7	Story on airline merger	Visuals of airport shows Asians strolling in the background.
27/7	"Canada closing the door on illegal immigrants."	Shot of 'illegal immigrants' lining up near counter. Many of them are Asian men and women.
28/7	Story on children and sleep.	Visual of children sleeping shows one Asian child. Location is a centre for children who have disturbed sleep.
29/7	Cow's milk and its connection with diabetes	Background: Asian woman in lab coat working in the lab, testing out cow's milk.
31/7	Rift in Canada's women's movement - withdrawal of groups from panel on violence against women.	Actuality footage of press conference reveals one Asian woman standing behind the NAC president, Judy Rebick.
3/8	U.S.:NAFTA trade deal - reactions of experts. One of these is a woman who appears to be of mixed heritage - Asian.	Identified as Theo Lee, she is interviewed and reporter says she has written a book against the deal. Background shot of trade officials shows one of them to be an Asian male.

6/8	Job Hunting. Story focuses on the plight of a young white woman who has just graduated and can't find a job.	Shots of Asian youth in a line-up at the Canada Employment Centre.
6/8	Olympics: Chinese synchronized swimmers winning medal.	Visuals of them walking behind the American and Canadian winners.
6/8	Story about bridal registeries.	Background shot shows Asian man working.
9/8	Olympics story - economic profile of Spain	Shot of an Asian woman, who appears to be a tourist, taking photographs.
11/8	Tom Siddon at the airport being asked questions by journalists regarding airline merger	Brief shot of a Chinese male journalist with other journalists.
12/8	Canadian response to NAFTA deal, focuses on garment factory.	Interior shots of factory reveal Asian women working, reporter says: "cheap Mexican labour will steal jobs from Canada."
12/8	More on the NAFTA deal and its impact on Quebec.	Once again, interior shots of factory show Asian women sewing, and an Asian man ironing.
13/8	UN Council and its formulating a resolution regarding the former Yugoslavia.	Background shot: Pan reveals Asian woman officer.

<p>13/8</p>	<p>More on the NAFTA deal, this time focusing on Asian investor Lawrence Feng. And, Japanese Ambassador</p> <p>Reporter says: The Japanese are concerned about trade barriers. We have to tell the world that we are not building a fortress."</p>	<p>Feng is interviewed. He has set up a factory in Mexico because of cheap labour, we are told. Mexican officials say Canada's advantages are that it has a lax immigration policy regarding investors and that it has a large Chinese community. The Japanese Ambassador is concerned about NAFTA creating a major trading block.</p>
<p>14/8</p>	<p>Story about 'some of Japan's victims who are only now asking for justice." Focuses on the Comfort women who protested against Japanese treatment of them during the war, and their confinement in prostitution camps. Interview with Korean woman Kim.</p>	<p>Kim - portrayed as sad and crying. Interview with her as well as footage of women marching; Korean men throwing eggs at the Japanese embassy; Korean guards, and one Japanese male historian who says the government is not responsible for what happened during the war.</p>

BCTV News (same dates)

Date	Subject/topic	Nature of Representation
25/7	Olympic athlete Laurie Shong. Story focuses on his awards, and his ethnic affiliation which has provided him with the funding to attend sports events.	Visuals of Laurie Shong performing various sports; footage of his medals and awards, and interviews with his Chinese father and white mother.
27/7	Airline merger story	Shot of Asian man leaving the wicket after he has been served.
28/7	Faye Leung selling the tapes of her conversations with Vander Zalm. She is described as "the woman who ruined the former premier's career and is now cashing in on her notoriety."	Visuals of Faye Leung, selling tapes of conversations, some of which are played. She is on the steps of the Vancouver Court house. An on-site interview with her follows.
31/7	Arrest of Asian males and females suspected in a gangland style murder of Vietnamese youth in Toronto.	Visuals of Asians being escorted into police van. reporter adds that those taken into custody were later released and are not tied to the murder case.
3/8	The Gay and Lesbian pride parade and the Christian parade - together on the same day, same site.	Visuals of the Gay pride parade shows an Asian woman collecting donations.
4/8	Seige and arrest of Asian man who threatened to kill himself and his daughter if his estranged wife did not return to him.	Dramtic visuals of police surveillance and emergency response team at the site. Visuals of police bringing the man into custody.

4/8	<p>Story about a conflict in office premises because a crematorium has moved in. Realtor Patsy Hui is interviewed since she sold the strata title to both the man who is complaining and the crematorium.</p>	<p>Exterior shot of Patsy Hui, outside the building which is the site of the conflict.</p>
11/8	<p>Mowat's death and a brief profile of his life, including his political career.</p>	<p>Shot of two Asian men with a large group of people clapping as Mowat moves forward.</p>

Representations of Asians on CBC

The National

July 25 - 31, 1992
August 3 - 14, 1992

Minority reporters: Der Hoi-Yin
Jeanie Lee
Patricia Chew
Susan Harada

Date	Subject/topic	Nature of Representation
29/7	UN Conference on Refugees, with Sadako Ogata, UN High Commissioner for Refugees addressing the conference.	Asian woman in a position of power. Actuality footage of her addressing the conference.
29/7	Reporter Der Hoi-Yin covering a story about Bramalea investments.	Asian woman reporter.
30/7	Story about the Red Cross being sued by Canadians who received contaminated blood.	Visual of an Asian woman carrying a tray of vials filled with blood. She appears to be a lab technician. Reporter's voice over says: "Protecting Canada's precious blood supply."
30/7	Olympic news and other sports.	Brief shot of an Asian man in a story about the Montreal Expos.
31/7	The withdrawal of NAC and other organizations from the panel on violence against women.	Visual of Asian woman standing behind Judy Rebick.
1/8	Plane crash in China	Actuality footage of survivors, doctors and officials at hospital, and the plane wreckage site.

1/8	Kazakhstan and Canadian investment, in the region. Interview with a Chinese economist.	Actuality footage of the area shows Chinese men and women at the marketplace. Shot of Victor So, head of GM in the region, with Michael Wilson.
1/8	Caribana - reporter Jeanie Lee	Asian woman.
2/8	Sunday Report. Story on fishing in the Atlantic, conflict between natives and whites regarding the right to fish.	Report by Asian woman, Patricia Chew.
3/8	Bungy jumping and Ontario government guidelines.	Shot of Asian man in a crowd of spectators watching a jumper.
7/8	Story about university grads looking for work. Story focuses on a white student.	Visuals, very brief, of Asian male and female students at the counselling centre figuring out how to apply for jobs, and second shot shows them looking at the job board.
7/8	Atlantis space shuttle training of new mission specialists including non-Americans.	1 Japanese male shown in the class.
8/8	Story about the Kazakstan muslims and their attempts to reclaim their homeland in the face of China's reluctance and use of force.	Actuality footage of the muslims praying, interacting. All of them are males and quite old.
8/8	Two rival cities - Montreal and Toronto, with Montreal celebrating its birthday and Torontonians attending the event.	Brief shot of Asian woman disembarking from the bus. A chinese woman is interviewed, vox pop style, about how she compares the two cities.

12/8	Impact of NAFTA deal on the textiles industry	Interior shot of factory shows Asian male ironing, another Asian male working on suits, an Asian female ironing.
13/8	UN Resolution regarding Aid	Visual of chinese woman officer in the background.
13/8	Barcelona '92 - welcome to medalists.	A shot of a Chinese kid with other children greeting Mark Tewksbury.

CBC News Final (for the same dates)

Date	Subject/topic	Nature of Representation
25/7	Fisheries strike imminent	Shot of Chinese women gutting fish as talk shifts to the canneries and shore workers.
26/7	Olympics: "China doesn't usually lead the world in anything except population and post-natal depression but today they are ahead of everyone else..."	Visuals of Chinese athletes; An Asian male weight lifter.
27/7	Story about the proposed Bryan Adams' concert in Stanley Park. Reporter mentions that when we think of the park, these are images that come to mind.	Asian woman sitting under a tree, eating something, and other visuals of people walking and picnicking.
27/7	Story about a lost hiker and search teams that are being sent out to find him.	Visual pan of the search team gathered to be briefed shows an Asian male. Others are all white.
27/7	Minister making statement about investment in aircraft industry in Richmond.	Shot of workers listening to the pronouncement shows several Asian men and one Asian women.

27/7	Olympics and Sports	Visual of Chinese swimmer and Japanese female athlete.
29/7	Olympics and Sports	Japanese male - Hiroataka, Judo wrestler shown.
31/7	Vancouver police surrounded an East Vancouver neighbourhood and arrested 9 suspects connected with a Toronto murder of a young Vietnamese refugee.	Mug shot of the Vietnamese refugee, and then visuals of those arrested as they are being led away by police.
31/7	Ferry line-ups	Shot of an Asian woman playing with 2 kids in the parking lot.
31/7	Habitat Conference and the Habitat site built by local artists.	File footage of Japanese and black delegates. Reporter's v.o. says: "well dressed delegates talking about the world's poor."
2/8	Crime: On Friday, police raided a house in East Vancouver. No weapons were found." Interview with Benjamin Chung who says that police abused them.	Benjamin Chung, Asian male, interviewed inside the house. He looks in his mid-twenties, unkempt hair and smokes a cigarette. No police spokesperson are shown in response to the charges. Instead, the anchor says police are prepared to open an investigation if complaints are filed.
3/8	A day of demonstrations in Vancouver. Gay and Christian parade story.	Reporter is an Asian woman, Jerry Rody (?)
4/8	Coverage of Asian male who held his daughter hostage.	Shot of man as he is being taken into custody.

4/8	Olympic coverage	Chinese man shown diving and receiving a gold medal.
5/8	Richmond Firefighters take handicapped to water slides.	Shot of a disabled Asian boy helped by two white firefighters. Vox pop with disabled that follows includes only whites.
5/8	Police from three lower mainland communities threw neighborhood parties.	On site footage from Coquitlam at one of these police-public affairs. Shot of an Asian girl in the crowd of children being sworn in as 'captain clicks,' an Asian boy who is looking at a police bike, and a vox pop interview with an Asian male, Harvey Soon about the effectiveness of this kind education.
6/8	Airline merger between Canadian Airlines and Air Canada. The story shows how employees and the public are against the merger.	Interview with expert, Asian male, Tae H. Ou, UBC Commerce and Business Administration who says he favours the merger. Airport shots reveal other Asians in the background. And footage of the employees protest march reveals an Asian woman in the march.
6/8	Interest rates and their impact on seniors.	Visual of seniors playing lawn ball. Shot shows Chinese woman also playing. On site interviews are only with white male and female.

6/8	The Umbrella store on Pender Street	Street scene of public walking has an Asian woman carrying an umbrella; this is followed by a shot of an Asian woman sewing umbrellas in the interior of the store. The shop owner interviewed is white.
7/8	Hamburger disease. Story focuses on a white family whose child was seriously ill as a result of the disease.	Interview with white doctor, and then with Japanese woman, Misawa Yesaki, BC children's hospital. Yesaki describes how easily meat can become contaminated.
7/8	Immigrant Investor Program and the All Party's Recommendation	Audience shot - wide pan showing Asian men and women; Chinese female TV anchor giving the news, and Chinese men and women lining up near the table to pick up written materials.
8/8	Trouble on Indian Arm, story about how commuters face eviction from marina and have to find an alternative place to moor.	The people who are doing the evicting are Asians - the Kims. On site interviews with them, and the rest of the story includes vox pop of all those affected by the decision - all of whom are white.
9/8	Video essay on Gastown (no verbal text)	Shot of Chinese man playing the xylophone on the street.
9/8	Abbotsford airshow	Pan of crowds gathered shows an Asian man.
12/8	Impact of NAFTA deal on B.C. industries. Story focuses on a wet suit manufacturing company and is followed by interviews with the company owner - white male	Interior shot of the wet-suit plant shows one Asian woman sewing, another cutting material, and yet another doing something else.

12/8	Victoria's Royal Oak Hotel converted to an ESL school/institute. Reporter mentions how much was paid, and how much is paid for the girls to attend the school - it is a lot less than what they would pay in Japan.	Visuals of Japanese female students laughing, doing language exercises, on the bus, and at the beach. The Institute's Director and teacher interviewed are white.
13/8	Financial crisis in the arts - with Ballet B.C. Interview with David Lui	Asian male interviewed, and other Asian males shown dancing.
14/8	CBC News Final not available.	

The Journal

Date	Subject/topic	Nature of Representation
29/7	Anchor: Susan Harada Story about Escobar	Asian woman
30/7	Anchor: Susan Harada Story about Pizza	Asian woman
31/7	Anchor: Susan Harada Story about Somali refugees	Asian woman
3/8	Anchor: Bill Cameron, Story about detective novels.	Segments of old films, some of which feature the old Fu Manchu type of character.
6/8	Anchor: Brian Stewart Story on 'feet'	Visuals of chinese foot covering to illustrate the tradition of foot binding.
12/8	Mexican response to NAFTA	Mexican and Japanese workers in a factory.

Representations of South Asians on CTV and BCTV News

CTV News

July 25 - 31, 1992
 August 3 - 6, 1992
 August 9 - 14, 1992

(no minority reporters)

Date	Story/Subject/Topic	Nature of Representation
27/7	'Closing the door on illegal immigrants' - Valcourt's new legislation regarding the difference between those fleeing persecution and those fleeing prosecution.	South Asian men in the line-up of illegal immigrants, one man in a turban. South Asian man being asked questions by immigration officer, she tries to verify his story but is unsuccessful pointing to his inauthenticity.
31/7	Auditioning for parts in upcoming production	South Asian male in line-up dressed up in a vampire costume. Vox pop does not include him.
3/8	South Africa - shot of Jay Naidoo giving a public speech, affiliated with the Trade Union movement.	Visual shot, part of the actuality footage. Nominated as Jay Naidoo.
3/8	Story on Thai airways crash.	Visual of South Asian soldier near the wreckage of the plane crash.
5/8	Declining interest rates and their impact on seniors.	South Asian woman serving a white woman at a bank. The woman asks what the current interest rate is, and the South Asian woman responds.
12/8	NAFTA trade deal and the Canadian response to it.	Visual of South Asian male and Asian women working in a garment factory. Background.
12/8	NAFTA trade deal and its impact on the automotive industry	South Asian male autoworker in factory - background footage.

12/8	NAFTA trade deal and its impact on Quebec.	South Asian male ironing garments. Background.
13/8	Drafting of UN Resolution regarding conflict in former Yugoslavia.	Pan shot of the UN council shows South Asian woman in the background.
14/8	New methods for fetal detection of Down Syndrome. British story.	Women waiting to be tested for Down's Syndrome. Long shot of South Asian male and female (pregnant) waiting outside a door. Vox pop with white females only.

Representations of South Asians on BCTV

Date	Subject/topic	Nature of Representation
25/7	Bryan Adams' proposed concert in Stanley Park, story focused on site of concert and people's reactions to it.	Interviews in the Park with people includes one with a South Asian male, and another with an South Asian boy.
27/7	Story on Sikh leaders distancing themselves from man identified by RCMP as being involved in the Air India explosion.	No visuals here, only a graphic of the sikh logo behind the anchor Jennifer Mather. No interviews with Sikhs, instead the theme of the story seems to frame the issue as one of intra-group rivalry.
5/8	Story about government owned liquor stores now introducing cold beverages which has beer and wine store owners 'worried.' South Asian male store owner featured in the story.	Interview with Paul Uppal, South Asian male who owns a liquor store; visuals of South Asian woman serving customers, and South Asian youth stacking cans and bottles.
11/8	Pesic murder, focusing on the accused, Pesic's mother-in-law.	South Asian male sherrif escorting the accused from the courtroom.
12/8	ICBC fraud cases - will not pay for soft tissue damage as a result of whiplash accidents.	Actuality footage of man videoing claimant racking leaves. The claimant is South Asian, and the shot is taken from a concealed position, indicating that he is being 'investigated.' His racking the leaves indicates that his claim is a fraud.

12/8	Student who attended the constitutional conference for students - he is South Asian.	He sits next to the anchor and the anchor asks him what the major issues were - he mentions three, one of which is racism. But he hardly says anything, and the anchor doesn't ask him any substantial questions.
14/8	Protest over lack of police response in the Pesic case. Story focuses on a 'sparsely' attended rally of protesters.	Two South Asian featured in this story. They are shown giving public speeches at the rally. Both decry police handling of the Pesic case. They are complaining about the system.

Representations of South Asians on CBC's National News,
The Journal and News Final

CBC National News

July 25 - 31 (missing July 27) Minority reporter: Ian
Hanneman Singh
August 1 - 14

Date	Subject/topic	Nature of Representation
28/7	Health care budget cuts in Saskatchewan culminating in the closure of hospitals.	Interview with South Asian male doctor, Indra Patel, who says that "older people will be effected the most," and the town will die. The white adminstrator interviewed after him disagrees, and says new healthcare model will be more effective.
31/7	Charities - Do they deserve what they get. Story focuses on the rising number of queries to Revenue Canada asking for a breakdown of how charities spend their money.	Visual of a group of people working for a charity, folding newsletters. One of the women is South Asian. Interviews are all with white people.
1/8	Caribana in Toronto - interview with Indo-Caribbean male, Carl Sucherans who keeps trying to win the parade.	Visuals of spectators show South Asians in the crowds. Visuals of Sucherans working on his costumes and dancing in the parade.
14/8	Bryan Adams tour across Canada.	Story by South Asian male reporter, Ian Hanneman Singh.

Date	Subject/topic	Nature of Representation
26/7	Press conference of the International Sikh Youth Federation to deny any connection with Manjit Singh, who RCMP say received refuge at a local Sikh temple.	Story by Belle Puri. Visuals of Sikh spokesperson making a statement. he says the report is fabricated by the Indian government. A mug shot of Manjit Singh follows.
28/7	Turtle races in a local nightclub banned because of protest from animal rights group.	Visual of spectators watching a turtle race shows one South Asian male in the audience.
31/7	Arrest of nine Asians	Belle Puri is the reporter.
31/7	Politics - patronage appointment? of Mark Ellison to head BC Hydro. Interview with Moe Sihota, Minister responsible for BC Hydro.	Moe Sihota - South Asian male, discusses why he thinks Ellison is best for the job, he points out his qualifications and past experience.
2/8	Interview and story about gold medallist rower.	Story by Belle Puri.
3/8	Story on gold panning in Northern B.C.	Side profile shot of South Asian male panning for gold.
5/8	How insurance rates are impacting on seniors.	Story by South Asian reporter, Belle Puri.
6/8	Interest rates and their impact on seniors.	Reporter Belle Puri covers the story.
7/8	Hamburger Disease	Story by Belle Puri

12/8	Lynn Canyon and the death of swimmers. Authorities say it is dangerous and they would prefer that people not swim. One of the rescue personnel says he is tired of having to rescue people.	Vox pop with swimmers, one of whom appears to be South Asian - identified as Joe Dabbs. He says he has been coming to the Canyon for 30 years and has had no problems.
13/8	Ferry accident at Horseshoe Bay.	Actuality footage shows one South Asian woman who is part of the ambulance crew.

The Journal

Date	Subject/topic	Nature of Representation
3/8	Feature story on murder mysteries.	Interview with 3 panellists one of whom is a South Asian male, J.D. Singh, co-owner of a bookstore specializing in murder mysteries. Other two are white women.
10/8	Dead Sea Scrolls	Shot of students at McMaster University, one of them is a South Asian male but camera chooses to focus on two white women instead.