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CURRENTS

READINGS IN RACE RELATIONS

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CURRENTS: *Readings in Race Relations* is the quarterly magazine of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations.

The Urban Alliance on Race Relations, formed in July 1975 "to promote a stable and healthy multiracial environment in the community," is a non-profit organization made up of volunteers from all sectors of the community.

The Urban Alliance on Race Relations is an educational agency and an advocate and intermediary for the visible minorities. It works toward encouraging better race relations, increased understanding and awareness among our multicultural, multiracial population through programmes of education directed at both the private and public sectors of the community. It is also focusing its efforts on the institutions of our society including educational systems, employment, government, media, legislation, police, social service agencies and human services, in order to reduce patterns of discrimination and inequality of opportunity which may exist within these institutions.

The work of the organization is carried out through working committees such as: Educational Institutions; Legislation; Media; Law Enforcement.

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RACISM IN THE PRESS

It should not surprise anyone that minorities want more and better coverage of their communities; they want that coverage to be supportive of them and their interests; they want the press to examine more responsibly issues which impact their welfare; and of course they are concerned about the fact that so few individuals from minority groups are employed by the media industry.

However there is really no obligation for the media to respond to any of these concerns. Canadian laws do not require the press to be fair, objective or representative. Yet if the press claims to represent the public and public interest, persuasive arguments can be made for the inclusion of minority issues in the media. Indeed, previous issues of this journal have presented some of those arguments in some detail.

While these concerns are of great importance, this particular issue of *Currents* is concerned with the more overt and more urgent and serious problem: the inclusion of ideas, images and words which demean and malign particular groups of people, and which encourage racial stereotyping and excites fear and hatred against racial minorities.

What can the community, the individual citizen do to stop this active promotion of racial intolerance and bias? While one must acknowledge that many newspapers and other sectors of the media have made enormous strides in attempting to respond fairly and accurately to the realities of a multiracial society, there are still a number of newspapers in Canada whose coverage remains selective and sensational.

The purpose of this issue of *Currents* is to contribute to an understanding of the effect that the dissemination of ideas in the print media can have in

POWER WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY: THE PRESS WE DON'T DESERVE

A Content-Analysis of the Toronto Sun

Effie Ginzberg

"When we were children growing up in a seemingly more innocent world than present, we used to chant:

*'Sticks and stones may break my bones
but names will never hurt me!'*

With a little added knowledge of psychology and the experience of a great deal of history, we have sorely learned that just the opposite is the case. Sticks and stones, may in the circumstances, mean very little.

but words may lacerate a human being."
(Patrick Lawlor, Q.C., 1984)

For a number of years the Toronto Sun has been accused of treating various minority groups in a negative, derogatory manner. In particular, it has been accused of biased, inaccurate and unbalanced portrayals of visible minorities.

In order to address this concern, I was asked by the Urban Alliance on Race Relations to undertake an analysis of articles, columns and editorials of

the Toronto Sun, from 1978 to October 1985. A brief review of these findings is presented below. This review contains only a fraction of the materials referred to in the study.

The Toronto Sun has a daily circulation of 281,499, and on Sunday this number increases to 462,073. The potential impact on public opinion of such wide circulation cannot be underestimated. The press must be considered a potent and pervasive influence upon our society. Indeed the media has characterized itself as the third greatest force of influence in society, after the government and business (Dick, 1985:176). It is because of the power and influence of the press on society that we must respond to the concerns expressed by members of the community that the Toronto Sun presents a prejudiced and racist viewpoint toward racial and ethnic minorities.

furthering and reinforcing racial stereotypes. Secondly, it is hoped that this issue will encourage an on-going and serious scrutiny by us all of the attitudes, effects and behaviour of the press. Finally and perhaps most importantly, through describing various community initiatives, it will provide some assistance to individuals and community groups in pursuing appropriate and effective avenues for achieving a press we deserve. Racism and

prejudice in the press should not be tolerated.

The press not only has freedoms but also responsibilities.

The press observe and comment on what other people do. Equally, the individual citizen has a responsibility to observe, analyse and comment on what the media does.

Tim Rees

This study was undertaken with full awareness of the necessity of a free press for a free society. Censorship of reporting of the news is an evil which no democratic society can tolerate. But with all freedoms and rights come obligations and responsibilities. As was stated by the President of the C.B.C. (In C.B.C. Journalistic Policy 1982): . . .

"Freedom of the press, both written and electronic, is a cornerstone of our society, since freedom itself cannot flourish without the full flow and interchange of ideas, opinion and information. This is a tradition central to the democratic ideal and it has been accepted in that context as vital to the defense of individual liberty . . . journalism has become a powerful and influential part of the information media, it must enjoy the freedoms and recognize the obligations conferred upon it by that status.

. . . To meet these expectations, the media must be socially responsible; that is to say that freedom of the media requires a sense of public responsibility on their part. The journalist has become an "agent" for the citizen in the gathering of information and knowledge - which is a position of trust and great influence. In these circumstances, the media have an obligation to be fair, accurate, thorough, comprehensive and balanced in their presentation of information."

The press have freedoms and responsibilities, and so also does the community. The community has the right to fair representation in the media and the right and responsibility to address what they believe is unfair and prejudicial reporting.

It is important however to reiterate that there is no suggestion being implied that news which is critical of issues which affect racial minorities should be suppressed. This indeed would constitute a threat to press freedom. Moreover efforts to improve race relations would be damaged if the public were to feel that information was being hidden from them. A healthy democracy depends on the availability of facts and the clash of opinions about them.

There is however a crucial difference between the portrayal of facts from differing viewpoints so that the readers can make up their own minds about them, and the distortion of information that stereotypes racial minorities.

Racial tolerance and equality depend in large measure upon the pursuit of knowledge and understanding. Journalists and editors have an obligation to provide that understanding.

The Effects of Prejudice and Racism

Prejudice and racism are a community concern. And not just a concern of the groups that are the targets of prejudice. It is the concern of all the members of our society. We all pay the price, whether it is in the destruction of property, civil unrest or political instability. Racial minorities are part of the fabric of our society and prejudiced attacks upon them can delay or prevent their integration as full and equal participants. As well, such attacks have a direct impact on the total community as they encourage intergroup tensions and conflict. The recent experiences of other countries demonstrate the potentially destructive role the media can play in heightening racial prejudice and discrimination and creating a fertile environment for the eruption of racial conflict. These costs are social, but there are also the individual costs; the individual effects of prejudice and racism.

People subjected to racism and prejudice are profoundly affected by the experience. Discrimination often results in minority groups being constrained in social and occupational attainments. Individuals within the group are exposed to greater physiological and emotional stress, often due to greater financial stress and lack of opportunities to participate in positive social roles and interaction with the larger society.

The Components of Prejudice and Racism

To determine whether prejudice and racism is or is not present in the Toron-

to Sun we must first define our terms. What is prejudice and how do we know when it is present or absent? What is racism and how is racism manifested? Fortunately, there is a wealth of empirical research on the phenomena of prejudice and racism on which to draw for our understanding.

First, prejudice and racism are not independent of each other. They are related phenomena. Racism is a form of prejudice expressed along racial lines. We can state that prejudice is a general form of thinking and/or behaving, and racism is a particular type of prejudice.

Prejudice, as defined by the New English Dictionary, is a feeling or affect, either favourable or unfavourable, toward a person, group or object prior to, or not based on, actual experience, without sufficient warrant in that it lacks basis in fact.

Prejudice is operationalized, or put into action, in various ways. Since people very seldom express open contempt for racial and ethnic minorities in our society where such prejudices are not considered socially acceptable, it is often only in the presence of other behaviours that prejudice against these groups is made known. The most significant contribution of studies on prejudice to understanding the phenomenon is that prejudice is not a single thought or behaviour, but a pattern or system of behaviours (Allport, 1979). These behaviours are not independent of each other. When one is present, others are also likely to be present. We know the presence or absence of prejudice by the presence or absence of the related behaviours.

What are the component parts of prejudice? Prejudice is associated with the occurrences of these phenomena:

1. Negative Stereotypes;
2. Defense Mechanisms;
3. Racism;
4. Scapegoating;
5. A Pattern of Demagogy: The Inciting of Fear and Hatred.

Our research question, "Is there prejudice and racism in the Toronto Sun's articles, columns and editorials?" is answered by examining several distinct, but related questions. The research questions that directed this content-analysis of the Toronto Sun therefore were:

1. Does the Toronto Sun present a negative, stereotypic representation of ethnic and racial minorities?
2. Is there evidence of the presence of defense mechanisms? Do the writers in the Toronto Sun try to rationalize, deny or in other ways justify their prejudices?
3. Are there statements in the Toronto Sun that support the position of racism, that the White race is genetically superior to non-White races?
4. Does the Toronto Sun use Scapegoats as explanatory causes?
5. Is there evidence of a pattern of demagoguery in the presentation of issues that concern racial and ethnic minorities? Specifically, is there content in the articles, columns and editorials of the Toronto Sun that are likely to incite fear and hatred of racial and ethnic minorities.

The Findings

With respect to question one, the study found many examples of negative stereotyping of racial and ethnic minorities in the Toronto Sun, only a few of which are presented here.

"It is true for example, that the Brixton rioters were black and probably a lot of them were on drugs."

Barbara Amiel
"Straight Talk on Blacks"
Oct. 1, 1985

Stereotype: WEAKNESS

"Passive resistance was the perfect weapon for India - huge, apathetic, inert. Passive resistance required little effort. It is the tactic of doing nothing - ideal for the Indian masses . . ."

"This recognition of the Indian trait, the philosophy of resignation is as brilliant as it is simple and requires a minimum of effort and thought."

"Ghandi's Legacy"
Peter Worthington
Dec. 16, 1982

Stereotype: UNCIVILIZED

" . . . to engage in the highly sophisticated practice of democracy, a practice which, palpably, is beyond the aptitudes of the majorities in Asia."

" . . . too many Afro-Asians abroad, even some of those with claims to the august rank of diplomat, possess only a veneer of civilization."

"Host's Dilemma"
McKenzie Porter
April 23, 1984

Stereotype: VIOLENT

"Before the 18th century, British won control in India, that land seethed as dozens of small barbaric states constantly made war on one another."

McKenzie Porter
Dec. 17, 1982

" . . . a tendency to violence in the settlement of religious disputes characterizes the typical Muslim male."

McKenzie Porter
Aug. 15, 1983

Stereotype: UNCIVILIZED

" . . . of bloody outrages staged by terrorists representing intolerable interests of Medieval and Stone Age people."

" . . . against attacks by savages."

McKenzie Porter
Oct. 9, 1985

With respect to question two, we can conclude that there is evidence of the use of defense mechanisms. That is, writers in the Toronto Sun do try to persistently rationalize, deny and in other ways, justify their prejudices.

For example denial is evidenced by such quotes as:

"they're going to do something about it - whether there really is a problem or not."

(in reference to an Ontario government task force on visible minorities in advertising)

"Colour This Report
Shoddy"
Claire Hoy
Oct. 6, 1982

which state that there is no real or significant problem.

The denial of motives is the term used to describe the attempts at trying to reduce the credibility of those individuals or groups who state that prejudice and discrimination are problems in our society. For example:

"The government of our time has realized that all these injustice collectors, the special interest groups, the race relations industry, the feminists - all the pressure groups - are vital to the growth of government. It is a biological principle gone pathological like cancer. Every pressure group gives government a marvellous potential for growth."

"Prejudice is Big Business"
Barbara Amiel
May 29, 1983

The Sun even extends the use of the denial of motives to try to discredit one of the major, international figures of this century.

"Gandhi did not seek peace, but power". "Compassion was irrelevant in Gandhi's light and, as Amiel has hinted, perhaps non-existent in his make-up."

"Gandhi's Legacy"
Peter Worthington
Dec. 16, 1982

Rationalizations are also defense mechanisms which seek to justify the presence of prejudice and racism as being normal (i.e. everyone is prejudiced) or understandable under the circumstances (i.e. it's for their own good or they brought it on themselves).

"Canadians have been guilty of discrimination, it's true. But compared to any other country - go ahead, pick one - we hardly qualify as heavy duty racists."

Claire Hoy
"Old Hair Shirt Doesn't Fit"
March 8, 1984

"Apartheid represents a successful plan to save South African cities from the squalor that afflicts Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta through the huge, uncontrolled influx of rural poor."

McKenzie Porter
Sept. 23, 1985

With regards to question three, we found the belief in biological racism in that cultural representations are a product of genetics and that the White race is genetically superior to non-White races.

From McKenzie Porter:

"But the overwhelming majority of North American blacks now have some Caucasian blood and apart from the general economic and educational disparity they are little different from whites."

"... The blacks of North America have diverged widely from their distant relatives in Africa. In their music and dancing and in their athletic prowess some specific genetic distinctions shine through the environmental influences."

July 15, 1978

In reference to our fourth question, we found that the Toronto Sun uses scapegoats, specifically communists to blame as the cause of racial unrest.

"The hundreds of blacks dying in South Africa are victims of racism, but not by the dominating whites. It's the racism that is the by-product of the class warfare demanded by Marxists and liberals blinded by Marxism."

"Assigning Blame"
Editorial
July 24, 1985

And finally, and most disturbingly, the study found considerable evidence of statements that are likely to incite fear and/or hatred of racial and ethnic minorities. Statements that may cause fear and hatred suggest that racial and ethnic minorities are taking away jobs from Whites, eroding White values, and getting special privileges over Whites.

"Three months ago, I wrote a column about the large number of immigrants who are committing crimes and appearing in our courts to have their wrists slapped and then sent back on the streets to commit further crimes."

"Good Riddance to Trouble Makers"
Morton Shulman
April 2, 1985

"It strikes me that many self-proclaimed champions of racial harmony create more problems than they resolve."

"They cry out for equality, but demand special privileges."

"It's not equality they seek, it's privilege"

"Racial Harmony Clinker"
Claire Hoy
Jan. 9, 1985

Statements of fear and hatred occur in a pattern of demagoguery. Dema-

gogues play up false issues to divert the public attention from true issues as well as creating fear and hatred. An example of demagoguery from the Toronto Sun is:

"Toronto is gradually evolving its own set of Nuremberg race laws."

"Now City Hall authorities know the mayor wants visible minorities so self-censoring against whites begins."

"Our Nuremberg"
Editorial
March 4, 1983

"Because Muslims are more divisive than Christians they do not as yet constitute a serious military threat. If ever they resolve their differences, however, the 10 major sects of Muslims may present Christianity with an awesome challenge. Let us hope the Canadian department of immigration keeps in mind these points raised by the very liberal La Monde."

Pattern of Prejudice

While other newspapers have occasionally and perhaps inadvertently published inappropriate articles on these subjects there is a persistent pattern of prejudice and racism evident in the Sun.

The presence of prejudice in both editorials and columns of the Toronto Sun confirms a pattern that was found previously in the Toronto Sun by Rosenfeld and Spina (1977). In their review of the content of the Toronto Sun, they found that the Toronto Sun spoke with a single voice. The paper presented the reader with a single prejudiced world view in relation to racial and ethnic minorities, unlike the Toronto Star or the Globe and Mail, which presented differences of opinion and philosophy within their respective newspapers. They concluded that the Toronto Sun readers are not presented with a balanced set of opinions or ideology regarding racial and ethnic minorities.

Is this true of the Toronto Sun in 1985? Yes, despite the fact that we were able to identify two exceptions, one an editorial and the other a column by Joan Sutton*. The editorial "A Strand of Hair" discusses the injustice of apartheid. Joan Sutton's column "Waging War on Anti-Semitism" takes the perspective that to do nothing about racism and the spread of racism is not correct action. These two exceptions in no way invalidate the conclusions of this content-analysis given the massive preponderance of editorials and columns that are prejudiced and racist. The presence of these two exceptions do not serve to exonerate the Sun. Prejudice and racism is not an issue of balance. No responsible press should consider it acceptable journalistic policy to include content which reinforces racial prejudice. There is a crucial difference between the portrayal of issues from differing viewpoints, so that people can make up their own minds about them, and the distortion of these issues to promote a particular ideology.

The sheer volume of stereotypes, defense mechanisms, racism, scapegoating, and the presence of statements that are likely to cause fear and hatred can leave no doubt. There is considerable prejudice and racism manifested against non-Whites in the

Toronto Sun. All the elements of the pattern of prejudice were found to be present within the pages of the paper.

In addition, the pattern of prejudice in the Toronto Sun is observed across time. That is, articles were found that contain prejudice as early as 1973 and that the prejudice in the paper continues right through to the period in which this analysis was undertaken.¹

The evidence clearly shows the prejudice in the Toronto Sun is not an isolated single event but a series of events over time.

There can be no freedom without responsibility in the expression of freedom. The study concludes that the Toronto Sun has violated the fundamental freedoms and responsibilities that society has entrusted to the press.

Where do we find the prejudice in the Toronto Sun? We have found it in the editorials and in many columns by different writers. We did not examine the reporting of news items for prejudice. Such a quantified study was beyond the scope of this report. Likewise, Letters to the Editor were not reviewed. They also require a quantified approach. The quantified analysis remains to be done.

Reference to racial and ethnic minorities can be made without

negative stereotyping. Issues that concern racial and ethnic minorities can be discussed without inflammatory rhetoric and the incitement of fear and hatred. We do not say that all views must be our views. But we do say that there is not room for prejudice and racism in the Canadian press.

Effie Ginzberg is presently pursuing her M.A. in Social Psychology at York University. The study "Power Without Responsibility: The Press We Don't Deserve. A Content-Analysis of the Toronto Sun", is available from the Urban Alliance on Race Relations at \$10 a copy.

¹ *Articles prior to 1977 are not reviewed in this report but we did find articles prior to 1977 that present the same pattern of prejudice. The Toronto Sun began publishing in 1971.*

**Joan Sutton is not a regular columnist for the Toronto Sun.*

THE COVERAGE OF CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY IN THE GLOBE AND MAIL (1980 - 1985)

Michele DuCharme

The underlying premise of journalism is to inform, educate and entertain the reader in both an engaging and non-biased manner. Phrased in this way, the mandate for journalists seems clear and simple; the best news stories are those which convey a message quickly, accurately and objectively.

Unfortunately, as Robert Fulford, editor of *Saturday Night* has said "what is included in reporting bears the unbearable (sic) cultural markers, or the orientation of the writer/editor/publisher."¹ Failure to "... distinguish clearly between (the) writer's interpretations and the facts being reported"² has resulted in accusations of slanted coverage against the Canadian media by minority groups. Criticism over the kinds of news coverage given to minorities has ranged from "common complaints (which) involve (the) content of advertising, foreign and local news coverage, photos, editorial comment and cartoons"³, often deemed to be "unfair and inadequate"⁴, to outright charges of racism.

The Globe and Mail

Is the Globe and Mail guilty of this general accusation that the public is fed a steady diet of myths and stereotypes about minorities and immigrants?

As "Canada's national news-

paper", the Globe has been touted as an example of "reserved and even highbrow (journalism/reportage), aimed usually at a metropolitan audience of middle and upper income Canadians." Owned by Thomson Newspapers Ltd., the Globe caters to an upscale audience who, according to their own research, are better educated, better employed, wealthier and lead more vibrant active lifestyles."

The importance of the Globe and Mail in Canada can perhaps be summarized by the comment of a former employee, Walter Stewart, who said, "... if only 14 people across the country actually read the paper it would still be the most influential journal in Canada."

What kind of journalistic standards prevail at this "serious" publication?

Methodology

Immigration was chosen as an example of an issue which carries significant national importance. From the Canadian Newspaper Index files for the years 1980-85 under the headings "Immigrants" and "Immigration", 70 articles were selected from the Globe and Mail.

These articles were read several times and then analyzed according to criteria derived from *Between the Lines: How to Detect Bias and Propaganda in the Press and Everyday Life*,

by Eleanor MacLean. The analysis was based on data from the following:

1. Positioning and lay-out of the story i.e. what page did the article appear on; was the story placed above or below the fold? (The fold is the point at which the newspaper is folded in half. Important news is usually placed above the fold to grab the reader's attention).
2. Length of the article and size of type used.
3. Content of headlines and kickers (A kicker is a 2 or 3 word phrase placed under the headline).
4. Use of newsspeak (Newsspeak is language that distorts, confuses or hides reality).
5. Use of quotes.
6. Use of statistics.
7. Use of race/ethnic origin.

Slanted or biased reporting can result from any one of these "persuasion techniques" and the risk increases when they are combined. (In presenting the findings of this content-analysis, it should be stressed that this is a summary and does not represent the entire results. For reasons of space, it is not possible to cite all examples).

Content Analysis

1. Positioning and lay-out of articles
Studies on the "play" given to titles, positioning and lay-out of articles have proven that the "length of headline and location of story on the page and within the newspaper are indicators of the probability of a story being read as well as the importance readers will attach to it."⁵ Further evidence of the impact which these factors can have on meaning is found in the Equality Now! report which states that "... racial overtones can ... be conveyed by the positioning or layout of news items"⁶, particularly if the stories follow each other in one column or are placed side by side. While the items themselves might be unbiased, the cumulative effects of the positioning of headlines and of stories can give the impression that certain races or groups of people such

as immigrants, are always associated with the same characteristics and/or stereotypes.

This certainly proved to be the case in the survey of the Globe articles examined. The majority of the 70 stories tended to concentrate on the negative elements and consequences of immigration regulations. By emphasizing the problems immigrants cause for the system i.e., entrance rules have to be made tougher, quotas have to be set, amnesty plans must be implemented, refugee totals have to be cut, visa card systems need to be considered to curb illegal entry, and marriages of convenience must be refused, to name but a few examples drawn from the Globe articles, readers may come to believe that Canada has a serious 'immigration problem' and that immigrants themselves pose a threat, not only to the system, but also to Canadians.

In this instance, 16 of the 70 articles or 21% were found on the front page, and of those, 14 were placed above the fold. Several of these news items were separated by breaks (the point at which a story goes from one column or page to another) and corresponding heads were written to indicate where the articles continued. The following examples illustrate how unconscious bias or hidden meaning can be derived from the positioning and lay-out of stories.

i) head: *"Immigration rules will be made tougher"*

(Globe and Mail, November 16, 1985, p. A1)

Kicker: *"Tighter rein on entrepreneurs"*

- break to page A24 -

new head: *"Entrance requirements tougher"*

ii) corresponding story by the same reporter

head: *"Monitoring of immigrants pays off"*

(Globe and Mail, November 16, 1985, p. A24)

Kicker: *"Ontario stresses support for entrepreneurs"*

The issue of how many immigrant entrepreneurs are being let into Canada and what they are contributing seems to be a paradoxical one, if the reader is to go by these articles. On one hand, there is a "tighter rein" being placed on entrepreneurs, implying that they need to be held back. Yet Ontario is making a point of stressing its "support" for entrepreneurs. As a result, the reader may be confused as to whether or not there is actually an excess number of entrepreneurial immigrants coming into Canada. However, a glance at the two heads may help to sway opinion.

The reader learns that immigration rules will be made tougher (repeated twice) and that the monitoring of immigrants has paid off. The articles, placed side-by-side, would seem to support the impression that large numbers of immigrants, especially entrepreneurs, are trying to get into Canada illegally to find work or to start new businesses.

The manner in which the articles are presented reinforces the myth and stereotype that "immigrants are taking away jobs from Canadians. They shouldn't be allowed in the country." A careful reading of the two articles, however, reveals that procedures for "well-heeled immigrants" are to be toughened up because the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) doesn't "... know what they (the entrepreneurs) are up to or how successful they are", even though the CEIC is supposed to oversee the entrepreneurial program. Thus, despite the fact that the CEIC is at fault for not keeping track of any of the entrepreneurs after they arrived in Canada, it is the immigrant who gets the bad press and not the government.

2. Length of article and size of type used

The majority of the 70 articles were approximately 20 paragraphs long and followed the traditional inverted pyramid format for the presentation of news stories in which details are listed in descending order of importance. Ironically, one of the shortest

news items of all those surveyed was also one of the most positive in terms of portraying immigrants.

The six-paragraph article entitled "Otto Land says immigrants could rescue economy" (Globe and Mail, June 20, 1984, p. 6) dealt with the former 1970 federal minister of immigration's proposal that "... 20 million should be allowed to immigrate ... to provide unimagined stimulation for the struggling economy." The story could have been given more serious consideration and visibility by placing it on or nearer to the front page instead of on page six. Any measure deemed capable of rescuing the Canadian economy - an urgent matter of national concern - surely deserves more than a six-paragraph mention.

Size and style of type used was generally uniform for heads with the exception of "IMMIGRATION STING" (Globe and Mail, August 20, 1980), printed in all caps. The major variant for typeface was contrast in the blackness of type. Its drawing power can best be used when there are a number of top stories, all vying for space on the front page. By varying the contrast, the reader can be enticed to examine each article immediately or on a more leisurely basis. Thus, putting a headline like "IMMIGRATION STING" into all caps not only ignores the standard guidelines for writing heads (see Content of heads and kickers) but also displays a greater desire than usual to draw readers into the story. The message implied is that immigration is disrupting the system.

3. Content of headlines and kickers

The purpose of the headline/kicker is two-fold: in addition to encapsulating the content of the article in ten words or less, headlines attempt to first grab the reader's attention and then draw him/her into seeking additional information. This need to draw in the reader is understandable, considering that the headline is read more frequently than the item itself.

The reader generally reads the first one or two paragraphs, then skims the article for key words and

quotes and then jumps to the last few paragraphs.⁷ However, the question of which words are chosen to make up a headline or kicker is the real crux of the issue.

Headlines are generally classified into two basic categories: banners, which stretch the full width of the page and are reserved for top stories, and labels, which indicate the start of a new article but do nothing to arouse interest (i.e. "Doctor assails ideas of jury", *Globe and Mail*, April 3, 1980). However, headlines which sensationalize or capitalize on controversial items also appear in the press and are referred to as screamers (i.e. "Bar schizophrenic immigrants: jury", *Globe and Mail*, April 2, 1980).

An interesting analysis of the selection process involved in writing heads can be found in MacLean's *Between the Lines*, in which the author includes a chart on the formula for producing propaganda headlines. Although the formula "... comes from a description of actual techniques used widely in Latin America by various sources of propaganda", the bare bones structure is useful and illuminating when

applied to a breakdown of selected *Globe and Mail* heads⁸ as shown below:

4. Use of newsspeak (i.e. language that distorts, confuses or hides reality)

Impressions derived from headlines and kickers come from the choice of words used to produce them, which in turn are governed by the subject matter of those stories deemed appropriate enough to be covered or picked up by a wire service.

An overview of the words used to describe immigrants and how they should be 'dealt with', based on selected stories in the *Globe*, confirmed the findings of the 1983 Community Forum on Media Project which stated that "the media tends (sic) to feature negative aspects of immigrant-related issues." By emphasizing the "vivid, deviant and sensational details (of Canadian immigration policy) versus a comprehensive understanding and a sense of (its) historical development", the media give credence to familiar stereotypes and tired myths concerning immigrants and refugees.

A recent example of the *Globe and Mail* using newsspeak to turn a misconception into reality was a front-page article on 'public reaction' (in actual fact, 110 participants interviewed over a three-day period in six Canadian cities) which ran with the headline '3rd World immigrants seen as job-stealers, study finds' (*Globe and Mail*, November 30, 1985). It is important to emphasize that the word "job-stealers" never appeared in the story, although a connection between immigrants and employment was mentioned.

Newsspeak was also found in an item in the "Inside" listings (Inside is a one-column summary of four or five important news stories which contains a brief synopsis of each and is located on the front page) in response to the threat of illegal immigration. This particular item, entitled "New snare tried to stop illegals" (*Globe and Mail*, August 29, 1983), dealt with a proposal to issue disembarkation cards to visitors to Canada in an effort to reduce illegal immigration. Aside from the fact that the card system was not a novel concept, as the head implied, the word "snare", most commonly used in conjunction with trapping wild animals, did not appear anywhere in the story.

In both instances, the headlines elected to go with a familiar stereotype or an eye-catching word that gave the unmistakable impression that immigrants were more trouble than they were worth. How else could the reader help but regard a group of people described as being "desperate", "gullible"; and "unlawful",⁹ "... liable to a background check as criminal or security risks"¹⁰ and who are supposedly "... crashing the borders in growing numbers each year and living underground in major cities across Canada?"¹¹

5. Use of quotes

A major dilemma for journalists is deciding which quotes should be included or discarded in a particular story. Used properly, quotes are an effective way of giving information a more human and/or authoritative

TABLE I
HEADLINE = SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT

SCAPEGOAT TERM	GROUNDLESS ACCUSATION IN THE FUTURE	GLITTERING GENERALITY
a) 3rd World immigrants	seen as	job-stealers
b) Immigration policy	called risk to	Canadian educators' jobs
c) Immigrant with record	gets to stay	in Canada
d) Poll	finds support for	all-white society
e) Deportation order is quashed: baby killer	can stay	in Canada
f) Bar immigrants	from skilled jobs	unions in construction trades urge
g) Immigration	flow	curbed
h) Immigrant	gave	nothing

touch and can add colour and spice to what might otherwise be a dull recounting of events. However, a danger exists in using quotes out of context (often referred to as 'loaded' quotes), because they may overshadow the original intent of the story. And even though the journalist may not agree with the content of a particular quote, he or she is nonetheless responsible for the story.

It is a common journalistic practice to place powerful quotes near the end of an article, especially when said by a figure of authority. This often gives the story one last punch. However, the average reader does not have the time or the interest to read each and every article thoroughly from start to finish. Thus, an emphatic quote may be the last words a reader sees as he/she will likely skim the contents and then jump to the end of the article.

The following quotes are taken from the beginning, middle and endings of selected articles and are included with their corresponding headlines:

1) Head: *"Future mosaic: just a numbers game?"*

(Globe and Mail, May 24, 1980)

Quote: *"Being a ditch digger or a busboy in Canada is a very desirable job for most people in the world."*

One obvious interpretation of this remark is that immigrants do not have very high career aspirations and will gladly take on almost any kind of job, no matter how menial.

ii) Head: *"Immigration policy called risk to Canadian educators' jobs"*
(Globe and Mail August 6, 1980)

Quote: *"Qualified Canadian graduates face unemployment risk because immigration officials do not interfere with the hiring of foreign teachers by post-secondary institutes."*

The clear message is that immigrants are taking jobs away from Canadians, especially young people.

iii) Head: *"High unemployment curbs immigration"*
(Globe and Mail, November 2, 1983)

Quote: *"Although the economy is improving and the rate of employment is down (emphasis mine) I am continuing the restriction on selected workers from abroad to protect jobs for Canadians."*

Although it is not impractical to ensure that all Canadians who wish to work have access to employment, this quote implies that immigrants pose a threat to Canadian jobs no matter what the rate of unemployment and that restrictions are needed as safeguard measures.

iv) Head: *"New rules open doors to crime, Tory charges"*
(Globe and Mail, June 4, 1984)

Quote: *"The paranoia is in the immigration department and right now the paranoia is against the Pacific Rim, 'the Yellow Peril'":*

This headline and quotation suggests that even the Immigration Department is paranoid about the numbers of Chinese and Japanese people coming into Canada, and that by letting in more "Pacific Rim" immigrants, the crime rate will be increased.

v) Head: *"MacDonald says policy will reflect slow growth"*
(Globe and Mail, December 10, 1984)

Quote: *"She acknowledged a hardening of hearts toward immigrants and refugees in Canada - 'I can understand that there is a certain nervousness in any country . . . in a period of recession. People look at the job situation. They want to protect their own jobs.'"*

Again the message is that immigrants take jobs away from Canadians, especially during a recession - even Flora MacDonald, the Minister of Em-

ployment and Immigration, thinks so.

6. Use of Statistics

According to MacLean, "people often use statistics to 'prove' statements that the figures do not prove at all. Although they can be very useful, statistics must be used carefully and in moderation."¹²

About 80% of the Globe articles examined in this content-analysis focused on the issue of numbers of immigrants and refugees entering the country. News stories on immigration levels and quotas appeared at least once a month on average over the 5-year period studied, and sometimes more often, which tended to result in lists of varying figures, contradictory estimates and general confusion. Although actual numbers were not always included in the headlines, the substitutes used were just as effective in getting the meaning across, as indicated by the following examples:

- *"Ottawa revamps refugee program, increases 1980 quota by 10,000"*
(Globe and Mail, April 3, 1980)

- 7 months later -

- *"Canada cuts refugee total for next year"*
(Globe and Mail, November 1, 1980)

- *"Government to stem tide of alien entry"*
(Globe and Mail, June 30, 1983)

- *"New snare tried to stop illegals"*
(Globe and Mail, August 29, 1983)

- *"Ottawa to probe 75,000 suspected of being aliens"*
(Globe and Mail, May 18, 1984)

- *"Immigration level to keep dropping with 1985 quota"*
(Globe and Mail, November 20, 1984)

