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ETHNICITY, SOCIAL STRATIFICATION, AND OPINION FORMATION: AN ANALYSIS OF ETHNIC PORTRAYAL IN THE VANCOUVER NEWSPAPER PRESS, 1905-1976

by

Doreen Marie Indra

M. A., California State University, Hayward, 1974

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department

of

Sociology and Anthropology

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

May 1979

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Author: [redacted]
(signature)

Doreen Marie Indra
(name)

25 July 1979
(date)

A P P R O V A L

Name: Doreen Marie Indra

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

Title of Thesis: Ethnicity, Social Stratification, and Opinion Formation: An Analysis of Ethnic Portrayal in the Vancouver Newspaper Press, 1905-1976.

Examining Committee:

Chairperson: Robert W. Wyllie

Michael G. Kenny
Senior Supervisor

Hamish Dickie-Clark

Noel Dyck

Heribert Adam

John Porter
External Examiner
Professor
Department of Sociology
Carleton University

Date Approved: June 8th, 1977

Abstract

Ethnicity and the mass media have been important influences on Canadian society, yet many aspects of relationship between the two have not previously been explored. In particular, very little systematic attention has been paid to how the media cover issues and events involving ethnicity. This thesis examines in detail how the daily newspaper press of Vancouver, British Columbia, has portrayed ethnicity between 1905 and 1976.

The primary data base for this study was generated through a computerized content analysis of the press during the decades 1905-1914, 1928-1937, and 1967-1976; the Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World were considered in the first of these eras, the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Sun were dealt with in the second, and the Vancouver Sun in the third. One out of every thirteen issues printed was sampled, or approximately twelve hundred issues in all. This sample generated approximately four thousand items specifically dealing with ethnicity, which were then coded in terms of twenty-eight content and format variables. This data was subsequently analyzed to generate time specific, quantified assessments of how these newspapers dealt with each of the many ethnic and national groups which received substantial press attention. A social and economic context for each of these groups was provided in order to illustrate the relationship between press portrayal and the place of that group in Canadian society.

In order to develop a further understanding of the societal effects of the press portrayal of ethnicity in the present day, the impact of stigmatic

press coverage on Vancouver Sikhs between 1975 and 1977 was subsidiarily considered; the data bases for this aspect of the study were a daily content analysis of South Asian news items in the Vancouver Sun during the first half of 1975, participant observation during the same period, and a formal survey of one hundred male Sikhs' attitudes to the media carried out in 1977.

It was found that throughout the twentieth century the press has generated relatively coherent stereotypes of both domestic and foreign groups. Moreover, these press stereotypes have tended to be highly evaluative, with the consequence that some ethnicities have been given far better coverage than others. Although these press images have changed through time the British, Americans, and Western Europeans have consistently been portrayed more favorably than those who have been perceived to be culturally or physically different from them. Historical evidence and Sikh responses to the media both confirm that the unequal fashion in which the Vancouver newspapers portray ethnicity has served as an important legitimation for the socio-economic privileges of majority group individuals at the expense of others.

Up till now it has been thought that the growth of the Christian myths during the Roman Empire was possible only because printing was not yet invented. Precisely the contrary. The daily press and the telegraph, which in a moment spread inventions over the whole earth, fabricate more myths . . . in one day than could have formerly been done in a century.

Karl Marx (Cohen and Young 1973:iv)

One of the truly depressing aspects of our inquiry was the ingenuous view of so many media owners that they are mere spectators. They're <u>not</u> spectators. They control the presentation of the news and therefore have a vast and perhaps disproportionate say in how our society defines itself. It is true, as we were repeatedly reminded by the people that appeared before us, that the newspapers can't swing elections any more, that the media's ability to control and manipulate events is vastly overrated. That's like saying an air-traffic controller can't prevent planes from landing. Of course he can't; but he can dictate the order in which they land, or send them to another airport. The power of the press, in other words, is the power of selection. Newspapers and broadcasting stations can't dictate how we think and vote on specific issues; but their influence in <u>selecting</u> those issues is enormous. Of course the people won't always vote the way the editorial writers tell them on next week's sewer bylaw, but who decides when they'll start thinking and talking about sewers--or whether they'll worry about pollution at all?

Report of the Special Senate Committee
on the Mass Media (1970:8)

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Introduction

Ethnicity has always been an important element of Canadian society. In early days British and French settlers contested with native peoples and each other for control over the land and its products. Both within and between those three basic groups ethnicity operated to elevate self identity, to rationalize aggression and domination of others, and to provide a basis for collective action. The military defeat of the French and native peoples at the hands of the British in no way decreased the saliency of ethnic difference. Socially and politically encapsulated, Frenchness became a banner of a subordinate people. Henceforth Canada was a structurally plural society; two languages and to a certain extent two economies, polities, cultures, and identities.

In the 19th century this picture was further complicated by large scale European immigration. At first they came primarily from England, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, and Northern Europe. While these immigrants dispersed among the population and hence were not able to establish resource bases sufficient to produce substantial long term social pluralism their immediate effect was to begin the destruction of the ethnic homogeneity of anglophone Canada. Despite the rise of a national Canadian myth of Britishness, Canadians of British origin were by no means identical with British immigrants, nor did either feel much commonality with continental European immigrants, to say nothing of the Chinese.

Save for the interruptions caused by World War I, the period 1890-

1931 saw Canada's ethnic heterogeneity dramatically increased, as the federal government implemented an immigration policy aimed at the settlement of the prairies. Unable to secure sufficient numbers of British and American immigrants, the government bowed to economic expediency and sought people elsewhere. Central and Eastern European immigration expanded overnight.

Subsequent to World War II Canadian immigration rose once more, this time in response to a demand for industrial and agricultural labor. British immigration soared, but proved to be insufficient to meet the demand. Once more the immigration regulations were loosened, this time to solicit people from Germany, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and then Italy and Portugal. In the 1960's this demand for relatively unskilled labor slackened, and immigration procedures consequently became more and more economically selective. Coincident with this was the process of further broadening the spectrum of immigrant source countries, which culminated in the regulations of 1967; these formally removed all liabilities from applicants from the Third World. At present about 50% of all immigrants are from neither Europe nor the United States.

Immigration and the consequent ethnic differentiation of the anglophone population has had many consequences, both for individuals and for the society at large. The most important of these could be termed the question of access: to what degree has ethnicity been a factor in individual access to rights, privileges, power, and prestige? Despite there being

general agreement that ethnicity has historically been a significant determinant of people's life chances, the specifics of the relation are far from clear; this is particularly true of the effect which large scale societal institutions have had on the perpetuation of social stratification based upon ethnicity.

The primary objective of this thesis is to investigate particular aspects of the relationship between ethnicity and one of Canada's most important social institutions--the daily newspaper press.

I believe little need be said about the impact which the newspapers have had on Canadian society, past and present. In the days predating the electronic media they were the only source of current information on society's goings on available to most Canadians. Thereafter, they have maintained their hold as people's preferred source of "real news." As such, they do far more than print "all the news thats fit to print." Through accident and design they have affected peoples perceptions of themselves, of others, and of Canadian society generally. In this sense they have been the manufacturers of reality at least to the extent that they have been reporters of it. Still, like ethnicity the Canadian press has not been subject to sociological scrutiny to anything near the extent justified by its societal impact.

Recognizing this, I have tried to center my analysis such that it contributes to an understanding of ethnicity and the press at the same time. Briefly put, I have sought to generate a very specific outline of how the

Vancouver press has portrayed ethnicity during the twentieth century, concentrating upon the coverage that the press accorded to ethnic groups in Canada and the United States. To the best of my knowledge the content analysis of ethnicity in the Vancouver press which makes up the corpus of this thesis is the most detailed investigation of ethnic portrayal in any media yet carried out anywhere. It involved the computer assisted analysis of over 4,000 news items culled from a sample of nearly 1,200 newspapers.

As the thesis unfolds the reasons that I took such a large sample will become evident, and so here it suffices to say that I had three primary motivations for doing so. The first of these concerns the nature of ethnic group portrayal in the newspapers. For the last hundred years an unending line of ethnic group leaders have spoke against the portrayal of their group in the Canadian press; they have been but the visible manifestation of a deep seated discontent with their portrayal among many ethnic groups that continues to be prevalent today. Still, their charges have been extremely particularistic and hence have been easily refutable by press personnel. It would be fair to say that newspaper people as a group have always been convinced that what they produce is a fair and balanced account of the world as it is; this has always held for press opinions about ethnic portrayal.

By carefully considering the coverage accorded to each ethnic group in comparison with all the others, I believe that this study shows unambiguously that ethnic group perceptions about their coverage in the press are

essentially correct, at least with regard to the Vancouver press. I suggest that in its presentation of ethnicity the press has always created an unequal moral community, and that inequality continues into the present.

Secondly, I sought to investigate the reality production aspects of the press as it applied to the specific instance of ethnic portrayal. Despite the fact that the version of reality constructed by the press is not isomorphic with society as it is, press reality has its own order and consistency about it. By paying special attention to how the press portrayed individual groups and how these group images articulated I have generated what might be termed a press theory of ethnicity in Canadian society. By providing a socioeconomic context for the press and each ethnic group I have also illustrated a range of the assumptions and mechanisms which the press has employed to turn social reality into press reality.

Finally, I have tried to contribute to a greater understanding of the role of the press as a societal institution. As will be shown, much of what has determined the nature of ethnic portrayal in the Vancouver papers does not have much to do with concern over ethnicity per se. The nature of ethnic coverage in the papers has much in common with that of other topics. As such, an understanding of ethnic coverage can say much about the workings of the press generally, at least with regard to what determines its output.

The structure of this thesis is straightforward. Chapter One outlines the methodology that I employed, provides reasons for why these research

strategies were selected, and explains their limits and possibilities. Chapter Two provides a sociohistoric outline of the changing role of the press in British Columbia from 1858 to the present.

The structure of Chapters Three, Four, and Five are the heart of the study. In each I have dealt with the way that the Vancouver press has covered ethnicity during a particular decade; Chapter Three covers 1905-1914, Chapter Four covers 1928-1937, and Chapter Five deals with 1967-1976. The papers considered were (according to period) the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Daily World, the Province and the Vancouver Sun, and the Vancouver Sun, respectively. Because these chapters are quite lengthy in themselves, each has been further divided into three basic sections: one dealing with format considerations, one which addresses the content of ethnic portrayal for that era, and one which presents a conclusion which derive from that and earlier chapters. A short set of concluding remarks ends the thesis proper. Thereafter are appendixed two sections (Appendices I and II) which detail certain methodological procedures and another (Appendix III) which briefly illustrates how Vancouver Sikhs reacted to their press portrayal between 1975 and 1977.

Chapter One: The Scope and Method of the Study

The primary objective of this inquiry is to accurately describe how the Vancouver newspaper press has portrayed ethnicity and ethnic groups in the twentieth century. The major emphasis is upon the presentation of Canadian ethnic groups by the Vancouver press, but coverage of ethnicity in the rest of the world is also subsidiarly considered. This secondary interest has been prompted by the conviction that the portrayal of ethnicity in foreign contexts forms an integral part of the background against which the Canadian material can be understood.

To a limited extent I have also tried to explain why ethnicity was covered by the various Vancouver newspapers in the ways that it was. My primary means of doing this has been to place the portrayal of ethnicity into the social, economic, and political context of the times during which the portrayed events occurred.

Tangentially, I have also tried to assess the degree to which coverage of a particular ethnic group might affect those so portrayed. Be it favorable or unfavorable, does the press portrayal of their ethnicity matter at all to those who make the pages of the newspapers? If so, what are their responses to it? In particular, how are members of a stigmatized minority likely to view the role of the press in Canadian society?

The methods employed in this study derive from the goals set forth above and a detailed outline of these methods makes up the bulk of this chapter. Basically, the methodology and attendant data bases employed

were dual. The primary data base for the analysis of the press itself was archivally derived, while that concerned with the effects of the press on an ethnic group was based on field work.

A detailed computer based content analysis of the coverage of ethnicity in the Vancouver press was my major source of data. As outlined subsequently, it covered three ten-year periods which span the twentieth century: 1905 through mid-1914, 1928 through 1937, and 1967 through 1976. Intensive analysis of these periods enabled me to develop a detailed picture of ethnicity in the press for three distinct eras of British Columbia society. At the same time it provided the basis for temporal comparison of press coverage across three-quarters of a century. In all, 4,134 individual stories were analyzed in terms of 23 variables relating to format and content.

The question of what direct effects news coverage has upon people whose ethnicity is involved can only be approached through one or another sort of interaction with ethnic individuals during times when such coverage occurs. To do this in such a way as to gain an insight into the responses of even a handful of ethnic groups would be an unrealistic objective, even if it were the major goal of this thesis, which it was not. Consequently, as a specific instance of the interaction of press and ethnic public I chose to investigate the reaction of Vancouver Sikhs to a period of a particularly active press coverage which occurred during the first half of 1975. As outlined in Appendix III, between January and June 1975 the frequency of South Asian news items in the Vancouver Sun and the Vancouver Province increased

dramatically after a period of relative quiescence.[1] In conjunction with a daily content analysis of news items bearing on South Asians during this period, I sought to gauge the effect of these printed news stories on individuals through informal interviews with people actually involved in the events portrayed in the news stories as well as with people representing a range of community organizations who responded to this presentation. Several British Columbia politicians who also had reacted to this coverage were interviewed. In addition, I attempted to keep in daily contact with members of the South Asian community during this period. Through this sort of limited participant observation an attempt was made to understand the short term effects of news coverage upon South Asian individuals.

In order to discover the place of the media in the lives of ethnic group members, a questionnaire was subsequently administered in mid-1977 to 100 adult male Sikhs living in the British Columbia Lower Mainland. This study was undertaken one and a half years later than the participant observation was carried out, and corresponded to a period of relatively low coverage of South Asians by the local press. It was assumed that administering the questionnaire during such a relatively quiet period would allow the individuals questioned to have a more objective and detached perspective on news coverage than they otherwise might have had.

In this, the Sikh community was singled out for several reasons. For one, Sikhs represent the largest South Asian group in the Lower Mainland. Also, the image of the Sikhs has become largely synonymous with the

covering term "East Indian" for most of the British Columbia population and for the press as well, as will be demonstrated later. Males were chosen as respondents for the questionnaire in order to simplify analysis of the results.

The Press and the Public

At this point I should like to make clear the perspective taken in this study as to the general role of the press in society. The press is viewed here as one of the important mechanisms through which the individual is integrated into social contexts larger than his or her own experience (Porter 1974:460). Moreover, by focussing attention on particular events, the press helps to define the issue of the day. In both respects, much of our knowledge about the world comes from the mass media. As Bernard Cohen (1963:13) notes in a study of the press and foreign policy, the press "is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling readers what to think about." In choosing and publishing certain news stories rather than others, editors and other newspaper personnel who shape the content of newspapers play a role in structuring readers' perceptions in terms of what are to be considered the important issues of the day. This has been termed the agenda setting function of the media (Siegel 1974:3).

Paul Hartmann, Charles Husband and Jean Clark, whose work (1974) will be discussed later, have clearly demonstrated this relationship in their studies of race and the British press. They note that race-related press

coverage in Britain shapes the general picture within which attitudes towards racial groups develop, while the prevalence of prejudice depends in large part upon local community conditions (Hartmann et al 1974:82-86). I believe the media to be important in this way in defining issues and in providing the terms of discussion in which opinions on issues are worked out among individuals in a face-to-face communication.

It is with this view of the role of newspapers in society that the method of analysis stems. Indeed, what kinds of images of which ethnic groups have been provided by the Vancouver press to the Canadian public? In the context of what kinds of situations have ethnic group individuals been defined? What are the press topics and themes associated with ethnic groups at different times in Canadian history? By looking at how several newspapers deal with ethnic presentation through time, this study develops a temporal picture of each ethnic group in Canada, pictures which are quantified and which can be contrasted with each other and compared through time.

The Three Periods

Three ten-year periods were chosen for intensive analysis and I think it appropriate that the major reasons for why these periods were chosen should be briefly outlined here, even though an elaboration of these reasons has been incorporated into later chapters. Each period will be discussed in turn.

The first period, 1905 through mid-1914, was chosen because it was a time of rapid economic and demographic growth for Canada and for British

Columbia in particular. Under the leadership of Wilfred Laurier, the Liberal party was then actively developing Western Canada, building new railways and transportation systems (Lower 1970:144). Emigration from Europe, the United States, and Asia was extensive, and immigration from the former two was formally encouraged by the government. Under Clifford Sifton's program to bring people to settle and develop the "empty" prairies, immigrants came from Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, the Balkans, the Ukraine, Russia, and the United States. It is estimated that from 1896 to 1914 approximately three million people arrived in Canada (Palmer 1975:7).

The development of the Canadian prairies resulted in growth of industry throughout Canada. In British Columbia, the fishing and mining industry expanded rapidly, as did the lumber industry, supplying as it did the construction materials for the homes and buildings of these new prairie settlers (Lower 1975).

Far from Atlantic Canada, British Columbia faced Asia, and while European immigration to the province during this era was extensive, it was Asian immigration that was to become one of the major issues occupying the minds of the British Columbians of that day. While Asian immigration had become an issue in British Columbia well before this period, it was during this decade that the conflict reached its peak (Buchignani 1977:1-76).

This sort of ethnic conflict was not confined to British Columbia but rather was a world phenomenon which particularly characterized this period of history. Thus, at the same time that immigration and ethnicity became

important questions in Canada, ethnic groups in many other parts of the world also made the newspapers. The United States experienced its own massive influx of immigrants. In Europe, the Balkan War preluded World War I. China was slowly emerging from colonial rule, while Japan was trying to colonize it once again. European powers were consolidating their colonization of Africa. These and the many other conflicts then ongoing around the world makes this era a particularly interesting one to look at in terms of how the aspect of ethnicity is presented in the press. The period was concluded with the beginning of World War I (August, 1914).

The years 1928 through 1937 were largely depression years, and this was especially so in British Columbia, where the economy had never been developed above the level of primary industry (Resnick 1974:6). With a high rate of unemployment in the province, British Columbians also had to deal with an influx of people to their province seeking work from other parts of Canada. Competition for jobs and other scarce resources was at its height. Thus this era was ideal for investigating the relationship between press portrayal, ethnicity and economic hard times. The period was one of relative demographic stability, at least in terms of 'traditional' immigrant groups. Asian immigration had been virtually terminated by 1928, while European immigration was similarly restricted in 1932. Outside of Canada a great struggle was on among the industrialized nations to gain markets while at the same time protecting their own; this resulted in continual international conflict (Glazebrook 1966). The stage was being set for World

War II.

The third period, 1967 through 1976, brings the study into the present. At least for the first half of the decade the Canadian economy was undergoing significant expansion; in this, there was considerable similarity with the first period. Once again, Canada was accepting large numbers of immigrants. 1967, the year beginning this period, was an historic one in the ever-changing saga of Canadian immigration. In that year, a new set of immigration regulations were enacted that removed preferential treatment of immigrants from white, Western and Northern European source countries. Canada's position in world affairs has changed considerably in the postwar era, and with the independence of many colonial territories, differential racial treatment of the world's population in terms of immigration became an embarrassment to the Canadian government (Hawkins 1972:99-118). The new legislation had the consequence of radically changing the pattern of Canadian immigration. Asian and Carribean immigration in particular increased dramatically. This period also saw the rise of increased French Canadian nationalism. Anglophone-francophone issues became highlighted as never before in this century.

In British Columbia, the first few years of this decade were ones of economic good times while the rising cost of living became a major concern during the last five years. Immigration and the changing ethnic and racial nature of the population then became issues, and often figured in folk explanations for the economic crisis that was taking place.

The Newspapers

The selection of which Vancouver newspapers to choose for analysis was not a difficult one, for it was largely determined by the nature of the newspapers available. Five newspapers were available in Vancouver during the first period, that is from 1905 through mid-1914 (McGregor 1946). The Vancouver Province, the Vancouver Daily World, and the News-Advertiser were the only ones which were dailies and which published consistently through this period. Both the Province and the World appeared in the afternoon and published daily with the exception of Sunday. The News-Advertiser (a daily morning paper) did not appear on Monday. Of the other two, the Saturday Sunset began as a weekly paper in 1907, while the Vancouver Sun, a daily, did not appear until 1912; neither of these papers published consistently through the period and for that reason were eliminated as possible candidates for this study. This left the Province, the World and the News-Advertiser.

There were several considerations which eventually led to the selection of the Province and the World. Among these was the relative circulations of these papers; in this regard the Province held the lead over the World, while the News-Advertiser ran a poor third (McGregor 1946:111). The political stances of these papers also were of consequence in their selection. The World was Liberal in political affiliation and was usually a strong supporter of the Laurier government. The Province, on the other hand, leaned towards a Conservative political orientation (McGregor 1946:113).

Each paper was thus aimed at a slightly different readership. The World purported to support the "working man" of British Columbia, while the Province aimed at middle class readership which affirmed "order, progress, and good government." As McGregor (1946:144) notes, this rivalry between the publishers of the two papers involved not only different political orientations but a clash of personalities as well, and this strengthened the differences between the two papers. The News-Advertiser was eliminated largely because its social impact was not as large as the other two dailies; while it was politically Conservative, it was a far less influential paper than the Province.

By 1928, the year which began the next period of press analysis, the World had disappeared from the Vancouver scene and the Vancouver Sun and Vancouver Province were the only dailies continuing from the previous era (Lamb 1942). Two other dailies appeared during this period, but neither published continuously throughout the time span. The Vancouver Star opened in 1924 and closed in 1932. The News Herald was established in 1933 and ceased publication in 1957. As before, the Province continued in a Conservative political tradition while the Sun supported the Liberals (Lamb 1942). Competition between the Sun and the Province was extremely sharp (Kesterton 1967:100), as it had been between the Province and the earlier Vancouver Daily World. Both papers were picked for analysis during this period.

During the last era, 1967 through 1976, the Vancouver Sun alone was

chosen. Although its rival, the Province, continues to publish, constraints of time and effort predominated in this choice. As it was, the volume of material coded was overwhelming, and the volume of material on ethnicity gleaned from the Sun during this period approximated that of any two papers of earlier times. The Vancouver Sun was chosen over the Vancouver Province because of its much higher circulation.[2]

Content Analysis: The Foundation

At the planning stage of this study, the question arose as to what methodology to use. The aim of the study had been established to develop a general view of the world of ethnic groups as presented daily to the public by the Vancouver press. In choosing to do a formal content analysis of these many ethnic groups I was motivated by two considerations. The first was that no similar analysis to my knowledge had been done in Canada; in fact, in the detail that I wanted, nothing in the world literature even came close. Secondly, I wanted the subsequent analysis to be as objective and as flexible to a variety of questions as possible. Formal analysis seemed to be the only available route.

Nevertheless, prior content analyses of ethnic portrayal in the media have often taken the narrow form of measuring attitudes (during a short time span) in terms of negative, positive or neutral presentation. This method was avoided for several reasons. First of all, I was interested in the more complex question of how situations in which groups were portrayed might reflect upon the structural positions of these people in Canadian society.

Secondly, I wanted to do an analysis of a long time span in order to see how these portrayals change with time. To think merely in terms of negative, positive, or neutral portrayal would say little about the events and subjects surrounding the coverage of ethnic groups. In other worlds, I was not so much interested in measuring degrees of prejudice, discrimination or favorable or unfavorable images as I was in the attributes associated with ethnic groups and the media contexts in which they were placed.

The foundation of the content analysis format utilized in this study was ultimately derived from Race as News: A Study in the Handling of Race in the British National Press from 1963 to 1970 by Paul Hartmann, Charles Husband, and Jean Clark (1974), although it was much altered and expanded for my purposes.

In their study Hartmann et al undertook a content analysis of four national British dailies through 1963-1970. This study was primarily done to see "what kind of version of the daily world was laid before the public as a kind of suggested agenda for their thought, discussion and action" (Hartmann, Husband, & Clark 1974:94). That is, they were interested in how race-related matters had been defined in the British national press and what kind of picture of race relations had been made available to the British public by the press.

Their content analysis had two aspects: British race-related stories and overseas stories. In the latter, they focused their analysis on Commonwealth countries and the United States. In choosing four national

dailies, Hartmann, Husband and Clark chose both 'quality' papers and 'popular' ones; that is, newspapers which had different political orientations and which represented a varied socio-economic readership.

Their study was not one of prejudice and discrimination but rather was oriented to look at race-related news stories as cultural and sub-cultural phenomena, emphasizing "definitions of situations" (Hartmann et al 1974:146). By asking the question "What was the material about?", the structure of the content analysis emerged. Each news item was classified into main topics and subject matter. With a list of a priori topics in mind, they sampled news items for inclusiveness. Within a list of topics, Hartmann, Husband, and Clark found that it was possible to distinguish more specific types of subject matter. These more specific types, they called subtopics. For instance, under a general topic of 'Housing', a story could be on over-crowding, on housing shortages, or on government provided houses. They found that coding only topics and subtopics within a news story was not sufficient, for a news story often contained reference to other themes not directly found in the topic category. To cover these, a list of themes was also drawn up, in many ways parallel to the subtopics. Each news item (in the British material only) was therefore classified under a topic and subtopic heading, while themes derived in the news item were coded separately. For instance, if a topic fell under 'Legislation', the story might also include reference to immigration, but immigration may not have been the main topic. It would therefore be coded as a particular theme under

'Immigration' but under 'Legislation' as a topic. This they found to be an important means of discovering whether certain themes occurred in reference to particular topics.

In doing the content analysis for this study, a similar method was used, but it was significantly expanded and modified for my purposes. Perhaps the major difference between the Hartmann, Husband and Clark study and mine lies in the different orientation of the two studies. The British context is not the Canadian one. While 'race' has been one way in which people in Canada have defined each other and themselves, particularly in British Columbia, the 'ethnic' label has had more general use. As an example of this 'ethnic' salience, in the Canadian census there has never been a category in which a person could label himself or herself as simply 'Canadian'; one must rather be 'British', 'German' or 'Chinese'.

Since 'ethnic' background has been such an important way of defining people in Canada (Porter 1974:60-103), I have broadened my analysis to include virtually <u>all</u> ethnic groups found in the Canadian context. All Canadian ethnic groups that were large enough to be frequently used by people in referring to each other and all those that have been frequently used by the media were included. On the other hand, Hartmann, Husband and Clark were centrally interested in 'race' and 'coloured people'. Indeed, they did not distinguish between various ethnic and national groups within the category 'coloured'. This content analysis expanded the category of people looked at from one to include the 68 categories listed in Table I.

Code		Ethnic Group
10		Colored
	11	Other Colored
20		Black
	21	African
	22	Rhodesian, South African
	23	Black American
	24	West Indian
	25	Canadian
	26	Other
30		Asian
	31	Chinese
	32	Japanese
	33	East Indian, "Hindu"
	34	Sikh, Punjabi
	35	Ugandan Asian
	36	Other East Indian
	37	Other Asian
	38	Vietnamese
40		Native People
	41	North American Indian
	42	Inuit, Eskimo
	43	Other
50		Arab & Israeli
	51	Arab, Muslim
	52	Israeli
	53	Jewish, Hebrew
	54	Other
	55	Palestinian
60		Non European
	61	Other

Code		Ethnic Group
70		**European**
80		**British**
	81	English
	82	Scottish
	83	Irish
	84	Other
90		**Canadian**
	91	Anglo
	92	French
100		**Eastern European**
	101	Doukhobor
	102	Hungarian
	103	Communist European
	104	Polish
	105	Russian
	106	Ukrainian or Galician
	107	Yugoslavian
	108	Other
110		**Western & Northern European**
	111	Dutch
	112	French
	113	German
	114	Scandinavian
	115	Other
	116	Nazi
120		**Southern European**
	121	Italian
	122	Greek
	123	Other

Code		Ethnic Group
130		Hispano-Portuguese
	131	Spanish
	132	Portuguese
	133	Latin American
	134	Other
140		American
150		Immigrants, Unspecified
160		Australian & New Zealand
170		South African White or Rhodesian White

Table I. The Ethnic Groups Coded in the Study

While Hartmann, Husband and Clark did a content analysis of the national press in Britain, I focused on one area in Canada, specifically metropolitan Vancouver. This study was restricted to British Columbia in order to obtain an in-depth picture of one area within Canada along a long time dimension rather than a broader area with a shorter time depth, as did the Hartmann et al study.

This content analysis also expanded the foreign news story category to include not only the U.S.A. and British Commonwealth, but all parts of the world where 'ethnicity' was a part of the news coverage. Thus news items were coded to take into account where in the world the story covered by the press occurred. The locality of all news items were broken down into the following areas: British Columbia, Canada, Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin and Central America, Australia and New Zealand, the Caribbean, and the United States. Because it was found that objectively defining a foreign news item to have an ethnic content was extremely difficult, two categories of foreign news items were initially created (in addition to a domestic one which included Canada and the United States): one in which ethnicity was specifically mentioned and the other in which it might reasonably be inferred. In questionable cases a three-person panel judged which of these two categories would apply to a given foreign news item based on the author's explanation of the item. For most purposes these two categories of foreign story were treated together.

While Hartmann, Husband and Clark analyzed four newspapers, they

were not centrally concerned with showing differences between papers. In contrast, I sharply distinguished between newspapers in this content analysis, and was concerned with the question of what degree of variability there was between the various newspapers.

Since Hartmann, Husband and Clark were mainly concerned with what kinds of images race-related news items contained, they did not find it important to distinguish the format that these items took. For instance, they did not distinguish between items contained in editorials, letters to the editor, etc., or whether such items also contained photographs. I was concerned with both the form and content of the material and consequently several format considerations were noted. Among these were included the length of the story in column inches, the headline width in columns, and the source and type of the news item. The later was coded into the categories found in Table II.

Code	Source and Type of Coverage
1	news, local source
2	news, news service source
3	news, Canadian source
4	news, foreign source
5	editorial
6	political position
7	letters to editor
8	cartoon
9	news, other

Table II. Types of News Items and Their Sources

In addition, I also noted the presence or absence of a photograph, the page on which the news item was placed, and the date. Each item was

also coded as to the newspaper from which it was derived.

Obviously, the topics and themes which surround and surrounded Canadian ethnicity are much different than those of interest to Hartmann et al. Modifications and additions to their methods of coding topics and themes were quite extensive and are detailed subsequently. Basically, news items were coded in terms of 18 possible topics, 185 subtopics, and in terms of up to 6 themes with the same 185 categories. These topics and subtopics are listed in Table III.

Sampling

Each newspaper published approximately 3,000 daily issues during each decade and it was therefore necessary to derive a representative sample of the whole. This was accomplished by first selecting a random date at the beginning of each decade. For instance, at the beginning of 1905, Tuesday, January 3rd was the date selected to begin the content analysis. Thereafter, every 13th issue was selected right on throughout the period. A short reflection on this technique will show that in this way the days of the week were constantly rotated and evenly represented. The next issue analyzed would be Wednesday, the following would fall on a Thursday and so on. If an issue was unavailable on the 13th day, I went to the following day and then went back again to the 26th issue from the original day. In all, about 1,200 issues were surveyed in this study.[3] This extremely large sample was necessary in order to insure an adequate sample of items on specific ethnic groups.

Code	Topics and Subtopics
100.	Housing and Settlement
	101. ...are overcrowded
	102. ...cause high rents or house prices to rise
	103. ...cause neighborhoods to go ethnic
	104. ...housing is restricted or are denied housing
	105. ...provide their own housing
	106. ...cannot find housing
	107. ...do not keep up their houses
	108. ...cause overcrowding
	109. Other
200.	Education
	201. ...cause schools to be overcrowded
	202. Canadian children held back by ... children
	203. Special educational provisions are required or have been established for ... children
	204. ...children in educational system are costing too much money to the taxpayer
	205. ...children are educationally disadvantaged compared to the Canadian child
	206. ...children make bad adjustment to Canadian schools
	207. ...children make good adjustment to Canadian schools
	208. ...are under-educated and lack western cultural knowledge (except regarding work)
	209. Support of foreign student
	210. Other
300.	Health and Welfare
	301. ...are a hazard to health
	302. ...health is poor
	303. ...health is good
	304. ...are a drain on social services
	305. ...are not a drain on social services
	306. ...are on welfare
	307. ...want health or welfare services
	308. ...do not pay their share of social services
	309. Other
	310. ...provide their own social services

400. Employment and Economic Activities

401. ...seek jobs
402. ...cause unemployment and take jobs
403. ...cause lower standard of living for Canadian workers (re. work)
404. ...are needed for the labor supply
405. ...work hard or are good workers
406. ...are poor workers or lazy ones; do not work hard or do not follow orders
407. ...are skilled workers
408. ...are unskilled (re. work)
409. Other (mostly trade, soliciting, tariffs, and markets)
410. ...are unemployed
411. ...are employed
412. ...are or will be driving Canadian establishments out of business
413. ...send their money out of the country
414. ...are frugal and do not spend much
415. ...own or are buying up property or businesses
416. ...patronize only their own businesses
417. ...employ each other
418. ...are a source of cheap labor (positive)
419. ...are in economic distress due to natural disaster

500. Numbers

501. ...are of a certain population size
502. ...are increasing in numbers
503. There are not enough ... here
504. ...birth rates are higher than general population
505. ...cause overpopulation in Canada
506. Too many ... will lead to trouble
509. Other

600. Advocation of Ethnic Restriction

601. ...should be barred from certain jobs and get less wages
602. ...should be denied social services
603. ...should be denied rights of citizenship (votes, etc.)
604. ...should not be allowed to use conveniences, businesses, etc.
605. ...should not be allowed to do things in ethnic ways
606. ...should not be allowed to compete with other businesses
607. ...should be barred from immigrating
608. ...should not be allowed to speak foreign languages
609. Keep Canada White

700. Ethnics Are Restricted
- 701. ...are barred from certain jobs; get less wages
- 702. ...are denied social services
- 703. ...are denied rights of citizenship
- 704. ...are not allowed to use white conveniences
- 705. ...are not allowed ethnic ways
- 706. ...cannot immigrate
- 707. Lack of information or knowledge restricts ...
- 709. Other

800. Ethnics Charge Restriction
- 801. ...claim that they are barred from jobs, housing, etc.
- 802. ...claim that they are barred from social services
- 803. ...claim that they are barred from Canadian social institutions
- 804. ...claim that they are barred from rights of citizenship
- 805. ...claim that they are not allowed ethnic ways
- 806. ...claim that they cannot immigrate
- 809. Other

900. Ethnic Relations
- 901. ...organizations try to better ethnic relations
- 902. ...relations are being mediated by an external force
- 903. ...have good relations with the police
- 904. ...have bad relations with the police
- 905. Relations between ... and the larger society are getting better
- 906. Relations between ... and the larger society are getting worse
- 907. Relations between larger society and ... are good
- 908. Relations between larger society and ... are bad
- 909. Other
- 910. ...are assimilating
- 911. ...have outside support
- 912. ...and another group united in action or concern
- 913. ...try to impose their ways on other parts of society
- 914. ...do not get along and exploit each other
- 915. ...are a threat to the Western World
- 916. Pro-American Investment or Pro-United States involvement
- 917. Anti-American Investment or Anti-United States involvement
- 918. ...bilingualism advocated

1000. Immigration

1001. There is too much immigration from ... currently
1002. ...are coming to the country in large numbers
1003. ...are entering illegally
1004. ...arrive or will arrive
1005. ... should be aided in immigration or are aided
1006. ...bring over their relations or would like to
1007. A ...is being deported
1008. ...are refused entry
1009. Other
1010. Canada goes to or should go to ...to solicit immigrants
1012. ... should stay in Canada rather than emigrate to U.S.
1013. ...bring money

1100. Legislation, Citizenship and Legal Business

1101. Politicians are acting or urge the restriction of ...
1102. Discussion of laws limiting ...behavior
1103. Discussion of laws protecting ...behavior
1104. ...are in the courts
1105. ...go to the government to protest
1106. ...make good citizens and contribute to the general good
1107. ...make bad citizens and do not contribute to the general good
1108. Discussion on parliamentary debates or government reports concerning immigration of ... to Canada
1109. Indian land claims
1110. Language bill discussions

1200. Violence, Hostility or Crime Against Ethnics

1201. ...are assaulted and harassed in a ethnic-related incident
1202. ... property is destroyed or vandalized in a ethnic-related incident
1203. ...property or person is the victim of crime
1204. ...should not do something or they will be met with force
1205. ...feel that they are isolated from others
1206. ...are dealt with harshly by government and police
1207. ...are dealt with leniently by government and police
1209. Other

1300. Violence, Hostility or Crime by Ethnics
- 1301. ...assault, harass or destroy persons or property in an ethnic incident
- 1302. ...assault, harass or fight each other or property in an ethnically-defined incident
- 1303. U.S.A. riots and demonstrations involving ...
- 1304. Demonstrations involving ...in Britain or in the British dominions
- 1305. ...meet an imposition with force
- 1306. ...are hostile to other Canadians
- 1307. ...are accused or suspected of crime
- 1308. ...cause crime to increase
- 1309. Other
- 1310. ...are violent
- 1311. ...is being given capital punishment for crime committed

1400. Cultural Differences
- 1401. ...have different housing customs
- 1402. ...have different eating customs and food
- 1403. ...have different morals
- 1404. ...have different religious beliefs and practices
- 1405. ...have different dress customs
- 1406. ...have different working practices
- 1407. ...differ in sanitation standards and health, different medical practices
- 1408. ...require special cultural provisions or are provided with them
- 1409. Other
- 1410. ...are unassimilatible
- 1411. ...stick together
- 1412. ...do not learn or use English or speak it badly
- 1413. ...humor
- 1414. ...have different concept of law
- 1415. ...are learning English
- 1416. ...are assimilatible
- 1417. Have home country loyalties
- 1418. Canadianness urged
- 1419. Have best cultural practices
- 1420. Multiculturalism

1500. Celebrities
- 1501. ...entertainers in news
- 1502. ...politicians in news
- 1503. ...social notables in news
- 1504. ...historical notables in news
- 1509. Other

1600. Sports
- 1601. Keep racial politics out of sports
- 1602. ...participate in sports
- 1603. ...and ethnic-related sports controversy
- 1604. A Canadian participates against ...
- 1609. Other
- 1610. Boycott because of South African particpation

1700. Ethnic Organizations, Organized Celebrations and Events
- 1701. ...celebrate ethnic festivals
- 1702. ...organizations take a role in the community
- 1703. ...celebrate national holidays
- 1704. ...organizations have sinister, suspicious activities
- 1705. ...organize concerts, plays
- 1706. Religious organizations want to help ...
- 1709. Other

1800. Normal News
- 1801. Human interest story on ...
- 1802. ...victims of accidents
- 1803. ...makes good
- 1804. ...commits suicide or dies
- 1809. Other
- 1810. Tourism

Table III. Topics and Subtopics Used in This Study

The issues used for the second newspaper analyzed during the same decade were exactly the same as for the first newspaper. Thus, during each of the first two decades, the same day's issue was analyzed for both newspapers. In this way, the newspapers were directly comparable with respect to the news that they selected to cover.

In each of the issues selected all news items were read to see if the heading or introduction suggested that 'ethnicity' had something to do with the event presented. If it did, the news item was then coded onto what I have called a 'Story Identification Schedule'. This schedule included all the categories of format and categories of content that have been used in this study. A codebook containing the coding categories and rules of application was constructed and consistently used throughout the study.

The general approach to the coding of a given newspaper item included several steps. First, before each session in which news items were read and classified, the codebook was studied to insure that the definitions of variables and categories were clearly fixed in mind. Each story was read through carefully from beginning to end in a single stretch. Classification of the material and the recording of it were made immediately after the story had been read. If any interruption occurred, the story was re-read before it was classified and coded. All coding was done by the author.

Because this study was primarily interested in ethnicity as news, certain types of items were not analyzed for their possible ethnic content; as it turned out, the low potential yield of these same sections also justified

their exclusion. In summary, news stories, editorials, letters to the editor, cartoons, and feature articles were considered, while items in the sports, business, women's pages, entertainment, and classified ad sections were not. The various Sunday supplementary sections were coded in those later years when they made their appearance.

While rules for coding each variable of this study were constructed a priori and consistently applied throughout the analysis, detailing them all here would involve such an extensive discussion as to be unjustified. Rather, I would like to outline a range of those considerations which a reader might wish to know in regard to how important categories were coded. Primarily these involve the coding of content--ethnicity, topics, subtopics, and themes.

Ethnicity

As mentioned earlier, each news item was read in each edition in the sample to see if the news item contained references to 'ethnicity'. A domestic story was classified as ethnically relevant only if it made overt reference to a person's ethnicity, race or nationality and only where such reference was considered or assumed by the story writer to be an actual aspect of the story. For instance, a hypothetical one line news item on immigration from China to Canada would have to read "19,000 Chinese come to Canada," rather than "19,000 persons from China arrive in Canada" to be coded. Only when a story mentioned ethnicity or nationality rather than a country was the story classified and coded. For that reason, "Joe Danyonovich, a Yugoslav, was convicted in court today" would have been

coded onto the schedule while "Joe Danyonovich, born in Yugoslavia" was not. These rules for inclusion and exclusion of a news item were selected so as to be as non-interpretive as possible.

While these criteria might seem to be quite conservative, deciding whether a news story classified as an ethnic one in fact presented rather few problems for the Canadian or American material. Some news items obviously bearing on ethnic relations in Canada were not coded because of the rule above, but they were relatively few. For instance, reports on episodes involving French Canada were not coded unless such news items contained specific mention of French Canadians or Quebecois. Alternatively, a news item on high crime rates and corruption in Quebec might have not been coded because it made no specific reference to French Canadians but <u>may</u> have included names of persons involved which were obviously French in origin. Even though the ethnicity of the actors might have been obvious to the Anglo reader, accepting such stories into the sample would have led to a methodological morass. If such stories based on inference had been recorded, one would have had to follow through on virtually all similar stories involving any name, including Anglo ones. A news item, therefore, specifically had to mention 'ethnicity' and no domestic story was recorded unless it did.

As already indicated, judging whether to classify a news story as an ethnic one presented far more problems with the foreign material. For instance, a news item covering negotiations or treaties between Germany

and England after the First World War might well have had bearing on the kinds of ethnic relations people in the respective countries would have and a good deal of the 'foreign' material in the press is of this nature. The decision was made however, that unless a news item made specific reference to types of people rather than nations--to 'Germans', 'Britons' or 'Englishmen' --the item would not be included. The same rule thus was used for foreign and domestic news items. All foreign news items had to specifically mention ethnicity or they did not meet the criteria of inclusion for this analysis. As mentioned, those foreign stories which were considered to be ambiguous were coded separately.

In coding ethnicity, the set of categories found in Table I were used to indicate which group was primarily involved.[4] As can be seen, the 68 possible ethnic groups are arranged in <u>hierachical</u> sets like the following one dealing with various Asian ethnicities:

30. Asian
31. Chinese
32. Japanese
33. East Indian, "Hindu"
34. Sikh, Punjabi
35. Ugandan Asian
36. Other East Indian
37. Other specific Asian ethnicity

This practice, which was also applied to topics and themes, allowed me to occasionally use "collapsed" categories such as "Asians" or "Immigration" to analyze patterns of coverage that extended to these more general domains.

In coding ethnicity another significant departure from Hartmann <u>et al</u>

was made to take into account the fact that in many news items more than one ethnicity was involved. Allowance was made for including up to three ethnic groups on the coding schedule. Because the content information coded in such a story was related only to one group (termed "primary ethnicity"), the inclusion of the other two (secondary and tertiary ethnicities), was largely done to the end of discovering what sorts of interethnic relations were dealt with by the press.

There were occasional difficulties in the judgment of these ethnic categories. Some news items gave similar emphasis to two or three ethnic categories. In such cases, I took as the primary group the one that was directly acting upon the other. For instance, if a story was on Israelis infiltrating or attacking Palestinian camps, the Israelis would be coded as the primary ethnicity since they were portrayed in the news item as being the initiators of the action.

Sex

The sex of the persons involved in the newspaper items was also coded. When the gender of persons could not be derived from the news item, an 'unspecified' category was utilized. Sex coding was included because I was interested in whether the world of ethnicity as covered by the press would emerge as being primarily male oriented or whether there would be some balance between male and female.

Topics, Subtopics, and Themes

Arriving at a final set of topics, subtopics, and themes took consider-

able effort. I first studied Hartmann et al's list of topics and themes and altered them to what I thought might better fit the Canadian context. With that list of topics in hand, I sampled each newspaper in the different periods to determine which frequently found topics and themes were excluded from my list. Since this study ranged over such a long span of time, various topics were used more heavily in some eras than others. For instance, the theme that "British Columbia should be a White Man's Country" was used frequently in the first period but in the last it was not. This changing panorama of concerns in part resulted in the final list being as extensive as it was. Once the list was tested for inclusiveness of its topics and themes it was used throughout the entire 72 years without alteration.

Because of the hierarchical ordering of topics and subtopics (see Table III), selection of a subtopic automatically selected a topic; for instance, coding 1007 (...is being deported) spontaneously selected the associated topic 1000 (Immigration).

As mentioned, each news item was coded in terms of one major topic and subtopic and additionally was coded for up to six themes. This brought up one problem that was completely analogous to that of selecting which group should be considered the primary ethnicity and in addition one more--that of category overlap. Topics were selected with an eye towards representing the central ethnic related aspect of the news item. If included in the headline (which were written out on the story identification

schedules) the particular attribute was normally selected as a topic. If not, an attempt was made to select that attribute or action which was most intimately connected with ethnicity in the text itself. Although the subsidiary themes were selected with an eye towards the first theme being more significant than the last one listed, this was an extremely subjective process and no claim is made for the priority of, say, a secondary theme over a tertiary one.

The second problem, that of category overlap, was dealt with in a different manner. It proved impossible to define a set of topics, subtopics, and themes such that no categories overlapped. For example, no matter how clearly the topics were distinguished an item dealing with discrimination in housing clearly overlaps two important spheres--discrimination and housing. In order to achieve consistency in such cases, a set of basic rules were created which assigned the most common of these overlap pairs to specific subtopics rather than others. These rules are presented in Appendix I.

A Summary of Coded Variables

I believe it would be useful to conclude this methodological discussion of the content analysis with the following summary of the variables considered in coding each news item:

Format

Newspaper: Vancouver Province
Vancouver Daily World
Vancouver Sun

Type of Coverage: News, local source
News, Canadian source
News, foreign source
Editorials
Letters to the editor
Cartoons
News, special features, etc.

Photograph: Yes or No

Headline: Width (in column inches)

Length: Length (in column inches)

Locality: British Columbia
Canada
Europe
Africa
Asia
Latin and Central America
Australia, New Zealand
Caribbean
United States

Date: Date in year, month, and day

Page: Page number (including a code for unnumbered supplement)

Content

(The Headline was written out in full but not coded)

Primary ethnicity: 68 possibilities

Secondary ethnicity: 68 possibilities

Tertiary ethnicity: 68 possibilities

Topic/Subtopic: 18/185 possibilities

First Theme: 185 possibilities
Second Theme: 185 possibilities
Third Theme: 185 possibilities
Fourth Theme: 185 possibilities
Fifth Theme: 185 possibilities
Sixth Theme: 185 possibilities

Sex: Male, Female, or Unspecified

Table IV. A Summary of Coded Variables

Data Manipulation

The first stage in dealing with the 4,000-odd items that were collected was to convert them into machine readable form. The variable values used in this study were a priori given arbitrary numerical values; these values were coded onto the story identification schedules. This information was in turn copied onto normal coding sheets, checked for accuracy, punched onto computer card, and checked once more.[5] Upon reaching this stage, the data was assembled into an SPSS (Nie, et al 1975) system file, placed on magnetic tape, and left unaltered for the duration of the computer analysis.

Because the data was almost exclusively nominal in nature, actual analysis was quite straightforward, and largely depended on simple frequency counts and cross-tabulations among the various variables, with the associated statistics. Use of the SPSS program allowed a rapid feedback between questions, results, and new questions and allowed the author a relatively simple means of manipulating this very large data set.

Making Sense of It All

As attractive as content analysis is to one attempting to quantify printed information it has several obvious limitations in addition to a few that are not so obvious. In the realm of the obvious, it is clear that in coding a given item an enormous amount of information is lost; that is in

part the inevitable cost of quantification. At the same time, it is not inevitable, having derived numbers from meaning, that one need end in the realm of numbers. The goal of this inquiry is to understand the nature of the process of press portrayal of ethnicity in a way that might be meaningful to those interested in both ethnicity and the mass media. Consequently, I have attempted to contextualize my quantified data historically and sociologically, and I have not felt constrained to generate my analysis on the basis of quantified data alone. Having attempted a goal of general understanding of ethnicity in the Vancouver press, I did not wish to fall into one of the pitfalls of extreme data quantification--narrow scientism; neither do I wish to be judged by its criteria of validity.

The next chapter provides an important aspect of the historical and sociological setting--a chronological history of the press in British Columbia.

Chapter One: Notes

1. The methodological and empirical aspects of the study have been included in Appendix III.

2. The main source of the material covered in this study was the newspaper archives of Simon Fraser University. When newspaper issues from the SFU collection were lost or missing, the University of British Columbia library was then utilized.

3. The first period, 1905-14, was concluded at the end of July, 1914. The First World War broke out at the beginning of August, 1914, and the material thereafter was of a markedly different character than what went before. There are therefore 10 issues of both newspapers which were not covered in 1914. In all other years, 24 issues have been covered yearly with the exception of the months February 15, 1970 to May 15, 1970 during which the Sun was on strike.

4. This set of categories (as well as the others in this study) was generated in a pilot run.

5. I would like to extend my gratitude to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Simon Fraser University in advancing funds to have this data punched and to make the numerous computer runs associated with it.

Chapter Two: The Press in Metropolitan British Columbia

The metropolitan press has been an integral part of British Columbia society from the earliest days. In part, the newspapers have adapted and changed as the province has evolved, reflecting the issues and concerns of the times. They have also had a powerful role in shaping those issues. In addition to its ability to select and define what is news and what is not, the British Columbia metropolitan press has played an ongoing role in the political arena, both as a spokesman for particular interests and points of view and as a source of personnel for political office. The newspapers were also intimately tied up with the economic development of British Columbia.

Entrepreneurship and Ambition: 1858-1919

The basic patterns which relate the press to its many publics were well developed long before the rise of Vancouver. The British Columbia press had its origins in Victoria, and so profoundly did the Victoria newspaper tradition affect that which was subsequently developed in Vancouver that one must realistically begin with the former.

Prior to the Fraser River Gold rush of 1858, Victoria (and indeed, the whole Colony of Vancouver Island) was an extremely marginal part of the British Empire. In 1856 there were fewer than 450 Europeans in the whole of Vancouver Island (Griffin 1958). The Hudson's Bay Company was still fighting a rear-guard action to maintain its dominance over the weakly developed resource economy of the Colony. There was still no political

structure separate from that of the Company. Colonists had no political representation whatsoever. The discovery of gold on the Fraser River transformed the economic, societal, and political organization of the Colony almost overnight. While the gold rush itself was on the mainland, Victoria became the local metropole for the gold fields in a way analogous to San Francisco's role in the California gold rush. Thousands of individuals with millions of dollars came to cash in on the real gold rush--the rush to provide goods and services to the mining industry and the sharply increasing number of settlers. With exactly these thoughts in mind came the entrepreneurs who were to initiate Victoria's first newspapers.

Three newspapers made their appearance in 1858. Kesterton (1967) claims that the first of these was the Victoria Gazette and Anglo American, which began publication on June 25, 1858. Subsequently Le Courier de la Neuvelle Caledonie (September 11th) and the British Colonist (December 11th) made their appearance. The first two of these newspapers were to die very quickly, but the Colonist continues to play a prominent role in Victoria today. The Gazette was founded by H. C. Williston and C. Bartlett, both of whom were previously journalists in San Francisco (Kesterton 1967). The paper was printed by A. Whitton and J. Towne, who were also recently arrived Californians.

As its name suggests, the Gazette and Anglo American attempted to reconcile itself to two very different publics--the "old guard" elite of the Hudson's Bay era and the thousands of Americans, eastern Canadians, and

British immigrants who were streaming into the Colony. Williston and Bartlett chose to align the paper with the interests of Governor James Douglas and it was their undoing. Douglas was a carry over from the past. He was autocratic, anti-American, and he had little sympathy for working class people, be they Americans or otherwise. It is not surprising that the Gazette never gained a large readership, and the paper folded in June of the following year.

Le Courier was edited by Modeste Demers, the Catholic bishop of Vancouver Island (Kesterton 1967). It was published in French, and thus served a very small clientele. Le Courier lasted only a few issues before it passed out of existence.

In retrospect, the press tradition in British Columbia really began with the birth of the British Colonist. Still a viable paper, it is presently the oldest ongoing newspaper publication in North America west of the Great Lakes (Goodschild 1951:195). It was started by Amour de Cosmos (Woodcock 1975; Wild 1958). Born William Smith in Nova Scotia, Amour de Cosmos made his way to California and from there arrived in Victoria in 1858.

De Cosmos made the Colonist a financial success by carefully managing the paper's presentation in the light of the prevailing political climate of Victoria. He correctly perceived that his largest potential market were the thousands of new immigrants and that support of Douglas would be suicidal. Instead, he made the Colonist appear to be a "people's paper." Through the

Colonist de Cosmos bitterly attacked Douglas in the name of "responsible government" and the union of Vancouver Island with British Columbia. De Cosmos was one of Victoria's earliest and most vocal "free enterprisers," which is to say that both he and his paper gave powerful ideological support to local businessmen at the expense of other interest groups.

Moreover, de Cosmos used the Colonist as a direct means to further his own political advancement. In 1860, de Cosmos ran against two Douglas supporters for the Victoria constituency. Aided by the support of his own paper he won, and thus began a political career which was to lead to the premiership of British Columbia and into federal politics. While de Cosmos sold his interest in the Colonist in the mid-1860's this did not end his involvement with the press.

From 1867 to Confederation de Cosmos was a member of the provincial legislative council (Robin 1972:274). Thereafter, he was an important opposition leader during the short-lived McCreight ministry; so also was J. Robson--another early newspaper figure to whom I will turn shortly. McCreight's government was an unpopular one, due in no small measure to virulent attacks by de Cosmos in his new Victoria Standard, and de Cosmos became the second premier of British Columbia. He was simultaneously premier, legislative representative for Victoria, and a federal member of Parliament. When joint provincial-federal office holding was made illegal in 1873 de Cosmos chose to remain in federal politics and gave the premiership over to G. A. Walkem. De Cosmos remained a

powerful political voice in British Columbia. He was a virulent anti-orientalist and gave heavy support to a railroad for British Columbia. The Standard, which lasted about twenty years, kept closely to the same orientation as its founder. It continued to give Walkem and de Cosmos consistently good press, and never mentioned the frequent exposés of de Cosmos' involvement in graft and questionable real estate speculations. De Cosmos' original creation, the Colonist, passed into the control of J. S. H. Matson in 1906, by which time the Colonist was a solidly Conservative newspaper.

De Cosmos was only the first in a long line of individuals who used the press as a stepping stone for political office. Another early figure to follow this route to fame and fortune was John Robson, who founded the Columbian in New Westminster in 1860. The Mainland population was still too sparce to financially support such a paper, but while it lasted the Columbian was an important platform for Robson's political opinions. Robson himself became a very visible figure in the provincial legislature. He moved the Columbian to Victoria in the mid-1860's, where it was bought out by the Colonist in 1869. Robson became the Colonist's editor. He was later Provincial Secretary and Minister of Finance under A. Davie (1887-9) and subsequently became premier, a position he held until his death in 1892. Both editorially and in his own personal politics Robson was sympathetic to business and antithetical to labor.

The 1870's were slow times for the British Columbia economy, and it

was likewise an era when there were relatively few attempts to further develop the newspaper industry. In 1870-71 there were only about 10,000 Europeans in the whole of the province, and because of the extreme dependence of the economy on primary resources and agriculture, many of these individuals lived away from the towns and were therefore not potential consumers of newspapers. Whereas even a town as isolated as Barkerville could support a newspaper in 1864 (The Cariboo Sentinel, see Goodchild 1951:109), money was extremely tight in the 1870's for the producers and consumers of newspapers alike.

There were nevertheless several attempts to establish a newspaper in New Westminster during the 1860's and early 1870's. Robson's Columbian has already been mentioned. The New Westminster Times was started in the same year as the Columbian (1860), but two years later financial consideration forced it to move to Victoria, where it became the Chronicle. Like the Columbian, it was bought out by the Colonist (1866). A more successful try was made by James K. Suter in 1869. Suter had worked at the Colonist until Robson was hired as editor. Convinced that his demise at the Colonist was the work of Robson, both he and his Mainland Guardian were to maintain a vigorous feud with Robson for many years. This intensified when Robson opened the Pacific Herald in New Westminster in 1882. Even when Robson became a cabinet minister he continued to own the paper and ran it through his brother (Lamb 1945:129). Competition between the Guardian and the Herald was personal and intense.

Until 1880, New Westminster was the metropole for the Lower Mainland area, but this was clearly to change with the completion of the CPR. Everyone knew that the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railroad would provide the impetus for the growth of a substantial city. Real estate fever dominated the area, and businessmen rushed to secure a foothold where they believed the terminus would be located. Early thinking was that the terminus would be at Port Moody. The Moodyville Tickler was appropriately begun in 1878 by W. R. Colbeck. It did not live out the year. Like the more substantial Port Moody Gazette (1883-1887) financed by James Suter, the Tickler is only of historical interest, for the terminus was to be Vancouver.

Three papers were established in the new city in 1886, the Weekly Herald and North Pacific News, the Advertiser, and the News. All three were burnt out by the great fire of the same year and all three came back. The Herald was begun by William Brown, who had previously published the Walkerton Herald in Bruce County, Ontario (Lamb 1942:2). Put into financial straits by the fire, Brown nevertheless changed the Herald from a weekly to a daily in 1887 but was forced to fold in the same year.

The Vancouver Daily Advertiser was a much more substantially financed proposition. Owned by John Hay and edited by William MacDougall, it was from the first designed to be a high volume, low cost daily paper (Lamb 1942:6; Lamb 1945:181). Originally an afternoon paper, it quickly switched to compete directly with its major competitor, the Vancouver News.

The News was owned by N. Harkin and J. Ross, and like the Advertiser began as a fairly large scale endeavor. Nevertheless, having two papers (the Advertiser and the News) in such a small city was unrealistic, and both were soon heavily in debt.

In 1887 they were both bought out by Francis Carter-Cotton and were amalgamated as the News-Advertiser. Carter-Cotton had substantial financial help from R. Gordon. He also had high political ambitions, and like Robson and de Cosmos before him used his newspaper to further them. British born and largely ignorant of Canada or its traditions, Carter-Cotton was an ardent Conservative whose influence was soon felt in Vancouver and Victoria (Lamb 1945:193). The News-Advertiser was quickly expanded and Carter-Cotton did everything he could to establish the paper as a monopoly in Vancouver, down to securing exclusive access to telegraph news from the rest of Canada in the Lower Mainland (Lamb 1942: 23); this telegraphic monopoly hurt the World badly (Lamb 1945:196). Carter-Cotton was well rewarded for his support of Conservative causes, and became Minister of Finance and Agriculture under C. A. Semlin (1898-1900), Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works (1899-1900), and the first Chancellor of the University of British Columbia. Later, he became President of the Board of Trade (1913) and Chairman of the Harbor Commission (1913). Save for a very brief period, he was in the provincial legislature continuously for twenty six years. Carter-Cotton was a powerful man, so much so that he was able to be instrumental in having Joseph

Martin (later premier) removed from the Semlin Cabinet.

Although his paper was a powerful force in local affairs, Carter-Cotton was unable to secure a press monopoly. In 1890 the News-Advertiser's constant attacks led Mayor Oppenheimer and others to begin the unsuccessful Daily Telegraph. Two years before, J. C. McLagan opened the Vancouver Daily World. McLagan had earlier begun the Victoria Times (1884) as an overtly pro-Liberal palliative to the Conservative stance of the Colonist. McLagan's World was likewise a supporter of the Liberals. Between 1888 and 1898 the News-Advertiser and the World engaged in a complex interplay in their respective presentations of the news which closely paralleled the relationship between the Victoria Colonist and the Times. The editorial writers of the World consistently attacked the Conservatives and Carter-Cotton personally, while the editorials of the News-Advertiser reacted similarly to the Liberals. In both instances, what was news was severely managed in the light of the political sympathies of the owners.

It should be noted that this competition did not occur in a vacuum. As readers, the whole of Vancouver participated in it as well. In a city of only 13,683 people (1891), the News-Advertiser claimed a circulation of 2,000 while the World's was 3,500 and the Telegraph's was 750; a production of 6,250 daily newspapers in all (Lamb 1945:192).

In 1898 the News-Advertiser and the World were joined by a third newspaper, the Vancouver Province. In actuality, the Province was begun

in 1894 as a Victoria based weekly by Hewitt Bostock, an affluent, British-born lawyer with high political aspirations. Bostock was himself a Liberal, and used the wide-ranging weekly Province to help get elected in the Yale-Cariboo riding in 1896. He was the only Liberal elected outside of Victoria. Bostock was later appointed to the Senate by Laurier and subsequently became Senate speaker (Robin 1972:272).

Bostock eventually sold his interest in the Province to W. C. Nichol, who completely changed the character of the newspaper. Nichol was one of the first owner-editors of a major British Columbian newspaper to have extensive experience in the newspaper business. Before coming to Vancouver, Nichol had worked for newspapers in Toronto, London, and Hamilton, and had been one of the founders of Saturday Night. Upon securing the Province he played well the already traditional role of the British Columbia newspaper owner. He was vitriolic and absolutely unrestrained in his personal attacks against his enemies. One of the first and foremost of what would eventually be a long line of victims was McLagan (and the World). At that time it was widely known that McLagan entertained hopes of receiving a senate seat from Laurier as a pay-off for the World's support of Liberal causes in British Columbia. In fact, the position went to William Templeman, the editor of the Victoria Times. Thereafter, in his attacks on McLagan Nichol consistently addressed him as "Senator;" these were of course more than personal rivalries, for Nichol was at least as ardent a Conservative as McLagan was a Liberal. Similarly, Nichol addressed the

Victoria Colonist as the "Daily Dunsmuir," and was so defamatory in attacks on Premier J. H. Turner that the latter instigated a libel suit against Nichol (McGregor 1946:100).

Nichol was also closely allied with big business. After the Province moved to Vancouver and became a daily (1898) Bostock became increasingly detached from concerns of the newspaper, thus opening the way for Nichol to buy him out. In 1901 Nichol arranged a deal with Thomas Shaughnessy of the Canadian Pacific Railway whereby the Royal Trust Company would advance funds to Nichol sufficient for him to purchase the Province (McGregor 1946:105). It was especially after Nichol became sole owner of the Province that his true colors really came out. Well financed, technically innovative and aggressive, the Province soon became the number one paper in Vancouver.

Part of this rise in popularity was the result of weaknesses in the two competing papers. In 1901 McLagan of the World died, leaving the paper temporarily without direction. It was eventually put back on track by his widow, who ran the World until it was bought by L. D. Taylor in 1905; the World nevertheless lost ground to the Province in the intervening years. The News-Advertiser's chief problem was rather the reverse--that Carter-Cotton refused to die. Carter-Cotton's continuing influence made the News-Advertiser an archaic paper, locked into a nineteenth century idea of what was news. Patronage from Conservatives in government was one of the principle things keeping the News-Advertiser alive at the turn of the century

and it was not to last.

With the takeover of the World by L. D. Taylor the competition between the Province and the World escalated sharply, so much so that the World unsuccessfully sued the Province for libel in 1907. L. D. Taylor was a Liberal and, like so many other newspaper owners, he had a good deal of political ambition.[1] In 1910 Taylor ran for the mayor of Vancouver, despite advice that "the man who controls a Vancouver newspaper of good circulation has more influence than any mayor--even more than the premier" (McGregor 1946:116). Taylor won, and was to serve on and off as mayor of Vancouver for a total of eleven years. He continued to control the World until selling the paper to John Nelson in 1917. The World continued to be too weak financially to compete well with the Province.

In 1910 Carter-Cotton finally sold the News-Advertiser to J. S. H. Matson, who already controlled the Victoria Colonist and the Nanaimo Herald. The News-Advertiser thereafter quickly conformed to Matson's Conservative tendencies. John Nelson, late of the Victoria Times, was appointed manager. The News-Advertiser suffered badly from a loss of patronage when the Conservatives were routed from office (1916). The provincial Conservatives had earlier directed their advertising and printing almost exclusively to Conservative papers, as in 1913-1914, when $81,898 out of $87,191 in government printing funds went to Conservative supporters (Lamb 1942:125).

Several new newspapers came on the scene at this time. In 1907,

Joseph Martin attempted to reverse the standard progression from newspaper owner to politician but failed. Martin had been a force in provincial politics for some time (and an enemy of Carter-Cotton) and opened the Morning Guardian in the hopes of returning to the fray. It only lasted a few years. Far more significant was the rise of the new weekly British Columbia Saturday Sunset. Owned and run by John McConnell, the Saturday Sunset was an unabashed western copy of Saturday Night (McGregor 1946:122). McConnell was a staunch Liberal, who used the Saturday Sunset to campaign for a "White Canada," and to attack Lt. Governor Dunsmuir and the McBride Government. He frequently charged the Province with being a tool of the CPR.

McConnell's eventual success as a newspaper owner was decided in part by the political failures of others. In the 1911 federal election the Liberals were virtually wiped out in British Columbia; the Conservatives triumphed everywhere. In reviewing the disaster, party minions concluded that their inability to hold onto British Columbia in large part lay with their lack of sufficient newspaper support (McGregor 1946:123). Consequently, in 1912 when the Saturday Sunset metamorphosed into the daily Vancouver Sun it did so with substantial Liberal party financial support. It was able to start out immediately as a full blown competitor to the Province and the ailing News-Advertiser.

Under the management of F. C. Wade, who had previously been a Liberal member of the legislature (Robin 1972:157-164), the Sun vigorously

attacked the incumbent Bowser government, and was figured to have been instrumental in installing Harlan Brewster and the Liberals in 1916 (McGregor 1946:127). So energetic was the electioneering fight between the various papers that Wade was in debt over $30,000 by its conclusion. He was subsequently rewarded by being given the post of agent-general for British Columbia in London.

At that point the Sun passed over to R. J. Crombie. Crombie's takeover of the Sun was made possible by the financial backing of Colonel J. W. Stewart, a railway contractor who had secured enormously profitable contracts for work on the Canadian National Railway and the Pacific Great Eastern Railway. Stewart's firm (Foley, Welch, Stewart, and Mann) was a heavy supporter of Premier Richard McBride, who compensated them handsomely. An attempt on the part of McBride to secure a government loan of five million dollars to the financially over-extended firm contributed to the premier's demise. Stewart's support of the Liberal Sun was an adroit political move, considering the rise of the Liberals in British Columbian politics. Not surprisingly, Crombie's basic editorial position diverged from that of the federal Liberals in that a "pro-West" theme frequently predominated. Pro-West frequently translated into a plea for greater provincial political and social autonomy, especially vis a vis railway building.

In 1917 Crombie was in such an economically successful position that he was able to buy out the News-Advertiser. He promptly killed the paper

and transferred its subscription list over to the Sun. This move left Vancouver with three newspapers, the overtly Liberal Sun, the Conservative Province, and the World. While the World's editor John Nelson was to leave the World to flirt with the People's Prohibition Movement and the Provincial party, the World for the most part remained sympathetic to the Liberals through the ensuing years.

The Interwar Years

In the period between the two World Wars the press very slowly changed its character. As their capitalization increased, the newspapers became more like corporate businesses and less obviously like devices for the individual ends of owners. In order to protect themselves from the vagarities of the political arena, the papers also tended to become less active in their editorial support of specifically political positions, and began to take on the guise of being apolitical--of being "neutral watchdogs of the public's interests." The press's actual political involvement nevertheless continued to be significant through the era.

Corporate consolidation of the Vancouver press began quite soon after the First World War. In 1921, John Nelson sold the World to Charles Campbell, who was later to become secretary of the provincial Liberal organizing committee. In a stinging attack of the takeover, the Sun claimed that an earlier suspicious sale by Campbell of a warehouse to the provincial liquor control board had allowed Campbell to buy out the World; they were probably not very far wrong. In 1924 Campbell sold the World to Crombie

of the Sun, who promptly shut it down. Campbell quickly returned to the newspaper business by starting the new Evening Star. He soon sold out to Victor Odlum, a prominent Liberal. The Star was to continue on until 1932, when it died a victim of the Great Depression.

In 1920 W. C. Nichol was appointed Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia. Three years later he sold out his interest in the Province to William Southam and Sons, Ltd. which was then an eastern corporate chain of five newspapers. The Southam Corporation continues to own the Province today.

In essence, there were two major newspapers in Vancouver during the late twenties and thirties--the Province and the Sun. Both continued to be competitive with each other, and diverged editorially on a number of issues. During the Tolmie years (1928-1933), the Province supported the Conservative premier. Still under the control of Crombie, the Sun often attacked both the Province and Tolmie venomously:

> What is wrong with the Province newspaper as everyone in British Columbia knows is that it has gagged on that delectable diet of political tripe known as the Tolmie government.
>
> (June 27, 1932 in Ormsby 1958:447)

Thomas Pattulo (Liberal 1933-1941) was correspondingly villified by the Province (Ormsby 1958:455-6). Pattulo was not one to take such attacks lying down and once retorted that " the Province exhibits a spleen and venom which a self reflecting newspaper should avoid" (Robin 1973:19).

Even the Sun's owner-editor and one time friend frequently gave Pattulo a difficult time. Pattulo replied once that:

> Its brief owner is given to fads and fancies and suffers from mental dispepsia. He takes a hop, step, and jump around the world, picks up a lot of neurotic ideas and exploits them through the media of his newspaper in terms of finality which are evidently designed to create an impression of great profundity.
>
> (Robin 1973:19)

The Pattulo regime gave the Sun editors a difficult time. They loathed the Province, and hence tended towards the opposite side of any issue that the Province supported. In an overall sense this tendency conformed to their Liberal sympathies. At the same time, the Sun often found it impossible to support Pattulo. Hence, it was considerably less politically consistent than the Province, whose support of the Conservatives coincided nicely with a decided lack of sympathy for Pattulo.

During the 1930's the CCF began a long climb to prominence in British Columbia. They did so virtually without the support of the major metropolitan newspapers. In Vancouver, the Province was vehemently against the CCF, and constantly associated it and its supporters with Communism, anarchy, and labor. The Sun was more flexible, and often supported CCF candidates or CCF ideas on what the paper saw as their individual merits. Still, it never supported the CCF party or philosophy. The Sun's sensitivity to the 'big story' insured that as an opposition party the CCF was not able to easily use the newspaper as a vehicle to spread its

ideas. From the 1930's to the present, neither the Province nor the Sun have supported the CCF or the NDP in a provincial election. Both papers supported the formation of a coalition wartime government excluding the CCF.

As mentioned, a combination of the depressed economic conditions of the 1930's and the increasing capitalization required in the newspaper business were severe constraints on anyone wishing to establish another newspaper in Vancouver. The only attempt which was successful in the short run was the News Herald, which rose out of the ashes of the Star in 1935. The News Herald was established as a joint stock company managed, edited, and partially owned by individuals who had previously worked for the Star. It never had the financial clout to become a full competitor with the Sun and the Province, but through careful management and economizing was able to survive as an independent paper until 1951.

During the 1930's there were many areas of a less specifically political nature in which the Province's and Sun's position or type of presentation were very close to the same. In one respect, these similarities rose directly from the fact that the format and the placement and arrangement of news in the Vancouver papers stabilized in the interwar years. Both papers developed approximately the same departmental divisions, located about the same place in the paper. Both attempted to increase the impact of the paper and its attractiveness to potential buyers by making the presentation of news more dramatic. Headline size increased, as did the number of photographs

accompanying news items. The rise of specific sections of the paper to do with business, sports, and the like allowed both papers to significantly increase the density of spectacular and confrontational stories in the first section of the paper. Simultaneously, both papers were able to get "pre-packaged" news items about events in other parts of Canada and the world through the news agencies more cheaply than ever before. To a marked extent this informational dependency began to destroy the uniqueness of the individual papers. Slowly the presentation of news and even the style in which it was presented became dependent on people and processes outside of the control of a local press.

The two papers also came together on a range of local issues and perspectives. Both maintained one important press tradition from the past--British Columbian boosterism. On many important social issues of the era before World War I the press had found itself on the other side of Ottawa, and in many respects this tended to develop in the press a specifically Western (or rather Pacific Western) outlook. Regardless of the graft and influence peddling surrounding the construction of the railroads at all levels of government, the federal government was more restrained than most, and often looked askance at the various railroad building schemes in British Columbia. Virtually always, early papers supported the provincial cause. Likewise, the early press tended to support provincial interests in the fight to terminate Asian immigration.

These issues subsided in the interwar years. The railways were built

and Asian immigration had virtually ceased. Nevertheless the Province and the Sun tended to continue to sing the praises of British Columbia in the hopes that doing so would attract capital and tourists to British Columbia. Both papers also maintained a (fairly realistic) stance that Ottawa saw British Columbia as a satellite hinterland. This strain of thought had always been an integral part of the Vancouver newspapers, but in the inter-war years it was less affected by the political stripe of those in power in the nation's capital. In earlier days the local papers tended to express a much greater allegiance to federal political parties and they would often mute their cries of eastern domination accordingly whenever a party of their particular persuasion reigned in Ottawa.

In short, several convergent forces were moving the newspapers towards each other with the consequence that the newspaper press exhibited less and less of a diversity of views. A near monopoly of news in print was not far away.

The Post-War Era: Consolidation to Business as Usual

In 1946 a long and bitter strike of the typographer's union at the Province severely weakened the paper's competitive position with respect to the Sun (Nichol 1970:205). The Province was in any case a morning newspaper, and as such was already beginning to feel the effects of a nationwide shift among readers towards evening papers. From the early 1950's on the Sun has been the preeminent Vancouver newspaper. In 1951 the Sun Publishing Co. was able to buy out the floundering News Herald, but quickly

(1952) sold the paper to the Thompson newspaper chain when it found that the paper could not easily be turned around.

The early 1950's also saw more changes in the political orientations of the Province and the Sun. W. A. C. Bennett was designated premier in 1953, with the CCF becoming the official opposition. Both the Liberal and Conservative parties were badly mauled. Of the two papers, the Province's reaction was more interesting. Bennett and his 1953 cabinet members were political and geographical outsiders. They were not from the traditional metropolitan establishment, and philosophically they diverged sharply from past traditions. One would have expected a cold reception from both Vancouver newspapers, but this was not to be the case. Barring an occasional editorial attack on the Bennett government's political and financial indiscretions, the Province usually approved of Bennett as an advocate of small government, a balanced budget and business development. This quick alignment with Bennett shows that in reality the Province had earlier ceased to be a Conservative paper in the traditional meaning of the world. Rather, it had become conservative in the small-c sense that has become typical across North America. Like Bennett's, the conservativism of the Province had become non-reflective and non-philosophical.

The Sun was less kind to Bennett. From the earliest days of his administration the Sun sniped at Bennett's government but it primarily attacked specific actions and activities rather than the government's performance as a whole. In 1956, the Sun continually mocked Bennett's "debt

reduction scheme" through which the premier purported to have eliminated most of the province's outstanding debt. Between 1956 and 1958 the Sun continually broiled Highways Minister P. Gaglardi, and Minister of Lands, Forests, and Mines, Robert Sommers for alleged graft. Somers was moved to charge that the Sun's coverage of him was "the most dirty and slanted in the history of British Columbia"(Robin 1973:199).

Throughout the late 1950's the positions of the Sun and the Province remained much as they were. The Province supported the Socreds in the elections of 1956 and 1960, while the Sun still attempted to advocate a Liberal government--which was then a political impossibility (Robin 1973: 219). Similarly, the Province was much more supportive of Bennett's infamous dealings with Axel Wenner-Gren than the Sun.

These differences were not so substantial as to keep the Sun and Province from initiating a joint business venture which they continue today. When the News Herald finally folded in 1957 the printing plant was bought by Pacific Press Ltd., a company owned jointly by Sun Publishing Co. and Southam Press Ltd., controlling owners of the Province. The Sun and Province were subsequently printed at the same facility by Pacific Press, even though their editorial and reporting staffs remained distinct. No longer were their interests strictly separate.

Throughout the 1960's the Province and the Sun continued to hold a monopoly on the news in Vancouver. There was only one attempt to found a newspaper in the post-war era. General Victor Odlum's Vancouver Times

quickly went under (Nichol 1970:205).

Not surprisingly, neither paper had much incentive to substantially change its approach to the news, for in essence the Sun and the Province did not really compete with each other. The Province depended heavily upon morning news stand sales, while the Sun reigned supreme in home subscriptions. Whether by accident or design, both papers began to arrange their respective front page headlines to address different stories or minimally, different aspects of the same story. As the Bennett government's affairs became more problematic the two papers even came closer together in their editorial positions; this was so much so that during the 1963 provincial election Bennett attacked the Province as a tool of the Southams and hence, of the Eastern establishment (Robin 1973:245). The Province nevertheless supported Bennett in the subsequent election of 1966.

By 1970, the corporate character of the Vancouver press was completely entrenched. For some time the Province and the Sun had been jointly printed by Pacific Press, and the Southam organization had controlled the Province for almost fifty years. The last chapter of this slow process of consolidation was begun when F. P. Publications acquired controlling interest in Sun Publishing Company and hence became the owners of the Vancouver Sun. By 1976, F. P. Publications had acquired the great majority of the outstanding minority shares of Sun Publishing Co.

This process of consolidation has also gone on in the rest of Canada, so much so that a Special Senate Committee on the Mass Media was estab-

lished in the 1960's to investigate the growth of news monopoly. Its series of sophisticated reports (1970) confirmed the trend in bold terms. As it noted in the Introduction to its first report:

> Seventy years ago there were thirty-five Canadian communities with two or more daily newspapers; today there are only fifteen--and in five of these cities, the two dailies are published by the same owner. Of Canada's eleven largest cities, chains enjoy monopolies in seven. The three biggest newspaper chains--Thomson, Southam, and F. P.--today control 44.7 per cent of the circulation of all Canadian daily newspapers; a dozen years ago, the total was only 25 per cent.
>
> (Davey 1970:5)

Both F.P. Publications and Southam now totally control the production of the printed news in Vancouver. In addition, F.P. Publications owns both of the Victoria dailies--the Times and the Colonist. Taken together, in 1970 F.P. and Southam newspapers in British Columbia had a daily circulation of about 450,000-367,000 of which were represented by the output of the Province (111,000) and the Sun (256,000).

The Press and British Columbia

The press has played many roles in its 120 year history in British Columbia. It was always a force with which to be reckoned and was always more than a purveyor of facts. The newspapers have never simply reflected British Columbia life. Taken to its extreme, this is of course an impossibility; any medium, any method of recording information about human activity of necessity abstracts certain discrete elements of a continuous

whole. This selection leads to loss of information. There can be no perfect communication medium.

Moreover, the demands of time and format place severe constraints on the daily newspaper press' ability to accurately portray the world. Today's news today must be squeezed into a box which is typically two and a half inches wide by ten inches long; many aspects of reality are not particularly amenable to such compaction.

Granting all this, the newspapers are still theoretically capable of something one might call objectivity--if objectivity is sharply distinguished from reality. Objectivity in this context would refer to the ability of press personnel to maximize the degree to which their product does reflect reality despite the powerful constraints under which they work. Objectivity is achieved by relevant abstraction of the key elements of events, independent of personal bias.

By these criteria the British Columbia press has never done a particularly good job of presenting the news. Paradoxically, for much of its history the press has been too involved with societal affairs to report them in an objective fashion. Often this lack of objectivity has been by design. For a long time what was news in the British Columbia papers was overtly managed in the light of the political orientation of the owners. Until the period between the World Wars the newspapers of British Columbia were almost exclusively run by owner-editors, who exercised ongoing control over what appeared in their newspapers. This control extended far beyond

editorial opinion and in many instances whether a particular event made the papers or not was decided upon exclusively on political and personal considerations.

The newspapers were frequently oriented towards a particular political party, and as such tended to reflect interests and philosophies which were considerably more general than those of their owners. The polarization of the various newspapers (and the news which they contained) frequently reflected a larger polarization of Conservative and Liberal. This was particularly so in the earlier years. Conservative papers frequently looked towards the British roots of Anglo Canada for guidance. They tended to defend the continuing relationship between Canada and the British Empire, and saw "Canadians" as identical with "Anglo Canadians."[2] Conservative papers tended to be less flexible with regard to change and more critical of differences in culture and behavior than Liberal ones.

For their part the Liberal papers did more than simply support the Liberal party. Just like their Conservative counterparts they tended to develop a particular view of the world which was reflected in their news. Liberal papers were much more oriented towards a specifically Canadian identity than were Conservative ones, and tended to sense a greater commonality with Americans than did Conservative papers.

Still, a great deal of the conflict and difference of opinion between competing papers did not spring from such philosophical considerations. Rather, they reflected several factors, not the least of which was the fact

that the earlier papers were direct competitors for readers. The newspaper business was for a long time a rather unstable one where papers and owners came and went. Readers were finite and fickle.

Moreover, the personal control which owner-editors had over their newspapers further exacerbated this competition. Rarely did these individuals become owners of newspapers solely for the financial rewards which came to a successful newspaper. Newspaper ownership conferred instant status and respectability. It also gave owners a public exposure which was rather easily converted into more tangible gain. Almost without exception, every owner of a major British Columbia newspaper before 1930 not only aspired to political office but actually succeeded in turning those aspirations into reality. De Cosmos and Robson became premiers. Carter-Cotton was in the provincial cabinet; Nichol became Lieutenant Governor. Owners had this added incentive to make their newspapers attract attention and they did everything they could towards this end, including managing the news.

This personal aspect to the generation of news slowly was eliminated as the newspapers evolved into corporate businesses, but while it lasted it was responsible for a good deal of the apparent confrontation between one paper and another. Vitriolic attacks on each other and upon those in government were also attacks against their political competition--against those who either held or aspired to the same positions as they.

There were nevertheless a great number of commonalities in the way that the various newspapers portrayed events. The formal constraints of

producing the news were always much the same for all. Moreover, the rule of thumb for what was and was not news also tended to be much the same, at least with respect to a particular era. The newspapers have always been sensitive to the unusual, and hence deviations from everyday life rather than everyday life itself have always dominated the news.

Other commonalities sprung from the context of British Columbia. Almost by definition, people who have had the financial and political power to own and operate newspapers have not been representative of British Columbian society at large. For the most part the British Columbia press has been dominated by representatives of the upper-middle class. The daily press was never the preserve of the working population--at least not at the levels where control is exercised. Moreover, <u>without exception</u> all of the owners and editors of Vancouver's newspapers up to the 1960's have been of Anglo origin; a great many of them were either British, Scottish, or Anglo-Canadians from Central Canada.

The papers owned and edited by these men primarily reflected the interests of business and the well-to-do. Through the history of British Columbia the newspapers have continually spoken out for increased incentives to business. Earlier they cried out for federal subsidies for more railroads; later they entertained great hopes for a trade with the Orient. They were always suspicious of Ottawa.

The middle class orientation of the newspaper press was also evident in its lack of support for labor. With the exception of such 'no win' issues as

oriental immigration, the press rarely supported the position of working people. Unions got very bad press in the crucial organizing years of 1870-1920. Similarly, the interests and concerns of working people were rarely represented by the newspapers until the post World War II era, when the democratization of middle class values and privileges allowed what was still a middle class perspective on the world to represent more people than it previously did.

The post-war era has seen two corporately controlled newspapers establish a monopoly on the news in Vancouver. They are newspapers whose readership is now assured. Substantial profits are more or less guaranteed; on average, Canadian newspapers with circulations above 100,000 all averaged more than 16% after tax profits between 1965 and 1970 (Davey 1970: 56). Not only do the Province and the Sun collaborate in printing their 'separate' newspapers; they have also developed an agreement whereby business advertisers are forced to advertise in both papers (Davey 1970:44). Moreover, their market is largely independent of the price of their product.

There is therefore no particular financial incentive for today's Vancouver newspapers to do more than go through the motions of presenting the news. Many businesses depend almost entirely on newspaper advertising to reach the public for they know that the great majority of households subscribe to them. Advertisers are unconcerned with the quality of news in the press and readership seems to continue at a high level no matter what passes for news in the papers. There is literally no profit in todays

newspapers being innovative, provocative, or the champions of anything. These things still happen on the odd occasion, but they are holdovers from a past ideology of the press which even historically was rarely put into practice.

Still, despite the frequency that one hears that people do not read the newspapers anymore or that the newspapers do not really have any significant impact on today's society, this is just not so. No better instance of this has been documented than the Vancouver newspaper strike of 1970 and its effect on its abandoned readership. The strike shut down the Province and the Sun from February 15, 1970 to May 15, 1970. The Select Senate Committee contracted a study to gauge its effects, and they were substantial.

First of all, it was found that Vancouver people were addicted to their newspapers: In a sample of 125 residents, only three did not subscribe to a newspaper. Ninety-two subscribed to one of the two major dailies, while another 26 subscribed to both. In addition, there were 23 subscriptions to papers other than the Province or the Sun; 141 newspaper subscriptions in a sample of 125 people (Davey 1970:139).

There was no doubt that these readers missed their newspapers. Seventy-nine (63.2%) "felt deprived of news and information during the shutdown," as compared with 33 (26.4%) who did not. Moreover, it was not the lack of advertising that they most sorely missed, as has been so often suggested as the main reason people continue to subscribe to newspapers.

Seventy-six (52.8%) respondents listed the loss of front page news as a section of the paper they missed as opposed to twenty-three (18.4%) who listed advertising; the editorial page (n = 45) and the sports section (n = 41) were more frequently listed than advertising, which shared its position with the comics and the theatre and entertainment section. Relatively few of the respondents (n = 35) felt that radio and TV news filled the void left by the loss of their daily paper.

It is not difficult to provide more general support for the contention that the newspapers have been and continue to be important social institutions. It is true that to this very day the orthodox position held by many press spokespersons is that the newspapers do not substantially affect people's opinions and beliefs--they just print "the facts." Earlier publishers were even more forthright, and sometimes claimed that in any case what the press did or did not do was no one else's affair. W. P. Hamilton of the Wall Street Journal has been reputed to have asserted that:

> A newspaper is a private enterprise owing nothing whatever to the public, which grants it no franchise. It is therefore affected with no public interest. It is emphatically the property of the owner, who is selling a manufactured product at his own risk.
>
> (Peterson 1976:73)

In short, newspapers are businesses, and let the buyer beware. Although they never reached this extreme, in the earlier days of the British Columbia press one can frequently see evidence of a similar philosophy.

In the postwar era newspaper publishers have in no way shied away

from the fact that they are businesses first and foremost. Nevertheless, to an increasing extent they have sought to propagate a somewhat contradictory ideology which is now current in all industries: that as good corporate citizens newspapers have a social responsibility to serve their clientele; they are an essential element of society, and hence should acknowledge their social function and address it squarely.

Paradoxically, the rise of this "social responsibility theory of the press" (Peterson 1976:73-103) seems to have led to the concomitant rise of a conviction among press personnel that they do not have a substantial impact on the people they "serve"; they are professionals, whose job it is to capture in print the world as it is; they should not be tied to anyone, publisher, owner, politician, businessman, or friend, and hence should not be the advocate of any special interest group; the newspapers are only communications devices, facilitating the flow of information from one part of society to another.[4]

This conviction that the press is a neutral mirror on the world that doesn't affect anything seems a bit tenuous when one considers the historical role of the Vancouver press given here. It seems even more unrealistic when one returns to the original premise that newspapers are first and foremost manufacturing industries in business to make money. Like any other manufacturing company a newspaper makes money by selling more of its product or by increasing its profit margin by increasing prices or decreasing capital and labor costs. Publishers and other managerial

personnel continue in their jobs by demonstrating that they have successfully tackled these objectives. Success here means the ability to exert control over production and hence, over the news. These goals and strategies do not in any respect parallel the avowed premises of the social responsibility of the press.

In this light one must consider that the "social responsibility of the press" is primarily an ideology used by those who control newspapers to defend their privileged (and almost totally unregulated) position in the social and economic world; it should be noted that as the ideology unfolds it is clear that press responsibility is not cast as a <u>goal</u>--it is claimed to be already achieved. The primary reason for this success is frequently claimed to be the fact that press personnel is "free" (read uncontrolled) to act autonomously.

Like any substantial social ideology, press ideas about its role in society has found considerable academic support, which the press has in turn used to give further credence to its own conviction. This is especially the case for the premise that the press does not markedly affect society or individual beliefs. In the 1950's and 1960's this stance was supported by a crop of exceedingly naive but very influential American social scientists. Addicted to narrowly conceived survey research and to the investigation of immediate cause and effect, they produced research findings showing that the press could not influence the public. It could not sway elections (Klineberg 1974:37-55). Neither could it make people change their opinions

about important issues (Katz 1964).

More recent work has exposed the weaknesses of this kind of work (Halloran 1974:9-36). For one thing, earlier investigations looked for effects of only one sort: immediate, surface level changes in belief and behavior in sample populations. They did not investigate what is in all probability the most important effect of the press: maintaining already extant perspectives on the world (Breed 1964). Secondly, they did not consider the degree to which the newspapers effect change incrementally, as individuals integrate material from a number of items. Thirdly, they were extremely literal in their analyses, and hence failed to investigate the relationship between the assumptions built into news items and analogous assumptions in the reading public (Rock 1973). Fourthly, they refused to ask what seemed to be the most elementary question--where do beliefs about things outside of one's immediate experience come from, if not from the media?

Although this tradition dies hard (especially in the light of newspaper interests in its perpetuation), modern research has delivered it some telling blows. There is gathering consensus that in many respects the newspapers are the most influential of all the mass media (Edinborough 1962:15). To be sure, radio and television have given the newspapers a run for their money, but in certain respects the observation that the electronic media have broken the news monopoly of the newspapers is incorrect. Newspapers and their associated news service provide a

substantial proportion of the information used by radio and television; Siegel (1974:5-6) found this to be so of the CBC, as did Bagdikian (1971: 138) of the broadcasting networks in the United States. Electronic media outlets with fewer resources than the CBC would presumably be even more dependent upon newspaper copy.

Moreover, the press is not politically neutral, and hence makes a very important contribution to the Canadian political scene (Siegel 1974). To be sure, the kind of partisan politics typical of British Columbian newspapers at the turn of the century are no longer prevalent today, but the impact of the newspapers are no less significant, despite the fact that their contribution is of a different sort than previously. Consider national politics. Few Canadians realize how small the Ottawa press gallery is, yet it is the source of parliamentary news for the nation. Their selection of coverage generally defines the presentation of national politics. Moreover, the clublike, elitist atmosphere of the Ottawa press corp hardly encourages a diversity of opinion. Their "business as usual," blow-by-blow coverage of the political scene constitutes a world view, a definition of the situation with direct political consequences. They set the agenda, and in doing so provide pervasive limits to the realm of acceptable political discourse.

As the following three chapters unfold it should become evident that the way in which the press constrains discussion of politics is only a specific instance of a more general pattern. The newspapers relentlessly

define a particular version of the universe by complex processes of association and inference. They define "normal society" in relation to what it is not (Lippmann 1966:3-20), which in turn generates legitimations for the ongoing distribution of power and privilege in Canadian society. Of the many ways in which the newspapers do this the primary question is what constitutes news; vis a vis ethnicity I will have much to say about this subsequently. Nevertheless; it would not be overstating the case to claim that one of the primary outcomes of the way that the newspapers select news is to turn the universe into a grand morality play where good and evil are locked in combat; like in morality plays the press focuses in on personalities and psychologies, and there is little discussion of societal constraints or whether the individuals involved might want to change the rules of combat. Like morality plays the moral schema of the newspapers is not a normative societal one. Rather it corresponds closely to the convictions of societal elites (Clement 1975:276-283).

To the extent that ethnicity is news it is submitted to these same processes. Newspaper publishers have been and are members of the Canadian upper class.[5] Most of them are of British Canadian origin outside of Quebec, as are a substantial proportion of management personnel.[6] One would reasonably expect this to be reflected in the newspapers they create. This expectation is easily confirmed when one turns to the portrayal of ethnicity in the Vancouver press in the decade before World War I.

Chapter Two: Notes

1. Taylor was in fact required to support the Laurier government as an informal condition of his mortgage on the World (McGregor 1946: 113).

2. This claim is clearly supported by the material in this thesis dealing with the categories "Canadian," "Anglo Canadian," and "French Canadian."

3. Even advocation of the termination of Asian immigration could be argued to primarily reflect middle class interests, such as those of farmers and small businesses.

4. Of course, this credo says nothing of the level of competence of press personnel. As John Porter (1965:485) has pointed out, "there is, of course, nothing professional about the role of newspaper reporting. As a group reporters have no disciplined academic training in any particular sphere, although they seem prepared to write about almost anything."

5. Clement (1977:207; 1975:330) suggests that something over 70% of the media elite are of upper class origins.

6. Indeed, a recent study (Pitman 1977:242-243) showed that the metropolitan Toronto press personnel involved with newspaper content are very likely to be of British origin down to the lowest levels of decision making. To take the other extreme, only 2% were from visible minorities. Clement (1975:334-6) claims that 81.9% of the national media elite are of British origin; 13.3% were French and 4.8% were of other backgrounds.

Chapter Three: Ethnicity and the Vancouver Press (1905-1914)

This chapter has two basic goals: to describe the portrayal of ethnicity in the Vancouver press of 1905-1914 on a group by group basis and to provide a social and sociological context for that description. Causal explanation of why the press chose to present ethnicity in the way that it did is now largely impossible; those who created the early newspapers are now gone; and the historical record is insufficient for the purpose. The alternatives, however, need not be limited to the descriptive. In this and following eras I have attempted to explain press portrayal from three interwoven points of view. First, I have tried to compare the coverage given to any one ethnic group with that received by other groups. In this sense, I have created a press worldview of ethnicity, a worldview which defined the lines of the ethnic moral community very tightly indeed. In the world of the press are to be found examples of the socially valued expression of ethnicity and examples of ethnic outcasts.

Secondly, I have provided a social context for each of the groups which received a significant amount of press coverage, including factors such as their place in British Columbian society, economy, and polity, their group image in Canada, and British Columbians' views of their relationship to the home countries of these people. This social background serves two purposes, the first of which is to make understandable the specific types of news items found for each ethnic group. It has also been used to help explain the general shape and tenor of the image of each group

as presented by the press.

Thirdly, I have tried to move discussion to a somewhat more abstract but no less important level--to that of ethnicity as self and social identity. It is a truism that one cannot define self except in relation to who one is not, and that self identity serves as a measure by which others are compared. Throughout the three eras investigated, the question of what constitutes a Canadian has continually changed in relationship to the ethnic environment. In recognition of this relationship, I have used the press to generate models of self and others as part of a universe of understanding of the world of the day.

Subsequent discussion of this era is divided into two basic sections. Section I analyzes the format of ethnic presentation in the press, while Section II deals primarily with how specific ethnic groups were portrayed by the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver World.

I. Format: The Quantity and Distribution of Ethnically Related Items

When one considers the presentation of ethnicity in the early British Columbia press in the broadest perspective, it is evident that ethnicity was a significant element in news presentation. This analysis employed the severely restrictive criterion for coding 'ethnic' presentations that a newspaper item must mention ethnicity specifically; one finds nevertheless that there existed a high frequency of this sort of news. Table V illustrates the frequency of occurrence of items with ethnic content in the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Daily World during this era (1905-14). It should be recalled that the sample in each case was about 230 newspapers, or approximately 8% of the total number of issues printed during this period.

	Domestic	Foreign Specific	Foreign Inferred	Total Items
Vancouver Province	540	117	36	693
Vancouver Daily World	554	125	35	714
Total	1,094	242	71	1,407

Table V. The Number of Ethnically-Relevant Items in the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Daily World (1905-14) Found in a Sample of 230 Issues from Each Paper.

Because measurements of the length of each item were made, these figures for the total number of items can be converted into the approximate quantity of news (in column inches) that each paper devoted to ethnicity.

The mean item length was 9.8 column inches in the Province and 9.2 column inches in the World.[1] By some elementary arithmetic, we find that the Province and the World averaged 3.0 and 3.1 items relating to ethnicity per day, respectively, which converts to 29.4 and 28.5 column inches per day. When one notes that the total newspaper space available for all purposes in these early papers was quite small, ranging from approximately 30 pages for the World to 44 pages for the Province, it is clear that even in a narrow quantitative sense, ethnicity had a rather high profile in both these papers.

The Distribution of Coverage: Sources and Localities

Considering that communications at the turn of the century were slow and difficult by modern standards, it is not surprising that both papers tended to emphasize ethnicity of a rather local sort. This would have likely been so even if communications were better, considering that Asian immigration continued to be an explosive issue throughout this era.

Table VI breaks down the sample according to where the reported events occurred:

Locality	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
British Columbia	286	41.3	325	45.6
Canada	154	22.2	115	16.1
United States	100	14.4	113	15.8
Europe	77	11.1	97	13.6
Asia	42	6.1	33	4.6
Africa	12	1.7	17	2.4
Latin & Central America	12	1.7	7	1.0
Australia & New Zealand	8	1.2	5	0.7
Caribbean	1	0.1	1	0.1
Not Coded	1	0.1	0	0.0
Total	693	100.0%	713	100.0%

Table VI: Geographical Location of Foreign and Domestic Ethnically-Relevant Events Occurring in Items from the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Daily World (1905-14)

British Columbia events predominated in both papers. It is of interest that the rank order of the frequency of locations of ethnically-relevant events is identical in both papers. In each there was a strong focus on Canada, the United States, and Europe, with very little coverage of ethnicity in the rest of the world. The Province devoted only 10.8% of its ethnic coverage to overseas ethnicity, while the World was even more sparce (8.8%).

In the last decade Canadian scholars have become increasingly con-

cerned about the degree to which present day Canadian newspapers depend upon foreign news sources for a large amount of their news (Ichika 1978:12). It has been convincingly argued that this sort of dependence has had two principal effects (Davey 1972:233). First of all, the ease with which Canadian newspapers have access to these foreign sources (coupled to the low cost per item) has resulted in a very high proportion of items in Canadian papers that deal with non-Canadian news. Secondly, because these items are assembled with an eye to the primary markets that they serve, they are not constructed in terms of what might be relevant to Canadians about the events so portrayed.

What is of some interest here is that this dependency on foreign news sources in Vancouver is of very long term, at least with respect to ethnic portrayal. Tables VII and VIII break down the sample in terms of the sources of news items. Items of local origin are further separated into five subcategories: local news stories, editorials, letters to the editor, cartoons, and feature articles. Tables IX and X cross tabulate these same subcategories with the locality of the events portrayed.

These tables show that information about events which occurred outside of Canada was derived almost exclusively from foreign sources. Both the Province and the World were entirely dependent upon foreign news sources for their perspective on what was happening in the rest of the world. This dependency even extended to events occurring in the United States. Out of a total of 213 items in both papers portraying events which

News, Local Source	News, Canadian Source	Editorial	Letter to Editor	Cartoon	Feature	Foreign News Source	Total
278	109	56	15	1	33	200	692
(40.3%)	(15.9)	(8.1)	(2.2)	(0.1)	(4.8)	(28.9)	(100%)

Table VII: Types and Sources of Ethnically-Relevant News Items in the Vancouver Province (1905-1914)

News, Local Source	News, Canadian Source	Editorial	Letter to Editor	Cartoon	Feature	Foreign News Source	Total
310	58	76	19	1	20	225	713
(43.5%)	(8.1)	(10.7)	(2.7)	(0.1)	(2.8)	(31.6)	(99.4%)

Table VIII: Types and Sources of Ethnically-Relevant News Items in the Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Locality	Not Coded	News, Local S.	News, Can. S.	News, For. S.	Edi-torial	Letter to Editor	Cartoon	Feature	Total
B.C.	0	241	10	1	13	11	0	10	286
Canada	0	22	91	17	11	3	1	9	154
Europe	0	0	4	58	9	0	0	6	77
Africa	0	3	0	8	11	0	0	0	12
Latin & C. America	0	0	1	8	3	0	0	0	12
Australia & New Zealand	0	0	0	6	1	0	0	1	8
Caribbean	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
U.S.A.	0	8	0	85	5	1	0	1	100
Asia	0	4	3	16	13	0	0	6	42
Total	0	278	109	200	56	15	1	33	692
Percen-tages	0	40.3	15.9	28.9	8.1	2.2	0.1	4.8	100.0%

Table IX. Type of Coverage by Locality: Vancouver Province (1905-1914)

Locality	Not Coded	News, Local S.	News, Can. S.	News, For. S.	Edi-torial	Letter to Editor	Cartoon	Feature	Total
B.C.	2	272	7	2	27	10	1	4	325
Canada	1	25	47	9	20	8	0	5	115
Europe	0	4	4	74	8	1	0	6	97
Africa	0	0	0	11	5	0	0	1	17
Latin & C. America	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	1	7
Australia & New Zealand	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	5
Caribbean	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
U.S.A.	0	5	0	103	5	0	0	0	113
Asia	1	2	0	19	8	0	0	3	33
Total	4	310	58	225	76	19	1	20	713
Percen-tages	0.6	43.5	8.1	31.6	10.7	2.7	0.1	2.8	100.0%

Table X. Type of Coverage by Locality: Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

happened in the United States, 188 originated from United States sources.

Political Stance

Even at this level of generality, these tables support the contention that these two papers reflected specific political stances with some regularity. It should be recalled that the Province and the World were believed to be Conservative and Liberal leaning, respectively. Should these party orientations be reflected in the presentation of ethnicity, one would expect to see the Province show more concern with Empire interests and less with ethnicity of a local sort than would the World, which because of its position as an advocate of working class interests and Liberal internationalism should evince more concern for local issues and for events in the United States (Lamb 1942:34-44). In Tables IX and X one can see these tendencies weakly confirmed. The World does concern itself more with local issues than does the Province; this is especially reflected in the fact that the World devotes more than two and a half times more editorials to the subject of ethnicity in British Columbia than does the Province. The World also reports more on ethnicity in the United States and less on European affairs than does the Province.

Headlines, Photographs, and Page Placement

Present day media research has shown that the structure of headlines are important to the reader's perception of what a given news item is about (Tannenbaum 1953:189-197). Often they are more frequently read than the article itself, and the tenor of the headline markedly affects what people

will consider important in the subsequent article. Tables XI and XII show the relative frequencies of headline widths for the two papers.

Width in Columns	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)	Cumulative Frequency (%)
1	652	94.1	94.1
2	19	2.7	96.8
3	13	1.9	98.7
4	2	0.3	99.0
5	3	0.4	99.4
7	4	0.6	100.0
Total	693	100.0%	100.0%

Mode: 1.000
Mean: 1.126

Table XI. Headline Widths in the Vancouver Province (1905-1914) in Columns

Width in Columns	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)	Cumulative Frequency (%)
1	628	88.0	88.5
2	44	6.2	94.6
3	8	1.1	95.8
4	4	0.6	96.3
5	5	0.7	97.0
7	20	2.8	99.9
9	1	0.1	100.0
Total	714	100.0%	100.0%

Mode: 1.000
Mean: 1.310

Table XII. Headline Widths in the Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914) in Columns

As illustrated by these tables, the format of headlines has changed radically from this earlier period to the present. Overwhelmingly, both papers depended upon headlines which were only a single column wide. Full page headlines, with the visual impact that they imply, were very rare, and even headlines of three columns width were rather infrequent. When the content of headlines is discussed subsequently it will become evident that whatever impact these headlines lost in their smallish format they more than made up for in content. Many were the full first line of the story itself.

The visual impact of these news items was similarly limited by the

sparcity of photographs to be found accompanying ethnically-related items in either paper. In the entire sample for this period, only 12 items (1.7%) found in the Province and 10 (1.4%) found in the World contained photographs.

As can be seen in Table XIII, ethnicity was of sufficient importance to the editors of both papers to insure that in each case over a quarter of all such items appeared on the first page. Over a third made their appearance on the first two pages, with the rest to be found scattered throughout the complement of the paper.

Page	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
1	199	28.7	211	29.6
2	44	6.3	37	5.2
3	17	2.5	38	5.3
4	27	3.9	51	7.1
5	24	3.5	45	6.3
6	58	8.4	69	9.7
7	44	6.3	21	2.9
8-10	56	8.1	70	9.8
11-20	150	21.6	135	18.9
21-end	74	10.7	33	4.6
Not Coded	0	0.0	4	0.6
Total	693	100.0%	714	100.0%

Table XIII. The Page Distribution of Items in the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Yearly Distribution of Ethnically-Related Items

To a good approximation, both the Province and the World retained the same format and size throughout this ten year period. Nevertheless, there was quite a wide yearly variation in the number of ethnically-related stories that either paper printed, as illustrated in Table XIV. There are two very pronounced peaks, one during 1907-9, and the other during 1911-13. I believe that most of these increases can be attributed to two factors which people of the day saw as being related: Asian immigration and economic depression. There was a severe depression during 1906-8 and a milder one just prior to the First World War. As will be detailed later (Robin 1972: 87-109), the depression of 1907 seems to have been directly related to a dramatic increase in anti-Asian hostility, especially against Japanese and South Asian immigration. By 1910, Chinese immigration had recovered from the exclusionary shock of the $500 head tax imposed on new Chinese immigrants in 1903-4, and once again became a prominent concern (Corbett 1957).



Year	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
1905	47	6.8	61	8.5
1906	36	5.2	52	7.3
1907	82	11.8	93	13.0
1908	90	13.0	108	15.1
1909	82	11.8	87	12.2
1910	55	7.9	66	9.2
1911	92	13.3	74	10.4
1912	88	12.7	72	10.1
1913	78	11.3	75	10.5
1914	43	6.2	25	3.5
Not Coded	0	0.0	1	0.1
Total	693	100.0%	714	100.0%

Table XIV. Yearly Distribution of News Items in the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

II. Content: The Broad Outline of Ethnicity in the Early Vancouver Press (1904-1914)

Vancouver's Ethnic Panorama

In 1881, people of either British or French origin made up about 90% of the total population of Canada (Porter 1974:64). In the early part of the twentieth century this population distribution was to change dramatically. The immigration policy of the Laurier government, oriented as it was to the "opening of the West," solicited immigrants from a wide variety of peoples in Eastern, Central, and Northern Europe with the hope that they would provide the manpower resources necessary to develop the Prairie economy.

Some of these people travelled on to British Columbia. Added to this developing panorama of ethnicity in British Columbia was one aspect which made the province unique in Canada--Asian immigration. From as early as 1858, Chinese, Japanese and other South Asian immigrants came to British Columbia (Buchignani 1977:1-76). Reaction to these immigrants polarized the population of the province along ethnic lines in ways not seen elsewhere in Canada. Most importantly, the Asian presence in many respects diminished the ethnic divisions that might have arisen among Europeans.

Despite this influx of Asians and continental Europeans, the population of British Columbia was to remain primarily of British origin throughout this period. This ethnic dominance is markedly illustrated by the following Table XV, which gives census figures for British Columbia for

three decades before 1911 (Glazebrook 1966:189):

	1881	1901	1911
British	14,660	106,403	266,295
French	916	4,600	9,341
German	858	5,707	12,726
Scandinavian	236	4,880	16,087
Asiatic	4,350	19,524	30,864
Total	49,459	178,657	392,480

Table XV. Ethnic Origins of British Columbia Residents: Census Figures for 1881, 1901, and 1911[2]

The large flow of immigrants to Canada during this period was reflected in Vancouver's changing ratio of Canadian to foreign born (MacDonald 1970:317):

	1891	1901	1911
Total Foreign-Born	5,157	10,642	56,423
Total Canadian-Born	8,552	16,368	43,978
Total Population	13,709	27,010	100,401

Table XVI. Vancouver's Population: Canadian and Foreign Born, 1891-1911

Throughout these decades a marked shift occurred in the birth places of Vancouver residents. Until 1901, the population of Vancouver was composed of more Canadian-born persons than foreign-born ones. By 1911, though, foreign-born persons in Vancouver decidedly outnumbered those born in Canada. Where did these foreign-born persons come from?

Table XVII gives the countries of origin of Vancouver residents over these same three decades (MacDonald 1970:311).

Country	1891 number	%	1901 number	%	1911 number	%
England & Wales	1,551	30.2%	2,882	27.0%	18,414	32.7%
Scotland	580	11.2	910	8.5	9,650	17.8
Ireland	412	7.9	512	4.8	2,625	4.6
Norway	} 154	3.0	} 333	3.1	575	1.0
Sweden					952	1.7
Denmark					180	0.3
Finland					181	0.3
France	23	0.4	48	0.5	266	0.5
Germany	108	2.1	180	1.7	733	1.3
Poland	9	0.1	-	-	-	-
Austria/Hunary	-	-	23	0.2	500	0.9
Russia	23	0.4	101	1.0	606	1.1
Italy	55	1.1	101	1.0	1,922	3.4
Greece	-	-	-	-	266	0.4
United States	870	16.8	1,840	17.2	10,401	18.4
China	1,065	20.6	1,800	17.0	3,364	6.0
Japan	-	-	1,010	9.5	1,841	3.3
Other	307	6.0	854	8.0	3,987	7.1
Total Foreign-Born	5,157	100.0%	10,642	100.0%	56,423	100.0%
Total Population	13,709		27,010		100,401	

Table XVII. Birthplace of Vancouver's Foreign-Born Population in 1891, 1901, and 1911 (in numbers and percentages)

British (not counting the Irish) made up 50.5% of the foreign-born population in 1911. If one adds in American (18.4%) and Irish (9.6%) immigrants, the total percentage of all foreign-born English-speaking immigrants was 73.5%. Chinese and Japanese together composed 9.3% of Vancouver's foreign-born population in 1911, which left only 17.3% for <u>all</u>

other foreign-born groups. Obviously, Vancouver's foreign-born population of 1911 was not overwhelmingly heterogeneous. It was a population of English-speaking Canadians, British, and Americans, along with some Asians and a sprinkling of others.

The Ethnic Panorama of the Press: Who was portrayed?

How, then, is this ethnic reality reflected in the Vancouver press of the day? Which groups made the newspapers during this period and with what frequency did they do so? Table XVIII outlines the frequencies with which the different ethnic categories appeared in the Vancouver press. Table XVIII includes only "domestic" stories, that is, news items where the event portrayed was in Canada or the United States. To simplify presentation, the many specific ethnic categories used in this study have been collapsed into more general "groups" than those coded.

Group	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Not Coded	0	0.0	1	0.2
Colored	2	0.4	0	0.0
Black	22	4.1	19	3.4
Asian	261	48.3	275	49.6
Native	48	8.9	65	11.7
Arab-Israeli	8	1.5	3	0.5
Non-European	1	0.2	0	0.0
European	6	1.1	0	0.0
British	50	9.3	53	9.6
Canadian	14	2.6	6	1.1
French-Canadian	9	1.7	8	1.4
Eastern European	24	4.4	14	2.5
Western & Northern European	23	4.3	23	4.2
Southern European	33	6.1	32	5.8
Hispano-Portuguese	1	0.2	3	0.5
American	24	4.4	35	6.3
Immigrant	14	2.6	12	2.2
Australia & New Zealand	0	0.0	2	0.4
South African & Rhodesian White	0	0.0	2	0.4
Total	540	100.0%	554	100.0%

Table XVIII. Frequency of Ethnic Group Portrayal in Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

By rearranging this table into rank order and restricting it to the seven highest categories, one can see that there were a surprisingly similar number of news items on each general ethnic group in the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Daily World:

Vancouver Province			Vancouver Daily World		
Group	number	%	Group	number	%
Asian	261	48.3	Asian	275	49.6
British	50	9.3	Native	65	11.7
Native	48	8.9	British	53	9.6
Southern European	33	6.1	American	35	6.3
Eastern European	24	4.4	Southern European	32	5.8
American	24	4.4	Northern & Western European	23	4.2
Northern & Western European	23	4.3	Black	19	3.4
Total	463	85.7%	Total	502	90.6%

Table XIX. Seven Largest Domestic Ethnic Categories: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

If one compares this table with the population figures given earlier, it is evident that some of the ethnic categories got far more coverage in numbers of news items than their Vancouver population warranted. For instance, Asians made up less than 10% of the population in 1911, yet they received approximately 49% of the total amount of domestic news story coverage in both papers. Correspondingly, the British, who made up over

50% of the foreign-born population, received only 9-10% of the total coverage, while Americans, who made up 18.4% of the foreign-born population, received but 4.4% of total news coverage in the Province and 6.3% in the World.

Moreover, these few ethnic categories virtually monopolized coverage, receiving 463 out of a total of 540 news stories in the Vancouver Province; but 77 news items remained to cover the other 11 general ethnic categories (see Table XVIII). In short, ethnic groups who were listed under the general categories Colored, Black, Arab-Israeli, Non-European, European, Canadian, French Canadian, Hispano-Portuguese, Immigrant, Australian and New Zealand, and South African and Rhodesian White categories were not fundamental to the Province's portrayal of the domestic scene. In this the World was very similar. It ran 502 news items devoted to its seven largest ethnic categories. The remainder, 52 news items, covered all the other categories. The focus of the press was in fact more narrowly defined than this, for both the World and the Province were overwhelmingly preoccupied with Asians. Asians received almost as much news coverage in this period as did all other domestic ethnic categories together. Why this was so I must defer until the various ethnic groups are considered separately.

What were the General Issues?

Even without reference to who specifically was portrayed as doing what, one can see that the overall coverage of ethnicity during this period tended to concentrate on specific issues to the relative exclusion of others. Table XX, which presents a frequency distribution of topics, shows this

quite clearly.

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Housing	7	1.3	4	0.7
Education	4	0.7	6	1.1
Health and Welfare	8	1.5	9	1.6
Employment & Economy	34	6.3	16	2.9
Population	3	0.6	6	1.1
Advocation of Restriction	28	5.2	31	5.6
Ethnics are Restricted	13	2.4	7	1.3
Restriction Charged	9	1.7	6	1.1
Ethnic Relations	50	9.3	49	8.8
Immigration	83	15.4	70	12.6
Legal & Legislation	52	9.6	77	13.9
Violence to Ethnics	20	3.7	39	7.0
Violence by Ethnics	119	22.0	101	18.2
Culture Differences	27	5.0	30	5.4
Celebrities	19	3.5	21	3.8
Sports	4	0.7	2	0.4
Ethnic Organizations	17	3.1	39	7.0
Normal News	43	8.0	41	7.4
Total	540	100.0%	554	100.0%

Table XX. Domestic Material by Topic: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Housing, education, health, population, ethnics charging restriction, and sports received very little attention as the main focus of news stories in either paper. On the other hand, topics such as violence and crime by ethnics, legal and legislative, issues, immigration, ethnic relations, the advocation of ethnic restriction, cultural differences, and normal news were far more common. It should be noted that the list of topics itself was developed in the light of press interests, and as such already indicated the narrowness of coverage by what potential topics were not initially included because of their very low frequency of occurrence.

In comparing the two papers one sees a marked similarity in topical interests, coupled with several significant differences. Tables XXI and XXII present the seven most frequently found topics in each paper. As can be seen, the five most frequent topics in both papers were identical, though their rank order and frequency differed slightly.

In broad outline, these topical concentrations fitted the times. That various (non-British) ethnic groups were more prone to violence than 'normal' members of society was a common rationale for the exclusion or regulation of those groups; it also tied in nicely with the press' pathological concern for the unusual and for violence in particular. It should not be surprising that violence was by far the most common concern, nor that it was violence done by members of ethnic groups rather than against them. As topics, "immigration" and "legal and legislative" figured either second or third and were historically linked; most legislative actions concerning

ethnicity were to do directly with immigration as did those court proceedings not dealing with violence.

Topic	number	%
Violence by ethnics	119	22.0
Immigration	83	15.4
Legal and legislation	52	9.6
Ethnic relations	50	9.3
Normal news	43	8.0
Employment and economic activities	34	6.3
Advocation of restriction	28	5.2
Total	409	75.8%

Table XXI. Most Frequent Topics: Domestic Stories in the Vancouver Province (1905-1914)

Topic	number	%
Violence by ethnics	101	18.2
Legal and legislation	77	13.9
Immigration	70	12.6
Ethnic relations	49	8.8
Normal news	41	7.4
Ethnic organizations and events	39	7.0
Violence to ethnics	39	7.0
Total	416	74.9%

Table XXII. Most Frequent Topics: Domestic Stories in the Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

The differences are equally illuminating, for one can once more see a divergence of political stance reflected in the ethnic portrayal of the two newspapers. While the World was Liberal in orientation, the charter of federal Liberalism had to be considerably amended for its B.C. constituency. Federally, the Liberals were actively engaging in a program to bring more immigrants to Canada; they also professed to be "for the working man" in opposition to the interests of "the monied classes." In a British Columbia heavily involved in labor-intensive primary industry, the latter had great appeal, but the former was an anathema. True or not, many working people perceived that immigration was destroying their standard of living by lowering wages and causing unemployment (Palmer 1975:29). The World could never survive by opposing this sentiment, and hence took a more subtle approach. It never openly advocated a position on immigration much different than that of the Province. In particular, it staunchly supported the restriction of Asian immigration. At the same time, it severely restricted the portrayal of situations concerning resident ethnic individuals or groups which were related to the charge that ethnics negatively affected the economy; the World devoted a meagre 2.9% of its coverage of domestic ethnicity to 'employment and economic activities,' while the Province printed more than twice as many news items under this topic (6.3%).

As seen more definitively in the analysis of individual groups, the World also tended to individualize ethnic group members more than the Province and far more frequently would portray them as victims of

violence, power, or circumstance. For example, the World devoted 7.0% of its domestic ethnic coverage to the topic 'violence to ethnics' while the Province had only 3.75% of its items on this topic. Correspondingly, the World allocated another 7.0% of its coverage to 'ethnic organizations' in comparison to the Province's 3.1%.

A Moral Community in the Press

Because the bulk of the following discussion deals with ethnic portrayal on a group by group basis, I feel it appropriate to begin and end the discussion of individual groups at a more general level. By way of introduction to the universe of ethnicity in the press, I have constructed an evaluative measure of the place of each ethnic group relative to each other. I have called this a moral community score.

This score was constructed by assigning positive, neutral, or negative evaluation to the various subtopics and themes in relation to how they were generally employed.[3] Positive subtopics and themes were assigned a value of +1, neutral ones a value of ∅, and negative ones a value of -1. A list outlining which subtopics and themes were assigned which value can be found in Appendix II.

The score itself was constructed by adding the scores of the subtopics and themes together for each news item. Thus, an item could conceivably obtain a score anywhere from -7 to +7. Finally, the scores from all domestic news items for the various ethnic groups were averaged together to get a relative measurement for each group. Tables XXIII and XXIV

summarize these scores for the groups (n ≥ 10).[4]

Group	Number	Moral Community Score	Rank
Scottish	12	1.08	1
British	14	0.62	2
English	22	0.56	3
Canadians	12	0.42	4
Germans	12	-0.08	5
Americans	24	-0.25	6
Russians	12	-0.50	7
French Canadians	9	-0.56	8
Black Americans	17	-0.82	9
Immigrants	14	-0.86	10
Chinese	107	-1.23	11
Native Indians	47	-1.34	12
Japanese	63	-1.38	13
Asians	29	-1.76	14
Souths Asians	61	-2.03	15
Italians	30	-2.13	16

Table XXIII. The Domestic Moral Community: Vancouver Province (1905-1914)

Group	Number	Moral Community Score	Rank
Germans	10	0.20	1
English	24	0.13	2
British	16	0.06	3
Canadians	6	0.00	4
French Canadians	8	0.00	5
Americans	35	-0.25	6
Native Indians	64	-0.80	7
Japanese	72	-1.01	8
Chinese	114	-1.23	9
South Asians	51	-1.31	10
Immigrants	12	-1.42	11
Black Americans	13	-1.61	12
Asians	34	-1.74	13
Italians	26	-1,81	14

Table XXIV. The Domestic Moral Community: Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Both papers clearly generated moral communities where not all ethnicities were equally valued. Although there are a few variations in this evaluative aspect between the two papers (most of which can be explained politically), the moral community scores in the Province and the World show a straightforward division: the United Kingdom born, Canadians,

Germans, and Americans constituted an ethnic elect, in comparison with Native Indians, various Asian peoples, Black Americans, and Italians, who constituted the morally suspect and the damned. This polarity is central to the subsequent discussion of the various groups.

It should also be noted that these two tables are a sad commentary on Canadian self identity at the turn of the century. In the world of the press, Canadian ethnicity was covered less frequently and was evaluatively subordinate to that of the British groups in this sample--a situation which I do not believe would be found in many other countries of the world, even in that period.

The British[5]

Since the British were by far the largest immigrant group in British Columbia in this era, it is appropriate to begin the discussion of individual groups with them. In 1901, British-born people constituted 16% of the total Vancouver population, and by 1911 they composed over one third of its numbers. Table XXV illustrates the growth of this group's percentage of Vancouver's foreign-born population (MacDonald 1970:31):

	1891		1901		1911	
	number	percentage of foreign born	number	percentage of foreign born	number	percentage of foreign born
England Wales	1,551	30.2	2,882	27.0	18,414	32.7
Scotland	580	11.2	910	8.5	9,650	17.1
Total	2,131	41.4%	3,792	35.5%	28,064	49.8%

Table XXV. Vancouver's British Born Population: 1891-1911

These figures gain even more significance when compared with the population growth of the city and metropolitan district of Vancouver over the same period (MacDonald 1970:301):

Year	Metropolitan District	Central City	Ring
1901	28,985	27,010	1,885
1911	123,902	100,401	23,501
1921	198,468	163,220	35,248

Table XXVI. The Population of the Vancouver Area: 1901-1921

As can be seen in Table XXVI, the population growth of the Vancouver Metropolitan District during these years was phenomenal. Throughout this period of rapid expansion, British-born people were always a large percentage of the population. While it has recently been suggested (Robin 1972: 43) that the importance of the British influence in British Columbia has been exaggerated in the sociological literature, this would be a hard point to argue on the basis of these demographic figures.

It is difficult to summarize the place of British immigrants in

British Columbia in a way which reflects their many roles and influences and yet remains within the bounds of this thesis. In investigating Canadian ethnicity it has been the dominant practice to investigate ethnicity in terms of the "ethnic group"--a collection of individuals defined in terms of their geographical or national origins, or their cultural practice. This often allows for a tidy bounding of the subject of inquiry, and for many immigrant groups whose members move into a set of similar constraints it is not a bad approximation of reality.

However, because of the historical connection between Britain and Canada and because of the enormous variability of British immigrants, this technique cannot easily be applied to them. As prospective Canadian immigrants, the British have had a "special entry status" until very recently and they have been associated very closely with one of the two charter groups in Canada. Moreover, the British immigrant was rarely seen as a "foreigner" in this country nor were the British often considered to be an "ethnic group" (Careless 1969:10). Especially in this earlier era, the British were often seen as being a particular variety of Canadian. This association between Canadianness and British ethnicity was reflected in the fact that for the most part the English, Scots or Welsh were not expected to adopt new cultural values or ways of doing subsequent to coming to Canada (Porter 1974:60-103). Rather, they were often used as ideal types and were seen as the carriers of a cultural heritage to which Canadian people should aspire. One sees this tendency for the British to be set up as models for

other Canadians very clearly reflected in their moral community scores. In the Empire-oriented, Conservative Province, Scots, British and English were evaluated well above Canadians, while French Canadians scored lower than Russian immigrants.

Perhaps because the British were so often seen as equivalent to ideal models for Canadians, they have been rather consistently defined as Canadians by both the sociological and the folk literature of Canada (Careless 1969:10). The consequence is that much of the British immigrant experience which could have been viewed in an ethnic relations paradigm has been defined simply as part of normative Canadian social and economic organization. With this ease with which British immigrants were subsumed under the label "Canadian" has also come the inaccurate conviction that the British in Canada constituted a homogenous group, albeit one which had class or status divisions despite being culturally homogeneous. In fact, there were (and are) many types of British immigrants to Canada.

Ethnically, Scots, English and Welsh all fell under this classification as British, yet considered themselves distinct; within each of these groups in turn existed great regional and religious variability (Careless 1969:4). There were also enormous differences in the class backgrounds of these immigrants. Among them were skilled and unskilled workers, agricultural laborers, businessmen, professionals, and elites. At times, the interests of these various types of individuals would coincide and at others not. For instance, at the turn of the century many British immigrants in Canada

agreed that unskilled, poor British citizens were not desirable as immigrants.[6] Alternatively, skilled blue collar workers in British Columbia continually lobbied that only British <u>domestic</u> and <u>agricultural</u> workers be solicited as immigrants (Woodsworth 1909). Tradesmen, they claimed, were walking the streets in Canada (<u>Province</u>, July 11, 1913, page 1). This was paralleled by the concerns of many British Columbia economic elite, who wanted continued immigration but did not want <u>skilled workers</u> from Britain, who they saw as labor trouble makers (Parkin 1895:14).

With this variability in mind, the overall impact of British immigration on the province was nevertheless great. Many British Columbian notables were British born (Jackman 1969; Lamb 1942; McGregor 1946). The participation of skilled British workers in the creation of labor parties and the trades and labor unions was very great (Phillips 1967; Robin 1972). British immigrants were highly represented in Vancouver and provincial political offices and still others made their impact as captains of industry and finance.[7]

Consider, too, that Canada was then firmly part of the British Empire. Still in part economically dependent on British capital, Canada was ideologically tied to Britain and the legitimations for the British role in Canada were very powerful. To make Canada British, Protestant and White was a constant theme in the development of western Canada (Ward 1973; Nelson 1921).

These legitimations also were developed on other fronts. For instance,

consider the still current belief in the British immigrant's influence on Canadian's "deep respect for tradition, law and order." These and other "British" traits, have been argued to have had a sustained influence upon Canadian institutions and social order (Lipsett 1963:49-258; Underhill 1960:12). Whether these presumed connections are valid is quite irrelevant, for they were important in the realm of ideas. Lack of violence and conservatism is often cited as major differences between the United States and Canada (Grant 1958; Lower 1958; Lipsett 1963). Moreover, turn of the century middle class British Columbians in particular were very Anglophile (Hobson 1906:32) and they tended to define themselves in contrast to those on the other side of the border who were in fact so culturally and economically similar. Clearly, this ideology served the interests of virtually all classes of British-born in the province.

In addition, the early development of large scale industry in the province indirectly provided the pro-British tendencies of the middle class with additional support and helped to generate the fundamental ethnic polarization for which British Columbia of the turn of the century is noted. In response to the rise of industry many skilled British immigrants came to British Columbia to fill a variety of skilled and semi-skilled jobs. It is not surprising that when they perceived that they were being threatened by a flood of "cheap labor" from Asia and Europe they turned to their ethnic origins as a justification of their own privileged position.

The high salience of immigration as a social and economic question in

British Columbia also made British ethnicity a political question, which was reflected in the philosophical stances of the Conservative and Liberal parties. The Conservative vision of the day was one of a Canada that was firmly, safely, and forever within the British Empire (Berger 1970). If anything, Conservatives sought to strengthen Canadian cultural ties to Britain through selective immigration and through trade preferences. They saw Canada as primarily an Anglo-Saxon country with British institutions and culture, and they were intent upon developing its population on the basis of British immigrants--immigrants who were the "carriers" of this civilization.

The Liberals would certainly have liked to have had a British-only immigration policy if immigrants could have been found in the United Kingdom who matched the manpower requirements for Canadian economic development. Failing that, Liberals were not adverse to looking elsewhere for immigrants. The Liberal version of nationalism differed as well. Ethnically, Canada would be a "melting pot," as American society presumably had become. Economically, Canada would seek international advantages in trade and industry wherever these benefits were to be found. Ideologically more in line with American thinking, Canada and Canadians would be molded into a "new" North American Nation. In all respects, the Liberals could be said to have been more "internationalist" or "continentalist" in outlook than the Conservatives, who were willing to allow pro-British considerations a much more important role in Canadian economic development (Laxer and Laxer 1977:19).

Detached as it was from a philosophical dependence on Britain, "British institutions" and the like, Liberal policy on who constituted a proper Canadian was much more economically oriented than the Conservatives and was consequently much more ethnically encompassing and less Anglophile than was their competition. Although in British Columbia this Liberal sentiment was considerably muted, the differences between Liberal and Conservative philosophy remained.

Considering their numbers and their importance in British Columbian society, one would have expected that British ethnicity would have been a predominant element of news presentation in this era. In fact, it was not. The Province and the World devoted but 8.9% and 8.3% of their respective domestic ethnic coverage to the British, in direct contradiction to that thesis so often put forward by members of the press--that it accurately reflects what is important in everyday life.

Neither is the range of topics dealt with in British coverage representative of societal happenings, as Tables XXVII through XXIX indicate.

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Education	-	-	1	2.1
Health & Welfare				
are a drain on services	1	2.1	-	-
Employment & Economy	1	2.1	-	-
seek jobs	3	6.3	-	-
cause unemployment	-	-	1	2.1
more needed for work	1	2.1	-	-
are poor workers	1	2.1	-	-
buy or own property	-	-	1	2.1
are cheap labor	-	-	1	2.1
Advocation of Restriction				
should deny ethnic ways	-	-	1	2.1
should deny immigration	1	2.1	-	-
Charge Restriction				
charge barred from services	1	2.1	-	-
Ethnic Relations				
relations get better	-	-	1	2.1
relations are good	3	6.3	1	2.1
relations are bad	1	2.1	1	2.1
try to impose ways	-	-	1	2.1
Immigration	2	4.2	-	-
too much	1	2.1	-	-
many come	4	8.3	2	4.2
arrive	5	10.4	3	6.3
should be aided in	1	2.1	3	6.3
are deported	1	2.1	-	-
are solicited by Canada	1	2.1	-	-
profit on immigration	1	2.1	-	-
Legislative & Legal				
discussion of limitation	-	-	1	2.1
debate on immigration	-	-	1	2.1
other	-	-	1	2.1
Violence, Hostility Against				
victim of crime	-	-	2	4.2

	number	%	number	%
Violence, Hostility By				
accused of crime	1	2.1	4	8.3
other	1	2.1	-	-
Cultural Differences				
humor	-	-	1	2.1
home country loyalty	1	2.1	3	6.3
Canadianness urged	-	-	1	2.1
best cultural practices	1	2.1	2	4.2
Celebrities	-	-	1	2.1
entertainers	1	2.1	-	-
social notables	1	2.1	-	-
other	1	2.1	-	-
Sports				
participate in	1	2.1	-	-
Ethnic Organizations	-	-	1	2.1
ethnic festival	2	4.2	4	8.3
organization takes role	-	-	2	4.2
organize concerts	1	2.1	2	4.2
other	3	6.3	1	2.1
Normal News				
humanist	4	8.3	2	4.2
victim of accident	2	4.2	1	2.1
Total	48	100.0%	46	100.0%

Table XXVII. British Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Immigration	16	33.6	8	16.8
Ethnic Organizations	8	16.8	10	21.0
Cultural Difference	2	4.2	7	14.7
Employment & Economy	6	12.6	3	6.3
Ethnic Relations	4	8.4	4	3.6
Violence, Hostility By	2	4.2	4	3.6
Total	36	79.8%	36	75.6%

Table XXVIII. The Most Frequent Topics of Domestic British News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Daily World number
Ethnic Organizations	11	14
Immigration	16	6
Legal & Legislation	9	8
Cultural Differences	8	8
Employment and Economy	12	4
Ethnic Relations	4	4
Crime By Ethnics	2	4

Table XXIX. Most Common Themes in Domestic British News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Moreover, coverage of British ethnicity was heavily concentrated into a few areas; the seven most frequently coded topics accounted for over 80% of the news items dealing with British ethnicity in both papers.

The immigration of British settlers and the consequences of that immigration were involved in a number of the news items in either paper, but this general subject was covered quite differently by the Conservative-leaning Province and the Liberal World. In terms of percentages, the Province devoted 33.4% of its British coverage specifically to immigration, which was double that of the World (16.8%). Moreover, reference to Tables XXIII and XXIV will show the Province's evaluation of British ethnicity was very much higher than that of the World; the moral community scores for the British were +0.62 (Province) and +0.06 (World), respectively. Typical of these stories would be the report that

> SETTLERS POUR IN FROM BRITAIN
> Five Hundred Expect to Reach Vancouver by Monday Evening
>
> (Province, April 5, 1911, page 1)

or that there was a

> RUSH OF SETTLERS TO CANADA
> Increasing Tide to Dominion Follows Industrial Troubles in British Isles. Canadian Chamber of Commerce will Adopt Energetic Policy of Publicity.
>
> (Province, April 13, 1912, page 28)

In general, the Province reflected its Conservative leanings in its positive coverage of British immigration. The constant theme was that British were the superior type of immigrant, and should be actively solicited

in order to develop British Columbia and provide the province with continuity with its British roots. The World did not oppose this view; rather it stood mute on the subject.

The World more frequently emphasized the individual attributes and the group characteristics of the British in Canada than it did the more abstract themes developed by the Province. For instance, 20.9% (n = 10) of the World sample dealt with cultural festivals and other happenings associated with ethnically British organizations in British Columbia. Most of this coverage in turn dealt with Scottish organizations, which may reflect the heavy personal involvement of the World's former owner J. C. McLagen (Lamb 1942:40) in this area.

It is surprising that neither paper chose to represent British ethnicity as a significant factor in the ongoing provincial economy, save in relation to how British immigrants might help provide the stable manpower and initiative to build up British Columbia. Throughout this era of boom and bust, economic issues were a fundamental aspect of newspaper concern, yet the British-born were rarely singled out on ethnic criteria as being relevant to economic conditions.

In many respects the British-born were not defined by the newspapers as foreign. For instance, in counting how many people had entered Canada, the Province (June 30, 1911, page 18) claimed that nearly two million immigrants had come in the last decade, of whom "750,000 were British, 700,000 from the United States and 650,000 were Foreign." Instances of

this tendency of considering that the British were not ethnic can be taken from the papers almost at will.

Immigration and the British Columbia labor situation provide excellent examples of this process. For instance, the World editorialized (January 31, 1908, page 6) about "Immigration Troubles in Canada," criticizing the Salvation Army for bringing immigrants to Canada that were lazy and irresponsible, yet neglects to mention that these immigrants were exclusively British; immigrants, rather than the British are the stigmatized group.[8]

Labor news was handled in much the same manner. The two decades prior to World War I were perhaps the most turbulent in British Columbia's labor history (Phillips 1967). It was a time of increasing industrialization in the face of extreme employer-employee conflict. Strikes (which were continually in the news) were countered by the solicitation of "cheap labor" from the United Kingdom, Asia and Europe and occasionally were broken by the militia (Morton 1970); the British-born were active agents on both sides of this battleline, yet their ethnicity was rarely reported in the papers. For instance, when the Province (May 29, 1912, page 1) reported that in the aftermath of a strike that the "Law-Breakers are Foreigners" it neglects to mention that most of them were British. Likewise, the extensive coverage of the Nanaimo coal strike of August, 1913 in both papers failed to mention that a large number of the union leaders were British-born, as were many of the officers of the militia which was brought in to break the strike

(Silverman 1970:157); if the Italian or Chinese component of either side had been equally significant their ethnic presence would have been given prominent coverage.

Similarly, coverage of the British-born in the early press would lead one to the incorrect conclusion that they rarely broke the law--in the world of newspapers, criminality was almost completely the preserve of Asians, Native Indians, Italians, and other "foreign" types (Vallee and Schwartz 1961:565). Most reported instances of the British-born either participating in or being the victims of crime did not include an ethnic reference. In order for British ethnicity to be reported in crime stories that background had to be an integral part of the story itself:

> "Bill Sykes" is Captured.
> Member of Respectable English Family Learned to Steal in Toronto. Couldn't find work and was too proud to beg.
>
> (World, June 2, 1909, page 5)

> Scotchmen Who Desert Their Wives
> Sir George Macrae Seeking Means of Tracing Them. Distinguished British Statesman now on a Visit to Victoria.
>
> (Province, October 12, 1912, page 11)

When one draws back from the specific events presented in the press, a definite image of the British emerges. The British-born were portrayed as a homogenous group who were not differentiated from the general Vancouver population. If anything, they were to stand as models for other Canadians in their cultural practices and their love of order and good

government. As such, they were neither foreigners nor deviants. Rather, they were portrayed as staunch defenders of the British tradition in Canada against the disrupting ideas of foreigners and Americans.

Asians

In terms of the amount of coverage devoted to them, Asians figured more importantly than any other 'group' during this era. Of all the ethnically related domestic news items presented in the Province, Asians received 48.3% of the total. In the World, Asians received 49.6%, or virtually one half of all the news items dealing with ethnicity during this decade.

This intense coverage was certainly not warranted by their numbers. In 1881 there were estimated to have been only 4,350 Asians in all of British Columbia. While this figure increased rapidly in subsequent decades, reaching 19,524 in 1901 and 30,864 in 1911 (Glazebrook 1966:189), the growth of the Asian population of the province did not keep up with that of the general population. For instance, Chinese and Japanese together accounted for 26.5% of the foreign-born population of Vancouver in 1901, but only 9.3% of the foreign-born population in 1911 (MacDonald 1970:310).

Asian immigrants to British Columbia came primarily from three source countries: China, Japan, and India. While individuals from these three countries moved into relatively similar social and economic conditions in British Columbia, their resources and objectives were quite distinct, one from the other. The Japanese, for instance, were able to

draw upon political support from their home government as well as psychological support from their conviction that Japan was then rising to world prominence (Brown and Cook 1974). Indian immigrants possessed considerable knowledge of how British political and legal institutions operated and were able to use this knowledge as a resource, despite receiving almost no home government support whatsoever (Buchignani 1977:47-48). Wracked by internal strife and ravaged by colonializing powers, China was unable to regulate or assist its immigrants in any significant fashion (Brown and Cook 1974:69; Jacobs and Landau 1971:124-158). In addition, both the press and people of British Columbia drew sharp distinctions between the Chinese, Japanese and South Asian Indians. In due regard both for the different resources of these immigrants and for the fact that they were characterized by the press as being distinct, each of these groups are discussed separately.

The Chinese

The first Chinese immigrants to North America went to California. The responses developed in reaction to their presence in that state were to be carried over almost entirely into the British Columbian context (Howay 1941:567-8; Ward 1973:7). The initial Chinese pioneers to California came (as did many thousands of Europeans) in response to the word that gold had been found in 1848. As mining expanded and California developed an industrial base, Chinese increasingly moved into situations of wage labor, where through no fault of their own they soon came into conflict with

European workers (Jacobs and Landau 1971:124-158). Employers exploited the political weakness of the Chinese by using them to subvert the demands of white labor. The Chinese were used as strike breakers and as a means of depressing the wage demands of other workers. Lacking the political resources to move directly against employers, organized labor used its political influence to get a wide range of anti-Chinese laws passed restricting Chinese immigration, political representation, and labor rights.

A parallel and related sequence developed in British Columbia. Once more, the first Chinese arrived in response to a gold rush, this time in 1858. Again, anti-Chinese hostility did not become an important political factor until the 1870's, when the industrial economy was beginning to develop (Howay 1942:567-8). From 1872 on, the British Columbia legislature was to pass an unending stream of anti-Chinese legislation which attempted to limit the Chinese presence in the province and to subordinate those Chinese who were here socially, economically, and politically (Cho 1970:19).

As in California, British Columbia did not speak with one voice on the question of the Chinese. Whereas popular hostility against them was sufficient to guarantee that the provincial legislature would do everything in its power to limit the Chinese, the owners and managers of large scale industries in particular knew the advantages of Chinese labor and sought in their own ways to assure that it would continue to be present (Phillips 1967). For instance, despite British Columbian working class objections the Canadian Pacific Railway was able to make extensive use of Chinese labor;

the first restrictive immigration head tax of $50.00 was placed on the Chinese in 1885, only after the railway was completed. Prior to that, the federal government had disallowed every attempt by the British Columbia legislature to regulate Chinese immigration (Glazebrook 1966:184). As late as 1899, the CPR was still lobbying against further curbs on Chinese immigration. Despite such powerful economic interests, the head tax on the Chinese was raised to $100.00 and then to $500.00 in 1904. In the short term this latter tax severely limited further Chinese immigration, but it eventually resumed, only to be stopped by World War I (Carrothers 1938:6). In 1923, the Canadian government unilaterally banned the subsequent immigration of virtually all types of Chinese immigrants. Official figures show that only eight Chinese immigrants legally entered Canada between 1923 and 1947 (Straaton 1974:38).

The hostile reaction to the Chinese shown by the working class was not restricted to that class (Robin 1972:34). Small scale entrepreneurs, notably in retail sales, quickly felt the effects of Chinese competition and joined the drive towards exclusion. So did farmers, especially those in vegetable farming.

The collective critique of the Chinese was relatively straightforward, for it was untempered by notions of ethnic or racial equality. Basically, there were two objections to the Chinese, one social and the other economic.

Socially, it was taken as a given even by supporters of the Chinese that they could not assimilate to Western cultural practices or that if this

were theoretically possible the Chinese did not want to do so. The alternative, specifically racist charge was that in any case no one wanted them to assimilate, for the Chinese were fundamentally different than people of European origins. Evidence of the inability of the Chinese to assimilate was also used to argue why they should not be allowed to develop a presence in Canada. The Chinese were perceived to be immoral and dirty. They "chose" to live in groups in vice and in unsanitary conditions. They practiced strange and immoral customs, and did not have the sensitivity of Europeans to suffering (Pidgeon 1912; Ward 1973).

Economically, there existed a basic premise that the Chinese in the work force could not join collectively with those of different ethnic backgrounds to support common interests. They were perceived to be without initiative and to be passive in the face of employer exploitation, thereby threatening the situation of other workers by accepting working conditions and wages that were seen as unfit for whites (Phillips 1967;1-35).

The image of the Chinese presented in the press was generally similar to this stereotype, but it emphasized some aspects of it and not others. Table XXX illustrates the range of topics and subtopics found in the domestic coverage of the Chinese in the World and the Province. Table XXXI lists the seven most frequent topics found in both papers.

Two generalizations emerge from these tables. The first concerns the types of topics which the press considered to be newsworthy in relation to the Chinese. While press coverage of the Chinese was very intensive,

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Housing and Settlement				
provide their own housing	-	-	2	1.8
cause overcrowding	-	-	1	0.9
Education				
require special provision	2	1.9	-	-
costs too much	-	-	1	0.9
are uneducated	-	-	1	0.9
Health & Welfare				
are a health hazard	3	2.8	1	0.9
Employment & Economy	-	-	1	0.9
cause unemployment	2	1.9	-	-
are needed for work	2	1.9	-	-
buy or own property	3	2.8	-	-
are cheap labor	2	1.9	-	-
Numbers				
are a certain number	1	1.9	-	-
Advocation of Restriction	-	-	1	0.9
should bar from jobs	1	0.9	1	0.9
should deny ethnic ways	-	-	2	1.8
should bar immigration	3	2.8	-	-
Are Restricted				
are barred from jobs	-	-	1	0.9
are denied citizenship	1	0.9	-	-
cannot immigrate	1	0.9	1	0.9
other	2	1.9	-	-
Charge Restriction				
claim immigration bar	-	-	1	0.9
Ethnic Relations	1	0.9	-	-
try to better relations	2	2.8	-	0.9
relations mediated by others	1	0.9	-	-
have bad police relations	1	0.9	-	-
relations get worse	-	-	1	0.9
relations are good	-	-	1	0.9
relations are bad	-	-	2	1.8

	number	%	number	%
Ethnic Relations (cont'd.)				
have outside support	1	0.9	2	1.8
unite with others	2	1.9	3	2.6
exploit each other	-	-	2	1.8
are a threat to the West	2	1.9	-	-
Immigration				
too much	1	0.9	-	-
come illegally	5	4.7	7	6.1
arrive	2	1.9	4	3.5
are refused entry	-	-	1	0.9
are a source of money	1	0.9	3	2.6
Legislative & Legal				
act to limit or restrict	1	0.9	-	-
discuss restriction of	-	-	4	3.5
discuss protection of	-	-	2	1.8
are in the courts	6	5.6	11	9.6
protest to government	1	0.9	-	-
debate on immigration	1	0.9	1	0.9
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted or harassed	2	1.9	1	0.9
are victims of crime	2	1.9	5	4.4
are dealt with harshly	1	0.9	-	-
are dealt with leniently	-	-	1	0.9
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass people	1	0.9	2	1.8
assault each other	5	4.7	6	5.3
meet imposition with force	1	0.9	1	0.9
are accused of crime	16	15.0	17	14.9
cause crime to increase	1	0.9	1	0.9
Cultural Differences	-	-	2	1.8
eating customs	-	-	1	0.9
religious customs	1	0.9	-	-
working practices	-	-	1	0.9
sanitation & health	2	1.9	1	0.9
are unassimilatable	1	0.9	-	-
stick together	-	-	1	0.9
humor	-	-	2	1.8
other	-	-	1	0.9

	number	%	number	%
Celebrities				
politicians	1	0.9	2	1.8
social notables	4	3.7	1	0.9
Ethnic Organizations				
ethnic festival	1	0.9	1	0.9
organization takes role	3	2.8	-	-
religious organizations help	-	-	1	0.9
other	1	0.9	-	-
Normal News	1	0.9	1	0.9
human interest	2	1.9	2	1.8
accident victims	2	1.9	3	2.6
suicide	-	-	1	0.9
other	1	0.9	1	0.9
Total	107	100.0%	114	100.0%

Table XXX. Chinese Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Sub-topics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Violence, Hostility By	24	22.4	27	23.8
Legislative & Legal	9	8.3	18	15.8
Immigration	9	8.3	15	13.1
Ethnic Relations	11	10.2	11	9.8
Cultural Differences	5	4.6	9	8.1
Normal News	6	5.1	8	7.1
Violence, Hostility Against	5	4.6	7	6.2
Employment & Economy	9	8.3	1	0.9
Total	78	72.2%	96	84.8%

Table XXXI. The Most Frequent Topics of Domestic Chinese News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

accounting for 19.8% of the Province's domestic coverage and 20.5% of the World's, this did not lead to a concurrently wide range of press interests. Rather, both papers concentrated their coverage of the Chinese upon certain key areas, notably violence and crime perpetrated by Chinese, Chinese-white relations, the immigration of Chinese to Canada, the Chinese in the courts, and cultural differences.

Clearly, the key characteristic of the Chinese as portrayed by the press was their presumed proclivity for crime and violence. In this regard, the Province devoted 22.4% of its domestic coverage of the Chinese to this type of story, which was closely paralleled by the World's 23.8%. In turn, the most frequent subtopic under this heading for both papers was the Chinese being accused of crime.

Many of the criminal activities reported under this subtopic were concerned with petty crimes associated with immorality and disorder--police raiding Chinese gambling establishments, "opium dens", or places of prostitution. Commonly the central "lesson" of these news items was that the Chinese either did not or would not adjust to Canadian conventions of social order and morality. For instance, under the byline "Magistrate Rules Rat is Wild Animal" (Province, November 27, 1912, page 1), the paper claimed that the "... counsel for Chinese charged with cruelty contended that it was vermin." A health inspector had brought the individual to court because he had nailed a rat to a board to scare away other rats. He was convicted of cruelty to animals.[9] A similar story in the Province

(October 16, 1909, page 12) related how a Chinese gardener was fined for driving a lame horse despite objections from passersby.

Drugs, prostitution, and gambling were in turn linked to the new Sodom and Gomorrah--Chinatown. In the newspaper press Chinatown epitomized evil and degeneration. There was a constant concern that the Chinese (in collusion with "immigrant" whites) would lure "girls" into the "white slave racket" (Province, September 1, 1901, page 3); this concern was reflected in provincial legislation which prohibited the employment of white women by Chinese. It was the press' view that the Chinese were so dangerous to the safety of white women that those women who chose to help the Chinese in any way were both naive and stupid (Province, September 16, 1907, page 1). In general, the Chinese were seen as being morally polluting.

This theme of Chinese vice was a clear reflection of the more encompassing paternalistic ideology of the relationship of Europeans to the Chinese which was current at that time. The Chinese were characterized as sly but not too bright children, who needed a stern hand to keep them from going astray. As the World put it, they were not so much immoral as they were "unmoral" (April, 1908, page 6; March 3, 1914, page 7).

This stereotype was further enforced by the extensive coverage of the Chinese and legislation, citizenship, and legal business. Under this broad category, Chinese in the courts was the most common subtopic by far, accounting for 5.6% of the Province's total domestic coverage of the

Chinese and 9.6% of the World's. Most of these news items related to the Chinese acting as deviants in one or another way--either as criminals or attempting to evade the immigration regulations. Legislative coverage dealing with the Chinese was almost exclusively restricted to discussion of the threat that the Chinese posed to other British Columbians or to how that threat could be dealt with by the government. Illegal immigration was another concern of the press which got high priority.

The Chinese of that era were a community of males (Corbett 1957). They were segregated socially and residentially from other British Columbians and were limited in their ability to use English. Moreover, whatever interaction did occur between Chinese and others was highly institutionalized; whites used Chinese as domestics, bought from Chinese grocers, and had their clothes done at Chinese laundries. While a few whites went to Chinatown to gamble and a handful of church groups attempted to convert the Chinese, by-in-large there was very little close interaction between whites and Chinese. This situation is reflected by the press' coverage of Chinese-white relations. Ethnic relations news items were the fourth most common type dealing with the Chinese in both papers. While the frequency of subtopics found under this general topic was low, a general press orientation to interaction nevertheless emerges. Both papers clearly defined their terms here: Chinese-white relations were at best a question of adjusting both groups to each other's presence--absolutely no interest at all was evinced of the possibility of the Chinese assimilating to European

ways of doing. This stands in sharp contrast to newspaper concerns over the place of Eastern Europeans in Canada, where the question of assimilation was central. Both papers came to the same general conclusion that relations between the Chinese and others were not particularly good, and both found the source of the problem to be the Chinese--a classic case of blaming the victim. There were, however, slight differences between the Province and the World in their respective definitions of this situation. The Province was on the whole far more concerned about the international implications of British Columbia's Chinese population and their treatment. In particular, the Province was concerned that local Chinese might provoke homeland Chinese to boycott Canadian goods; several stories in 1905 linked a Chinese boycott of American goods to support by Vancouver Chinese protective associations.

Nevertheless, the general tenor of the press portrayal of Chinese ethnic relations reflected China's image as a decadent, drifting country of effete mandarins and mindless, subordinate peasants. In a parallel fashion local Chinese were usually portrayed as docile and unable to defend their honor (Down 1972:142). For instance, the Japanese were given far more coverage than the Chinese in the aftermath reporting of the serious anti-Oriental riot of 1907. In the ensuing coverage the Chinese were only specifically mentioned once by each paper, while the World followed with six news items on the Japanese and the Province with three. This was despite the fact that it was Chinese rather than Japanese property that was

most extensively damaged, and it can be argued that this was a reflection of the differing response which individuals of these two groups showed to the rioters. The Chinese attempted to avoid the rioters, then followed the event with a general labor strike. In contrast, the Japanese chose to defend their property in the streets and were successful in doing so (Sugimoto 1966:1-20).

Underlying virtually every news item dealing with the Chinese was an assumption of negatively evaluated cultural difference. While news items with main topics of cultural difference were relatively few (3.8% of the Province's coverage and 8.1% of the World's), themes dealing with cultural difference were the most frequently found of any. Table XXXII gives the most frequently found themes for each paper.

	Vancouver Province	Vancouver Daily World
Themes	number	number
Cultural Difference	55	37
Ethnic Relations	28	18
Employment and Economy	25	17
Violence by Chinese	21	28
Legal and Legislative	16	17
Ethnic Organizations	11	10

Table XXXII. Most Common Themes in Domestic Chinese News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

For the most part, these expressions of cultural difference tended to serve as superficial explanations for the main event of a given news item.

For instance, of the 16 news items in the Province whose topic was that a Chinese individual was accused of crime, 12 contained a theme that the Chinese have different morals than other people--different morals that were presumed to lead to criminal deviance.

It was only in the area of employment and economic activities that there existed any substantive difference in the coverage of the Chinese between the two papers, and that difference would not be easily predictable from a superficial consideration of the political interests of the Province and the World. For the Province, this area was one of principal concern, and about 11% of its domestic Chinese coverage was directly devoted to it. On the other hand, the World stood almost mute on this question; only one news item had employment and economy as a topic or subtopic. Even as themes, these issues were more frequent in the Province (n = 25) than they were in the World (n = 17). In the light of the World's claim to be the standard bearer of the white working class this selective silence seems to make no sense.

However, the pattern becomes clearer when one considers the actual content of news items dealing with the economy in the light of the contradictory political demands which were being put on the World in that era. The World was normally a strong supporter of Liberal policy, which was then exploring the thesis that Canadians could be made out of a far wider range of people than ever before thought possible or desirable (Palmer 1975:17). If nothing else, the colonization of the Prairie provinces by

Eastern European immigrants demanded this sort of ideology. This ideological and practical opening up of the ethnic criteria of immigration and citizenship on the part of the Liberals corresponded in most instances with the democratic feelings of the working class movement in British Columbia, which had overriden many ethnic differences in the light of more pressing collective economic interests. The problem which the World faced was that the Chinese and other Asians in British Columbia were seen by the working class as the problem of the times, thus making it suicidal for the World to advocate greater Chinese participation in Canadian society. At the same time, to emphasize the supposed deleterious effects of the Chinese upon the conditions of the working class and upon the economy generally would argue against the programs of the party which the World attempted to support. In the light of these contradictory demands, it is not surprising that the World chose to neglect the question of the Chinese in the economy, and instead concentrated on ways in which the Chinese violated the laws and regulations which were designed (by the Liberals) to keep more of them out of the country and restrict those who were here.

The Conservatively-oriented Province was not similarly constrained. The Province tended to be much more overt in its critique of Chinese cultural differences than the World (see Tables XXX and XXXII), and was much more concerned with the place of the Chinese in the provincial economy. In the case of the economy, the Province was more "societally-oriented" than the World; the Province would often develop abstract argu-

ments like the Chinese being needed as cheap labor to build the provincial economy, while it was more common for the World to deal with the impact of the Chinese upon individuals.

In overview, the image of the Chinese as portrayed by the early Vancouver press stands in the sharpest contrast to the British. Whereas the British constituted the ideal by which others could be compared, the Chinese served the opposite function--to define the boundaries of the moral community by characterizing what it was not. The press stereotype of the Chinese emphasized disorder, immorality, and lack of structure in relationship to normal society's order and morality; the Chinese symbolized Nature in opposition to Culture.

Moreover, the portrayal of the Chinese by the press frequently legitimated their subordination, and both papers actively supported it. The press almost never defended the Chinese against such subordination, and indeed rarely dealt with the Chinese as individuals at all. News items rarely gave the names of the Chinese individuals who were so portrayed--instead they were "Chinamen." They were shown as being anonymous and homogeneous, thereby depriving them of all evidence of personality, individuality, ambition, or emotion.

The Japanese

The first Japanese to come to British Columbia in any number did so in the late 1880's, well after the arrival of the first Chinese (Buchignani 1977:30). Like the Chinese, the Japanese also came from fairly localized areas in Japan, and many were initially motivated to come to Canada in order to better their long-term economic prospects at home. Consequently, the first Japanese Canadians were predominantly male, as were the Chinese before them.

Although many Japanese entered into wage labor of the sort done by the Chinese, others moved into economic areas which had not been marked previously by a strong Chinese presence. Perhaps the most important of these was the fishing industry, in which the Japanese were to play a significant role until World War I (Ward 1973:127; Phillips 1967:25). In addition to joining native people and the Chinese in the canneries, the Japanese participated in fishing itself, and soon established themselves as successful independent fishermen. Only legal residents of Canada could obtain fishing licences, which led to a growing number of Japanese establishing permanent residence in Canada; economic success in turn allowed many to bring their wives and children to Canada. Unlike the Chinese and South Asians, who were destined to remain predominantly male communities until the end of the Second World War, the Japanese quickly developed a community based upon families whose life chances were dependent on their successful adaptation to the Canadian context (Roy 1972:250).

Objections on the part of others to Japanese immigrants were not long in coming, and were heard first from their economic competitors (RRCCJI 1902:340). As early as 1893, white and Native Indian salmon fishermen on the Fraser River had organized in opposition to the increasing presence of the Japanese. Later, criticism was to come from organized labor and from vegetable farmers (Roy 1972:250). Those British Columbians who opposed continued Japanese immigration soon found that it would be far more difficult to "deal" with the Japanese than the Chinese, notably because the former were to have continual home government support (Sumida 1935:29; Sugimoto 1966:38).

Several international political considerations made the Federal government extremely reluctant to act unilaterally against Japanese immigration. For one thing, Japan was the formal ally of Great Britain, and hence, of Canada (Glazebrook 1966:222). Moreover, the Liberal government of Laurier was extremely optimistic of developing a large trade with Japan, and was not about to have this plan interfered with by the actions of a few (Gowan 1970:63-84). Consequently, the question of restricting Japanese immigration was to become an extremely devisive one between the Federal government and its British Columbia counterpart (Glazebrook 1966: 221). For instance, the Federal government continually disallowed British Columbian legislation aimed at restricting the Japanese. It did so in 1900, when it disallowed a "Natal Act," which was aimed at restricting Japanese immigration through their inability to pass a written test in a European

language (Gowan 1970:65). Laurier's position was very clear. In defense of disallowing this sort of legislation, Laurier claimed in a 1903 speech to Parliament that:

> We intend to have a trade between Japan and Canada. We intend to bring about a development of the relations which exist between that progressive people and our own people. We ... are trying to promote trade between Canada and Japan because, after all, we are neighboring nations.
>
> (Gowan 1970:66)

It was the conviction of the government that Canada could become an important provider of raw materials and food to Japan. There were even great hopes that the Japanese would switch their dietary preferences from rice to wheat, thereby providing a market for the newly arising output of the Prairies (Gowan 1970:65).

Thus, despite increasing protests from British Columbia, the Federal Government was unwilling to move decisively against Japanese immigration for fear of prejudicing Canada's chances for increased trade with Japan. On January 31, 1906, the Canadian government became a party to the Anglo-Japanese trade agreement of 1894-95. Like many trade treaties of that era, this one granted reciprocal immigration and residence rights to individuals from both countries, thereby making a unilateral move on Canada's part to restrict Japanese immigration contrary to the treaty (Sugimoto 1966:42). The only recourse available to the Federal Government was to request that the Japanese agree to limit the flow of immigrants

themselves. Such an agreement was signed in Tokyo in 1907, and limited the number of male laborers (only) coming to Canada to 468 a year (Sumida 1935:34).

The Japanese government's strong concern for the plight of its nationals in Canada strengthened the position of Japanese immigrants and made it easier for them to actively defend their situation than it was for the Chinese. In a time of extreme nationalism, the Japanese government considered its overseas residents to be an extension of the state, and acted against any limitations which were placed upon them as if they were aimed at Japan itself. Throughout this era, the Japanese government sent a number of representatives to support the position of the Japanese in British Columbia.

In addition, Canadian perceptions of Japan stood in sharp contrast to that of China, and as with the latter, the national image of Japan was integrated into the local stereotype of the Japanese. At that time Japan was rising to prominence as a major world power. Their decisive defeat of the Russians in 1905 had drawn attention to the industrial revolution then ongoing in Japan, and to the military potential of this Asian nation (Jacobs and Landau 1971:114). Moreover, there was increasing concern that Japan would be able to dominate the Far East trade, especially with China (Lorence 1970:438).

The Japanese in Canada were seen to reflect this national image. They were viewed as being far more dangerous to European interests than

the Chinese, for they were perceived as being innovative, resourceful, and extremely nationalistic (Roy 1972:243-255); in particular, they could quickly develop an understanding of European economic practices without becoming European. The Japanese were seen to actively defend their rights and property, even by Laurier. In reference to the Japanese activities in the anti-oriental riot of 1907 Laurier noted that:

> the Japs showed fight, turned upon their assailants, and routed them. This is at once cause for rejoicing and for anxiety; rejoicing because the rowdies got a well deserved licking; anxiety because it may make the Japs very saucy, and render an adjustment of the trouble very difficult
>
> (Brown and Cook 1974:69).

The general critique of the Japanese was therefore quite different than that of the Chinese, though both depended ultimately on invidious racial distinctions. It was clearly seen that the Japanese were in no way lacking in most of the characteristics which Europeans thought constituted ideal virtues. They worked hard, supported their families, defended their honor, were resourceful, clean, and well ordered. Accordingly, the rationale for Japanese exclusion was more specifically racist than that dealing with the Chinese; the Japanese should be barred from coming to Canada <u>because</u> they were so successful, for they would never become affiliated with Canada and would always be oriented to Japan (Roy 1972: 243-255). Their presence in British Columbia was equated with the presence of the Japanese government, and fears were expressed that

Japanese immigrants were only a beachhead for a massive economic and social takeover of the Pacific Coast by Japanese.

As with the Chinese, the Japanese in British Columbia received news coverage far out of proportion to their numbers. In 1901, for instance, there were only 1,010 Japanese in Vancouver, who made up about 9.5% of the foreign-born population of the city (MacDonald 1970:311); while the number of Japanese in Vancouver rose to 1,841 over the subsequent decade, their percentage of the foreign-born shrank to 3.3%, for the influx of others was far higher. Nevertheless, the Japanese accounted for 11.6% of the domestic news items dealing with ethnicity in the Province and 12.9% in the World during the decade, 1905-1914.

As can be seen in Tables XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV, the press image of the Japanese diverged considerably from that of the Chinese even at the high level of abstraction represented by these tables. In broad overview, the portrayal of the Japanese was, like the Chinese, highly stigmatic (the Japanese moral community score was -1.38 in the Province and -1.01 in the World). At the same time, that stigma was derived from quite different attributes of behavior.

To begin with, neither paper gave Japanese cultural difference high saliency. Cultural difference was the topic of only three news items in the Province sample and one in the World. Even at the secondary level of themes, cultural difference did not play a predominent role, as is illustrated by Table XXXV.

Topics and Subtopics	Province number	Province %	Vancouver Daily World number	Vancouver Daily World %
Education				
need special education	-	-	1	1.4
undereducated	-	-	1	1.4
Health & Welfare				
are a hazard to health	-	-	2	2.8
health is poor	-	-	1	1.4
Employment & Economy				
cause unemployment	1	1.6	1	1.4
lower standard of living	1	1.6	-	-
other	2	3.2	-	-
send money out of country	-	-	1	1.4
buy property	2	3.2	1	1.4
in economic distress	-	-	1	1.4
Numbers				
are a certain number	2	3.2	2	2.8
Advocation of Restriction	-	-	1	1.4
should restrict jobs	1	1.6	1	1.4
should deny rights	1	1.6	-	-
should bar immigration	5	7.9	3	4.2
should keep Canada white	-	-	1	1.4
Are Restricted				
are barred from jobs	1	1.6	1	1.4
cannot immigrate	2	3.2	-	-
Charge Restriction	1	1.6	-	-
claim barred from jobs	1	1.6	-	-
other	1	1.6	-	-
Ethnic Relations				
try to better relations	1	1.6	-	-
relations mediated by others	1	1.6	3	4.2
relations are getting worse	-	-	1	1.4
relations are bad	1	1.6	1	1.4
have outside support	1	1.6	1	1.4
unite together	-	-	2	2.8
threaten western world	-	-	3	4.2
other	1	1.6	-	-

	number	%	number	%
Immigration				
many are coming	1	1.6	2	2.8
are entering illegally	4	6.3	2	2.8
arrive	3	4.8	1	1.4
are solicited to come	1	1.6	-	-
Legislative & Legal				
politicians urge restriction	2	3.2	2	2.8
restrictive laws discussed	-	-	1	1.4
are in the courts	1	1.6	2	2.8
immigration discussed	2	3.2	4	5.6
other	1	1.6	-	-
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted	1	1.6	5	6.9
property is destroyed	2	3.2	3	4.2
are dealt with leniently	-	-	1	1.4
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass others	1	1.6	2	2.8
assault, harass each other	1	1.6	2	2.8
meet imposition with force	1	1.6	-	-
are accused of crime	6	9.6	1	1.4
other	1	1.6	-	-
Cultural Difference				
working habits	1	1.6	1	1.4
require special provisions	1	1.6	-	-
speak English badly	1	1.6	-	-
Celebrities				
politicians	-	-	1	1.4
social notables	2	3.2	2	2.8
Ethnic Organizations				
ethnic festivals	-	-	1	1.4
organizations have a role	-	-	5	6.9
organizations are sinister	-	-	1	1.4
religious organizations aid	1	1.6	-	-
other	1	1.6	-	-

	number	%	number	%
Normal News	1	1.6	-	-
accident victims	-	-	1	1.4
ethnic makes good	-	-	1	1.4
suicide	1	1.6	-	-
Total	63	100.0%	72	100.0%

Table XXXIII. Japanese Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Sub-topics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Violence, Hostility By	10	15.9	6	8.4
Immigration	9	14.3	5	7.0
Advocation of Restriction	7	11.1	6	8.4
Legislative & Legal	6	9.6	9	12.6
Employment & Economy	6	9.6	4	5.6
Are Restricted	6	9.6	1	1.4
Ethnic Relations	5	8.0	10	14.0
Violence, Hostility Against	3	4.8	9	12.5
Ethnic Organizations	2	3.2	7	9.7
Total	54	85.7%	56	77.7%

Table XXXIV. The Most Frequent Topics of Japanese Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Daily World number
Hostility, Violence By	23	17
Employment and Economy	22	19
Ethnic Relations	20	22
Cultural Difference	18	16
Immigration	15	0
Advocation of Restriction	14	16
Legal and Legislative	13	31

Table XXXV. Most Common Themes in Domestic Japanese News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-14)

The most common theme of cultural difference was that the Japanese were loyal to their home government, which was actually a political distinction rather than a cultural one.[10]

Even the extensive newspaper coverage of alleged Japanese criminality and violence reflected the fact that cultural difference was not principal to the image of the Japanese. It will be recalled that the portrayal of Chinese crime and violence contained within it strong attributes of deviance and immorality. Not only were the Chinese charged with frequently violating the law, but also they were seen as violating the "rules of deviance." Instead of "normal" criminal activity like theft, Chinese criminality was seen to be abnormal--involvement with drugs, prostitution, and the "white slave trade." This was not a principal theme in the coverage of Japanese

criminal activity. Most instances of reported Japanese crime or violence was the type typically associated with Western life--assault, violation of liquor laws, and the like. The most frequent theme of this sort was that the Japanese were violent. This characteristic was but part of a larger stereotype that tied British Columbian Japanese to what were presumed to be Japan's national interests.

The major threat that the Japanese posed was seen by both papers to be political and economic rather than cultural. Like the Chinese, the Japanese were charged by the Province in particular with degrading the conditions of the working man, causing unemployment, and buying up property, farms, and businesses. Even though the Japanese immigrants were far fewer than the Chinese, the press was concerned that the organizational qualities of the Japanese might cause them to be stiff economic competition to both the working class and the businessman.

The way in which this critique was developed differed considerably between the two papers. In general, the Province tended to stress what it saw as the direct detrimental effects of the Japanese upon British Columbia and overtly argued for further restriction, while the World generated a stereotype of the sinister and conspiratorial nature of the Japanese and let its readers make their own conclusions as to what should be done about it. This difference was obviously a reflection of political considerations, and followed the same general pattern as Chinese coverage.

With a Liberal government in Ottawa, the Province could maintain

its Conservative orientation by totally opposing a Japanese presence in British Columbia. The Province accordingly more frequently portrayed the effects of the Japanese on the economy (9.6% of the sample) than the World (5.6%), more often advocated their restriction (11.2% as opposed to 8.4%), and devoted twice the coverage to the immigration of the Japanese than the World (14.3% as compared with 7.0%); the World sample showed not one item with an immigration theme. The Japanese image constructed by the Province was also far more violent and criminal than that of the World (15.9% as opposed to 8.4%).

Once more, the World was caught in the contradiction between Federal Liberal policy and British Columbian interests. Following a straight party line on the question of Japanese immigration was untenable, with the consequence that the World rather uneasily was forced to attempt another solution. Basically, the World divided the Japanese question into two aspects--the domestic and the international. Domestically, the World neglected to develop the problems which the Japanese were presumed to have generated in British Columbia, and concentrated on showing that the Japanese were a danger to white civilization on the Pacific Coast. The World saw the Japanese as a race who were impossible to effectively subordinate. They tenaciously defended their position and were "... all too ready to attack" (World, February 13, 1908, page 1).

Moreover, the Japanese in British Columbia might constitute far more of a threat than that posed by their economic activity, for they might

provide a beachhead for a subsequent invasion by Japan. A front page article under the headline "Theatrical View of Japanese Situation" (World, March 1, 1909) is typical of this theme. The threat posed was that "300,000 seasoned Japanese soldiers" could land in British Columbia with thirty day's notice; consequently, the "Japanese Question" was more than a question of immigration. It was a "matter of import to the nation," for the whole Pacific Coast was at the mercy of the Japanese. There were many other examples of this concern in the World. For instance, on September 3, 1907 another front page headline declared that the "International Danger Zone has Shifted to Pacific Coast."

The World response to this threat was to claim that this was "white man's country" and that the British in particular had a transcendent claim to it. Characteristically, when a British Columbian mine operator "Told Colonial Club of Jap Menace in British Columbia," he claimed that the British race had a mission "to carry the white man's burden and uphold white man's standards of living and to fill up Britain's great empires and keep them white" (World, April 1, 1907, page 1). It was argued that the Japanese posed the most important threat to the unfolding of this great plan.

The World also developed this theme in its more extensive coverage of ethnic relations and ethnic organizations than the Province, stressing the "intrinsic" tendency of the Japanese to band together and to affiliate with their home government.

In the local controversy over the Japanese the Province was in a

stronger political position than the World, and extensively attacked the Liberals (and the World) for what it saw to be a stance that was "soft" on immigration. For instance, the Province was able to give extensive coverage to accusations that the Liberals were conspiring with the Grand Trunk Railway to bring in more Japanese labor. On the eve of the Provincial election in which Premier McBride (a Conservative) was running for re-election, the editor of the Province explicitly made this charge (February 1, 1907, page 6). In the same day's paper a page one story headlined that:

> FIFTY THOUSAND JAPANESE FOR BRITISH COLUMBIA
> Grand Trunk Railway and the Machine Liberals want to Flood this country with Little Brown men. Hard and Fast Bargain is Made. No Chance for White Men on New Railroad. Japanese Contractors Now Arranging to Bring Over Horde of Coolies.

The World was unable to provide an effective response.

In the World's coverage of the relationship between Canada and Japan the paper attempted to salvage what it could of the Liberal program by supporting government moves to develop a trade agreement with Japan and to negotiate a restriction of Japanese immigration. In particular, it gave extensive coverage to M. Lemieux's trip to Japan and the immigration agreement which was forthcoming from it. Nevertheless, the World did not try to convey to its readership the rosy picture of future trade prospects with Japan that was held by many in the Federal Government of the day.

It should be noted that the coverage of the Japanese was extremely

sensitive to major events. With the conclusion of the Lemeiux agreement, the question of the Japanese "Yellow Peril" was largely resolved, and the Japanese ceased to play a prominent role in the newspaper press for the rest of the decade under consideration:

	Vancouver Province		Vancouver Daily World	
Year	number	%	number	%
1905	2	3.2	5	7.0
1906	1	1.6	1	1.4
1907	14	22.2	21	29.6
1908	20	31.7	12	21.1
1909	9	14.3	7	9.9
1910	2	3.2	5	7.0
1911	4	6.3	3	4.2
1912	5	7.9	6	8.5
1913	4	6.3	5	7.0
1914	2	3.2	3	4.2
Total	63	100.0%	71	100.0%

Table XXXVI: The Yearly Distribution of Japanese Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

In overview, the press image of the Japanese demonstrated the inconsistency of the criteria upon which the press ethnic moral community was based. At the same time that the press stigmatized the Chinese for

being docile, culturally convervative, and amoral, the Japanese were stigmatized for being quite the opposite--aggressive, innovative, and strongly oriented towards a moral code. Whereas the Chinese could be argued to have served as an outgroup whose "lack of character" highlighted supposed British Columbian values of hard work, resourcefulness, and ethicality, the Japanese (who were perceived to have all these qualities) posed a moral dilemma for the press, which was only resolved by reference to more "religious" arguments about the intrinsic rights and future destiny of the white race in British Columbia.

South Asians

Following the Chinese and Japanese, South Asians were the last Asian group to immigrate to British Columbia prior to World War I. The first of these pioneers did not come from India, but rather from British Far East treaty ports, where they had been employed in the military, as policemen, or as manual laborers. Over 85% of them were Sikh (Buchignani 1977:20). These immigrants quickly found jobs, prompting an increasing number of their friends and relatives to come in subsequent years (Buchignani 1977:21).

Year	Number of South Asian Immigrants
1904-5	45
1905-6	387
1906-7	2,124
1907-8	2,623

Table XXXVII. South Asian Immigration to Canada, Fiscal Years 1904 to 1907.

Most of the five thousand immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1906 and 1908 came directly from the Punjab. As with the Chinese and Japanese who came before them, South Asians came to Canada motivated (at least initially) by hopes for economic betterment. Men came alone in search of jobs, leaving their families and farms in the protection of kinsmen. Many came with the intent of eventually returning to India, but many as well were willing to consider permanently emigrating to Canada if conditions proved promising; by that time, Sikhs had already established themselves in a number of places in the British Empire. By Indian standards, many of those early immigrants were fairly well off; most of them belonged to the dominant, land-holding, Jat caste of the Punjab (Buchignani 1977:21).

Although the economic interests of South Asian immigrants were quite similar to those of the Chinese and the Japanese, social and political considerations surrounding their immigration, its restriction, and South Asian responses to that restriction were distinct. For one thing, in contrast to

the Chinese and the Japanese South Asian immigrants were British subjects prior to their arrival in Canada and were already legally residents of a British colony. Moreover, South Asian immigrants were relatively familiar with British legal and political practice, and subsequent events were to show that they were able to use that knowledge with surprising effectiveness in their battle against legal and political subordination in British Columbia.

South Asians arrived in British Columbia during an economic depression (1907-8) when hostility against the Japanese and the Chinese was at its height. As early as mid-1906, both the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council and the city council passed petitions urging the restriction of South Asian immigration (Gowan 1970:67). In March, 1907, South Asians were politically disenfranchised, despite their status as British subjects. 1907 was also the year of the infamous anti-Oriental riot previously referred to; this event indirectly led to the exclusion of South Asians from Canada.

As an aftermath of the riot, William Lyon Mackenzie King, then Deputy Minister of Labour, was sent to Vancouver to investigate claims made by Chinese and Japanese nationals of property destruction resulting from the riot. Subsequently, he was commissioned to investigate the causes of Japanese and South Asian immigration to British Columbia (King 1908). This investigation was followed by a trip to Britain in order to conclude an agreement between Canada, Britain and the Indian colonial government which might restrict further South Asian immigration to Canada. The way

that was devised was extremely ingenious, and simultaneously solved several other problems for the governments involved.

British concerns were basically twofold: continued immigration to British Columbia might provide the basis for an Indian independence movement in Canada, while the overt restriction of Indian immigration would further weaken the legal fiction that Indians were citizens of the Empire; in turn, this might lead to civil unrest in India. Predictably, British Columbians saw these new Asian immigrants as a potential new threat to their economic situation, and argued for total exclusion. Both were to get their way. In May of 1908 an Order-in-Council was passed by the Federal government which required that all immigrants entering Canada through Pacific ports come by a continuous journey from their country of origin. There were no such ticketing arrangements from India, and this Order-in-Council effectively banned subsequent immigration from India without specifically mentioning Indians (Lal 1976:20).

Resident British Columbia South Asians were to fight against this continuous journey restriction in the courts from 1908 to 1914, and actively propagandized their plight in the media (Andracki 1958:111). Nevertheless, the Order-in-Council remained in effect until 1947, with the qualification that the wives and dependent children of legal South Asian residents of Canada were allowed to come to Canada after 1920 (Corbett 1957:40). Classed ideologically with the Chinese and Japanese, South Asians were legally and informally restricted to a subordinate position in British

Columbia society until well after World War II (Corbett 1957:40).

The stereotype of South Asians which quickly arose effectively legitimated their exclusion from the mainstream of British Columbia society, and was distinct from that of other Asian groups. Perhaps arising as an invalid conclusion from the severe conditions to which the first South Asian immigrants were subjected, South Asians were seen as dirty, immoral, and unsanitary. They were also viewed as being violent, litigatious, arrogant, and chained to backward traditional customs (McCrae 1916; 1918).

These views were reflected in the coverage of South Asians by the press. As with the Chinese and the Japanese, the South Asians (or "Hindoos," as they were uniformly characterized by the press) received newspaper coverage far out of proportion to their numbers, which never were to exceed 5,000 before the 1950's. In both papers, South Asians received more coverage than any other ethnic group with the exception of the Chinese and Japanese--about 9.9% of the World's domestic coverage and 11.4% of the Province's.

Like the portrayal of the Chinese and the Japanese, that of the South Asians in both papers was fundamentally the same, as is illustrated by Tables XXXVIII and XXXIX. By far, the greatest concern was focused upon two topics: legal and legislative matters, and immigration. Taken together, news items dealing with these topics accounted for over 40% of the domestic coverage of South Asians in either paper.

This heavy concern with legal matters in particular reflected a South

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Housing & Settlement	1	1.6	-	-
are overcrowded	1	1.6	-	-
provide own housing	2	3.2	1	1.8
other	1	1.6	-	-
Health & Welfare				
are a hazard to health	1	1.6	2	3.6
want social services	-	-	1	1.8
Employment & Economy				
seek jobs	-	-	1	1.8
are unemployed	1	1.6	-	-
are employed	1	1.6	-	-
Advocation of Restriction				
should deny rights	1	1.6	1	1.8
should bar immigration	2	3.2	3	5.5
Are Restricted				
denied citizenship	1	1.6	-	-
cannot immigrate	3	4.8	1	1.8
Charge Restriction				
claim barred from rights	1	1.6	-	-
Ethnic Relations				
relations mediated by others	-	-	1	1.8
good relations with police	-	-	1	1.8
relations are bad	1	1.6	-	-
have outside support	1	1.6	-	-
do not get along	-	-	1	1.8
threaten western world	-	-	1	1.8
Immigration	1	1.6	1	1.8
are entering illegally	-	-	1	1.8
arrive	6	9.7	5	9.1
are deported	2	3.2	1	1.8
are refused entry	1	1.6	2	3.6
other	2	3.2	-	-

	number	%	number	%
Legislative & Legal				
politician urge restriction	2	3.2	2	3.6
restrictive laws discussed	1	1.6	2	3.6
are in the courts	5	8.1	2	3.6
protest to government	1	1.6	3	5.5
immigration discussed	4	6.5	4	7.3
other	2	3.2	-	-
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted	-	-	1	1.8
property is destroyed	1	1.6	-	-
victims of crime	-	-	2	3.6
are dealt with harshly	-	-	2	3.6
other	1	1.6	-	-
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass others	2	3.2	-	-
demonstrations in British areas	1	1.6	1	1.8
are accused of crime	4	6.5	2	3.6
Cultural Difference				
eating customs	-	-	1	1.8
religion	2	3.2	1	1.8
health	-	-	1	1.8
require special provisions	-	-	1	1.8
Celebrities				
social notables	1	1.6	1	1.8
historical notables	-	-	1	1.8
Normal News				
human interest	2	3.2	1	1.8
accident victims	1	1.6	1	1.8
humor	-	-	1	1.8
other	2	3.2	-	-
Total	62	100.0%	55	100.0%

Table XXXVIII. South Asian Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Topic	Vancouver Province		Vancouver Daily World	
	number	%	number	%
Legislative and Legal	15	24.2	13	23.6
Immigration	12	19.3	10	18.1
Violence, Hostility By	7	11.3	3	5.4
Normal News	5	8.0	3	5.4
Violence, Hostility Against	2	3.2	5	9.4
Advocation of Restriction	3	4.8	4	7.3
Cultural Difference	2	3.2	4	7.2
Ethnic Relations	2	3.2	4	7.2
Housing and Settlement	5	8.0	1	1.8
Total	53	85.2%	47	85.4%

Table XXXIX. The Most Frequent Topics of South Asian Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Asian resource base which was distinct from that of other Asian immigrants. Unlike the Japanese, South Asians had no home government support whatever, but they did possess the ability to take on their attempted restriction in British Columbian terms--in the courts. Because the Order-in-Council restricting South Asian immigration was made unilaterally by the federal government rather than by international treaty, it was open to interpretation by Canadian courts, and South Asians quickly seized upon the possibility that the courts might overturn the order on constitutional grounds--which they succeeded in doing on a technicality in 1911. Although the order was quickly modified in accord with the interpretation of the courts and remained in effect, the South Asian legal attack continued, reaching a climax in the Komagata Maru affair of 1914, when Gurdit Singh chartered a ship to bring 376 of his countrymen to British Columbia in an unsuccessful test of the immigration law (Raymer 1942:297-299). Individual South Asians were also active in the courts, where they attempted to gain entry into Canada for themselves or their relatives. Both papers gave these happenings extensive coverage, such that themes categorized as being legal and legislative were also the most frequent in the sample (see also Table XXXX).

In these news items dealing with South Asian legal attempts to gain the right of immigration, both papers were extremely unsympathetic to South Asians, even in those news items which purported to be straight factual reporting of court cases. Almost without exception, court battles

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Daily World number
Legislative & Legal	29	25
Cultural Difference	29	18
Ethnic Relations	23	5
Employment & Economy	21	5
Are Restricted	19	2
Hostility, Violence By	14	8
Immigration	13	11
Advocation of Restriction	13	11
Housing & Settlement	9	7
Health & Welfare	6	4

Table XXXX. Most Common Themes in Domestic South Asian News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

over immigration were seen as attacks by South Asians on the legal order of Canada. Instead of suggesting that South Asians in fact must have integrated a considerable number of social and political values which were held by other British Columbians in order to use the courts in this manner, both papers claimed that South Asians were inappropriately using the courts to modify the laws of the land in ways undesired by the general populati

This theme of the subversion of the moral order by South Asians is most evident in the press coverage of immigration and situations which the press connected with it. To both papers, the immigration of South Asians was explicitly characterized as a threat to normal life:

> HINDU HORDES MAKE THEMSELVES AT HOME
> Annex choicest part of City. Motley Crowd with pots and pans, turbans and trunks invade Vancouver. Mayor Buscombe Wires Ottawa for Help.
>
> (Province, September 1, 1906, page 1)

The World's coverage of this same situation was little different:

> HORDES OF HUNGRY HINDOOS INVADE
> VANCOUVER CITY
> Starving Coolies Roam the Streets.
>
> (World, September 1, 1906, page 1)

The latter story goes on to report that "Hindoos" are a "menace to women and children. Homeless and Destitute Wanderers camp in park and beg for food." This, too, was characteristic of the press coverage of South Asians: once here, they were perceived as polluting and unclean. For instance, in the World editorial of October 17, 1906 (page 6), the paper

claimed that it was the intent of the city government to clean out the "Hindoos" from downtown Vancouver and 'make it ruled and peopled by white men in a white man's country." South Asians were "lepers" who had to be removed at any cost.

Moreover, South Asians were seen to be a direct danger to women:

> TRADE COUNCIL DISCUSSES HINDOOS
> Objects to Hindoos infesting Lonely Suburban Homes. Question handed over to the Parliamentary Committee.

(World, November 16, 1906, page 1)

The story claimed that "after reading the press" women were "afraid to leave their homes." The Province's coverage of the same date, page, and subject was no less alarmist:

> WOMEN BEING ARMED FOR PROTECTION FROM HINDOOS
> Unless outrages cease, their perpetrators will be targets. Working men aroused. Take steps in Defense of Helpless Women Subject to Attack.

Other presumed South Asian cultural differences were given equally high saliency in the press. Overtly showing how the stereotype of local South Asians was affected by the image of South Asians in India, the World item of November 17, 1906 (page 1) is representative of how both papers viewed South Asian living conditions. In a full width headline it claimed that:

> SEVENTY HINDOOS SPEND NIGHT IN THREE-ROOM SHACK VANCOUVERS "BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA"

Even after immigration had been stopped for three years, these stereotypes remained current:

> DECLARES HINDOOS ARE FILTHIEST
> From Sanitary Point of View Worse than Lowest Chinese: Such is statement of Sanitary Inspector in Annual Report.
>
> (Province, January 12, 1912, page 3)

Despite the unambiguously negative image of South Asians in the two newspapers, there were a few minor differences between the Province and the World in how this stigmatic image was constructed. For one thing, in overview the Province's portrayal of South Asians defined these people more definitively out of the moral community than did the World: while South Asians received lower moral community scores in both papers than either the Chinese or the Japanese, in the Province their score was lower than any other local ethnic group except for Italians. Their score was -2.03 in the Province and -1.31 in the World.

In addition, the Province tended to dwell upon two types of issues which the World did not: the Imperial consequences of South Asian immigration and the negative effects of South Asian immigration upon British Columbia. These two concerns were closely tied together by a more general ideological position which legitimated British rule over the Empire and India in particular. For instance, an ongoing worry of the Province was that:

VANCOUVER HINDOOS AID PLOTTERS IN INDIA
Thousands of Dollars Sent from British Columbia to Headquarters. MONEY TO BUY RIFLES.
Evidence Gathered by Secret Service Man Demonstrates Extent of Seditious Movement in the Province.

(Province, June 1, 1910, page 1)

Paternalistically, the article further points out that Indians had "no gratitude for what Britain did for them" and that local Indians were "ignorant coolies who contribute money and unscrupulous leaders" to a vain independence movement. Similar concerns are shown in the Province's more frequent interest in overseas Indians, primarily those in India; the Province overseas sample shows almost twice the number of ethnic news items dealing with South Asians as does that of the World (n = 22 as opposed to n = 12). In turn over a quarter of the Province's overseas coverage of Indians dealt with anti-British demonstrations.

On the local front, the Province concentrated upon similar questions, as can be seen particularly in the distribution of themes in Table XXXX. In particular, in contrast to the World the Province gave extensive coverage to themes dealing with ethnic relations (n = 23 as opposed to n = 5), employment and the economy (21, 5), and the restriction of South Asians (19, 2). Once more, an implicit paternalism makes its appearance; if left to their own devices, Indians "intrinsically" tended towards squalor, immorality, and violence. They should therefore be ruled with a stern hand. Consistent with this view, the Province argued that Indians could not

possibly be allowed to participate fully in British Columbian society, because if they were to be given the freedom and independence which was central to democratic society, they would sink to their "natural" level. The press claimed that even as subordinates, "Hindoos" were a threat, for like the Chinese their debased living style allowed them to undercut the wage demands of whites. Moreover, the Province backed up such arguments with reference to the presumed negative effects of Indian immigration to other places, such as South Africa.

In overview, it is clear that both papers tended to develop an image of South Asian ethnicity which reflected then current ideas about India and Indians. Neither paper gave much credence to the Imperial fiction that non-white British subjects had any rights whatever in British Columbia, yet both used the related argument that strong British control over India might eventually lead to the uplifting of Indians to European standards. Both papers characterized immigrant South Asians as being the dregs of Indian society, in direct contradiction to the well known place of Sikhs in the British India army and to the obvious sophistication and education of some local Indian leaders; both cast South Asians entirely out of the newspaper moral community.

Americans

In carrying out the analysis of this era it immediately became obvious that the Vancouver press sharply distinguished between several kinds of Americans. There were what could be termed "just plain Americans," as represented by a headline such as:

> INVASION BY AMERICANS. 75 Thousand Families entered Canadian West this Year
>
> (Province, October 1, 1909, page 1)

Another variety of Americans was the "Negro", who was always so designated by the press:

> NEGROES COMING TO SPY OUT THE LAND.
> Advance Guard of Black Army from Oklahoma
> Now Waiting at White Rock
>
> (Province, April 15, 1911, page 1)

Yet another type of American was the individual who was primarily characterized by his or her ethnic background, as for instance:

> ITALIAN CONVICTS INVADE NEW YORK
> No Less than Five Thousand Said to be in City
>
> (Province, August 30, 1911, page 1)

Almost never did the press classify the latter sort of individual as a "real" American, and the ethnic attributes surrounding his or her behavior were ascribed primarily to ethnic background rather than to being an American. Following this folk classification, various ethnic Americans have been analyzed under their reported ethnicities. This still leaves two main varieties of American, who were dealt with in fundmentally different ways by

the press. Each is discussed separately.

While it has been frequently proposed that a theme of anti-Americanism has persisted throughout the history of Canada (Baker 1970: 426) and that the identity of Canadians still depends upon a negative definition of Americans and the United States (Litvak and Maule 1974:16), this has by no means been dominant in the history of British Columbia, In fact, detached as it was from Eastern Canadian concerns, there existed a general tendency to see Americans in such a favorable light that the economic and political integration of British Columbia with the United States found a number of sympathizers within the province.

Part of this favorable image of Americans must be ascribed to how these individuals were seen within the spectrum of immigrants to Western Canada at the turn of the century and thereafter. American immigrants were actively solicited to come to the Canadian Prairies by private immigration agencies and the Canadian government (Palmer 1975:40). These potential immigrants were ethnically acceptable and they were seen to bring with them far more capital than any other type of settler (Canadian Annual Review 1906:285). Many immigrants came, both in response to these solicitations and in reaction to their limited possibilities in the United States. It has been estimated that between 1901 and 1910, over a half million Americans became Canadian citizens (Wilson 1932:264, 179).

This large influx of Americans did not happen without concern being raised as to how these new Canadians might affect the future course of

Canadian society. In particular, their arrival provoked worry about the century-old threat of the American annexation of Canada (Baker 1970:426; McInnis 1958:403). Specifically, these arguments centered on the equally old question of trade reciprocity, which separated Conservative from Liberal thought. Fearing the weakening of Empire ties, the Conservatives were opposed to a liberalization of trade barriers between Canada and her southern neighbor, while western Liberals in particular argued for freer trade in the hope that it would lead to increased economic prosperity for the western provinces.

While most American settlers in the Prairies were farmers, the majority of those who came to British Columbia either were not or did not remain so after their arrival. Reflecting the general nature of the provincial economy, Americans moved into industrial labor and to a range of occupations in urban areas. In Vancouver, the American-born population was the second largest of any immigrant group, but was always far smaller than that of the British-born for the period in question; they constituted about 17 to 18% of the Vancouver foreign-born population in contrast to the British, who made up almost three times as many (Macdonald 1970:311).

Despite the number of Americans in British Columbia and the strong economic and social ties between the province and the Pacific Coast states (Myers 1914:301) neither the World nor the Province gave much of its ethnic coverage to Americans. Only 24 news items in the Province's domestic sample dealt with American ethnicity. The World gave this subject greater

exposure, but the sample was still small (n = 35).

These low frequencies, which would correspond to but 4.2% of the Province's domestic coverage and 4.8% of the World's, should not lead one to the conclusion that these papers did not deal with events concerning Americans and the United States, for this was hardly the case. American events were an extremely important aspect of news coverage in the press. Both the Province and the World depended heavily upon American news sources for their international news coverage (Warnock 1970:122-123). Nevertheless, the coverage of Americans in the United States was rarely presented with American ethnicity as a significant factor. In this respect, both papers had already succumbed to a definition of "normal" news which did not differentiate happenings on the other side of the border from those in Canada; a report of a murder in Detroit was identically portrayed to one in Victoria, save for the geographical locus of the crime. This tendency contributed directly to the relative invisibility of Americans in the local press, for they were usually portrayed as non-ethnic individuals operating in normal society. Moreover, both papers tended to report the Americanness of individuals only when the individual so portrayed were outside of their home country. It should be recalled that events conveying an ethnic element which occurred in United States localities were included in my domestic sample. While this might lead one to conclude that most news items dealing with American ethnicity would have occurred in the United States, it was not the case:

Locality of News Event	Vancouver Province	Vancouver Daily World
British Columbia	9	8
Canada (other)	15	21
United States	-	6
Total	24	35

Table XXXXI. The Locality of Domestic News Items Dealing with Americans: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Despite a lingering suspicion of American business interests in British Columbia, both papers were extremely sympathetic to Americans in their coverage of them. This followed similar press tendencies on this subject across the country (Baker 1970:429). Americans scored higher on the moral community measure than all other immigrant groups save for the Scots, British and Germans (-0.25 in both papers). Tables XXXXII and XXXXIII present the distribution of topics and subtopics found in news items which addressed American ethnicity.

As can be seen, the key subject of American news items was immigration. Almost without exception, both papers saw large scale American immigration to the Canadian West as a good thing. A World editorial of April 3, 1906 (page 6) is characteristic: in discussing the possible "Americanization of the Northwest," it was the editor's position that in an overall sense American immigrants were good for the country, noting in particular another important theme associated with Americans--that they brought badly needed capital into Canada with them. Another World

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Employment & Economy				
cause unemployment	4	16.7	-	-
are unemployed	-	-	1	2.9
employ each other	1	4.2	-	-
Numbers				
increase in numbers	-	-	1	2.9
Are Restricted				
other	-	-	1	2.9
Ethnic Relations				
relations get better	-	-	1	2.9
relations are bad	-	-	1	2.9
anti-American investment	2	8.3	1	2.9
Immigration	-	-	2	5.7
many are coming	6	25.0	9	25.7
enter illegally	-	-	1	2.9
arrive	5	20.8	1	2.9
are deported	-	-	1	2.9
are refused entry	1	4.2	-	-
should solicit more	-	-	1	2.9
emigration to U.S.	1	4.2	-	-
bring in money	-	-	1	2.9
Legislative & Legal				
laws limit behavior	1	4.2	2	5.7
immigration law discussed	-	-	1	2.9
Violence, Hostility By				
assault and harass each other	-	-	1	2.9
are accused of crime	2	8.3	3	8.6
Celebrities				
entertainers	-	-	1	2.9
politicians	-	-	1	2.9
Sports				
participate in sports	-	-	1	2.9

	number	%	number	%
Ethnic Organizations & Events	-	-	1	2.9
take role in community	-	-	1	2.9
Normal News bring tourists to B.C.	-	-	1	2.9
Total	24	100.0%	35	100.0%

Table XXXXII. American Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Immigration	13	54.2	14	45.9
Employment & Economy	5	20.9	1	2.9
Violence, Hostility By	2	8.3	4	11.5
Ethnic Relations	2	8.3	3	8.7
Legislative & Legal	1	4.2	3	8.7
Total	23	95.9%	27	77.7%

Table XXXXIII. The Most Frequent Topics of American Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

editorial of August 2, 1909 ("The American Invasion", page 5) acknowledged the basic tradeoff that the Liberals were willing to make; although increased immigration from the United States might lead to an Americanization of western Canadian culture, Americans nonetheless made good citizens and contributed materially to the country.

This should not suggest that the World and the Province differed materially in their coverage of American immigration during this era, the former supporting increased immigration, while the latter rejecting it in favor of British immigration. This was not the case. Both papers expressed some reservations about the cultural impact of Americans on Canada, but these concerns were in each case clearly subordinate to a general desire to see greater American immigration. For instance, the Province's editorials on this question (December 29, 1911, page 6; July 17, 1909, page 7) could easily have been editorials for the World; in the latter editorial ("Why American Farmers are Welcome in Canada") the editor of the Province specifically refutes the observation of a writer from the London Daily Mail that the "United States invasion" of Canada was a danger to the country. While the Province was indubitably more pro-British than the World, this did not lead it to an anti-American stance. Even in terms of the economic effects of Americans in Canada, the Province was generally favorable; while the Province occasionally claimed that Americans tended to take jobs away from Canadians (see the letter to the editor, Province, July 2, 1908, page 7), this worry was mitigated by the positive

economic prospects of large scale American immigration.

Neither did the Province nor the World characterize Americans as ethnically inferior to British stock, even though this theme was current in Conservative thought of the times (Baker 1970:426-449). Both papers perceived that Americans brought with them certain customs which contrasted with the ideal image of the British, notably a tendency towards disorder, anarchy, and social familiarity, but both were hopeful that these tendencies would pass with time. In addition, like the British, Americans in the news were usually seen as part of normal society, even when Americans did things which would be associated with the ethnicity of other groups. For instance, while both papers consistently used American reports of spectacular crimes as filler material, in the sample only two of these items in the Province and four items in the World specifically associated American ethnicity with crime. The assumed normalcy of American ethnicity can no better be summarized than in the following distribution of themes associated with it. In marked contrast to the foregoing Asian groups, Americans received almost no coverage associating them with difference, violence or immorality:

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Daily World number
Employment & Economy	14	6
Immigration	10	11
Ethnic Relations	6	6
Legislative & Legal	5	11
Numbers	4	4
Cultural Difference	5	1
Violence, Hostility By	1	2

Table XXXXIV. Most Common Themes in Domestic American News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Black Americans did not fare so well in the Vancouver press. Their moral community scores were lower than any European group except for the Italians (-0.82 in the Province and -1.61 in the World). Although coverage of black Americans was not extensive in either paper (n = 17 in the Province and n = 18 in the World), such coverage as there was was extremely stigmatic. There were at that time very few black people in British Columbia, and even fewer were actively attempting to come to Canada. What, then, accounted for their negative treatment in the press?

It would seem that the press stereotype of black Americans was imported in toto from the United States via the American sources of news upon which both papers heavily depended. Virtually all news items dealing with black Americans originated in the United States--the exact reverse of the

origin of most items dealing with other Americans:

Source of News Item	Vancouver Province	Vancouver Daily World
British Columbia	1	3
Canadian (other)	2	-
American	14	15
Total	17	18

Table XXXXV. The Source of News Items dealing with black Americans: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Virtually all of these news items also dealt with events which occurred in the United States (82% of the Province items and 94% of the World items). Tables XXXXVI and XXXXVII outline the topics, subtopics, and themes found in association with news items on black Americans.

Reflecting the lack of relevance of these news items to everyday British Columbia concerns, almost none of them presented black people as individuals with names, personalities, motivations, and goals. Instead, virtually every story dealt in one way or another with the unusual, particularly with events involving crime and violence. Considering the sample for both papers, only one news item dealt with what could be termed normal news. Neither paper provided a social or economic context for these tales of conflict; there were no background articles on black Americans in either paper, no feature articles, editorials, or letters to the editor. [12]

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Health & Welfare				
are a health hazard	1	5.9	-	-
Advocation of Restriction				
advocate job restriction	-	-	1	5.6
Are Restricted				
are denied rights	1	5.9	-	-
Charge Restriction				
claim their rights barred	1	5.9	-	-
Ethnic Relations				
have outside help	-	-	1	5.6
Legal & Legislative				
laws limit	1	5.9	-	-
laws protect	1	5.9	-	-
are in court	-	-	1	5.6
Immigration				
arrive	1	5.9	1	5.6
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted	1	5.9	6	33.3
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass	3	17.6	4	22.2
U.S. riots	3	17.6	1	5.6
are accused of crime	1	5.9	2	11.1
Normal News				
are victims of accidents	1	5.9	-	-
make good	1	5.9	-	-
suicide	-	-	1	5.6
other	1	5.9	-	-
Total	17	100.0%	18	100.0%

Table XXXXVI. Black American News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Theme	Vancouver Province	Vancouver Daily World
	number	number
Violence, Hostility By	7	16
Violence, Hostility Against	6	5
Ethnic Relations	5	3
Are Restricted	5	-
Cultural Difference	4	1
Immigration	2	1
Legislation and Legal	2	1

Table XXXXVII. Most Common Themes in Domestic Black American News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Native People

When Captain Cook first arrived on British Columbia's shores, there were an estimated 80,000 native people living in the interior and the coastal areas of the region (Duff 1964:361). Subsequent contact through the next hundred years brought disease, malnutrition, social disorganization, and alcoholism, which severely reduced the local population. By 1905, the native population of British Columbia was about 25,000 and was still falling (Canadian Annual Review 1906:484). It would not be until the 1930's that the number of native people in the province would stabilize and eventually begin to increase (Robin 1972:31).

While native people are at present largely outside of the mainstream of British Columbia economic life, this was not always the case. In earlier days, native people shaped and shared in the province's expansion and growth. In the fur trade they had been a necessary part of the economic order and it was only with the coming of industrialization that native people were increasingly relegated to inferior and part-time roles in the local economy. For instance, while native people are credited with discovering the important coal reserves near Nanaimo in the mid-1850's and even were the first to mine it, they were soon supplanted by British miners (Griffin 1958:14).

Nevertheless, native people played an important role in other aspects of the provincial economy before World War I. They were very active in the salmon fishing industry, both as fishermen and as cannery workers.

In more isolated areas, their participation in the logging industry was extensive, and native people also adapted to fill the role of migratory agricultural worker. In general, native people constituted an important source of reserve labor for a fluctuating and seasonal British Columbia economy (Robin 1972:31).

As such, native people were not seen by others as serious competitors to the "white capitalist, landowner, or laborers" (Robin 1972:31). Although the claim of native people to aboriginal land rights occasionally was cause for white concern, in general native people were neither feared nor totally despised. Rather, they were viewed somewhat like errant children, who were the heirs of a (romanticized) past in Nature in which they could no longer participate; neither had they "learned the ways of the modern world" sufficiently to be given a full role in it.

As can be seen in Tables XXXXVIII and XXXXIX, the press coverage of native people during this era was quite extensive. 8.9% of the Province's and 11.7% of the World's coverage of domestic ethnicity concerned native people. This is a greater percentage than any European ethnic group, and is comparable in frequency with that devoted to South Asians.

The negative societal image of native people in British Columbia carried over to the press portrayal of Indians in both papers.[13] By far, the most common topic found in these news items was Indians in one way or another being violent or hostile to others or to themselves. In particular, the Province was keenly interested in this topic, devoting 39.7% of its

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Housing & Settlement	1	2.1	-	-
do not keep up their houses	1	2.1	-	-
Education				
other	-	-	1	1.5
Health & Welfare				
health is poor	2	4.2	1	1.5
Advocation of Restriction				
should deny conveniences	-	-	1	1.5
should deny ethnic ways	2	4.2	-	-
Are Restricted				
are barred from jobs	-	-	1	1.5
Charge Restriction	-	-	1	1.5
claim citizenship barred	1	2.1	-	-
not allowed ethnic ways	-	-	3	4.6
other	1	2.1	-	-
Ethnic Relations				
organizations try to better relations	1	2.1	-	-
relations mediated by others	-	-	2	3.1
relations are good	1	2.1	1	1.5
relations are bad	2	4.2	-	-
have outside support	-	-	2	3.1
impose their ways	-	-	1	1.5
Legislative & Legal				
laws limit behavior	-	-	1	1.5
laws protecting behavior discussed	-	-	1	1.5
are in the courts	1	2.1	4	6.2
protest to government	-	-	1	1.5
other	3	6.3	6	9.2
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted	-	-	2	3.1
victims of crime	2	4.2	2	3.1

	number	%	number	%
Violence, Hostility By	1	2.1	-	-
assault, harass others	9	18.8	5	7.7
assault, harass each other	4	8.3	5	7.7
U.S.A. riots, & demonstrations	2	4.2	-	-
meet imposition with force	-	-	1	1.5
are accused of crime	2	4.2	4	6.2
cause crime to increase	1	2.1	-	-
are violent	-	-	-	-
given capital punishment	-	-	2	3.1
Cultural Difference	1	2.1	1	1.5
have different morals	1	2.1	-	-
have different religion	2	4.2	-	-
require special provisions	-	-	1	1.5
have different idea of law	1	2.1	-	-
other	-	-	1	1.5
Celebrities	-	-	1	1.5
entertainers	-	-	1	1.5
social notables	2	4.2	-	-
historical notables	-	-	1	1.5
Ethnic Organizations	-	-	1	1.5
celebrate their festivals	-	-	1	1.5
take role in community	-	-	2	3.1
celebrate holidays	-	-	1	1.5
Normal News				
human interest	3	6.3	1	1.5
are accident victims	-	-	3	4.6
make good	-	-	1	1.5
other	-	-	1	1.5
Total	48	100.0%	65	100.0%

Table XXXXVIII. Native Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Topic	Vancouver Province		Vancouver Daily World	
	number	%	number	%
Violence, Hostility By	19	39.7	18	27.7
Cultural Difference	5	10.5	3	4.5
Legislative & Legal	4	8.4	13	19.9
Ethnic Relations	4	8.4	6	9.2
Normal News	3	6.3	6	9.1
Charge Restriction	2	4.2	4	6.1
Ethnic Organizations	2	4.2	4	6.1
Violence, Hostility Against	2	4.2	4	6.1
Total	41	85.9%	58	88.7%

TABLE XXXXIX. The Most Frequent Topics of Native Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

domestic coverage of Indian ethnicity to it. Indians were very often seen to be prone towards interpersonal violence--fighting and common assault were frequently found subtopics relating to Indians. It should be noted that this association of native people's ethnicity with violence stands in contrast with coverage of both the British and Americans when they are reported to have done similar things; in the latter case ethnicity was rarely reported to have been a factor, while in the former it almost always was.

Despite this common fascination with the perceived violence of Indians, the Province and the World differed quite significantly in their portrayal of other aspects of Indian life. On the whole, the World was far more sympathetic to the Indian situation than was the Province; this is reflected in the fact that the Province's moral community score was far lower (-1.34) than the World's (-0.80). On the whole, the Province was much more sensitive to native cultural differences, and tended to use cultural difference as an off-hand explanation of the then present plight of Indians. This concern with cultural difference is especially obvious at the level of themes. As indicated in Table L, 45 out of the 47 news items in the Province's domestic sample included a theme of cultural difference. This contrasts with the World, where only 23 out of 65 news items contained themes of this sort.

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Daily World number
Cultural Difference	45	23
Violence, Hostility By	19	24
Ethnic Relations	14	3
Legislative & Legal	5	21
Violence, Hostility Against	5	4
Employment & Economy	2	4
Ethnic Organizations	-	3

Table L. Most Common Themes in Native Domestic American News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

In turn, virtually all of these perceived cultural differences were stigmatic. The Province referred time and time again to the fact that Indians stuck together, had different morals, ate different foods, had a different religion, and consequently required (or demanded) the ability to do things which others either did not, would not, or could not.

For its part, the World tended to present a greater spectrum of Indian activities than the Province, as is indicated by the range of subtopics found in Table XXXXVIII. The World was also more concerned with local Indian happenings; about 70% of the World's sample occurred in British Columbia, while only 50% of the Province's did. In terms of frequencies, the World therefore presented as much coverage on provincial Indian ethnicity as the Province did on Indians altogether.

Moreover, the World occasionally actively supported Indian causes, especially in reaction to the appropriation of Indian land by the provincial government. For instance, in an editorial of April 3, 1907 ("Indian Reserve Titles", page 7), the World argued that Indians concerns were valid, for the only right to the land which the British could claim was the right of conquest. While the World was not above castigating Indians for making what it thought were grandiose land claims (editorial, October 6, 1909, page 7), it was flexible enough on this issue to blast the provincial government for evicting Indians from the Kitsilano Indian reserve ("Kitsilano Reserve Bargain", April 11, 1913, page 6). In contrast, the same day's Province restricted their coverage of this same event to straight human interest reporting of "Old Man Jim who Departed Today" (page 1) as the last person to leave the Kitsilano Reserve. Editorially, Indians were not an issue in the Province; the paper carried so few editorials on native people that none appeared in the sample.

At the same time, neither paper provided their readers with a social, economic, or historical context into which one might place native people. Neither paper was particularly concerned with Indian social problems, such as bad housing, malnutrition, or drinking, in spite of the ravages which sickness and drink were playing upon native people. Even when social problems were mentioned, they frequently were subsidiary to more exotic topics:

STARVING RED MEN ON WARPATH
Sensational report reaches Winnipeg of Ravages by Band of Indians Near Hudson Bay. THEY THREATEN STORES. Company's Headquarters at Norway House in Danger of Being Sacked.

(World, April 15, 1911, page 1)

This studied neglect of the conditions of Indian people extended to economic issues as well. In neither sample was there one single news item dealing with the general topic of Indian employment or economic activities. Even as a theme, this subject received almost no attention. Perhaps because they were not seen as an economic threat, neither did Indian people receive extensive coverage in terms of their political interests. As reflected the general opinion that the "Indian question" was settled, there was almost no concern expressed in the press that Indians should be further restricted. Indeed, the press did not even trouble itself to suggest that Indians were even displeased with their present circumstances. Neither as a subtopic nor as a theme were Indian protests given a significant amount of coverage. This was to change dramatically by the time of the last era considered in this study.

More than anything, the press image of Indians was as a residual category of people who did not really have a place in the country that was aboriginally theirs. While they were not portrayed as being a particularly severe threat to white dominance, neither were they seen as contributing anything in particular to British Columbia. Violent and uncivilized, they would need many more years of contact with "white culture" before they

could take a more substantial place in the society.

This portrayal of native people provided a perfect legitimation for white control over the province's destiny. It provided an explanation of the sorry state of Indians (it was their own fault). Moreover, because it fitted so well with the then current ideas of British manifest destiny, this ideology created a framework for ethnic relations, and made close political and legal control of natives look like it was in native interests. As with the press' treatment of Asians, only in the most minimal ways did either paper support the cause of this disadvantaged and subordinated minority; rather than an advocate for minority rights, the press directly contributed to the perpetuation of subordinate native status by supporting the ideological rationales for keeping natives separate and inferior.

Other Europeans

By far, the foregoing groups constituted the most salient ones in the press portrayal of ethnicity during the decade 1905 to 1914. In a way, this selective silence on other Europeans in particular reflects the ethnic makeup of Vancouver before World War I. It will be recalled that the British, Americans, and Asians made up the great majority of the foreign-born. In comparison, the French, German, Austro-Hungarian, Scandinavian, Russian, Italian, and Greek populations of the city together constituted but 4.3% of the population at large (MacDonald 1970:341). Unlike Prairie and Eastern cities, Vancouver had not yet experienced a large influx of continental European immigrants.

Coverage of the ethnicity of other European immigrants is broken down in Table LI:

Ethnic Origin	Vancouver Province	Vancouver Daily World
Western & Northern		
European	1	-
Dutch	1	-
French	4	8
German	12	10
Scandinavian	2	5
Other	3	-
Southern European	-	-
Italian	30	26
Greek	3	4
Other	-	1
Eastern European		
Doukhobors	8	6
Hungárian	2	1
Russian	12	5
Ukranian	2	-
Polish	-	1
Hispano-Portugese		
Latin American	1	1
Spanish	-	2
Europeans (Unspecified)	6	-
Jewish	8	3
Australian/New Zealand	-	2
South African/Rhodesian (white)	-	2

Table LI: Frequency of Domestic Coverage of Other European Groups: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Western and Northern Europeans

As can be seen, Western and Northern Europeans received very little coverage in either paper, with the exception of Germans. In retrospect, it is noteworthy that the treatment of German ethnicity in this period prior to World War I was quite positive. Although the low frequency of German news items makes it difficult to develop the press image of these people in detail, in an overall sense, Germans were seen to be good immigrant material. Although the press saw Germans as holding onto a loyalty to their homeland for long periods of time, both papers generally conceded that they worked hard, stayed out of trouble, and were in the long term assimilatable. As will be detailed in the subsequent chapter, this favorable stereotype was to distintegrate with the arrival of World War I.

Although the French received relatively little coverage, even in so small a sample one can see what later becomes a principal element of the press portrayal of French Canadians--crime. Fully one half of the French sample from both the Province and the World dealt with the French as criminals.

Eastern Europeans

Coverage of Eastern Europeans was considerably different than that of Northern and Western Europeans, for unlike the latter, the former were in the middle of a political controversy between the federal Liberals and Conservatives. Laurier's solicitation of European immigrants was a hot

political issue of the day (Palmer 1975:17), and the conservative Province had more than a passing interest in using Eastern European news items to embarrass the Liberals. The Province kept to a relatively consistent theme that Eastern Europeans were culturally different, negatively affected the economy, were violent and unassimilatable; as in the analogous case of the Japanese, the World's response was to remain silent on this issue, as is indicated by Tables LII and LIII.

Italians

At first glance, the coverage of Italians by both the Province and the World seems anomalous. First of all, their coverage was relatively heavy--30 and 26 news items, respectively, despite the fact that there were only 1,922 Italians in Vancouver in 1911. Secondly, their coverage was extremely stigmatic; in both papers the Italian moral community score was lower than any other group (-2.13 in the Province and -1.81 in the World). Tables LIV and LV amply illustrate the activities and tendencies which the press associated with Italians. Italians seem to have been stereotyped more severely by the press than any other group. Certainly no other group's portrayal is so concentrated into a few stigmatic qualities. The Italians in the press were, first of all, violent and criminally inclined; this reflected general North American views of Italians (Vallee and Schwartz 1961:565). 77% of the Province's coverage of Italians dealt with this topic--a figure identical to the World's. Approximately one out of four news items in either paper dealing with Italians concerned Italians

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Housing & Settlement				
are denied housing	1	4.2	-	-
Employment & Economy				
work hard	1	4.2	-	-
Numbers				
are increasing	-	-	1	7.1
Ethnic Relations				
try better relations	1	4.2	-	-
relations are mediated	1	4.2	-	-
relations are bad	1	4.2	-	-
impose their ways	1	4.2	-	-
have outside help	-	-	1	7.1
Immigration	1	4.2	1	7.1
arrive	-	4.2	1	7.1
are refused entry	1	4.2	-	-
Legislative & Legal				
are in court	-	-	1	7.1
make bad citizens	-	-	1	7.1
laws limit	1	4.2	-	-
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted	1	4.2	1	7.1
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass others	3	12.5	-	-
assault, harass each other	1	4.2	2	14.3
are accused of crime	2	8.3	1	7.1
cause crime to increase	1	4.2	-	-
meet imposition with force	-	-	1	7.1
Cultural Difference				
different religion	1	4.2	-	-
humor	-	-	1	7.1
Celebrities	1	4.2	-	-

	number	%	number	%
Ethnic Organizations				
organize in community	-	-	1	7.1
Normal News				
human interest	1	4.2	-	-
accident victims	2	8.3	1	7.1
make good	1	4.2	-	-
Total	24	100.0%	14	100.0%

Table LII. Eastern European Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Daily World number
Cultural Difference	15	9
Ethnic Relations	6	1
Employment and Economy	5	1
Violence, Hostility By	5	5
Immigration	2	2
Education	2	-
Health and Welfare	3	-

Table LIII. Most Common Themes in Domestic Eastern European News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Ethnic Relations				
relations are mediated	-	-	1	3.8
Legislative & Legal				
are in court	-	-	1	3.8
reports on immigration	-	-	1	3.8
Immigration				
too much	1	3.3	1	3.8
other	-	-	1	3.8
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted	-	-	1	3.8
Violence, Hostility By	-	-	1	3.8
assault, harass others	4	13.3	2	7.7
assault each other	12	40.0	10	38.5
are accused of crime	6	20.0	2	7.7
cause crime to increase	-	-	1	3.8
are executed	-	-	1	3.8
are violent	-	-	1	3.8
other	1	3.3	-	-
Cultural Difference				
different eating customs	1	3.3	-	-
bad language use	-	-	1	3.8
Celebrities				
politicians	1	3.3	-	-
social notables	-	-	1	3.8
Ethnic Organizations				
have suspicious organizations	-	-	2	7.7
Normal News	-	-	1	3.8
human interest	1	3.3	-	-
victims of accidents	2	6.7	5	19.2
other	1	3.3	-	-
Total	30	100.0%	26	100.0%

Table LIV. Italian Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Themes	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Daily World number
Cultural Difference	24	2
Violence, Hostility By	18	20
Ethnic Relations	4	-
Immigration	3	-
Legal and Legislative	3	6
Have Suspicious Organizations	3	6

Table LV. Most Common Themes in Domestic Italian News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World 1905-1914)[14]

assaulting each other.

It would seem that two factors combined to generate such a stigmatic picture of Italians in the press. The first of these involved Canadian views of American immigration policy. Traditionally, American immigration policy had tended to be somewhat more open than that of Canada in terms of the ethnic range of immigrants which the former found acceptable. At the turn of the century the United States had turned to Italy and to Eastern Europe in a search for more industrial labor. The decade 1905-1914 saw an enormous influx of Italians into the United States, which in turn provoked concern in Canada that the federal government might follow a similar course (Leacock 1911:316-327; Lower 1965:382). These reservations about large scale Italian immigration were clearly present in British Columbia, where several thousand Italians had arrived between 1900 and 1911. Italians were beginning to be characterized as white Chinese (Royal Commission on Italian Immigration 1905).

Although there were less than two thousand Italians in the Vancouver area at that time, fears were already being raised about the generation of a Vancouver "Little Italy", Italians taking away jobs from Canadians, and the social implications of Italian immigration.

Secondly, the large influx of Italians into the United States was duly noted by the American press, and these stories were in turn picked up by the Province and the World. 33% of the Province's sample and 54% of the World's sample presented events which occurred in the United States. The

following item is typical:

> ITALIAN CONVICTS INVADE NEW YORK
> No Less than Five Thousand Said to be in City
>
> (Province, August 30, 1911, page 1)

Italians are an important indicator of how finely discriminating the ethnic categorization of the press was. Sociological and historical commentary upon this era has tended to characterize ethnic relations in British Columbia as being Asian-white relations, with the former subordinate to the later. In so doing, one of the most basic facts of the actual structure of ethnicity in this context have been obscured--that neither were all whites nor all Asians seen as being the same. Both the press and the people made relatively clear distinctions between different varieties of Europeans; Italians are clearly on the cut line of the moral community, individuals who were acknowledged as racially white, yet treated by the press as culturally colored.

Immigrants

Immigrants do not constitute an ethnic group in any normal sense. Nevertheless, "immigrants" as a category provided one means for the newspapers to express opinion on the general question of immigration and its effects on Canadian life. Particularly in later eras, "immigrants" also provided a way of the press expressing disapproval of specific types of immigrants without incurring a charge of racism (see Appendix III). The press of the early twentieth century was hardly in need of this sort of

restraint, yet the category "immigrant" provided a useful vehicle for criticism of immigration policy and practice. As illustrated by Table LVI, "immigrants" were associated with all of the negative qualities characteristic of, say, the Chinese. Coverage of "immigrants" shows one of the many inconsistencies of the press' portrayal of ethnicity: both papers were in support of certain selective sorts of immigration, yet neither paper presented "immigrants" in a particularly favorable light. "Immigrants" moral community score was -0.86 in the Province and -1.42 in the World.

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Employment and Economy				
cause unemployment	1	7.1	-	-
are needed for work force	1	7.1	-	-
are unemployed	1	7.1	1	8.3
Advocation of Restriction				
advocation of denial of rights	1	7.1	-	-
advocation of restriction	-	-	1	8.3
Immigration	1	7.1	2	16.7
immigration is large	1	7.1	1	8.3
are refused entry	1	7.1	1	8.3
should be aided	1	7.1	1	8.3
immigration is solicited	1	7.1	-	-
other	-	-	1	8.3
Legislative & Legal				
political restriction	1	7.1	-	-
reports on government	1	7.1	-	-
laws protect	-	-	1	8.3
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass others	2	14.2	-	-
accused of crime	-	-	2	16.7
Violence, Hostility Against				
are victims of crime	-	-	1	8.3
Cultural Difference	1	7.1	-	-
Total	14	100.0%	12	100.0%

Table LVI. Immigrant Domestic News Coverage by Topic and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Canadians

The enormous growth in population that Vancouver and British Columbia experienced between 1901 and 1911 did not stem solely from immigration. Internal migration of individuals from other parts of Canada was also an important factor, one which changed the demographic makeup of the city at least as markedly as did immigration. During the decade, the number of people resident in Vancouver who were born in other provinces increased over threefold. During the same period their proportion of Vancouver's population went from 24.3% to 28.3%. In comparison, the proportion of Vancouver residents who had been born within British Columbia decreased substantially, from 36.9% to 15.5% of the total population. As a whole, the Canadian-born proportion of the population shrank from 61.3% to 43.8% of the residents of Vancouver. By 1911 Canadians were a minority in their largest city west of Ontario (MacDonald 1970:305):

Locality of Birth	Number	% of Native Born	% of Total
Maritime Provinces	1,460	8.8	5.4
Quebec	640	3.9	2.3
Ontario	3,950	24.0	14.6
Prairie Provinces	530	3.2	19.6
British Columbia	9,968	60.2	36.9
Total Native Born	16,548	100.0%	61.3
Outside Canada	10,462	-	38.7
Total City Population	27,010	-	100.0%

Table LVII. The Birthplace of Vancouver's Population, 1901.

Locality of Birth	Number	% of Native Born	% of Total
Maritime Provinces	5,698	12.8	5.7
Quebec	2,170	4.9	2.2
Ontario	16,663	37.8	16.6
Prairie Provinces	3,925	8.9	3.9
British Columbia	15,522	35.4	15.4
Total Native Born	43,978	100.0%	43.8
Outside Canada	56,423	-	56.2
Total City Population	100,401	-	100.0%

Table LVII. The Birthplace of Vancouver's Population, 1911.

Those born in Ontario made up the lion's share of these new additions to Vancouver's population, so much so that by 1911 there were more people from Ontario residing in Vancouver than there were those who had been born in British Columbia itself. Virtually all of these new Vancouverites were of Anglo-Canadian origin, and many brought with them a sense of British Canadianness that in certain respects was more outspoken than that of the local population (Sage 1976:62).

It should be noted that the population distribution of Vancouver's population alone is insufficient to indicate the degree to which Canadianness was a factor either in the press or in everyday life. In particular, one has to look to the history of the province for further clarification--a history which had been influenced by factors quite distinct from the rest of British North America. From the early 1820's, the Hudson's Bay Company controlled the area, and that leadership was almost entirely

British, not Canadian (Sage 1976:60). The gold rush of 1858 brought a wave of Americans to the new colony, but very few Canadians (Bescoby 1935:10). Later in the colonial period Canadians were to be disparagingly referred to as "North American Chinamen" (Sage 1976:58) because of their sojourer orientation to life in British Columbia.

Even at the time of confederation, British Columbians had few if any substantial loyalties to a Canada which was isolated from them by different concerns and two thousand miles of wilderness. It was only the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway that brought British Columbia psychologically into Canada. The new rail line mitigated the isolation of British Columbia from Canada and it was simultaneously the vehicle for the first large scale migration of Canadians into the new province.

Consequently, the degree to which a sense of Canadianness existed in British Columbia depended significantly upon locality and year. Generally speaking, the period after the turn of the century was one during which a consolidation of this sense of Canada was developing. This was particularly so of Vancouver, where the Canadian-born tended to congregate in higher numbers than elsewhere.

Despite the facility with which news could be transmitted West from Ontario, the large influx of Eastern Canadians into the province, and the concerns British Columbia had vis-a-vis other parts of Canada, Canadians and Canadianism were almost invisible in the local press. In the total sample of the Province, only 12 news items dealt with Canadians; this

meagre number was double the World's 6. Neither was Canadian ethnicity reported in the overseas press; in 230 issues there were only two such items in the Province and one in the World. Table LIX outlines the topics and subtopics found in domestic news items dealing with Canadian ethnicity.

Such as it was, coverage of Canadian ethnicity tended to follow the patterns of news portrayal of individuals in the society at large. For the most part, the news items in this sample used "Canadian" as a referent to one or another practice or belief that the press either wished that people in Canada did or hoped that they would do, as for instance "Canadians should stay in Canada." As such, very few of them used the label "Canadian" to refer to ethnicity in the way that "Chinese" was. Canadian events and personalities most certainly made up a very large share of each issue of either Vancouver paper. Nevertheless, Canadianness or Canadian ethnicity simply was not an important salient aspect of this portrayal.

In contrast to American ethnicity, which became a factor in press coverage when Americans did things outside of their home country, Canadians doing things in the rest of the world as Canadians were studiously ignored by both papers. This was despite the enormous numbers of Canadians who were at that time either resident in the United States or in the process of moving there; from 1901 to 1910 alone, nearly a quarter of a million native-born Canadians emigrated to the United States (Skelton 1911:77), to say nothing of the many thousands people of French Canadian origin who were already sprinkled throughout the New England states.

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Employment & Economy				
other	-	-	1	16.7
Advocation of Restriction				
no ethnic ways advocated	-	-	1	16.7
Ethnic Relations	-	-	1	16.7
relations are good	1	8.3	-	-
Immigration				
should stay in Canada	3	25.0	1	16.7
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted	1	8.3	-	-
victims of crime	1	8.3	-	-
are dealt with harshly	1	8.3	-	-
Cultural Difference				
different religion	-	-	1	16.7
nationalism urged	-	-	1	16.7
Celebrities				
entertainers	1	8.3	-	-
Sports				
participate in sports	2	16.7	-	-
Normal News				
make good	1	8.3	-	-
Total	12	100.0%	6	100.0%

Table LIX. Canadian Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

Press coverage of the activities of these individuals was virtually nil, a fact which must be primarily attributed to the major source of world news for both the Province and the World--the American news services; Canadians in the United States were not particularly important to these news services, which indirectly guaranteed that these individuals would become invisible to readers of the Vancouver newspapers.

This relative lack of coverage of Canadian ethnicity also tells one a good deal about the degree to which Canadianness figured in the identity of those who either created the press or used it as a vehicle for their own opinions. If Canadian identity were principal to the identities of either of these types of individuals, one would have expected the violent ethnic and racial polarization which was an everyday fact of Vancouver life before World War I to have brought that identity to the forefront; one would have seen a considerable number of news items which cast ethnic relations into an oppositional mold of, say, Asians versus Canadians. This did not occur. Moreover, "Canadians" were very rarely reported as the secondary figures in ethnically relevant news items. In the total combined sample of domestic and foreign coverage, only 1.9% (n = 13) items in the Province noted Canadians as the second ethnicity involved, and the World did no better (1.5%, n = 11). So weak was press reported Canadian identity that virtually all the (racist) rationales of the era for the exclusion of Asians and others as undesirable made reference to the rights of the British or "whites" rather than to the rights of Canadians.

This relative weak <u>press</u> portrayal of Canadian ethnicity should not suggest that Canadian identity necessarily was similarly weak in the population itself. The press and the elites represented in it are only one aspect of the public, and their views and interests are hardly identical with individuals from other walks of life (Porter 1974:457-461; Clement 1975:273-282). Similar misguided inferences from the historical utterances of elites have led to a gathering consensus that the population of Canada was conservative, Anglophile, and perpetually in a state of anxiety over order and good government. Certainly for the limited case under investigation here such an inference would seem to be unjustifiable. While elite British travellers wrote about the British feeling of Victoria, Canadian workers faced Canadian militia men in pitched battles over power in the workplace (McNaught 1970:67). News items claiming that Canadians and British were as one, and that the British were just as Canadian as Canadians ("True Canadians," <u>Province</u>, March 3, 1914, page 4) could find their way into print but a few months before the beginning of a war where an important segment of the Canadian population would steadfastly refuse to enlist to "save Britain" (McInnis 1958:412-414).

Like Canadian ethnicity, that of French Canadians was virtually ignored, as indicated by Table LX. It is interesting to note that in what coverage they did receive, French Canadians were not portrayed in a particularly stigmatic fashion. There appeared to be a slight tendency on the part of the <u>Province</u> to comment on (negative) ethnic relations and the

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Daily World number	%
Education	1	11.1	-	-
Ethnic Relations				
relations are good	1	11.1	1	12.5
relations are bad	1	11.1	1	12.5
Immigration				
should stay in Canada	1	11.1	-	-
Cultural Difference	-	-	1	12.5
are loyal to home	-	-	1	12.5
have different religion	2	22.2	-	-
Gelebrities				
social notables	1	11.1	-	-
historical notables	1	11.1	-	-
Sports	-	-	1	12.5
Ethnic Organizations				
organize in community	-	-	1	12.5
Normal News	-	-	2	25.0
human interest	1	11.1	-	-
Total	9	100.0%	8	100.0%

Table LX. French Canadian Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Daily World (1905-1914)

cultural differences of French Canadians more frequently than the World (at the level of themes), but for the most part French Canadians were rather consistently ignored. There was virtually no ethnic coverage at all of French Canadians in British Columbia, whose numbers had increased from a few hundred to about two thousand in the decade after 1900. Even the attempts of lumber companies to introduce French Canadian labor (Stewart 1956:39) at the expense of Asians met with press silence.[15]

Ethnicity and the Press (1905-1914)

This chapter has outlined how the Vancouver press portrayed ethnicity and ethnic groups between 1905 and 1914. To this point, the concentration has been on how various ethnicities were dealt with by the newspapers on a group by group basis, and on the contextualization of these descriptions by comparison and through reference to the social and political environment out of which these images sprang. Having done so, in conclusion to the analysis of this era I would like to suggest a range of more general points which can be drawn from this data on ethnic portryal in Vancouver.

1. The press defined a consensus view of reality: in relationship to it, ethnics were deviants.[16]

Implicitly, the Vancouver press subscribed to a definition of British Columbian society which emphasized consensus, stability, orderliness, homogeneity, and the lack of conflict; in fact, the world as constructed by the press was like a parody of functionalist sociological models. "Real"

people obeyed the law, had identical interests (which were reflected in that law), a common culture (without alternative interpretations), and common origins.

This consensus view of British Columbia mystified a wide range of relationships of struggle and attempted domination, one set of which were those relating to ethnicity, power, and privilege. The primary content of the press was the unusual and the abnormal, rather than the mundane and everyday, but more than that, press content was a selection of unusual cast in a very special way. Most importantly, the portrayal of ethnicity in the paper was primarily a portrayal of events which were unusual because they were defined against this consensus view to be deviant; this deviance was frequently seen to be but a manifestation of a deeper deviation from normal society--ethnic difference.

This characterization of the (non-British) ethnic as deviant in turn fundamentally affected how events portrayed in these news items were "explained" by the press. As illustrated many times in earlier parts of this chapter ethnicity in British Columbia was a factor in the primary definition of British Columbia society, both economically, politically, and socially. Nevertheless, the press portrayal of events which were in one way or the other the outcomes of the particular ways in which ethnicity and ethnic relations were organized were almost never placed in that structural context. If, for instance, a Chinese individual were arrested for fighting with a white British Columbian, the emphasis of the story would almost

inevitably be on that individual's deviant criminality--the criminality of an outsider to society--rather than upon the structural relationships between whites and Chinese which generated and were represented by that incident. To carry this example along further, whereas the Chinese individual was as much a part of the provincial economy and society as the white, he would never be portrayed as such; moreover, the event itself would tend to be defined in individual terms (the deviant Chinese) rather than sociological ones (the oppressed Chinese).

The accentuation of the abnormal tended on the whole to further stigmatize those of ethnic backgrounds, for "ethnics" were rarely associated with normal events and the press consequently turned them into faint images of real people. To take the most extreme example of this practice, "press Italians" were individuals who spent their whole waking hours murdering, seducing, and robbing normal human beings. Even if it were not the overt intent of the press to stigmatize or misrepresent minority ethnic groups (which it often was), press sensitivity to the unusual and non-British would have assured this result.

2. The world created by the press was ethnically stratified: only a few ethnic groups were defined as being within the moral community

The Vancouver press of this era did not operate upon a premise of ethnic equality.[17] Rather, the conviction that ethnicity was and should be a direct determinant of the rights and privileges of individuals was overt and was not seen to be in need of any justification. This stance has often

been shown in the preceding discussion. As paralleled the distribution of power and privilege in British Columbia, both papers created a hierarchy of ethnic castes composed of three basis "varnas." On top were the British and a few others whose racial, ethnic, class, or status position was reasonably close to them. They were portrayed as the paragons of virtue, industry, and morality. Second came those whites whose position was ambiguous, who had some of the caste attributes of those more exalted than themselves but not all of them. Third were the outcasts--those who were defined to be altogether out of the moral community--notably Asians, Native people, and Italians. The marked way in which the press differentially evaluated various ethnicities has a number of consequences. One of the most important of these is that:

3. <u>The consensus model of society defined by the press was an ethnic-based model: normal society was British society</u>

The association of the normal universe with British individuals, their customs and beliefs, had an enormous impact on how ethnicity was presented by both papers, for it led to an identification of deviance with "real" ethnics, such as the Chinese, Italians, and Native Indians. Conversely, events of a similar nature involving those of Canadian, American, or British origin rarely were presented within an ethnic relations framework.

Consequently, the press served to reinforce the ideal view of the orderliness, propriety, and industry of Anglo groups and individuals. As

in the ideal model, the press portrayal of these groups implied that individuals of those national and ethnic origins were never involved in class conflict, interpersonal violence, labor organization, immorality or other ways in which one might diverge from the norm. The press assumed that British values were fundamental and desired, and were for the most part achieved.

The general orientation of the press was class-biased as much as it was biased ethnically. For the most part, both the Province and the World presented the news from the point of view of the middle class. For instance, though unsympathetic to Asians both papers consistently preached a policy of moderation in the advocation of Asian exclusion; immigration was to be stopped through legislation and treaty, not in the streets. This middle class view is also evident in the fact that even the supposed pro-working class World consistently fawned over visiting Asian notables. In terms of their general news reporting, neither paper tended to consistently express the concerns of working class people.

In this regard, even the expressed advocation of British ethnicity in these newspapers cannot be assumed to be representative of the feeling of the population at large. While it has been shown that a large number of Vancouver's population were either of British or Anglo-Canadian origin, many people were neither British, Anglo-Canadian, American, nor Asian, and these individuals tended to congregate in the working class. It would be difficult to argue that these individuals would have seen "British values"

in quite such a favorable light as did the newspapers of that era.

4. <u>The press publically profaned the identities of minority ethnic groups.</u>[18]

Although it is now impossible to know what direct effects press portrayal had on those who were as portrayed, it is clear that the press definition of the ethnic panorama profaned the social identities of a number of ethnic groups. In this, it performed a display function, bringing these individuals and the events and practices presumed to be associated with them onto the sacrificial altar of public scrutiny. In fact, considering the relative lack of other means of communication, the press must have been one of the most important if not <u>the</u> principal vehicle through which British Columbians received information about minorities. As such, it must also have been a fundamental generator of consensus upon the ways in which minorities were seen to pose actual or potential social problems. In this sense, the press acted as far more than a vehicle for the dissemination of information, for it provided the public forum in which minorities were judged, found unworthy, and sentenced.

Far from being a passive channel for the transmission of societal happenings the newspapers actively participated in the situations about which they reported. To take Asians as an example, the press defined their immigration as a threat and a fundamental social problem, demanded to know the opinions of politicians and other notables on the subject, reported these, and editorialized when either the Asian situation or the

inactivity of politicians worried them. They were not neutral.

This process of profaning the identities of minorities was also contributed to by a less intentional but no less important factor, notably, the format of the newspaper press itself. It was characteristic of the newspaper genre of that era to report events via a formula which stressed the immediate context of the event and neglected the larger social context. A fight between two individuals would demand a surprisingly few additional pieces of information to constitute a news story--the names of the individuals involved, a sequence of preliminary events and motives leading up to the fight, and the resolution of the conflict. This concentration on the immediate at the expense of that which was an underlying factor or was once removed from the event has frequently been noted as leading to the inability of the press to accurately convey the meaning of events to its readership (Cohen and Young 1973:8). In the case of ethnic minorities (at least, in this particular case) this tendency led further, from the stigmatization of the individuals involved to an individualization of the problem and to a minimization of underlying social causes which might have precipitated the event. Thus, "Two Indians Fight" simultaneously make the individuals involved responsible for the situation and stigmatizes them for breaking the moral order, while at the same time neglecting the poverty, social disorganization, and discrimination which may have contributed to the event.

Naturally, profaning the identities of minority individuals legitimated

the rights and privileges of those who were not so stigmatized;[19] more accurately, the legitimations it created help to turn ethnic-based privileges into what appeared to be rights. In comparison with those who the press cast outside the moral community, virtually everyone else, be they old-time residents or new immigrants, rich or poor, could find something within their own condition which at least appeared to be a sign of being superior. Because the press frequently shifted its oppositional categories to include a greater or fewer number of individuals among the ethnic saved, it must also have tended to push marginal groups such as Eastern Europeans and Italians towards greater Anglo conformity; while they were categorized as white, they were not British, and, the plight of the Asians must have served as a warning to them of the results of transgressing the moral order. Asians in particular served to validate the status of normal non-British white immigrants. Moses Rischen's (1972:79) comments about early California also hold for British Columbia:

> From the beginning, Asian immigrants fulfilled a significant role in California. Their presence conferred instant status on all European immigrants that was not their lot elsewhere except in the South, where slavery was endemic.

This profane image had one other unfortunate aspect, in that there is no doubt that the press portrayed most stigmatized minority groups as being polluting. Minorities were associated with eating polluted substances and with living in dirt and disease. They were immoral and sexually unusual--and both qualities were contagious.[20]

5. <u>The press did not advocate ethnic equality</u>

Opposing the presence or activities of an ethnic group, the press had many alternatives available. It might have argued that individuals of that ethnicity should be curbed because of economic considerations--arguing, say, that there was too much unemployment in the province to make further immigration desirable. Alternatively, it might have argued from a humanistic viewpoint: these people will have a hard time if they were to be allowed to come to Canada. To name but one other option, the press might have argued that their presence would lead to social disruption. In fact, while the <u>Province</u> and the <u>World</u> were to use all of these arguments and more, the ultimate thesis was one of racial and cultural superiority. As far as both papers were concerned, all ethnicities were not equal; and arguments for the exclusion of individuals did not need to go beyond this "evident" point.

The racial and ethnic positions of both papers were overt, and neither paper saw any need to justify their position on this question. Neither did either paper take the slightest consideration of how the various minority individuals so portrayed would interpret coverage of themselves. Both papers consistently used the derogatory terms for minority individuals which were in common usage--John Chinamen, Jap, Hindoo, Celestial, and the like. Both papers ridiculed Asian and European minorities alike in cartoons and derided them in editorials.

6. The press was not the champion of the downtrodden

In sharp contrast to one of the most persistent mythologies of the press, neither the Province nor the World actively championed for the betterment of the position of any minority ethnic group. In those rare cases when either paper supported minority causes it was always from a perspective of complete paternalism. Far from advocates of minority rights, both papers were extremely conservative on this issue.

7. The press reflected the particular concerns of British Columbia

With the exception of the stereotypic views of black American and Italians, most of the press generated images of ethnicity were modified to fit local needs. The most obvious examples of this are the stereotypes of the Chinese, Japanese, and South Asians. In each case, virtually all Canadian immigration had been to British Columbia, which forced the press and public to generate their own British Columbian social identities for these groups. While they were definitely based upon prevailing stereotypes of China, Japan and India, the primary elements of these social identities were framed in terms of local issues.

One also sees this British Columbian perspective in the relative frequency with which the various groups were portrayed in the press. Most people were not portrayed at all, while those who were to be found in the press were of those few ethnic origins which the press saw as being tied up with the concerns of the day.

8. <u>There was little if any fundamental difference between the portrayal of ethnicity in the Province and the World: different political affiliations led to only minor differences between the two.</u>

Although a range of small differences between the way the <u>Province</u> and the <u>World</u> presented ethnicity have been pointed out in the previous discussion, nothing should obscure the more basic point that fundamentally there was almost no difference between the two papers in how they portrayed ethnicity. In fact, the parallels are remarkable in their consistency. Both papers presented almost the same proportion of their total space to ethnicity. The frequency with which various ethnic groups made the papers were almost identical. Most format variables were virtually indistinguishable.

Those differences which were most evident were comparatively minor. Most did reflect the differing underlying philosophies of the Conservative and Liberal parties, but in comparison with the general similarity between the <u>Province</u> and the <u>World</u> one can say that for the most part the papers were not politically divided in their evaluations of ethnicity. While the <u>Province</u> sought to associate the supposed problems stemming from immigration with the Federal Liberals in an outfront and confrontational way, their solutions and their characterizations of the ethnically approved and disapproved were almost identical to those of the <u>World</u>.

In short, the intensely competitive economic and political relationship between the <u>World</u> and the <u>Province</u> did not lead either of them to try to generate differing versions of reality in the sphere of ethnicity, and it

would be impossible to argue that the presence of competition in any way led either paper toward presenting a view of the world any closer to reality than had there been no competition. In terms of ethnicity, the portrayal of one paper simply confirmed that of the other.

9. The presentation of foreign news items on ethnicity was comparatively minor.

Neither paper gave overseas ethnic happenings extensive coverage. Only 22% (n = 153) of the Province's coverage was of foreign ethnicity; this figure was identical for the World (n = 160). In general, the things in the rest of the world that interested the press were identical to domestic concerns: ethnic relations, crime, violence, and cultural difference.

As with the domestic coverage of ethnicity, foreign coverage uniformly tended to see political action and social problems in individualistic, deviant terms. As noted more generally by Habermas (1970:42):

> The gentle social control exercised by the mass media makes use of the spectacles of an undermined private sphere in order to make political processes unrecognizable as such. The depoliticized public realm is dominated by the imposed privatism of mass culture. The personalization of what is public is thus the cement in the cracks of a relatively well-integrated society, which forces suspended conflicts into areas of social psychology. There they are absorbed in categories of deviant behaviour; as private conflicts, illness, and crime.

This tendency was further augmented by the frequency with which news items reported events in colonial situations, for these events were uniformly presented from the point of view of the colonizer rather than the colonized.

Chapter Three: Notes

1. It should be recalled that actual measurements of article length were made on a microfilm reader, where the scale of reproduction is not identical with the original. The actual average lengths are given in the text.

2. These figures are census estimates of the ultimate paternal ethnic origins of British Columbia residents. Thus, people of United States birth were classified in terms of their ultimate European origins, as were Canadians. This table only lists groups with substantial numbers.

3. Assigning a moral value to behavioral attributes without reference to the group with which those attributes are associated is subject to considerable error, and the subsequent moral community scores are therefore to be considered as approximate measures only; for instance, the attribute that a given type of person saves money may have a positive connotation in one case (a Scot) and a negative one in another (a Chinese individual). Nevertheless, the resulting scores are well in accord with my more subjective sense of how the various groups were portrayed.

4. Canadians and French Canadians have been added to these tables because of their obvious relevance to the discussion of ethnicity in Canada, despite having frequencies of occurrence of less than ten.

5. As discussed here, "British" includes the English, Scots, and Welsh, in addition to direct references to British ethnicity specifically. Thus, tables referring to the British include items for all of these categories, unless otherwise specified. They do not include the Irish.

6. For instance, see the editorial in the Province (May 1, 1908, page 7) decrying the activities of the Salvation Army, which was involved in bringing the British urban poor to Canada.

7. The importance of those of British birth is indicated by their representation in the 1890 Biographical Dictionary of British Columbians. Of 178 individuals listed in this work who were resident in British Columbia in 1871, 94 were born in Britain, 45 in the Dominion of Canada, 7 in British Columbia, 12 in the United States, and 20 elsewhere (Sage 1976:61).

8. For another example, see "Labour Men Decry Salvation Army

Schemes" in the Province (March 12, 1913, page 7) or the editorial in the same paper titled "Immigration Regulations" (June 16, 1910, page 6).

9. A similar, if even more gruesome example is "Ship Rats Feed on Corpse" (World, October 17, 1907, page 1), which vividly portrayed the drowning of a Chinese individual off of the docked immigrant ship Tartar. The body was left in the water for the rats. "Dead Man is Held for Tax" (World, October 17, 1907, page 10), followed up this story with a report that custom officials demanded that the $500 head tax on new immigrants be paid on the dead man before the body would be released to the coroner.

10. Themes dealing with Japanese being loyal to their home government had frequencies of 6 and 2 for the Province and World, respectively.

11. In fact, W. J. Bowser, who "uncovered" the plot and who was McBride's prospective Attorney-General, was active in Japanese labor contracting when he made his "discovery" (Robin 1972:101).

12. Gaultung (1965) has shown that this tendency to report more negatively upon more distant news is fairly general. The conflict level of news items also tends to increase with distance.

13. Virtually all coverage of native people during this era was specifically about Indians. It should be noted that even at this early date Inuit were much more sympathetically covered by the press than Indians. For this contrasting stereotype of the Inuit, see "Spent Years Among the Eskimos" (Province, October 1, 1909, page 24).

14. "Have Suspicious Organizations" is technically a theme under "Ethnic Organizations and Events," but inasmuch as all themes under the latter were about suspicious organizations, I put this theme into Table LV.

15. French Canadians were hired primarily by the Fraser River Lumber Co., and the Canadian Western Lumber Co., around 1911-1912 (Stewart 1956:39).

16. See Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton (1948:95-118); also Murdock's (1973:156-175) study on the press presentation of political deviance and Paletz & Dunn (1967).

17. In this sense the press did not deviate from government policy. Until 1965 certain national groups had preferred entrance status to Canada.

18. See Garfinkel (1955:42-52).

19. For a discussion of this process see Braroe (1974).

20. Warren Breed has expressed the importance of the media in giving society an image of itself and for creating the appearance of agreement to millions of individuals. This seems an apt comment on ethnicity (1964:187):

> By expressing, dramatizing, and repeating cultural patterns, both the traditional and the newly emerging, the media reinforces tradition and at the same time explains news roles. Members of the society thus remain integrated within the sociocultural structure. As a form of adult socialization, the media are seen as guarantors that a body of common ultimate values remains visible as a continuing source of consensus despite the inroads of change.

Chapter Four: Ethnicity in the Vancouver Press (1928-37)

This chapter follows the same organizational structure of the previous one. The first section sketches out the broad outline of ethnic portrayal during this era in terms of format and basic issues. The following section focuses more closely upon the portrayal of ethnicity on a group by group basis, while the concluding part summarizes the coverage of ethnicity for this decade. The goals of this chapter are also the same as those of the previous era, modified by the ability to look backwards from this era and compare newspaper coverage of ethnicity during 1928-1937 with that of 1905-1914.

I. Format: The Quantity and Distribution of Ethnically Related Items

The decade 1928-1937 saw a number of factors contribute toward a stabilization of Vancouver's ethnic panorama. While immigration to Canada resumed at high levels after World War I, the Great Depression resulted in the establishment of severe curbs on immigration between 1931 and the end of World War II. Immigration totaled over 160,000 for both 1928 and 1929, but fell to 27,530 in 1931, and 20,591 in 1932. Thereafter, immigration was not to reach the yearly figure of 15,000 until 1937 (Kalbach and McVey 1971:37).

Moreover, several selective changes in the immigration regulations directly pertaining to British Columbia had been effected in the early 1920's. First of all, Japanese immigration had been further restricted by treaty in 1920. Thereafter, no more than 150 male Japanese workers per year were

allowed to come to Canada (Corbett 1957:35). As before, there were no restrictions placed on the wives and dependents of legal Japanese residents of Canada (Kalbach and McVey 1971:37). Secondly, the wives and dependent children of legal South Asian residents of Canada were finally allowed to come to Canada in that same year. Finally, in 1923 the Canadian government unilaterally banned the subsequent immigration of Chinese (Ng 1977:74). In essence, by the mid 1920's these immigration restrictions on Chinese, Japanese, and South Asian immigrants had effectively 'solved' British Columbia's "Asian Menace." Moreover, the restrictions which the federal government placed on immigration in response to the depressed economic conditions of the 1930's were also ethnically specific, for they gave preference to certain varieties of British subjects and to American citizens (Corbett 1957:35).

So low were immigration figures during this era that Canada actually lost more population to out-migration than it gained by immigration; Palmer (1975:12) estimates that between 1932 and 1941 140,000 people entered Canada as immigrants, whereas about 240,000 people left the country. This demographic stabilization is reflected in the figures for Vancouver's population for this era.

	1921	1931	1941
Total foreign born	83,300	118,197	108,259
Total Canadian born	79,920	128,396	167,094
Total population	163,220	246,593	275,353

Table LXI. Vancouver's Population: Canadian and Foreign Born, 1921-1941.

The population of Vancouver continued to increase dramatically during the 1920's, after which it stabilized until well into World War II. Most of the meagre increase which was registered between 1931 and 1941 resulted from an increase in the number of Canadian born who became resident in Vancouver; their number rose from 129,000 to 167,000 during the decade.

Despite this demographic stabilization, ethnicity continued to be an important aspect of the Vancouver news:

	Domestic	Foreign Specific	Foreign Inferred	Total Items
Vancouver Province	469 (540)	112 (117)	26 (36)	607 (693)
Vancouver Sun	443	153	39	635
Total	912	265	65	1242

Table LXII. The Number of Ethnically-Relevant Items in the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Sun (1928-1937) Found in a Sample of 230 Issues from Each Paper[1]

As can be seen, there was a slight decline in the Province's domestic coverage of ethnicity, while its foreign coverage remained approximately identical. On the average, the Province printed 2.3 items dealing with

ethnicity in each of this era's issues, which was virtually identical to the frequency with which such items appeared in the Sun (2.4 per day). These frequencies are down from those of the previous era's newspapers, both of which printed about 3 items per issue. In short, ethnicity became a bit less of a factor in press reporting during the 1930's, even though it continued to be a vital part of the newspapers.[2]

The Distribution of Coverage: Sources and Localities

If facility of communications alone were to be considered, one would have expected that the geographical scope of newspaper interest would have increased considerably by the 1930's. By that time teletype wire services were commonplace, and syndicated news services spanned the globe (Kesterton 1967:45; Nichols 1948:131). Nevertheless, on the question of ethnicity the Vancouver papers of the depression years tended to generate news items from almost identically the same places as before World War I.

Locality	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
British Columbia	249	41.0	280	44.2
Canada	154	25.4	128	20.2
United States	66	10.9	33	5.2
Europe	61	10.0	92	14.5
Asia	52	8.6	80	12.6
Africa	14	2.3	16	2.5
Latin & Central America	6	1.0	3	0.5
Australia & New Zealand	5	0.8	0	0.0
Caribbean	0	0.0	2	0.3
Not Coded	0	0.0	1	0.2
Total	607	100.0%	635	100.0%

Table LXIII. Geographical Location of Foreign and Domestic Ethnically-Relevant Events Occurring in Items from the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

News items concerning British Columbia continued as before to command the primary attention of the press, accounting for about 40-45% of all ethnic coverage. Items which portrayed events in the rest of Canada increased slightly, such that they represented 20-25% of all stories. Moreover, both papers grew slightly more international in outlook, especially in their coverage of Europe and Africa (particularly the Sun).[3]

As before, the newspapers' dependence on foreign sources for information about happenings in the rest of the world was nearly complete,

as is indicated in Tables LXIV and LXV. Even news originating in the United States was neither collected nor interpreted by Canadian news agencies; of the total sample of 99 news items portraying events occurring in the United States (both papers), only 8 either originated with or were reinterpreted by Canadians. In expressing their editorial opinion on over-seas matters the newspapers were thus relegated to the limited means of selecting which stories from off the wire services would go into print; this had already become an established pattern in earlier times.[4]

Locality	Not Coded	News, Local S.	News, Can. S.	News, For. S.	Edi-torial	Letter to Editor	Cartoon	Feature	Total
B.C.	1	203	19	1	3	15	0	7	249
Canada	6	15	186	12	12	10	0	13	154
Europe	4	0	6	42	6	1	0	2	61
Africa	0	1	0	11	0	0	0	2	14
Latin & C. America	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	6
Australia & New Zealand	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	5
Caribbean	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
U.S.A.	0	2	2	59	2	0	0	1	66
Asia	1	4	3	32	6	0	0	6	52
Total	13	226	117	165	29	286	0	31	607
Percent-ages	2.1	37.2	19.2	27.2	4.8	4.3	0	5.1	100.0%

Table LXIV. Type of Coverage by Locality: Vancouver Province (1928-1937)

Locality	Not Coded	News, Local S.	News, Can. S.	News, For. S.	Edi-torial	Letter to Editor	Cartoon	Feature	Total
B.C.	0	238	0	1	11	16	1	13	280
Canada	1	24	39	8	25	19	0	12	128
Europe	0	4	5	61	5	2	0	15	92
Africa	0	0	1	12	0	1	0	2	16
Latin & C. America	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	3
Australia & New Zealand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caribbean	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
U.S.A.	0	0	0	31	1	0	0	1	33
Asia	0	9	1	52	7	2	0	9	80
Total	1	275	47	168	49	40	1	53	634
Percent-ages	0.2	43.4	7.4	26.5	7.7	6.3	0.2	8.4	100.0%

Table LXV. Type of Coverage by Locality: Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Headlines, Photographs, and Page Placement

Over the first thirty years of this century the format of the Vancouver newspapers changed significantly. In an overall sense, many of these modifications were made in the interest of increasing the visual aspect of press presentation. The papers of the turn of the century were in some ways representative of their age; news items were printed in small type and were accompanied by extended headlines with high content and little visual impact--in short, the press was aimed at a population which would carefully search out what appeared to be interesting and who had the leisure to read the more detailed articles which were typical of the day.[5] By the late 1920's, one saw a trend toward increasing visual attractiveness and impact, which was accompanied by a parallel loss of content. For instance, headline length generally increased, while at the same time the number of words contained in a given headline decreased sharply. In the previous era the Province's average headline width was 1.1 columns, but this increased to 1.4 columns, as indicated in Table LXVI. The Sun, was even more enthusiastic about large headlines, which resulted in an average width of 1.7 columns (see Table LXVII).

Width in Columns	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)	Cumulative Frequency (%)
1	489	80.6	80.8
2	77	12.7	93.6
3	16	2.6	96.2
4	6	1.0	97.2
5	3	0.5	97.7
6	2	0.3	98.0
8	12	2.0	100.0
Not Coded	2	0.3	100.0
Total	607	100.0%	100.0%

Mode: 1,000

Mean: 1.385

Table LXVI. Headline Widths in the Vancouver Province (1928-1937) in Columns

Width in Columns	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)	Cumulative Frequency (%)
1	464	73.1	73.3
2	85	13.4	86.7
3	30	4.7	91.5
4	14	2.2	93.7
5	10	1.6	95.3
6	4	0.6	95.9
7	1	0.2	96.1
8	23	3.6	99.7
9	2	0.3	100.0
Not Coded	2	0.3	100.0
Total	635	100.0%	100.0%

Mode: 1.000

Mean: 1.679

Table LXVII. Headline Widths in the Vancouver Sun (1928-1937) in Columns

An increasing frequency of photographs also indicates the greater visual emphasis of both newspapers. It should be recalled that in the earlier era photographs were extremely rare, occurring with no more than 2% of all ethnic news items. Between 1928 and 1937 the Province increased this percentage to 4.9% (30 out of 607 news items), while the more flamboyant Sun accompanied about 7.6% of its ethnic news items with photographs (42 out of 635 news items).

In contrast, page placement remained almost identical with that of twenty years earlier. As before, approximately 40% of all ethnic news items were to be found on the first three pages of the paper:

Page	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
1	152	25.0	177	27.9
2	50	8.2	47	7.4
3	46	7.6	34	5.4
4	27	4.4	39	6.1
5	21	3.5	25	3.9
6	46	7.6	73	11.5
7-10	67	11.0	84	13.2
11-20	115	18.9	103	16.1
21-end	77	12.8	49	7.7
Not Coded	6	1.0	4	0.6
Total	607	100.0%	635	100.0%

Table LXVIII. The Page Distribution of Items in the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Yearly Distribution of Ethnically-Related Items

Taken together the combined influences of the depression, the immigration restrictions which resulted from it, and the containment of Asian immigration contributed to the Province and the Sun markedly restricting their coverage of ethnicity after 1931:

Year	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
1928	112	18.5	79	12.4
1929	84	13.8	94	14.8
1930	65	10.7	61	9.6
1931	63	10.4	64	10.1
1932	41	6.8	63	9.9
1933	54	8.9	51	8.0
1934	53	8.7	56	8.8
1935	30	4.9	54	8.5
1936	66	10.9	60	9.4
1937	39	6.4	53	8.3
Total	607	100.0%	635	100.0%

Table LXIX. Yearly Distribution of News Items in the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

The only deviation from this trend was seen in the Province's increased coverage of 1936, which reflected the renewed interest of this paper in domestic happenings concerning the Chinese and Japanese.[6]

II. Content: Ethnic Portrayal in a Period of Demographic Stability (1928-1937)

The People and the Issues

The depression of the 1930's fundamentally stabilized the ethnic makeup of Vancouver. Immigration curbs resulted in the proportion of foreign-born individuals remaining virtually the same throughout the era in question. Save for the migration of Canadian born into Vancouver, the population distribution of Vancouver in 1941 was almost a mirror image of what it had been in 1931. No ethnic group significantly increased its membership. Some groups (notably the Chinese) even lost a considerable proportion of their number (MacDonald 1970:311).[7]

	1931		1941	
Country	number	%	number	%
England and Wales	46,151	39.0	44,432	41.0
Scotland	21,613	18.3	20,080	18.6
Ireland	5,573	4.9	5,166	4.8
Norway	1,723	1.5	1,783	1.6
Sweden	2,136	1.8	1,802	1.7
Denmark	715	0.6	720	0.7
Finland	1,533	1.3	971	0.9
France	411	0.4	416	0.4
Germany	893	0.8	956	0.9
Poland	1,036	0.9	1,487	1.4
Austria & Hungary	664	0.6	1,022	0.9
Russia	1,429	1.2	2,165	2.0
Italy	1,478	1.3	1,416	1.3
Greece	293	0.2	Not available	
United States	10,870	9.2	10,833	10.0
China	11,533	9.7	5,427	5.0
Japan	4,133	3.5	3,331	3.1
Other	5,983	5.0	6,252	5.8
Total Foreign born	118,197	100.0%	108,259	100.0%
Total Population	246,593		275,353	

Table LXX. Birthplace of Vancouver's Foreign Born Population in 1931 and 1941 (in numbers and percentages)

Throughout the era, the ethnic makeup of Vancouver continued to be dominated by British immigrants and the Canadian born, who made up 27.5% and 52.0% of the city's population, respectively. Along with the Chinese (4.6%) and the American born (4.4%), four basic groups accounted for 88.5% of the population of Vancouver in 1931.

The distribution of news items in the Province and the Sun in part reflected the stabilization of ethnic relations which occurred during this period, as is indicated by Tables LXXI and LXXII. Relative to the past, coverage of Asians decreased substantially, even though it continued to account for approximately thirty percent of all domestic coverage; twenty years earlier such coverage represented nearly one-half of all domestic news items dealing with ethnicity. Coverage of Asians still continued to be far out of proportion to their numbers, for at no time during this decade did Asians constitute more than 7% of the total population of Vancouver and Asian immigration was insignificant.

Changes in the frequencies of occurrence of other groups were relatively minor. Both papers carried more news items dealing with British ethnicity than their predecessors did by a factor of about 40%. Coverage of native people continued to command about 10% of the total, while coverage of Americans, Western, Northern and Eastern Europeans either remained stable or increased. As before, the top seven groups in both papers commanded over 80% of all domestic coverage of ethnicity (see Table LXXII). Coverage of Canadians and French Canadians continued to be low.

Group	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Province %	Vancouver Sun number	Vancouver Sun %
Colored	0	0.0	0	0.0
Black	18	3.8	7	1.6
Asian	146	31.1	144	32.5
Native	55	11.7	32	7.2
Arab-Israeli	15	3.2	9	2.0
Non-European	0	0.0	0	0.0
European	0	0.0	1	0.2
British	63	13.4	61	13.8
Canadian	26	5.5	31	7.0
French Canadian	17	3.6	8	1.8
Eastern European	53	11.3	46	10.4
Western & Northern European	27	5.8	35	7.9
Southern European	13	2.8	19	4.3
Hispano-Portugese	1	0.2	0	0.0
American	21	4.5	36	8.1
Immigrant	9	1.9	10	2.3
Australian & New Zealand	5	1.1	3	0.7
South African & Rhodesian White	0	0.0	1	0.2
Total	469	100.0%	443	100.0%

Table LXXI. Frequency of Ethnic Group Portrayal in Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Group	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Province %	Vancouver Sun number	Vancouver Sun %
Asian	146	31.1	144	32.5
British	63	13.4	61	13.8
Native	55	11.7	32	7.2
Eastern European	53	11.3	46	10.4
Western & Northern European	27	5.8	35	7.9
Canadian	26	5.5	31	7.0
American	21	4.5	36	8.1
Total	391	83.3%	385	79.9%

Table LXXII. Seven Largest Domestic Ethnic Categories: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937).

The press also reflected the stabilization of the ethnic panorama in the topics which attracted newspaper attention during the late twenties and thirties, for while topics which were primary ones before World War I continue to be important, several others rose to prominence. Reflecting the oppositional and polarized nature of ethnic relations in Vancouver, the newspapers of the previous era concentrated on topics which in one way or another reflected conflict: violence by ethnics, the question of immigration restrictions, attempts by ethnics to gain redress in the courts, the prosecution of ethnics by the state, and ethnic relations. In the middle era these topics were moderated by the presence of others of a more normal, less confrontational nature. Nevertheless, as can be seen in Tables LXXIII through LXXIV, violence by ethnics continued to be the most fre-

quent topic by far, thus continuing the tradition of the past; 17% of all domestic news items in either paper expressed this topic.

At the same time, both the Province and the Sun diverged quite sharply from past practice by significantly increasing their coverage of normal news--things which reflected the everyday world of individuals.[8] While at first consideration it may not seem that news items of this sort are of much consequence to the presentation of ethnicity and indeed might negatively reflect upon the ethnicity of the individuals concerned, I believe that the presentation of ethnicity within the context of normal events has the important function of bringing ethnic groups into the moral community. In the early presentation of ethnicity by the Vancouver press, one frequently finds that stigmatized minorities were also stereotyped minorities, and that press stereotypes frequently were of the very few dimensions and were completely depersonalized: one found many "Chinese" and "Hindoos" in the world of the press but found very few Chinese or South Asian individuals. The relative lack of individualized accounts of the activities of these minorities evidently made the application of stereotypical attributes to them far easier.

Complementing this increased interest in normal news was a parallel increase of press interest in ethnic celebrities and ethnic organizations; taken together, normal news, celebrities, and ethnic organizations accounted for 26.5% of the Province's domestic coverage and 33.4% of the Sun's. As outlined in the subsequent analysis of the specific ethnic groups, these

topic areas also tended to be covered in more benign manner than previously, at least for most groups.

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Housing	0	0.0	0	0.0
Education	7	1.5	6	1.4
Health	3	0.6	4	0.9
Employment & Economy	24	5.1	24	5.4
Population	2	0.4	5	1.1
Restriction Advocated	20	4.3	5	1.1
Ethnics are Restricted	10	2.1	6	1.4
Restriction Charged	9	1.9	10	2.3
Ethnic Relations	49	10.4	38	8.6
Immigration	52	11.1	27	6.1
Legal & Legislation	40	8.5	43	9.7
Violence to Ethnics	15	3.2	15	3.4
Violence by Ethnics	79	16.8	73	16.5
Culture Differences	31	6.6	36	8.1
Celebrities	35	7.5	61	13.8
Sports	4	0.9	3	0.7
Ethnic Organizations	31	6.6	51	11.5
Normal News	58	12.4	36	8.1
Total	469	100.0%	443	100.0%

Table LXXIII. Domestic Material by Topic: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

One of the most unexpected findings that derives from the frequency of occurrence of topics during this decade was that employment and economic activities were not given particularly large amounts of coverage, despite the depression of the 1930's, which hit Vancouver with particular severity. The depression left many thousands of Vancouverites out of work and paralyzed whole aspects of British Columbia's resource-based economy (Robin 1972:255). One would have expected that the press would have followed its traditional path and stigmatically associated the economic situation of the times with ethnicity. In fact, though both papers did express the feeling that the presence of Asians in Vancouver contributed to the unemployment rates of white workers, in an overall sense coverage of relationships between the economy and ethnicity were minimal and were no more frequent than in the previous era. Both the Province and the Sun devoted approximately 5% of their domestic coverage to this general area (see Tables LXXIV and LXXV).

Topic	number	%
Violence by ethnics	79	16.8
Normal news	58	12.4
Immigration	52	11.1
Ethnic relations	49	10.4
Legal and legislation	40	8.5
Celebrities	35	7.5
Cultural difference	31	6.6
Ethnic organizations	31	6.6
Total	375	79.9%

Table LXXIV. Most Frequent Topics: Domestic Stories in the Vancouver Province (1928-1937)

Topic	number	%
Violence by ethnics	73	16.5
Celebrities	61	13.8
Ethnic organizations	51	11.5
Legal and legislation	43	9.7
Ethnic relations	38	8.6
Cultural difference	36	8.1
Normal news	36	8.1
Immigration	27	6.1
Total	365	82.4%

Table LXXV. Most Frequent Topics: Domestic Stories in the Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

The Domestic Moral Community of the Press

Throughout this decade the Vancouver press continued to make strong evaluative distinctions between one ethnic group and another. While the range of moral community scores for this era is somewhat less than it was in the past, the difference between the most and the least esteemed groups was nonetheless substantial.[9] Tables LXXVI and LXXVII present the domestic moral community scores for those groups for which more than ten news items were found during this period.

As is evident in these tables, those groups who had been highly evaluated during the previous era for the most part maintained their position in the press moral community. Notably, the British, English, and Scots continued to be treated well by the press; Canadians, too, received basically positive coverage.

At the same time, some fundamental shifts occurred with respect to other groups. Germans, who the earlier press had treated with considerable sympathy, fall sharply, especially in the Province. The Japanese moved even more in the opposite direction, towards a far more positive press image than before; Italians were also brought into the moral community by the press, as were South Asians to a less significant degree. Only one new group made its appearance during this era--the Dukhobors--who found themselves at the very bottom of the ethnic pyramid.

Group	Number	Moral Community Score	Rank
British	16	0.65	1
Jewish	13	0.54	2
Canadians	23	0.09	3
Italians	11	-0.18	4
Americans	21	-0.24	5
Japanese	45	-0.40	6
French Canadians	17	-0.41	7
Native Indians	50	-0.56	8
South Asians	16	-0.63	9
Black Americans	16	-0.81	10
Germans	14	-1.00	11
Chinese	69	-1.10	12
Dukhobors	40	-1.30	13
Asians	15	-2.07	14

Table LXXVI. The Domestic Moral Community: Vancouver Province (1928-1937)

Group	Number	Moral Community Score	Rank
Scottish	14	0.30	1
Japanese	46	0.28	2
Russians	10	0.20	3
Canadians	30	0.13	4
English	19	-0.11	5
British	20	-0.15	6
South Asians	16	-0.43	7
Germans	22	-0.45	8
Italians	15	-0.53	9
Americans	36	-0.58	10
Immigrants	10	-0.70	11
Chinese	67	-1.05	12
Native Indians	29	-1.27	13
Dukhobors	29	-1.31	14

Table LXXVII. The Domestic Moral Community: Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

The British

As previously indicated in Table LVXX, the British born population of Vancouver remained virtually stable throughout the decade in question. They made up approximately 50% of the foreign born population of the city, as they had in the decade prior to World War I. The Order-in-Council of March 21, 1931 (P.C. 695) placed all immigration under severe restrictions and essentially stopped immigration from Britain to Canada from 1931 until 1938; hence, the British-born population of Vancouver could be considered increasingly to be established, long term immigrants as the decade in question went along.

In the press the British were dealt with quite differently by the Province and the Sun, as can be seen in Tables LXXVIII, LXXIX, and LXXX. While both papers gave the British positive press, both the intensity of their support and the direction of it diverged significantly. The Province continued its conservative support of the Empire generally, and in particular very strongly advocated continued and increased British immigration in the late 1920's when such a policy was still economically rational. Over 50% of the Province's domestic news items on the British for the decade in question were to be found in either 1928 or 1929 (32 out of 60 in the sample).[10] The great majority of these news items advocated British immigration; immigration was the most common topic (37.8% in the Province's British sample, and the most common subtopic by far was that British immigration should be aided (n = 11).

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Education				
need special education	1	1.7	-	-
Health & Welfare				
want services	2	3.4	-	-
Employment & Economy				
are skilled	-	-	1	1.8
are lazy	2	3.4	-	-
are employed	2	3.4	-	-
are cheap labor	1	1.7	-	-
other	-	-	3	5.4
Numbers				
there are not enough here	1	1.7	1	1.8
too many will lead to trouble	1	1.7	1	1.8
Are Restricted	-	-	1	1.8
Charge Restriction				
claim immigration bar	1	1.7	-	-
other	1	1.7	-	-
Ethnic Relations				
try to better relations	2	3.4	-	-
relations are good	1	1.7	1	1.8
relations are bad	-	-	1	1.8
impose their ways	1	1.7	-	-
pro-American investment	-	-	1	1.8
Immigration	2	3.4	1	1.8
too much from	-	-	2	3.6
immigration is large	2	3.4	-	-
arrive	3	5.2	-	-
should be aided	11	19.0	3	5.4
are deported	-	-	1	1.8
are solicited by Canada	2	3.4	1	1.8
make good citizens	1	1.7	-	-
profit on immigration	-	-	1	1.8
other	1	1.7	1	1.8

	number	%	number	%
Legislative & Legal				
urge restriction	-	-	1	1.8
laws limit	-	-	1	1.8
laws protect	-	-	1	1.8
Violence, Hostility Against				
are dealt with harshly	-	-	1	1.8
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass others	1	1.7	3	5.4
meet imposition	-	-	1	1.8
Cultural Difference				
Canadianness urged	-	-	1	1.8
best cultural practices	1	1.7	-	-
other	-	-	1	1.8
Celebrities	-	-	1	1.8
entertainers	-	-	1	1.8
politicians	2	3.4	1	1.8
social notables	2	3.4	-	-
historical notables	-	-	1	1.8
Ethnic Organizations				
ethnic festivals	2	3.4	6	10.7
organize in community	2	3.4	4	7.1
celebrate holidays	1	1.7	-	-
organize concerts	3	5.2	4	7.1
Normal News	-	-	2	3.6
human interest	3	5.2	2	3.6
victim of accident	3	-	1	1.8
make good	-	-	1	1.8
other	-	-	2	3.6
Total	58	100.0%	56	100.0%

Table LXXVIII. British Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Immigration	22	37.8	10	18.0
Ethnic Organizations	8	13.7	14	24.9
Employment & Economy	5	8.5	4	7.2
Ethnic Relations	4	6.8	3	5.4
Celebrities	4	6.8	4	7.2
Normal News	3	5.2	8	14.4
Violence, Hostility By	1	1.7	4	7.2
Legislative & Legal	-	-	3	5.4
Total	47	79.5%	50	89.7%

Table LXXIX. The Most Frequent Topics of British Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Sun number
Immigration	22	4
Cultural Difference	17	15
Legislative & Legal	12	6
Celebrities	4	2
Numbers	3	2
Ethnic Relations	3	2
Normal News	3	3
Ethnic Organizations	1	8

Table LXXX. Most Common Themes in Domestic British News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Nevertheless, the Province's strong stand on British immigration was not made without qualification. The Province continued to view with suspicion British immigrants who were poor, unskilled, or uneducated. As before, there was a fear that this type of immigrant would compete with Canadians for the available jobs, reduce wages, and generate unemployment (Province, September 14, 1928, page 8; May 2, 1928, page 18). Pauperism and poverty continued to be viewed by the Province as a particularly urban British blight, for the newspaper saw Canada as a land of opportunity for "healthy old country youths" from the countryside (April 12, 1928, page 18)--individuals who were in actuality at least as poor, uneducated, and unskilled as their urban counterparts.

The Sun was on the whole less unequivocal on the question of British immigration, and tended to view immigration generally with more of an economic eye and less of a cultural one than the Province. The Sun only rarely was moved to advocate British immigration per se, and voiced considerably more objections to it than did their competitor. For example, the Sun was to go on the editorial record very early in the depression to claim that assisted immigration schemes designed to bring over British immigrants were then undesirable because "too great an influx of British lower class labour is crowded into the cities" (March 8, 1930, page 4). Carrying this theme further, the editor of the Sun later argued that Canada had already taken more British immigrants than all of the other Dominions combined, and therefore owed nothing to Britain in this regard; again, the

Sun advocated that British immigration schemes should be halted (February 16, 1931, page 18). A few months later, the Sun editor's stand was even stronger, claiming that in regard to immigration policy the Sun was anxious to inform Britain that Canada was not "the colonies" and that Canadians were not to be thought of as colonials (October 13, 1931, page 6). In contrast, as late as 1937 the Province continued to advocate that immigration should be selectively British in order to keep other types of immigrants from diluting the British tradition in Canada (August 30, 1937, page 3); "if Britain is to keep Canada, it must populate her with the right (i. e., British) people."

This immigration issue was clearly but one aspect of a continuing difference in political orientation between the two papers. The conservative influence persisted in the Province, and predictably, the Province could find much good and little wrong with the right sort of British individual. Perhaps more importantly, the Province also continued to use "British values and institutions" as the ideal by which Canada and Canadians were to be judged. In this, it could be argued that the Province persisted in maintaining a colonial mentality well into an era when politically, socially, and economically Canada was effectively independent of Britain. Already, the Province was romanticizing a "British heritage" in British Columbia which in fact had never existed--a British heritage with which British Columbian society of that day was constantly and invidiously compared.

On the other hand, the Sun was searching for a more specifically

Canadian definition of Canadianness. As mentioned, it was suspicious of relationships with Britain which were maintained on the strength of arguments based on culture, support of the mother country, or the benefits of British rule, and tended to counter these arguments with economic ones and occasionally, with arguments based on allegiance to a specifically Canadian nationalism. One of its most common complaints was that Britain and the British were profoundly ignorant of Canada and Canadians. For instance, in an extended editorial ("What Britons Should Learn About Canada," December 12, 1931, page 6), the Sun outlined the following points:

1. Canada was the keystone in the arch of Empire trade.
2. It was the interpretor of Britain to the United States.
3. It was the connecting link in Britain's trade with Asia.
4. It was the greatest undeveloped area within reach of British capital.

The above points are indicative of two sometimes contradictory themes in the Sun's worldview--allegiance to Britain in an equal association and the belief that Canadian prosperity would come through increased international trade.

The Sun in fact did support the British as individuals and as the country of Canada's origin, provided that neither impinged overly on Canadian sovereignty. It was not above claiming that the British personality had qualities not found elsewhere, such as good humor and honesty (July 17, 1935, page 1), as well as intellectual supremacy (May 15, 1937, page 6).

In addition, the Sun gave far more extensive coverage to local British organizations and normal news than did the Province, in this paralleling a major distinction between the Province and the World; in a comparative sense, the Sun was far more interested in people as individuals, human interest, and "the human condition" than was the Province, as will be evident in the subsequent discussion of other groups.[11]

In spite of these differences between the two papers, both papers were in very close accord in what they did not print about the British. Despite their qualifications about the British, neither the Province nor the Sun chose to associate deviant activity with the British. Local residents of British birth were indeed reported to have engaged in crime, drink, labor unrest, etc., but almost without exception these news items did not contain references to the ethnicity of the individual; their deviancy was of a 'normal,' rather than an ethnic variety.

The Chinese

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1923 had drastic implications for the organization and makeup of Vancouver's Chinese community. The Act was so severe and so strictly enforced that between 1923 and the end of World War II only eight Chinese individuals were legally allowed to immigrate from China to Canada (Buchignani 1977:46). This alone would have led to a general aging of the Chinese population and to an eventual decrease in their numbers. In fact, several other factors contributed to both tendencies. First of all, very few Chinese women had come to Canada prior to the

Exclusion Act, which reflected the heavy expense ($500) which would have been incurred should one have brought his wife to this country and paid her immigration head tax. The consequence of this was that the demographic makeup of the Chinese population subsequent to 1923 was such that it could not biologically reproduce itself. Secondly, many of the male Chinese then in British Columbia were already married, and when faced by the impossibility of bringing their family to Canada many of them returned to their families in China (MacDonald 1970:311). Thirdly, the depression of the 1930's was to leave many Chinese without work (Ng 1977:74; Corbett 1957: 45); many of the unemployed returned to China as well. So great was the flow of individuals from British Columbia to China that the number of Chinese in the province decreased from 11,533 in 1931 to 5,427 ten years later (MacDonald 1970:311). Relegated to a caste-like status, cut off from both British Columbian society and China, those Chinese who remained turned inwards towards themselves and waited for the end of the depression. Effectively subordinated, the Chinese posed neither an economic nor a political threat to other British Columbians (Straaton 1974:38).

Nevertheless, prejudicial feelings against the Chinese continued unabated through the 1920's and 1930's (Corbett 1957:34). All of the formal restrictions which were placed on the Chinese prior to World War I were to remain in effect throughout the decades between the wars. Labor remained antithetical to Asians, and British Columbian politicians routinely continued to run on anti-Asian platforms (Roy 1972:253).[12] The depression seems to

have hit the Vancouver Chinese with particular intensity (Ng 1977:74). Without citizenship rights, many Chinese did not apply for social relief for fear that they would be deported as indigents. Instead, they relied on whatever support they could derive from the range of voluntary associations within the Chinese community itself.

Despite their subordinate position and irrespective of the fact that their numbers had dramatically decreased, the Chinese remained central to the presentation of ethnicity in both the Province and the Sun. Of all groups, the Chinese received more coverage than any other. Tables LXXXI through LXXXIII outline the topics and themes associated with the coverage of the domestic Chinese.

Despite their heavy coverage, the Chinese were still associated with a very narrow range of attributes and situations, most of them stigmatic. Continuing the tradition of earlier times, both papers were centrally concerned with perceived Chinese deviant behavior, notably criminal behavior. 40.5% of the Province's domestic coverage of the Chinese falls under this category, as does 29.9% of that of the Sun. Even these high percentages do not reflect the totality of the newspapers' interests in Chinese criminality, for many of the news items categorized under other topics also secondarily involved Chinese criminality or its consequences. For instance, most of the news items dealing with the Chinese in court (13% of the Province's coverage and 11.9% of the World's) were reports of the Chinese in court on criminal charges, and many other items listed under ethnic relations,

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province		Vancouver Sun	
	number	%	number	%
Education				
other	1	1.4	-	-
Health & Welfare				
health is poor	-	-	1	1.5
Employment and Economy	-	-	1	1.5
are employed	-	-	1	1.5
drive people out of business	1	1.4	-	-
are cheap labor	1	1.4	-	-
other	-	-	1	1.5
Advocation of Restriction				
should deny services	1	1.4	-	-
should deny ethnic ways	1	1.4	-	-
advocate business restriction	1	1.4	-	-
Charge Restriction	-	-	1	1.5
claim job restriction	1	1.4	-	-
other	-	-	1	1.5
Ethnic Relations	2	2.9	-	-
bad relations with police	-	-	2	3.0
relations get worse	-	-	1	1.5
relations are good	1	1.4	1	1.5
unite with others	2	2.9	1	1.5
have outside help	-	-	1	1.5
do not get along	-	-	3	4.5
Immigration				
enter illegally	1	1.4	1	1.5
are deported	2	2.9	3	4.5
other	1	1.4	-	-
Legislative & Legal				
politicians urge restriction	-	-	1	1.5
laws limit	-	-	3	4.5
are in court	9	13.0	8	11.9
laws protect	1	1.4	-	-

	number	%	number	%
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted	2	2.9	-	-
property is destroyed	-	-	1	1.5
are victims of crime	3	4.3	2	3.0
will use force against	2	2.9	-	-
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass people	1	1.4	1	1.5
assault each other	4	5.8	5	7.5
are accused of crime	22	31.9	13	19.4
other	1	1.4	1	1.5
Cultural Difference	-	-	1	1.5
have different eating customs	1	1.4	-	-
have different religion	1	1.4	-	-
other	1	1.4	-	-
Celebrities				
politicians in the news	1	1.4	1	1.5
social notables	1	1.4	3	4.5
celebrities	-	-	1	1.5
Ethnic Organizations				
celebrate ethnic festival	-	-	1	1.5
organize	-	-	3	4.5
Normal News				
accident victims	2	2.9	-	-
make good	1	1.4	-	-
suicide or die	-	-	2	3.0
Total	69	100.0%	67	100.0%

Table LXXXI. Chinese Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Violence, Hostility By	28	40.5	20	29.9
Legislative & Legal	10	14.4	12	17.9
Violence, Hostility Against	7	10.1	3	4.5
Ethnic Relations	5	7.2	9	13.5
Immigration	4	5.7	4	6.0
Celebrities	2	2.8	5	7.5
Ethnic Organizations	-	-	4	6.0
Total	56	80.7%	57	85.3%

Table LXXXII. The Most Frequent Topics of Chinese Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Themes	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Sun number
Violence, Hostility By	19	21
Culture Difference	12	9
Legislative & Legal	10	16
Violence, Hostility Against	7	2
Employment & Economy	6	4
Ethnic Relations	4	7

Table LXXXIII. Most Common Themes in Domestic Chinese News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

violence and hostility against, and immigration also had a criminal aspect to them. In fact, coverage of Chinese criminality in the Province was of such magnitude that the total output of the paper on this subject exceeded that of the same paper during the height of the "Asian menace" (see Chapter Three, Table XXX).

It would be impossible to argue that this press concentration upon Chinese crime resulted from anything that the Chinese themselves did. Their numbers had decreased substantially, Chinese immigration had been terminated, they entered no new economic areas, and there are no indications that their crime rates (which were always low for major crimes) increased.

Even though one does not now have access to the motives behind this press reporting, it is evident that the Chinese were in some respects being scapegoated. Their moral degradation in the press must have served explanatory functions for both the readers and the producers of the press. As before, the Chinese were very clearly characterized as immoral, subhuman, and culturally distinct. Nevertheless, reporting on the Chinese in Vancouver did not altogether follow the classic form of scapegoating, for the press did not provide the "explanatory" links which were required to causally connect these outcastes to a major social problem with the exception of crime. For instance, press attempts to connect the Chinese with the disastrous economic conditions of the 1930's were notable in their absence.

Rather, when the Chinese were brought into a relationship with the economy by the press it was usually of much smaller scale than this. For instance, the Province might claim that the "'Ill-Treated Chinese' Own Many Stores" (March 18, 1928, page 1), and that they did so through undercutting white competitors and staying open on Sundays and holidays. Alternatively, the coverage of actual economically-based conflict between Chinese individuals and others was duly reported, but was relatively rare. Typical would be the coverage of the 1937 "Potatoe War":

> VIOLENCE IN POTATOE DEADLOCK
> Chinese Beaten by Gang of Men on Fraser Bridge.
> Farmers Picket Span With Axes
>
> (Sun, March 1, 1937, page 1)

Even these stories were likely to be interpreted differently by the two papers. In the previous example, for instance, the Sun portrayed the Chinese as the victims of violence. The Province's first page story of the same date completely reversed the situation:

> POTATOE BOARD MAN STABBED AT PICKET LINE
> Earl A. McKay is Injured by Chinese in Fight at Bridge. Truck Halted. "They Shall Not Pass" say Growers

Press opinions about Chinese economic activities clearly diverged sharply from those held by both the Province and the Sun in regard to Chinese crime, for upon the latter topic the two papers were of one mind. According to the press view of it, Chinese crime was of three basic types, the first of which could be termed "amoral crime;" under this category one

could place deviant activity which the press suggested derived from a supposed lack of moral standards or lack of responsibility. Notable among these was gambling. Gambling was a constant theme of press coverage of the Chinese. Chinatown, already characterized as a place of evil and vice, was also claimed to be a center of gambling activities, which were being continually raided by the press:

> GAMBLING HOUSE ACCOUNTS SHOW "EXPENSE" ITEM. Chow Wong Lum Explains Entries of $50 Monthly
>
> (Province, May 17, 1928, page 16)

Similar articles could be selected at will from the papers of the day.

The second variety of Chinese criminality of great interest to the press was associated directly with immorality, decadence, and sin. Essentially these were of two types which were closely associated in the press--the opium traffic and prostitution. Both of these were by that time "traditional" press concerns, but they were to gain increasing importance as other Chinese activities such as immigration dwindled. Reports of the evils of Chinese opium and its consequences were very common in both papers. Typical would be:

> LIM'S SENTENCE IS TOO LENIENT
> Such is Crown's Contention in Appeal of Opium Traffic Case. Law is Challenged
>
> (Province, January 18, 1928, page 20)

On the whole, the opium traffic provided the press with far more lurid material than did gambling. Quite frankly, the press did not seem

particularly concerned with any possible bad effects that opium might have had on the Chinese themselves. Rather, it was concerned that the Chinese were using opium dependency to trap white women into a life of prostitution:

MADE OPIUM SALES TO WOMEN
Jailed Chinaman Sentenced to Two Years

(Province, May 16, 1937, page 2)

The third category of deviance in which the press showed great interest was intra-ethnic violence. Although the Chinese had always been portrayed as preying on each other and as a group which ultimately settled things by force, this topic increased significantly in the press' eye during this period. Reports of Chinese violence were frequent:

HAMMER SLAYER IS GIVEN EIGHT YEARS

(Province, May 16, 1936, page 4)

Often these were associated with other perceived types of Chinese vice:

NO PROGRESS MADE IN BOMBING PROBE
Wreckage of House Used as Chinese Lottery is Cleared

(Province, July 19, 1933, page 14)

In overview, then, the most formidable critiques found in the press of the Chinese were cultural rather than economic. Likewise, their scapegoating function was also cultural and social rather than economic. The Chinese signified a threat to the moral order of things which lay close at hand, ready to trap the unwary. More directly, the Chinese served to explain the presence of deviance in the city core, while they simultaneously

validated the social situation of white Vancouverites; others may be poor or unemployed, but they could say that they were not Chinese (Down 1972:133). In essence, the Chinese served as an assurance that despite the profound economic disorganization of the times, the moral order of Vancouver society continued (Breed 1964:187).

In one important respect the coverage of the Chinese in the Province and the Sun diverged quite sharply, and this was over the possible importance of trade between British Columbia and China. The Province continued to express its affiliation with the Empire, and hence did not seem to see this trade as a significant possibility; in any case, the topic was not often found in the Province. This was far from the case for the Sun. Throughout the era in question the Sun continued to express the hope that Asian trade, particularly with China, would be the salvation of the stagnant British Columbia economy.

The Sun was editorially very active on this subject. For instance, one finds the editorial of September 4, 1930 (page 6), expressing the opinion that China was then reaching out for raw materials and manufactured goods, and that China would soon be an important factor in world economics. One year later the Sun editor developed what eventually was to become an ongoing theme in the Sun's presentation of China and the Chinese--that war was imminent between China and Japan and that subsequently Vancouver would be able to profit from trade with China (November 12, 1931, page 6). Throughout the hostilities between China and Japan the Sun

supported the Chinese. For instance, in a first page story of August 30, 1937, Japan is portrayed as the unjustified aggressor and as being friendless in the world. The Sun also positively reported Chinese military successes and downplayed Chinese defeats:

CHINESE BEAT OFF NIPPON WARSHIPS

(September 14, 1937, page 1)

HEROIC CHINESE SUICIDE SQUAD BLOWN TO BITS

(September 29, 1937, page 1)

In essence, the Sun had taken Eastern Liberal ideas on international trade and optimistically applied them to Asia and British Columbia. To Robert Crombie, then owner and editor of the Sun, the enormous population of China would inevitably provide British Columbia with a market for its goods unparalleled in the world (Sun, April 1, 1936, page 1). "Asia was Doubling Her Present Living Standards" and "Europe's Day was Dimming" (April 1, 1936, page 2), claimed the Sun in 8 column wide headlines.

This interest of the Sun in the potentialities of Chinese trade eventually affected their stance on the Chinese resident in British Columbia, moving it away from the hard line exclusionist position of the Province. As early as February 4, 1933 (page 22), the Sun directly linked the treatment of Chinese in British Columbia to Asian trade:

CHINESE MARKET
The growing national consciousness of the Chinese makes it advisable to reach a better understanding regarding such vexed questions as exclusion of Chinese from Canada and more encouragement of Chinese students to take their courses in Canadian universities. The government should give early consideration to this.

This theme was explicitly stressed in a Sun editorial of April 20, 1933 ("Students and Trade," page 6).

The Sun continued to make a connection between the rights of Chinese here and intervention repercussions throughout the era in question. For instance, in an editorial of December 28, 1931 ("The East and the West," page 6) the Sun came out against a move by Vancouver male merchants to restrict white women from working for Asians. Earlier, the Sun editors had argued that the Vancouver City Council should not restrict the trade licences of Asians ("Baiting the Oriental," page 8); the editorial suggested that any possible lowering of wages which resulted from Asian competition was more than compensated by trade possibilities and moreover, that Chinatown had become an important tourist attraction. It should be noted that in sharp contrast to the active editorializing of the Sun on the Chinese, the Province sample included only one editorial.

By the end of the decade, the Sun's coverage of the Chinese had moderated considerably, such that to a limited degree it began to cover such things as Chinese art (July 31, 1936, page 6), cultural celebrations ("Chinese Carnival," July 16, 1936, page 9), and culture (October 29, 1937,

page 4). Although far from being sympathetic of the Chinese, the Sun's coverage of the Chinese in 1936-37 was markedly different than that of the Province, and indeed diverged from its own past portrayal.

The Japanese

Japanese immigration was not terminated in such a definitive manner as was that of the Chinese. Because of concern for Japan's political and economic power, Japanese immigration was limited to a yearly quota by the Japanese government. This practice was the result of a treaty between Canada and Japan. The quota was nonetheless a restrictive one, and it combined with the depression to severely limit the influx of new Japanese immigrants into British Columbia. Whereas 2,094 Japanese came to Canada between 1925 and 1929, only 743 came during the subsequent five years. 420 arrived between 1935 and 1939. During the economic hard times of the 1930's many Japanese returned to their country of origin.

Throughout the 1920's and 1930's the Japanese Canadians continued to consolidate their household and community life. In contrast to the Chinese, many Japanese males had brought their families to Canada, such that as early as 1931 more than one half (4,195) of the Japanese in Vancouver (8,328) had been born in Canada (Roy 1972:250). The rapid rate of increase of the Japanese population through natural increase was one of the most common concerns of this era for those who did not wish to see a continued Asian presence in British Columbia (Roy 1972:243).

Before World War I the Japanese were seen to be ambitious and hard

working, resourceful and innovative. Consequently, the Japanese continued to provoke economic and political fears in the rest of the population. The Japanese had strengthened their economic base in the first few decades of this century, and by the late 1920's had secured a substantial position in a number of occupations including fishing, agriculture, shipbuilding, the wood industries, and trade.[13] Although the Japanese were hit at least as severely as everyone else by the depression, they were to be considered an economic threat throughout the decade in question.

The continuing exploits of Japan on the international scene continued to feed British Columbian fears that the growing power of that country might be connected in some important way with the Japanese population of the province (Roy 1972:242). Japan had invaded China, which provoked worry that British Columbia might be next. Japan was seen as an aggressive and successful economic competitor, which aroused both suspicion and admiration (Adachi 1971:222). Paradoxically, Japan had also become one of British Columbia's major trading partners, especially in terms of exports like lumber and fish.[14]

As is indicated in Tables LXXXIV through LXXXVI, Japanese coverage in the press of the period between the two World Wars remained high, accounting for about 9.5% of the Province's domestic coverage of ethnicity and 10.4% of the Sun's. At the same time, in many respects the type of coverage received by the Japanese changed significantly from the previous era. In an overall sense, the negative attitude toward the Japanese

presented by the press in earlier times was muted, such that the moral community scores for the Japanese compare favorably with many European ethnic groups. Even the Province accorded them a score of -0.40, which was about the same as that for French Canadians. The Sun's Japanese moral community score (0.28) was unequalled by any other group save for the Scots.[15]

The fundamental change in the topics of news items dealing with the Japanese can be most readily seen by comparing Table LXXXIV with Table XXXIII of the previous Chapter. In the earlier decade, the coverage of the Japanese was extremely confrontational. Violence by Japanese, immigration, (bad) ethnic relations, legal and legislative happenings, and the advocation of further restriction of the Japanese were the predominant topics. In the 1920's and 1930's these topics were less frequently found, and when they were their intensity had been considerably moderated. In their place, news items dealing with celebrities and normal news events increased dramatically, such that taken together they accounted for 38.8% of the Province's domestic coverage and 34.8% of the Sun's; similar figures for the Province and the World of 1905-1914 were 6.4% and 7.0%, respectively.

In particular, the Sun's fascination with Japanese social notables was complete. Characteristic of the way in which the Sun doted over the Japanese elite was the following item:

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Education				
education costs too much	-	-	2	4.3
Employment & Economy	-	-	2	4.3
drive people out of business	1	2.2	-	-
buy or own property	1	2.2	1	2.2
other	-	-	1	2.2
Numbers				
are increasing	-	-	1	2.2
Advocation of Restriction				
should bar from jobs	1	2.2	-	-
should deny rights	2	4.4	-	-
should bar immigration	1	2.2	-	-
other	1	2.2	-	-
Are Restricted				
are denied rights	3	6.7	-	-
Restriction Charged	-	-	2	4.3
Ethnic Relations	1	2.2	-	-
try to better relations	1	2.2	-	-
relations are good	-	-	1	2.3
relations are bad	1	2.2	-	-
threaten Western World	2	4.4	1	2.2
Immigration				
come illegally	1	2.2	-	-
are deported	-	-	1	2.2
Legislative & Legal				
laws protect	2	4.4	-	-
are in the courts	1	2.2	1	2.2
make good citizens	-	-	1	2.2
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted or harassed	-	-	2	4.3
are victims of crime	2	4.4	1	2.2

	number	%	number	%
Violence, Hostility By				
are accused of crime	5	11.1	3	6.5
are executed	1	2.2	1	2.2
assault each other	-	-	1	2.2
are violent	-	-	1	2.2
Cultural Differences				
are learning English	1	2.2	-	-
other	1	2.2	-	-
Celebrities	1	2.2	-	-
politicians in the news	1	2.2	8	17.4
social notables	4	8.9	6	13.0
Ethnic Organizations				
organize in the community	-	-	5	10.9
other	3	6.7	2	4.3
Normal News				
human interest	2	4.4	-	-
accident victim	1	2.2	-	-
make good	3	6.7	1	2.2
other	1	2.2	1	2.2
Total	45	100.0%	46	100.0%

Table LXXXIV. Japanese Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Sub-topics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Normal News	7	15.5	2	4.4
Celebrities	6	13.3	14	30.4
Violence, Hostility By	6	13.3	6	13.1
Ethnic Relations	5	11.0	2	4.5
Ethnic Organizations	3	6.7	7	15.2
Employment & Economy	2	4.4	4	8.7
Legislative & Legal	3	6.7	2	4.4
Total	32	70.9%	37	80.7%

Table LXXXV. The Most Frequent Topics of Japanese Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Sun number
Advocation of Restriction	8	2
Ethnic Relations	6	10
Legislative & Legal	5	5
Employment & Economy	5	4
Cultural Difference	4	8
Violence, Hostility By	2	6
Ethnic Organizations	2	7

Table LXXXVI. Most Common Themes in Domestic Japanese News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

JAPAN'S ENVOY TO CANADA OF HIGH LINEAGE
Ismasa Tokugawa, Scion of Shoguns Who Rule for 300 Years

(October 9, 1929, page 6)

In this feature story the Sun argued that the appointment of such an important individual to be an envoy was indicative of the regard with which Japan held for Canada.

The Sun covered Japanese community events in a similar vein, especially when important dignataries were involved in them:

JAPANESE GIFT TREES CEREMONIALLY PLANTED
Lasting Peace Between Dominion and Land of Cherry Blossom Keynote of Function

(May 10, 1932, page 2)

Although less frequently done than by the Sun, the Province also enthusiastically covered Japanese elites when it chose to cover them at all:

VANCOUVER BIDS FAREWELL TO PRINCE
CHICHIBAU LEAVES FOR EAST AS 10,000 JAPANESE CHEER. Prince makes Contribution to Fund for Work Among Countrymen Here

(March 31, 1937, page 3)

Nevertheless, the Province continued to be concerned about the possible negative effects of a Japanese presence in Canada, and it made that concern evident in a number of news items to do with the threat of Japanese takeover of the economy and polity. As before, the Province persisted in the position that the Japanese constituted a demographic threat to white society. For instance, in an eighty-eight column inch feature

story of September 1, 1934 the Province claimed that:

> MORE THAN A TENTH OF B. C. IS ASIATIC,
> AND THERE'S THE PROBLEM

Paradoxically, the article contended that because of the rapid increase of the Japanese population they should be given all the rights of other Canadians, for some day their numbers would be comparable with those of the white population.

The Province's concern with Japanese in the provincial economy centered principally on two issues--the supposed relationship between the number of Japanese in the province and white unemployment and the threat which the Japanese were presumed to be to the whites in the fishing industry. While the Sun had no news items in the sample advocating further Japanese restriction, the Province devoted approximately 9% of its domestic coverage of the Japanese to this topic. Typical was:

> WHITE LABOUR SHOULD PRECEDE ORIENTAL:
> DENNIS Coast Industries Employ 6,150, Minister
> Declares

(October 3, 1933, page 12)

The Province's objections to Japanese participation in the fishing industry was primarily the same as its critique of Japanese labor in other areas of the economy--that they caused unemployment. This was augmented by a fear that the Japanese government would interfere in the local industry on the side of resident fishermen:

HASTE URGED IN HALIBUT PACT
Industry in Danger from Invasion of Japanese Fishermen

(August 20, 1930, page 3)

FEAR JAPANESE WILL PREY ON COAST SALMON
Deep Sea Raids on B. C. Industry Predicted

(September 15, 1936, page 1)

The Province's concern of possible political domination by the Japanese continued throughout the era. In the early 1930's the Province often suggested that Japanese fishermen were serving as a cover for Japanese government spies (May 5, 1933, page 7). This later became part of a wider fear over Japanese imperialism (November 2, 1935, page 32; October 15, 1936, page 10). Occasionally, this fear reached levels which appear ridiculous today:

NEILL FORESEES B. C. AS JAPANESE STATE
Comox M. P. Opposes Franchise Extension

(March 16, 1937, page 1)

On the other hand, the Sun continued the tradition of the World before it in hoping that the benefits of increased trade with Japan would outweigh the negative consequences of a local Japanese presence:

CANADIAN JAPANESE TRADE MAKES RECORD
Balance Favors Dominion. Total Canadian Exports During 1929 Reach 69,000,000 Yen

(March 24, 1930, page 4)

In many respects, the Sun's optimism about the possibilities of trade with Japan closely followed the pattern which the same paper set in its

expectations of the China trade. There were, however, several important differences which made the Sun's presentation of trade with the former distinct. The Sun was acutely conscious of the political and economic power of Japan, and consequently suggested caution in how Canadians dealt with the Japanese government. For instance, in an extended editorial of February 15, 1935 (page 6), the Sun warned its readers against the dangers of invidious racial classification, in that the Japanese who had for so long been despised in British Columbia were modernizing rapidly in their home country. Two months later, another Sun editorial (April 2, 1935, page 4) titled "Pride, Race, and 'Face'" suggested that Canadian discrimination against the Japanese might lead to Japan taking direct economic action against British Columbia. The Sun's optimism about Japanese trade continued unabated through the depression years, such that even in 1937 the Sun thought the issue important enough to devote 294 column inches and several photos to:

JAPAN'S TRADE WITH VANCOUVER
What B. C. Sends Across the Pacific

(April 30, 1937, pages 22-25)

In other ways the Sun began to support increased rights for British Columbia's Japanese. It cautiously supported CCF proposals to extend the vote to Canadian born Asians in 1935 (March 2, 1935, page 10), noting that "the immigration of Japanese products made by cheap labor is a greater problem than the immigration of people." In a similar editorial in support

of Japanese fishermen (that would have been heretical twenty years previously), the Sun argued that the decreased ability of the British Columbia fishing industry to compete against Japan in the British market was a result of driving the Japanese out of the local industry (March 16, 1931, page 6).

In a number of respects, the portrayal of the Japanese in the press of this era stands in marked contrast to that of the Chinese, despite the great similarity of their places in British Columbia society. While the Chinese continued to be vilified, the Japanese no longer were. Whereas the Chinese were routinely scapegoated as the cause of a whole range of societal evils, critiques of the Japanese were much more restricted and tended to involve economic rather than social or cultural practices.

Because their situations were objectively so similar, one must look elsewhere for an explanation as to why the images of these two groups diverged so sharply. It would seem that the principal factor which accounts for this was the difference in respective images of China and Japan which were held by the press in British Columbia. In short, the international image of Japan did not make good material for a scapegoating ideology, especially if one considers it in the light of what were considered to be important values in British Columbian society. In relation to the majority, an ideal minority for scapegoating purposes must appear weak, and must be perceived to possess qualities which violate the moral order of majority society (Allport 1958:236). The Japanese did not appear to have these

characteristics. Although the local Japanese did not have sufficient political power to attain majority group rights and privileges this was somewhat compensated for by the economic and political muscle of Japan. Both papers were aware that Japan was concerned about its nationals overseas, and neither paper was willing to destroy British Columbia's export prospects by singling out the Japanese for vilification.

South Asians

By 1921 the number of South Asians in British Columbia had fallen from a peak of over five thousand in 1909 to 1,016 (Buchignani 1977:31). Faced with a total ban on immigration in 1908, many had returned to their families in India and the Far East. Others had moved on to California. In 1920, legal South Asian residents of Canada were allowed to bring their wives and dependent children to this country, prompting a very small flow of immigrants over the subsequent two decades:

Years	Number of South Asian Immigrants
1920-25	200 (est.)
1925-29	289
1930-34	262
1935-39	78

Table LXXXVII. South Asian Immigration to Canada, Fiscal Years 1920 to 1939

During the 1920's, those South Asians who had remained in British Columbia slowly built up their economic position and developed a more

coherent sense of community than was possible prior to World War I. South Asian workers concentrated heavily in the woods industries, laboring primarily in the lumber mills adjacent to Vancouver and on Vancouver Island (Buchignani 1977:40). Although no census figures exist for the South Asian population of Vancouver through the 1920's and 1930's, there seemed to have been about 500 of them resident there. The total number of South Asians in the province was not to reach 2,000 again until after World War II.

In contrast to the Chinese and Japanese of this era, South Asians did not constitute a social issue of much consequence. For one thing, immigration had been stopped before the South Asian population of British Columbia could reach a figure comparable with either the Japanese or Chinese. Moreover, India was geographically too distant to excite the economic interests of local elites in the way that trade prospects with China and Japan had.

South Asian residents of British Columbia aided in the process of decreasing their liabilities as 'social problems' by turning inward on themselves as best they could, considering that they were financially dependent on wage labor in the larger society. Neither actively despised nor praised, local South Asians were given considerable freedom to order their own social lives, given that they acquiesced to their economically and socially subordinate position in the larger society.

After being allowed to bring their wives and dependent children to

Canada, South Asians did not actively campaign for a mitigation of their political and economically subordinate position again until the late 1930's (Buchignani 1977:54). This was to keep them largely out of the public and press eye throughout the era. Nevertheless, their unequal position in British Columbian society was well known among Indian scholars and politicians across the world, and their plight was a frequent topic of discussion in international circles. This concern made itself felt in the visits of important Indian civil rights advocates throughout the years between the World Wars. Srinivasa Shastri made a supportive visit in 1922, as did Rabindranath Tagore and C. F. Andrews in 1929. Similar visits of Indian notables in the early 1940's were to galvanize local South Asians into action on the question of the franchise and see the fight through to its conclusion.

In the light of their small numbers and the far greater importance which was then placed upon resolving the place of the Chinese and Japanese in British Columbia, it is understandable that local South Asian stories were less than one third as frequent in the Province and the Sun than they were in the two papers considered in the decade prior to World War I. In the ten year sample of either paper only 16 news items dealing with domestic South Asian ethnicity were found. This accounted for only 3.4% of the Province's domestic coverage and 3.6% of the Sun's. The distribution of topics, subtopics, and themes found in these news items are outlined in Tables LXXXVIII through XC.

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Ethnic Relations				
try to better relations	-	-	1	6.3
relations mediated by others	2	12.5	-	-
relations are good	1	6.3	-	-
Legislative & Legal				
laws limit behavior	1	6.3	-	-
are in the courts	1	6.3	1	6.3
laws protect	-	-	1	6.3
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted	1	6.3	-	-
victims of crime	-	-	1	6.3
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass others	1	6.3	-	-
assault each other	2	12.5	4	25.0
are accused of crime	2	12.5	1	6.3
Cultural Difference				
have different morals	-	-	1	6.3
Celebrities				
politicians in news	1	6.3	-	-
social notables	1	6.3	1	6.3
other	-	-	3	18.8
Ethnic Organizations				
organize in the community	1	6.3	-	-
Normal News				
victim of accident	2	12.5	1	6.3
make good	-	-	1	6.3
Total	16	100.0%	16	100.0%

Table LXXXVIII. South Asian Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937).

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Violence, Hostility By	5	31.3	5	31.3
Ethnic Relations	3	18.8	1	6.3
Normal News	2	12.5	2	12.5
Legislative & Legal	2	12.6	2	12.6
Celebrities	1	6.3	4	25.1
Total	13	81.5%	14	87.8%

Table LXXXIX. The Most Frequent Topics of South Asian Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Sun number
Violence, Hostility By	9	4
Cultural Difference	7	9
Ethnic Relations	7	6
Legislative & Legal	3	3
Employment & Economy	-	3
Normal News	1	2

Table XC. Most Common Themes in Domestic South Asian News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

The most common single theme by far was that of South Asian violence. Approximately 30% of the domestic sample of both the Province and the Sun directly dealt with this topic, and as secondary themes one third more of these news items also mentioned it. In particular, South Asians were portrayed as being a group who were very quick to resort to physical violence in order to settle their affairs. The type of violence that South Asians were reported to employ was an integral part of their earlier press stereotype. Their violence was motivated by blind rage, bloody vindictiveness, and clannish, long simmering hatred:

> TWO EAST INDIANS CHARGED WITH MASSACRE
> OF FAMILY OF SEVEN
>
> (Vancouver Province, May 17, 1937, page 16)

> HINDU MURDER RING AGAIN ACTIVE
> California Merchant Killed by Fusillade of Bullets
>
> (Vancouver Province, November 27, 1931, page 19)

Often, South Asian violence was directly linked to cultural difference, notably, to their exotic "Native Rites" or their unmanageable jealousies:

> GANG ATTACK NATIVE RITE
> Woman Believed Cause of Hindu Beating in Victoria
> Three Arrested
>
> (Vancouver Province, April 20, 1935, page 9)

> HINDU MURDER CASE GOES TO ASSIZE JURY
> Shan Kaur Denies she ever Plotted to Kill her Mate
> Confession at Temple
>
> (Vancouver Sun, May 25, 1932, page 1)

At the same time, the relatively coherent and totalistic stereotype

of the "Hindoo" which had been generated in the earlier part of the century became fragmented. The sparcity of news items on South Asians made it impossible for the press to maintain a coherent image of South Asians; instead, the newspapers tended to explain South Asian happening by the less integrative means of using single cultural attributes as the cause: two "Hindoos" fight because "Hindoos" are part of a violent culture, etc.

Despite this accent on the unusual, both papers tended to more frequently place South Asians into a framework of normal events than did newspapers in the previous era. Occasionally, there would be a pure human interest story on South Asians, which was very unlikely to be the case earlier:

> EAST INDIAN SUCCEEDS
> Poor Immigrant 23 Years Ago, He's Rich Now
>
> (Vancouver Sun, December 23, 1929, page 24)

At times South Asians would even be reported to have been acting with whites against an external threat:

> CHINESE OPPOSED TO MARKET CONTROL
> Whites and Hindus Side with Board
>
> (Vancouver Sun, October 3, 1935, page 10)

There was very little difference between the two papers in their approaches to South Asian coverage during this decade, although the small samples involved make any differences of this sort difficult to distinguish. Both papers were keenly interested in South Asian violence, which because of its relative importance would alone make the two papers very

similar. There did seem to be a slightly greater willingness on the part of the Sun to deal with the human element of South Asian life, as in the coverage which the Sun gave to the visit of Rabindranath Tagore in 1929. The only notice which the Province made to the visit of this Nobel Laureate to British Columbia was a four column inch story on page two (April 12, 1929), while the Sun covered the visit in depth, and even printed a detailed paraphrase of a speech made by Tagore's fellow visitor C. F. Andrews on the subject of racial unity (April 12, page 12).

In sharp contrast to the sparse coverage of local South Asians, coverage of overseas events dealing with South Asians was substantial. It accounted for 18.8% of the Province's foreign coverage of ethnicity and 10.4% of the Sun's. By way of comparison, news items dealing with South Asians in British Columbia constituted only 3.5% of the domestic items on ethnicity found in either paper. Tables IXC and IIXC outline the distribution of foreign items on South Asians.

While the way in which local South Asians were covered by the Sun and Province were very similar, the images created by the two papers of overseas Indians were quite distinct. These differences for the most part reflected the differing political orientations of the Province and the Sun. The Province was strongly supportive of the Conservatives and hence, of the Empire. The Province's view of India was uniformly pro-British and was extremely unsympathetic of Indians. To begin with, almost 40% of the Province's overseas news items on South Asians concerned riots or

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Employment & Economy				
are in economic distress	-	-	1	5.0
Are Restricted				
immigration barred	1	3.8	-	-
Ethnic Relations				
relations mediated by others	-	-	1	5.0
relations get worse	3	11.5	1	5.0
relations are bad	1	3.8	1	5.0
relations are good	1	3.8	-	-
other	1	3.8	-	-
Legislative & Legal				
political restrictions	-	-	1	5.0
laws protect	-	-	1	5.0
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass each other	2	7.7	1	5.0
demonstrations in British areas	10	38.5	7	35.0
Cultural Difference	1	3.8	-	-
have different morals	1	3.8	-	-
have different religion	1	3.8	-	-
are loyal to home	1	3.8	-	-
other	1	3.8	-	-
Celebrities				
politicians in news	1	3.8	2	10.0
social notables	-	-	1	5.0
other	-	-	1	5.0
Normal News				
victim of natural disaster	-	-	1	5.0
human interest	1	3.8	-	-
Total	26	100.0%	20	100.0%

Table IXC. South Asian Foreign News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Violence, Hostility By	12	46.2	8	40.0
Ethnic Relations	6	22.9	3	15.0
Cultural Difference	5	19.0	-	-
Celebrities	1	3.8	4	20.00
Total	24	91.9%	15	75.0%

Table IIXC. The Most Frequent Topics of South Asian Foreign News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

demonstrations in India. Most of the rest involved closely related subjects, such as interpersonal violence, crime, or backwardness. These events were always covered from the point of view of India's colonial administration. Civil unrest of all varieties was consequently explained to be the work of thieves, sectarian fanatics, or bloodthirsty revolutionaries. Likewise, the Province subscribed completely to a paternalistic British stereotype of Indians. Indians were portrayed by the Province as childish, sneaky, and hopelessly traditional (editorial, Vancouver Province, July 11, 1929, page 6). So uniformly negative was the Province's coverage of Indians overseas that at most only 10% of these news items dealt with events within which one would not immediately consider the role of Indians to be stigmatic. Even then, the Province's approval was tentative or qualified. The following headlines are representative of the Province:

> HINDUS FLEE FROM BOMBAY AS TOLL CLIMBS
> Killings Total 120, With 700 Wounded - Threat of
> Martial Law
>
> (Vancouver Province, February 11, 1929, page 1)

> RUTHLESS PLOT SWEEPS INDIA
> Secretly-formed Revolutionary Government
> Threatens Legislators
> VICEROY TAKES ACTION
>
> (Vancouver Province, April 12, 1929, page 1)

While the Sun's foreign coverage of South Asians was of the same type of events as the Province, the paper was far more willing to question the place of the British in India than was its competitor (editorial, June 6,

1930, page 6). It also gave far more extensive coverage to Ghandi and other opponents of colonial rule than did the Province. The Sun even took an occasional interest in Indian philosophy:

> CHICAGO AND CALCUTTA
> Swami Yogananda in an Article Said We can Learn from Each Other
>
> (Vancouver Sun, December 13, 1928, page 6)
>
> THE ORIENT AND ITS PHILOSOPHY TO BE SUBJECT OF LECTURE
>
> (Vancouver Sun, September 29, 1928, page 22)

The Province found it difficult to consider Indian culture altogether seriously, and often made fun of Indian religious practice, as in the 104 column inch piece "WAY DOWN UPON THE GANGES RIVER" (Vancouver Province, May 18, 1934, page 5) which paternalistically and sarcastically reviewed the "dirt, poverty and beauty of India."

Americans

Through this era, the number of Americans in Vancouver remained approximately constant. Both the 1931 Census and the subsequent one in 1941 showed that about 10,800 Vancouverites were born in the United States. Nevertheless, in proportional terms, Americans constituted a far smaller percentage of the foreign born (9-10%) than they had in the previous era (18%). Their share of the overall population likewise decreased, such that they made up approximately 4% of the population at large. There was no significant immigration of Americans to Vancouver during this era.

Moreover, the 1930's were also notable for the few conflicts of consequence which arose between British Columbia or Vancouverites and either Americans or the United States (McInnis 1958:474). In terms of the major issues which involved the province, this era was primarily one of peaceful coexistence with the United States.

One would expect that this relatively stable situation would have led to a severe reduction in the amount of coverage which Americans received in the local press, but this was not the case. As can be seen in Tables VIIC through VC, the frequency with which Americans were portrayed by the Province and the Sun was almost the same as it was in the Province and the World (respectively) of the decade before World War I.

As in that earlier time, there was a marked difference in the intensity with which the two papers covered Americans. The Sun continued in the tradition of the World, and gave Americans quite extensive coverage;

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province		Vancouver Sun	
	number	%	number	%
Education	-	-	1	2.8
Employment and Economy				
cause unemployment	-	-	1	2.8
own or buy property	1	4.8	-	-
Numbers				
are a given number	-	-	1	2.8
other	-	-	1	2.8
Advocation of Restriction				
advocate job restriction	-	-	1	2.8
advocate no ethnic ways	-	-	1	2.8
advocate immigration barred	-	-	-	-
Charge Restriction				
claim ways barred	1	4.8	-	-
Ethnic Relations	1	4.8	-	-
relations get worse	-	-	2	5.6
relations are good	-	-	1	2.8
other	-	-	1	2.8
Immigration				
immigration is large	-	-	1	2.8
immigration is solicited	-	-	1	2.8
arrive	1	4.8	-	-
are deported	2	9.5	-	-
should stay in Canada	1	4.8	-	-
Legislative & Legal				
politicians urge restriction	1	4.8	-	-
laws limit behavior	3	14,3	1	2.8
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted	1	4.8	-	-
are dealt with harshly	-	-	1	2.8
Violence, Hostility By				
meet an imposition	-	-	2	5.6
are accused of crime	-	-	1	2.8
are violent	-	-	1	2.8

	number	%	number	%
Cultural Difference	-	-	1	2.8
have bad language use	1	4.8	-	-
have different morals	-	-	2	5.8
have different ideas of law	-	-	1	2.8
Celebrities				
entertainers	1	4.8	-	-
Sports	1	4.8	-	-
participate in sports	1	4.8	-	-
Ethnic Organizations				
celebrate festivals	-	-	1	2.8
celebrate holidays	1	4.8	-	-
Normal News				
human interest	1	4.8	-	-
victim of accident	1	4.8	-	-
tourist related	1	4.8	11	30.6
suicide or die	-	-	1	2.8
Total	21	100.0%	36	100.0%

Table VIIC. American Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Immigration	4	19.2	2	5.6
Legislative & Legal	4	19.2	1	2.8
Normal News	3	14.4	12	33.6
Ethnic Relations	1	4.8	4	11.2
Cultural Difference	1	4.8	4	11.2
Violence, Hostility By	-	-	4	11.2
Total	13	62.4%	27	75.6%

Table VIC. The Most Frequent Topics of American Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Sun number
Cultural Difference	4	7
Ethnic Organizations	3	2
Violence, Hostility By	2	5
Immigration	1	6
Employment & Economy	1	7

Table VC. Most Common Themes in Domestic American News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

8.1% of its domestic coverage dealt with Americans. In contrast, news items about Americans accounted for only 4.5% of the Province's domestic coverage.

The way in which Americans were portrayed by the Province and the Sun also differed, but in this case the major distinctions were not directly inferable from their respective political positions. If the coverage of ethnicity by the Province and the Sun were indeed directly derivative from their Conservative and Liberal political stances, one would minimally expect:

1. That the Province's coverage of Americans would have been more negative and cautious than the Sun's.
2. That the Province would more frequently point to cultural differences between Canadians and Americans than would the Sun.
3. That the Sun would be more intensely concerned with the increasing trade with the United States than would the Province.
4. That the Sun would more likely advocate American immigration than would the Province.
5. That the Province would more likely make invidious distinctions between the United States and Canadian "law and order."

These predictions flow rather naturally from the political philosophies of the two main Canadian parties of the day.

Nevertheless, in each case these hypotheses either do not hold with

respect to the portrayal of Americans or else require significant qualification. Take for instance, the way in which the two papers evaluated American ethnicity. If the respective moral community codes of the Province and the Sun are considered, one sees the first of the above hypotheses immediately invalidated; the Province's moral community score was -0.24, as compared with -0.58 in the Sun. Only three specifically named domestic ethnic groups did worse than Americans in the Sun's portrayal of ethnicity.

The Sun's political orientation vis a vis Americans seemed to mix several considerations, only one of which was the continentalist trade and cultural orientation of the federal Liberal party. To be sure, the Sun was keenly interested in promoting trade with the United States, especially tourism. Throughout the era the Sun continually editorialized that British Columbians should treat American tourists well and that business and government should invest more money in tourist facilities, publicity, and better transportation.[16] Approximately 30% of the Sun's domestic coverage of Americans dealt with American tourism. Almost one half of the Sun's editorials on Americans dealt with the subject of tourism. This contrasts sharply with the Province, whose coverage of tourism was insignificant. The Sun often used the tourism issue to attack what it perceived to be the anti-American stance of Conservative politicians. Representative would be the editorial of December 30, 1930 (page 8) titled "Canada's New Inquisition," where the Sun hit out at what it perceived to be

the anti-American sentiments of R. B. Bennett.

This worry that anti-Americanism might hurt the tourist trade should not suggest that the Sun was necessarily pro-American, for it was not; the low Sun moral community score should suggest this indirectly. Actually, the Sun was far from being unreservedly pro-American. More accurately (at least in respect to the United States), the Sun was pro-Canadian and nationalistic; in its coverage of Americans it was certainly more so than the Province. This pro-Canadian stance reflected more of a working class image of Canada; the Sun often compared Americans with it and found them to be wanting.

The Sun's critique of Americans centered around a small number of topics. First among these was the assertion that (in contrast to Canadians who "loved law and order"), Americans were prone to crime and violence. This topic also was used by the Province but was given more prominence by the Sun's passion for the unusual and its more flamboyant nature of presentation. In ways that were reminiscent of the earlier Province editors, the Sun often claimed that the Americans had not solved the problem of social justice, as had the British and Canadians (June 26, 1929, page 6). The Sun was also concerned editorially that American criminality might spread across the border to "law and order" Canada (June 29, 1929, page 6).

Many news items in the Sun originating in the United States which were not coded as American ethnic stories must also have reinforced this image of Americans as being criminally inclined, for United States

newspapers in the 1920's and 1930's contributed much to the American perception of violence in the United States. The Sun had a particular fascination with spectacular stories about crime in the United States, as in the following 320 column inch piece with multiple photographs:

BABIES STOLEN FROM OTHERS
Tragic Drama In "Kidnap Racket"
U.S. Midwest Under Reign of Terror

(March 26, 1932, page 4)

This piece (and others which proliferated after the Lindbergh kidnapping case) dealt in detail with what it considered was the increasing wave of child kidnappings, suggesting that lax United States laws allowed such kidnappings to become big business. Sun news service items about crime in the United States by far outnumbered similar items about criminal activities in Canada. In addition, the Sun was always on the lookout for extraordinary American deviancy of other sorts:

TWICE AS MANY U.S. CHILDREN SENT TO
ASSYLUMS AS TO UNIVERSITIES

(August 23, 1932, page 1)

The Sun's Canadian nationalism was also expressed in news items about United States economic and social domination of Canada. As in an editorial of May 27, 1929 (page 1), the Sun argued for retaliatory tariffs against any attempt by Americans to limit Canadian exports to the United States. The Sun also spoke out on occasion against American immigration ("Americans by Thousands Are Emigrating to Dominion" January 11, 1932,

page 4; "Americans are Being Given Favorable Rates in Settlers' Tickets," September 14, 1928, page 6), and against American workers taking Canadian jobs (October 17, 1928, page 8).

By comparison, the Province's position on Americans was relatively tame. Only very rarely was the Province provoked towards anti-Americanism and there were no specific issues which the Province consistently associated with Americans during this era. This lack of concern for Americans was reflected in the fact that the Province sample contained only three editorials dealing with Americans in contrast to the Sun's twelve. Moreover, virtually all of the Province news items dealing with Americans involved events outside of British Columbia (18 out of 21); almost one half of the Sun's American coverage (16 out of 36) dealt with provincial issues.

As might be expected, the coverage of Black Americans was quite different from that of other 'Americans.' As in the previous era, there were very few Black Americans living in Vancouver and hence virtually all of the news items which dealt with them were about events which occurred in the United States. Of the 16 news items on Black Americans found in the Province sample, 14 were of events in the United States; 13 of those were derived from the American news services. Relative to the Province, whose rate of coverage of Blacks was very close to what it had been before World War I, the Sun hardly covered Black Americans at all. In the ten year sample of the Sun there were only five news items which principally involved this group--far too few to say anything significant about their coverage.

Tables IVC and IIIC outline the topics and themes associated with the coverage of Black Americans.

In all fundamental respects the Province portrayed Black Americans as it did in the previous era. As before, Blacks only made the news if they were involved in violence or racial conflict. However, the tone of the Province's coverage seemed to have been moderated slightly, even though this did not reflect a change in the moral community score of Black Americans. In particular, there tended to be an increased likelihood that news items dealing with Black Americans would present them as the victims of violence than was the case previously, and normal news coverage was somewhat more frequent than in the past. Nevertheless, Black Americans continued to be marginal to the press ethnic community during this period.

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Advocation of Restriction				
advocate denial of services	1	6.3	-	-
Are Restricted				
are denied rights	1	6.3	-	-
Charge Restriction				
claim rights barred	1	6.3	-	-
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass others	4	25.0	-	-
are accused of crime	1	6.3	2	40.0
assault each other	-	-	1	20.0
Cultural Difference				
are unassimilatible	-	-	1	20.0
Celebrities				
entertainers	1	6.3	-	-
social notables	1	6.3	-	-
Normal News	3	18.9	-	-
human interest	1	6.3	-	-
victim of accident	1	6.3	-	-
ethnic humor	1	6.3	-	-
make good	-	-	1	20.0
Total	16	100.0%	5	100.0%

Table IVC. Black American Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1988-1937)

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Sun number
Violence, Hostility Against	5	1
Violence, Hostility By	3	3
Advocation of Restriction	2	-
Are Restricted	-	1
Cultural Difference	1	1

Table IIIC. Most Common Themes in Domestic Black American News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Native People

For the most part, native people weathered the depression of the 1930's in silence. Their participation in the cash sector of the provincial economy had been extensive during the 1920's, and this had allowed a number of groups the resources to press the provincial and federal governments for greater native rights and more land (Drucker 1974:152). Land claims were a particularly bitter issue.

Because they were so dependent upon employment in the resource industries, the depression threw thousands of native people out of work. A great number of them had no choice but to return to the near subsistence life of the reserves (LaViolette 1961). Native economic resources were severely reduced, and the disorganization resulting from the depression likewise weakened native political organization. The problems of native people were forgotten as the government attempted to deal with a national economic paralysis.

Native people nevertheless continued to receive extensive coverage in the press, as can be seen in Tables IIC through C. News items dealing with native people accounted for 11.7% of the Province's domestic coverage--more than any other group except the Chinese (14.7%). The Province's coverage of native people actually increased substantially over the previous era. By way of comparison, the Sun was considerably less interested in native people than the Province, devoting 7.2% of its domestic coverage to them.

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Education				
need special education	1	1.8	-	-
Employment & Economy	-	-	1	3.1
are skilled	1	1.8	1	3.1
are employed	1	1.8	-	-
Advocation of Restriction				
should deny ethnic ways	-	-	1	3.1
Are Restricted				
are barred from jobs	1	1.8	-	-
are denied ethnic ways	2	3.6	-	-
Charge Restriction	1	1.8	1	3.1
claim they are not allowed ways	-	-	1	3.1
claim their rights are barred	1	1.8	-	-
Ethnic Relations	2	3.6	-	-
have bad police relations	1	1.8	-	-
relations get worse	1	1.8	-	-
relations are good	2	3.6	-	-
unite with others	1	1.8	1	3.1
Legislative & Legal				
laws protect	1	1.8	-	-
are in court	6	10.9	3	9.4
protest to government	1	1.8	-	-
other	1	1.8	2	6.3
Violence, Hostility Against				
are assaulted or harassed	-	-	1	3.1
are victims of crime	1	1.8	-	-
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass people	1	1.8	-	-
are accused of crime	5	9.1	4	12.5
assault each other	-	-	4	12.5
are killed, executed	-	-	3	9.4

	number	%	number	%
Cultural Difference				
different morals	1	1.8	-	-
different sanitation & health	2	3.6	-	-
are assimilatible	1	1.8	-	-
require special practices	-	-	1	3.1
are unassimilatible	-	-	1	3.1
different ideas of law	-	-	1	3.1
other	1	1.8	1	3.1
Celebrities	1	1.8	-	-
Ethnic Organizations	1	1.8	-	-
organize in the community	2	3.6	1	3.1
celebrate festivals	-	-	1	3.1
Normal News	1	1.8	-	-
victim of accident	5	9.1	2	6.3
victim of natural disaster	-	-	1	3.1
human interest	6	10.9	-	-
make good	1	1.8	-	-
other	2	3.6	-	-
Total	55	100.0%	32	100.0%

Table IIC. Native Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Topic	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Normal News	15	27.2	3	9.4
Legislative & Legal	9	16.3	5	15.7
Ethnic Relations	7	12.6	1	3.1
Violence, Hostility By	6	10.9	11	34.4
Cultural Difference	5	5.4	4	12.4
Are Restricted	3	5.4	-	-
Charge Restriction	2	3.6	2	6.2
Employment & Economy	2	3.6	2	6.2
Total	49	85.0%	28	87.4%

Table IC. The Most Frequent Topics of Native Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Sun number
Cultural Difference	26	17
Ethnic Relations	15	3
Violence, Hostility By	14	19
Legislative & Legal	9	4
Violence, Hostility Against	2	6
Normal News	3	2

Table C. Most Common Themes in Domestic Native News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

As in the previous era, the newspapers of the 1930's continued to be primarily concerned with native Indians, with only a small proportion of their coverage going to the Inuit. Items on the Inuit made up about 10% of the total in both papers. The coverage accorded to these two types of native people was very different one from the other, with Indians receiving much more negative coverage than their northern counterparts. This also followed earlier press practice.

A glance at Table IIC will confirm that the Sun and the Province portrayed native people in very different ways. The Province is of particular interest because its treatment of native people changed fundamentally from what it was earlier. It should be recalled that in the period prior to World War I the Province's treatment of native people was quite harsh, such that their coverage produced a moral community score of -1.34; for the decade 1928-1937 the Native moral community score in the Province was -0.56.[17] In contrast the Sun's moral community score was -1.27, which made native people the most negatively covered group in that paper during the 1930's with the exception of the Dukhobors (-1.31). While the Sun was not directly connected with the earlier World, the two papers shared a similar political and social philosophy. Nevertheless, the World's native moral community score was substantially less negative than the Sun's in a time when the newspapers were far more harsh in their coverage of ethnicity.

As can be seen in Tables IIC and IC, the difference in the Province's

treatment of native people derived primarily from a dramatic shift in what topics were news when native people participated in them. As a comparison between Table IC and Table XXXXIX of the previous Chapter will verify, the most frequently found topics of the past era were not the most common ones during the 1930's. News items concerned with crime, violence, and cultural difference once made up fully one half of the Province's sample, yet in the era in question these topics accounted for only 16.3% of the total. In their place, normal news (27.2%) and legal and legislative matters (16.3%) became far more prominent. Moreover, the range of topics, subtopics, and themes found in news items on native people increased considerably in scope.[18] No longer were native people news only when they deviated from what was expected of them.

One important aspect of this increased sensitivity to those areas of native life which were previously ignored was that the Province more frequently sought to portray native people as individuals. It should be recalled that in earlier times native people, like other stigmatized and subordinate groups, were rarely dealt with in this fashion. News items either portrayed native people in the abstract or else failed to identify individuals by name when they were involved. Earlier on, the Province almost never sought to ask native people's opinion on anything, even about those events in which they participated. To an increasing extent, the Province of the 1930's showed native people's concerns and aspirations, and occasionally would present the native point of view on native problems. Consequently, native

people were not so routinely characterized as being all the same as they were so often previously. Stereotypic words like "brave" and "warpath" also became less frequent.

Human interest stories were almost entirely absent from the Province's earlier coverage. They began to appear during this decade;

> INDIAN STUDENTS ENJOY CITY VISITS
> Girls of Alert Bay School are Pleasantly Entertained
>
> (Vancouver Province, May 31, 1931, page 2)

Some of these human interest stories were used by the Province to support more sympathetic treatment of Indians:

> ARE INDIANS HUMAN?
> Indian papooses Now Go to School
>
> (Vancouver Province, March 2, 1935, page 5)
>
> FATHER COCCOLA HAS AIDED B.C. INDIANS
> FOR OVER 45 YEARS
> Defended Indians Against Land Takeover
>
> (Vancouver Province, November 8, 1929, page 17)

The Province also more often represented Indians as the active agents of their own fate than previously:

> INDIANS REFUSED TO DEAL WITH WHITES
> Preferred to Turn over Irrigation Areas to Chinese Farmers
>
> (Vancouver Province, May 16, 1931, page 20)

TRAFFIC IN TOTEM POLES ENDED BY OTTAWA EDICT. Protest over Removal of Naas River Indian Relics to U.S. Museum Brings Action from Government

(Vancouver Province, February 1, 1931, page 3)

This relatively benign coverage of Indians by the Province should not obscure the fact that the Province continued to print a considerable number of stigmatic news items about natives on the subjects of crime and cultural difference. Although the Province was far less interested in these things than was the Sun (see Table IC), when the Province chose to address Indian violence and cultural difference it did so in the same harsh manner as did its competitor.

In many respects, the Sun's portrayal of native people in this era had many of the characteristics that were found earlier in the World. Like the World, the Sun tended toward the sensational and unusual in native behavior, even in comparison with much of its coverage of other groups. Like the World, this led the Sun towards a preoccupation with Indian violence, with confrontational legal and legislative happenings, and with cultural differences.

At the same time, there were no indications that the stigmatic way in which the Sun portrayed native people was the result of design. In fact, the Sun showed no evidence of having bothered to form a consistent position on native people. Native people were rarely the topic of editorial comment, and the Sun seemed to have detached native people from the Liberal social

philosophy of support for the underdog to a far greater extent than had the World. Rather, it seemed that native people were the victims of the Sun's fascination with the unusual and the exotic--a fascination which must have been allowed to run free because of the obvious inability of native people to respond effectively to their press portrayal. For whatever reason, the Sun clearly continued to perpetuate a stigmatic image of native people well into an era when even its more conservative competitor had made significant changes in its portrayal of this group.

It should be noted in passing that Inuit people continued to be treated by the Vancouver press in a far more sympathetic way than were Indians. Although the frequencies of occurrence of news items dealing with Inuit were too small to engender an extensive discussion, Inuit people were uniformly described as friendly, enterprising, independent, helpful, and daring. The following item is representative:

> NORTHERN AVIATORS SHOULD TAKE ESKIMO
> Suggestion Made to Government that Precaution would overt Disaster
>
> (Vancouver Province, November 8, 1929, page 15)

The item goes on to claim that Eskimo had saved many white lives in the North, and that the Eskimo were adapting well to whites; "Canada's Eskimo are Canadian citizens, not wards like the Indians."

Eastern Europeans: Doukhobors, Russians, and Others

Between the turn of the century and 1931 an enormous number of Eastern European people came to Canada. The largest 'ethnic group' among them were the Ukrainians, followed by the Poles, German-speakers from Russia (who were not themselves culturally Slavic), and the Russians. Smaller numbers were contributed by virtually every ethnic or national group in Eastern Europe.

Most of these new Canadians headed to the prairie provinces. Few of them went as far west as Vancouver, either in the pre-World War I phase of immigration or in the decade thereafter. In 1931, Vancouver residents who were born in either Russia, Poland or the Ukraine, numbered only 2,465 or 1% of the total population (see Table XVII). Neither did many Eastern Europeans establish themselves in the interior of the province, with one very notable exception--the Doukhobors.

Doukhobors first came to Canada in 1899 as part of a group settlement scheme that was intended to provide mutual benefit to the Doukhobors and the Canadian government. The Doukhobors would escape the persistent oppression of the Russian government, while Canadians would benefit from their contribution to opening the Prairie West to settlement. Organized into intensely communalistic and inward turning settlements, they initially prospered in Saskatchewan and in Alberta, only to come into conflict with both the federal and provincial governments. In most respects the Doukhobors were political anarchists, and refused to have anything whatever

to do with government rules and regulations. Unwilling to accept even minimal government interference, the Doukhobors began moving to south-eastern British Columbia around 1910, where they were able to purchase land communally and avoid the oath of allegiance required of homesteaders in the prairies (Davis & Krauter 1971:76).

The Doukhobors came under intense criticism in British Columbia only after the close of the last era in this study. Violently anti-militaristic, the Doukhobors refused military service during World War I as was their right under the Order-in-Council of December 6, 1898. Nevertheless, antipathy towards their refusal to serve and to the rise of sectarian violence among Doukhobors led to their being denied the vote in British Columbia in 1919. It was not until 1953 that these provincial voting restrictions were lifted (Davis & Krauter 1971:78).

During the era under question the Doukhobors came under intense press scrutiny. Forty out of the fifty-three news items dealing with Eastern Europeans during this era in the Province were on Doukhobors as were twenty-nine out of forty-six news items in the Sun. Most of this coverage was extremely stigmatic, as is indicated by the fact that in both newspapers the Doukhobors received the lowest moral community scores of any group during this era; -1.30 in the Province and -1.31 in the Sun. Table CI gives the distribution of topics and subtopics associated with these Doukhobor news items.

As can be seen, the coverage of Doukhobors concentrated almost

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province		Vancouver Sun	
	number	%	number	%
Education				
need special education	2	3.8	-	-
adjust to education system	-	-	1	2.2
other	-	-	1	2.2
Health & Welfare				
are a drain on services	1	1.9	1	2.2
Employment & Economy				
are in economic distress	1	1.9	-	-
Advocation of Restriction				
should deny rights	1	1.9	-	-
Are Restricted				
are denied rights	1	1.9	-	-
other	-	-	1	2.2
Charge Restriction				
claim they are barred from ethnic ways	-	-	1	2.2
Ethnic Relations	2	3.8	-	-
try to better relations	1	3.8	-	-
relations are mediated	1	1.9	-	-
relations get worse	1	1.9	1	2.2
relations are bad	1	1.9	-	-
are assimilatible	1	1.9	-	-
do not get along	2	3.8	-	-
have bad police relations	-	-	1	2.2
have outside help	-	-	1	2.2
other	-	-	1	2.2
Immigration	-	-	1	2.2
are deported	1	1.9	1	2.2
laws limit (re immigration)	3	5.7	-	-
are in court (re immigration)	1	1.9	2	4.3
Violence, Hostility By				
are assaulted	1	1.9	-	-
property is destroyed	1	1.9	-	-
are threatened with force	1	1.9	1	2.2
assault, harass others	3	5.7	1	2.2

	number	%	number	%
Violence, Hostility By (Cont'd.)				
assault each other	-	-	1	2.2
meet an imposition with force	1	1.9	1	2.2
are accused of crime	5	9.4	6	13.2
other	1	1.9	-	-
Cultural Difference				
have different religion	2	3.8	-	-
are unassimilatible	-	-	-	-
Celebrities	1	1.9	1	2.2
entertainers	-	-	-	-
politicians	1	1.9	-	-
social notables	1	1.9	1	2.2
historical notables	-	-	2	4.3
Ethnic Organizations				
celebrate festivals	2	3.8	2	4.3
Total	40	100.0%	29	100.0%

Table CI. Doukhobor Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

exclusively upon the unusual. There were, for instance, no examples of normal news within either sample. Instead, virtually all of the items on Doukhobors had something directly to do with violence and crime. This coverage continued throughout the era in question and largely concerned the activities of the Doukhobor sect, the Sons of Freedom. Typical of the period would be the editorial "After Oakalla, What?" (Vancouver Province, September 9, 1929, page 6), in which the Province claimed that although 103 Doukhobors had been jailed for six months in Oakalla prison it would not deter the burning of schools and other social disruptions. In 1930, the provincial "Legislators Move to Defranchise all Doukhobors in B.C." (Province, August 5, 1930, page 1); the Doukhobors were actually disenfranchised in 1931. The Sun indignantly claimed that:

> DOUKHOBORS ENDORSE VEREGIN
> Government Thanked for Loss of Citizenship
>
> (Vancouver Sun, August 2, 1934, page 5)

Both papers went further in arguing that the Doukhobors were unassimilatible and violent; they should be "ostracized for they were no good in principle" (Vancouver Province, editorial, May 18, 1934, page 6).

Constant themes in the coverage of Doukhobors were their reputed violence to each other, destruction of property, and public nudity:

> WOMAN DISROBES AT DOUKHOBOR PICNIC
> Exile Celebrated by Big Concourse
> Colorful Ceremonies Held at Brilliant
>
> (Vancouver Sun, June 30, 1931, page 24)

THE DOUKHOBORS AGAIN
Old Vexacious Problem. Government Willing to
Settle 200 Sons of Freedom on New Land

(Vancouver Province, June 1, 1936, page 6)

With the exception of an odd paragraph here and there, both papers succumbed to a fascination with the moment and almost completely neglected the social, economic, and ideological context in which the Doukhobors lived. For instance, none of the approximately seventy news items in the sample (both papers) bothered to inform the reader as to who the Sons of Freedom were and what they stood for. The only background history provided on the group by the newspapers was an occasional reference to the Canadian government's generosity in letting them come to Canada. Hence, neither paper provided the reader with any sort of explanatory information which would help to understand Doukhobor events except in the most individualistic and non-systemic manner.

During the period in question the only other Eastern European group to make the newspapers with any frequency were the Russians; Ukrainians were virtually ignored.[19] Even the Russians received so little coverage that the coverage of the Province must be combined (n = 7) with that of the Sun (n = 10), in order to say anything substantive about it.

The coverage accorded to Russians clearly reflected the middle class concern of the times about communism and the Soviet Union. Most of the news items on Russians in Canada had to do with events in Vancouver itself; these events concerned the cultural distinctiveness of Russians, their

involvement in suspicious organizations, violence, and bad ethnic relations. At the level of themes cultural difference was important, as it was in the coverage of the Doukhobors.

In overview, the coverage of Eastern Europeans in the press of this period serves to confirm several press tendencies which have been brought out earlier. In portraying Eastern Europeans, the Vancouver press chose to cover that which was unusual, especially those events which seemed to violate normal canons of behavior. As in the case of many other peoples dealt with previously, neither paper provided any sort of explanatory context with which the reader could really understand the events about which he or she read. Moreover, neither paper devoted even the smallest measure of its coverage to those many thousands of Eastern European immigrants whose role had been so fundamental in developing the Prairie provinces. Their activities, concerns, and contributions were simply not a part of the ethnic mosaic of the Vancouver press.

Other Europeans: Germans, Jews, Italians, Immigrants and Others

As in the era before the First World War, those few groups which have been dealt with to this point constituted virtually the total world of ethnicity as portrayed by the press. All other ethnic and national groups received very sparse treatment by the Province and the Sun, as is indicated by Table CII:

Ethnic Origin	Vancouver Province	Vancouver Sun
Western & Northern European		
Dutch	1	-
French	1	-
German	14	22
Scandinavian	8	8
other	3	2
Southern European	-	-
Italian	11	15
Greek	2	2
Hispano-Portuguese		
Latin American	1	-
European (unspecified)	-	1
Jewish	13	9
Australian & New Zealand	5	3
Arab-Israeli	2	-
South African & Rhbdesian (White)	-	1
Immigrants	9	10

Table CII. Frequency of Domestic Coverage of Other Groups, Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

In sum total, all of these groups together received only 14.9% of the

Province's and 16.4% of the Sun's domestic coverage during this era. Subtracting those news items on the groups to be discussed in this section (Germans, Italians, Jews, and Immigrants) leaves a remainder of 4.9% and 3.8% of the Province's and Sun's respective coverage which pertains to the other groups in Table CII.

Germans

Germans were one of the very few groups to fall from press grace during this era. It should be recalled that in the previous decade under scrutiny Germans were covered quite favorably (albeit rather infrequently). During this period the frequency of reporting upon Germans increased moderately while their press image deteriorated badly; the moral community scores for Germans were -1.00 (Province), and -0.45 (Sun).

Although the small sample (14) in the Province does not allow one to generalize easily, it would seem that the coverage of Germans suffered from a shift of emphasis from the good to the bad aspects of the German stereotype. Prior to the Great War, Germans in domestic stories in the Province and the World were praised by the press as being hard working, law abiding, and resourceful. In the Province sample from the interwar years, not one news item mentioned these qualities at the level of topics, subtopics, or themes. In their place were subtopics and themes relating to violence, bad ethnic relations, subversion, and intransigence. The Sun was less consistent in its coverage of Germans, and continued to present a large minority (about 40%) of its news items on subjects that were primarily

favorable to Germans, mixing these items with others which were little different than those in the Province. It was still possible to find editorials in the Sun ("Germany and the Germans") as late as September 30, 1936 (page 4) which claimed that Germans "are a wonderful people who must be distinguished from their government." Moreover, the Sun editor could still assert the old adage that "they are our own kind, our racial cousins." Paradoxically, the Province editorial of the same day ("The Defence of Canada," page 6), argued that Germany was such a threat to the world that it already had its eyes on Canada.

One must presume that the difference in coverage which was received by Germans during these two periods resulted from a general change in societal attitudes towards Germans steming from World War I; no change on the domestic scene can account for it. The place of Germans in Canadian society was not much different than it had been before the First World War.

At the same time, it was surprising to find that neither paper covered Germans overseas to any significant extent. There were but 10 items in the overseas Province sample and 28 in the Sun's. Moreover, very few of these items gave any indication of the rising storm in Europe or the development of institutionalized anti-Semitism in Germany. Most of the items in both papers were paraphrases of speeches on the future of Germans, German humor, and in the latter part of the era, reports of Germans doing violence to each other. As an indication of the lack of press concern with German ethnic and political relations, there were no news items during this era

which were coded with "Nazi" as the primary ethnicity involved.

Jews

As mentioned in Chapter One, Jews do not constitute an ethnic group in the normal sense of the term. Even if one restricts the field to those Canadian individuals who are religious Jews, few fundamental commonalities are readily evident. These individuals come from a very wide range of ethnic and national backgrounds, and even their religious practice is extremely variable. Nevertheless, the press considered Jews to be an ethnic and religious group, and they are considered as such here.

Jews have played an important role in Canada from the earliest times, but only became numerically significant after 1900 (Sack 1965). From the turn of the century until the termination of large scale Canadian immigration in 1931 their numbers increased dramatically. Most Jewish immigrants during this period came to Canada from Eastern Europe or from the German-speaking area of Central Europe.

Jews were scarcely mentioned in the Vancouver papers of the previous era. The Province domestic sample had only 8 items on Jews and the World had three. In the 1930's, the frequency of news items dealing with Jews increased slightly to 13 in the Province and 9 in the Sun. On the whole, the domestic coverage of Jews was positive; Jews received a moral community score of 0.54 in the Province and 0.22 in the Sun. Basically, Jews were given coverage in accord with the positive aspects of the folk North American stereotype of them. Jews in the press helped each other,

especially with respect to social services, organized their communities, were active in community celebration, and got along with other Canadians. Negative elements of the folk stereotype such as unscrupulous Jewish business practices were not given press coverage, and even the distinctively non-Christian nature of Jewish religion was reported without undue prejudice.

Even though the era in question terminated at the end of 1937 it was disconcerting to discover that neither the Province nor the Sun carried extensive coverage of the situation of Jews in Germany or Zionism in Palestine. The total sample of foreign news items on Jews was 7 items from the Province and 10 from the Sun. Despite the fact that the decade did not include the last year leading up to World War II, by the end of 1937 Hitler had been in power for five years and significant restrictions against German Jews were already in place. Yet only one of the foreign items on Jews in the Province involved Germans as the second ethnic group involved and the Sun did little better (3 out of 10).[20] In fact, approximately one half of the foreign coverage of Jews during this period involved events in Palestine. While virtually all of the overseas news items dealing with Jews portrayed events in which Jews were one or another way the victims of their ethnicity, the Vancouver press systematically remained silent on a situation which led to over four million Jewish dead in the next few years.

Italians

After an initial influx between 1900 and 1910, the Italian population of Vancouver stabilized at around 1,500. This number remained constant throughout the 1920's and 1930's, largely due to there being very little Italian immigration to Canada in the 1920's.

Neither the Province nor the Sun showed much interest in Italians during this era, as is indicated by Tables CIII and CIV. As was the case earlier, the newspapers were attracted to Italians when they were participants in crime or violence. Otherwise, Italians were rarely news. To a greater extent than previously, both papers tended to show a concern for local and Canadian events having to do with Italians. This was in marked contrast to the previous era when virtually all Italian news items were news service pieces describing events in the United States.[21] To this extent, Italians in the press were no longer only a scapegoat for urban crime.

As with Germans, the local press more or less ignored Italians overseas. In the entire sample only two items of the sort were found in the Province, while another five came from the Sun.[22]

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Charge Restriction				
other	1	9.1	1	6.7
Ethnic Relations				
try to better relations	1	9.1	1	6.7
Legislative & Legal				
are in court (re immigration)	-	-	3	20.0
make bad citizens	-	-	1	6.7
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass others	2	18.2	-	-
assault, harass each other	-	-	2	13.3
are accused of crime	-	-	2	13.4
Cultural Difference				
are loyal to home	2	18.2	1	6.7
other	1	9.1	1	6.7
Sports				
participate in sports	-	-	1	6.7
Ethnic Organizations				
celebrate festivals	1	9.1	1	6.7
organize in community	-	-	1	6.7
Normal News				
victim of accident	1	9.1	-	-
make good	1	9.1	-	-
other	1	9.1	-	-
Total	11	100.0%	15	100.0%

Table CIII. Italian Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Sun number
Violence, Hostility By	5	8
Celebrities	1	3
Cultural Difference	-	1

Table CIV. Most Common Themes in Domestic Italian News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Immigrants

The abstract category "immigrants" was not much used during this period, despite a rather constant press concern with immigration. For the most part, both the Province and the Sun were not constrained by etiquette or the law to refrain from attacking ethnic or racial groups, and hence tended to use the specific national or ethnic label of the group that made the news rather than "immigrants." Rarely did the press worry about immigrants in the abstract; rather it was concerned with more concrete things like Doukhobors, the lack of British immigrants or there being too many Eastern European immigrants. For neither paper were all immigrants the same.

Both papers maintained the distinction between the British born and immigrants, as in the article "Should Alien Jobless be Deported?" (Sun editorial, January 11, 1932, page 6); while the Sun paternalistically argued that they should not, it was clear that the Sun was referring exclusively to non-British immigrants. Similarly, the author of a letter to the editor in the Sun "Would Halt All Immigration into Canada until Industries Develop" (January 18, 1928, page 8); this was because immigrant Russians, Finns, and Slavs were having no trouble getting jobs, while British citizens were.

As can be seen in Tables CV and CVI (particularly the latter), the Province and the Sun were true to their political guns when discussing immigrants in the abstract. The Province continued in its earlier fascin-

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province		Vancouver Sun	
	number	%	number	%
Employment & Economy				
are unemployed	-	-	1	10.0
Advocation of Restriction	1	11.1	-	-
Immigration	1	11.1	1	10.0
too much	2	22.2	2	20.0
should stay in Canada	1	11.1	-	-
are deported	-	-	1	10.0
immigration is solicited	-	-	1	10.0
Legislative & Legal				
laws limit	-	-	1	10.0
politicians urge restriction	1	11.1	-	-
Cultural Difference				
are assimilatible	2	22.2	-	-
are unassimilatible	-	-	1	10.0
Canadianness urged	-	-	1	10.0
other	1	11.1	-	-
Ethnic Organizations				
celebrate festivals	-	-	1	10.0
Total	9	100.0%	10	100.0%

Table CV. Immigrant Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Sun number
Cultural Difference	9	1
Numbers	5	1
Immigration	4	2
Legislative & Legal	-	5
Employment & Economy	-	4

Table CVI. Most Common Themes in Domestic Immigrant News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

ation with cultural difference, while the Sun tended to judge immigration almost exclusively in economic and legal terms.

Canadians

The booming British Columbian economy headed quickly towards collapse following the Wall Street Crash of 1929 and with that collapse came massive unemployment (Jackman 1969:213). By the winter of 1935 there were at least one hundred thousand unemployed looking for work in British Columbia (Robin 1973:17). While the federal government quickly shut down immigration, hostility among Canadians to immigrants definitely increased. Many of the Canadian born took the traditional option of economic hard times in Canada and emigrated to the United States; foreign born Canadians were restricted from easy access to the United States by that country's quota system, which placed them on the quota lists of their home countries. During the 1930's emigration of the Canadian born exceeded immigration by over one hundred thousand individuals (Corbett 1957: 148).

Particularly in the West, the large number of Canadians who left for the United States during the 1930's led to the development of the "displacement theory" of Canadian migration (Caves and Holton 1961:51-56). It argued that because immigrants would accept lower wages than Canadian born individuals, Canadians were forced to move to the United States in the hope of achieving a higher standard of living (Dales 1966:173). This and similar ideas did little to endear immigrants to other Canadians during the depression years.

The depression also resulted in dramatic population shifts within the

boundaries of Canada, and Vancouver figured heavily in these movements. The severity of the depression in the Prairie provinces led to widespread farm bankruptcies. It also signified a return to subsistence farming for the lucky ones. In either case, many people from the rural prairies went to Vancouver in search of work (Robin 1972:255). It is difficult to conceive of the sorrow and despair which stood behind these figures; the number of prairie born Canadian residents in Vancouver increased from 22,000 in 1931 to 40,000 in 1941 (Baker 1970:311). Similarly, the number of British Columbia born increased from 71,000 to 93,000.

Those in similar rural circumstances in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes drifted to the industrial cities of Ontario by the thousands, but they did not often come to Vancouver.

As in the decade before the first World War, Canadians did not receive particularly extensive coverage by the press. Only 4.9% of the Province's domestic coverage and 6.8% of the Sun's was on Canadians, as can be seen in Tables CVII and CVIII. Nevertheless, this rather meagre number constitutes a dramatic increase over the prior era, when the Province accorded Canadians 2.2% of its coverage and the World managed an infinitesimal 1.0%.

With this increased press interest in Canadians came a more positive press image of Canadians. The moral community codes for Canadians were 0.09 in the Province and 0.13 in the Sun; the latter case is the first instance so far where a Canadian moral community score equalled that of the

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Employment & Economy				
seek jobs	2	8.7	-	-
cause unemployment	1	4.3	-	-
are unemployed	-	-	1	3.3
other	1	4.3	2	6.7
Are Restricted				
other	-	-	1	3.3
Claim Restriction				
claim job restrictions	-	-	2	6.7
Ethnic Relations				
relations are good	1	4.3	-	-
try to better relations	-	-	1	4.3
relations get worse	-	-	1	4.3
Immigration				
too much	1	4.3	-	-
are deported	2	8.7	-	-
should stay in Canada	4	17.4	-	-
Legislative & Legal				
laws protect	-	-	1	3.3
politicians urge restriction	1	4.3	-	-
other	1	4.3	2	6.7
Violence, Hostility By				
are accused of crime	1	4.3	-	-
assault each other	-	-	1	3.3
are violent	-	-	1	3.3
Cultural Difference				
require special practice	-	-	3	10.0
are loyal to home	1	4.3	2	6.7
Canadianness urged	2	8.7	6	20.0
other	-	-	1	3.3
Celebrities				
politicians	1	4.3	-	-
historical notables	1	4.3	-	-
other	*	-	2	6.7

	number	%	number	%
Sports				
participate in sports	1	4.3	1	3.3
involved in sport controversy	1	4.3	1	3.3
Normal News				
make good	-	-	1	3.3
victim of accident	1	4.3	-	-
Total	23	100.0%	30	100.0%

Table CVII. Canadian Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Topic	Vancouver Province		Vancouver Sun	
	number	%	number	%
Immigration	7	30.4	-	-
Employment & Economy	4	17.3	3	10.0
Cultural Difference	3	13.0	12	40.0
Sports	2	8.7	2	6.7
Claim Restriction	-	-	2	6.7
Celebrities	2	8.7	2	6.7
Total	18	78.8%	21	70.1%

Table CVIII. The Most Frequent Topics of Canadian Domestic News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

British (0. 11).

Despite their reasonably positive treatment in both newspapers, the Province and the Sun placed Canadians into rather different social and economic contexts--contexts which were predictable considering their sociopolitical differences. These differences were clearly reflected in the rather extensive discussion which both papers had on the question of "what it meant to be a Canadian."

Both papers thought that to be a Canadian was an honorable and good thing, but they defined Canadianness according to different criteria. For its part, the Sun consistently opposed Canadian nationalism to all others, as an identity in itself. As such the Sun clearly separated being Canadian from being British. For instance, in a letter to the editor of June 17, 1935 (page 4), it was claimed that Canadians were those who were born here, and that the British born were immigrants like others; despite this, the letter writer argued that the British seemed to consistently get preference over the Canadian born. Another letter to the editor of the Sun (April 1, 1936, page 1) went further, and drew a distinction between "Real Canadians" and "Colonials in Canada." It went on to argue that dissatisfaction with the reactionary mentality of the "colonials" had prompted many of the Canadian born to leave for the United States. Another letter (October 30, 1936, page 4) maintained that "real" Canadians should never again be involved in foreign wars in Britain's interests. Others (November 30, 1936, page 6; May 2, 1928, page 6) expressed the Liberal sentiment that British immigrants

should have no a priori rights in Canada; to both writers to be Canadian was to "love this country and become a citizen." There were a number of similar letters to the editor in the Sun sample.

In contrast, there was absolutely no such dialogue in the Province. For whatever reason, this sort of letter to the editor simply did not appear in print.[22] Such a position was far from the sentiments of the Province editors, who still clung to the Conservative view that Canada was an integral part of the British world and that the British were the ideal by which Canadians should be compared. Editorials which showed the Province supporting this position were frequent. Some of them were so rapturous about the British that they seem a bit embarassing in today's context; an example would be the editorial of January 18, 1928 (page 6) about the arrival of Lord Byng. The Province editor described him in glowing terms; he was an honored Canadian before he ever arrived in this country--as such, he was just coming home. Another editorial (April 16, 1936, page 6) stated that British immigrants in Canada should have access to the same privileges as the Canadian born. The Province's love affair with the British was reflected in the fact that the British moral community score (0.65) was far above that of Canadians (0.09).

The Province did, however, support Canadianness in prideful association with the British and in opposition to the Americans. The Province joined the Sun in making a number of cultural distinctions between Canadians and Americas (or more accurately, between Canada and the

United States). If anything, the Province was more active in this than the Sun, for fully 43.5% of all the news items on Canadians in the Province occurred in the United States. This compares with only 3.3% of the Sun's Canadian news items. These news items often suggested that (due to their British origin) Canadians had a more profound respect for law and order and were more industrious than Americans, hence their leaving would seriously harm Canada. For its part, the Sun began to speak for a specifically Canadian nationalism based upon the unique qualities of Canadians. This theme far outnumbered any other in the Sun (see Table CIX).

To move to a more general level, a comparison of the way in which the Province and the Sun portrayed Canadianness belies the now fashionable argument that the Conservatives were the major reservoir of "true" nationalism in Canada's past, or that Liberal trade internationalism made them incapable of defending a specifically Canadian identity. At least in these two instances of Conservative and Liberal sentiment, the opposite thesis could just as well be argued--that the Province's Conservative brand of nationalism was the weaker of the two, in that it looked towards Britain for ideal models. Feeling no such allegiance, the Sun was free to develop an independent nationalism.[23]

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Sun number
Cultural Difference	7	25
Employment & Economy	5	2
Legislative & Legal	3	3
Normal News	2	1
Immigration	2	3
Violence, Hostility By	1	2

Table CIX. Most Common Themes in Domestic Canadian News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

French Canadians

It would not be stretching the point to say that news coverage of British was more a part of the Vancouver press world than were French Canadians. The local press of the 1930's systematically ignored the French third of Canada, as they had before World War I. The Province devoted a meagre 3.6% of its domestic coverage of ethnicity to French Canadians, and the Sun could muster only 1.8%. Tables CX and CXI summarize the distribution of topics, subtopics and themes found in these news items. All of the events portrayed in this small sample occurred in Quebec save for one item in the Province and two in the Sun.

Because the coverage of French Canadian ethnicity was so sparse, it is difficult to say with any certainty whether the two papers had a specific position on French Canadians. The Province's news items seemed to characterize French Canadians primarily as a problem in Confederation--a problem which French Canadians brought on themselves because of their persistent commitment to the French language (February 15, 1935, page 10) and the Church (June 5, 1933, page 5). Occasionally, the Province also mentioned French Canadians' place in history (March 3, 1934, page 6; November 16, 1934; page 8). The Sun was even less concerned with French Canadians. The total sample of news items was made up of a handful of Quebec events and two editorials--one which suggested that the French Canadian "is more akin to you than the immigrant from London, who is infested with Communism."

Topics and Subtopics	Vancouver Province number	%	Vancouver Sun number	%
Education				
need special education	1	5.9	1	12.5
Advocation of Restriction				
advocate no foreign language	1	5.9	-	-
Ethnic Relations				
relations are bad	1	5.9	1	12.5
unite with others	2	11.8	-	-
impose their ways	2	11.8	-	-
Immigration				
arrive	1	5.9	-	-
should stay in Canada	1	5.9	-	-
Legislative & Legal	1	5.9	-	-
make good citizens	1	-	1	12.5
Culture Difference	-	-	1	12.5
different religion	1	5.9	-	-
require special practices	1	5.9	-	-
have bad national language use	1	5.9	-	-
Celebrities				
politicians in the news	1	5.9	1	12.5
historical notables	3	17.7	1	12.5
Ethnic Organizations				
celebrate festivals	-	-	1	12.5
organize in the community	-	-	1	12.5
Total	17	100.0%	8	100.0%

Table CX. French Canadian Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

Theme	Vancouver Province number	Vancouver Sun number
Cultural Difference	6	3
Ethnic Relations	4	1
Ethnic Organizations	-	2
Legislative & Legal	1	1

Table CXI. Most Common Themes in Domestic French Canadian News Items: Vancouver Province and Vancouver Sun (1928-1937)

This lack of coverage of French Canadians is significant, for it is an indication of the degree to which Vancouver (or at least the Vancouver press) was only concerned with those national issues which had direct consequences for British Columbians. During this era, the press did little to explain French Canadians to its readers. This sparsity of coverage left Vancouverites without a social or political context into which to place growing French discontent with their situation in Canada.

Ethnicity and the Press (1928-1937)

The material in this Chapter about the manner in which the Vancouver press portrayed ethnicity during 1928-1937 allows one to considerably expand the list of conclusions which were generated in the previous Chapter. In addition to supplying additional insights into the general role of the press and ethnic portrayal, this data allows for comparisons to be made between these two periods and for the establishment of temporal trends. The following set of conclusions are of both these types.

1. The press continued to generate a consensus view of reality and in relationship to it, continued to cast ethnics as deviants.

This is in reality a comment on the general nature of newspaper reporting, as it applies to ethnicity. In all places and times the newspaper has been the vehicle for the transmission of societal happenings in the here and now, happenings which are of an unusual nature (Epstein 1973:3-31; Cohen and Young 1973:1). In this century, what constitutes news for the Vancouver newspapers (and most others in North America) has been restricted to schematically outlining events of an absolutely current nature; yesterday's happenings are not today's news. There is little time for backgrounding or an independent investigation of the facts, and a given news item can at best hope to accurately abstract a schematic sequence of events out of what are always very complex questions in the real world. The press does not have the reputation of achieving even this minimal objective with any frequency.

Moreover, of its nature, the press cannot refrain from moralizing. At the same time the press is extremely sensitive to events which have a moral aspect. This further distorts press portrayal into something different than the world so portrayed. Great good and evil are both important criteria of newsworthiness. Of itself, this is not of much consequence, as both good and evil exist in the world, but both are portrayed in a manner which is unrepresentative of the world. In essence, good events are defined to be <u>in</u> society, while bad ones are defined to be <u>out</u> of society or deviations from it.

In both eras under consideration ethnic groups have been the victims of these processes. Those groups which the press associated with "bad" characteristics were simultaneously defined as deviating from consensus (Lippman 1965:223; Rivers and Schram 1969:99), and hence as being out of society. Those fortunate enough to be portrayed in association with morality and good were placed within society, and thus served to confirm that society was indeed a place of general consensus and overall good (Boorstin 1961:7-44).

2. <u>The sharp ethnic stratification of the earlier period's press moderated during this era, but press coverage continued to define some groups as moral outcastes.</u>

Both the Pre-World War I <u>Province</u> and the <u>World</u> defined a number of ethnic groups to be altogether outside of the moral community, notably Black Americans, Chinese, Japanese, South Asians, Native Indians and Italians. The British, Canadians, Germans, and Americans constituted the

ethnic elect of the era. During the second period none of the latter groups did substantially better than previously, and some lost ground. Almost every group among the former was portrayed in a substantially better way than before.

Reasons for the rise and fall of the status of specific groups have been presented previously, but what accounted for the overall moderation of both ends of the ethnic scale? I believe that several factors contributed to this situation. The most important factor would seem to have been the demographic stabilization of the Vancouver population and the equilibration of the society and economy based upon that population. There was no substantial immigration after 1931, nor did a significant number of "ethnics" migrate to British Columbia during this era. The exception would be the Doukhobors, who received the most negative coverage of any group during this period. Excepting the entrance of the Doukhobors, the depression froze the lines of ethnic conflict in British Columbia where they stood in 1929. Take the case of Asians in British Columbia as an example. No new restrictions of significance were placed on them during this era, but at the same time they were unable to make any significant economic, social or political gains until after World War II.

Secondly, both the Province and the Sun seem to have changed their 'press etiquette' with respect to the treatment of ethnicity. The overt advocation of discrimination on ethnic or racial grounds per se was done less frequently than before. These types of specifically racial critiques

were replaced by rationales for discrimination which attempted to justify the practice on economic, social, or cultural grounds. In addition, derogatory labels like Celestial, Brave, Jap, and Hindoo were less frequently used.

Thirdly, minority group members were less frequently associated with stereotypical attributes and were more commonly portrayed as individuals than before. For example, Chinese news items remained an important element of press portrayal, but an increasing proportion of those items concerned events involving individual Chinese people. Previously, there had been a tendency to portray the Chinese as a homogeneous group, and they were often collectively associated with a particular activity or characteristic by the press. In short, both the Province and the Sun gave less coverage to the group aspects of ethnicity than did the earlier press and this made their coverage less harsh and more personal.

Finally, what constituted ideal Canadian behavior was no longer entirely clear, a point which constitutes one aspect of the following statement and one which will be further developed in the subsequent discussion.

3. No longer was the consensus model of society defined by the press specifically British based.

Despite their surface differences, the earlier Province's and World's disagreement over the ideal standard of Vancouver society was primarily rhetorical. Both tended to ideologically contrast subordinate groups with ideal Anglo-British behavior. In the subsequent era there arose a more

fundamental difference between the criteria for ideal ethnic behavior held by the Province and that of the Sun. The latter was definitely groping towards some sort of specifically Canadian definition of an ideal Canadian, while even the conservative Province was having difficulty reconciling its British definition of Canadianness with the times. The consequence was that while both papers knew definitively what the ideal was not, they were somewhat unsure of what it was. In turn, this uncertainty about Canadian identity resulted in a less enthusiastic portrayal of the British and a less negative portrayal of traditionally stigmatized groups; the Sun significantly moderated both extremes of its portrayal.

It should be noted that neither paper was prepared to accept ethnicity directly into their definition of Canadianness. There was nothing in the press of the 1930's which was in any way comparable to present day multiculturalism. The Sun was the more flexible of the two papers, but at its most liberal moments it held the position that assimilated ethnics should be treated in a manner similar to the Canadian born. The Province was not even willing to go that far.

4. The press nevertheless continued to profane the identity of certain ethnic groups without concern over the effects of its portrayal.

The fact that both papers provided a more moderate view of ethnicity than did the papers of the earlier era should not mask the continuing severity of their portrayal of certain groups, especially the Chinese, Doukhobors, and Native Indians. Neither paper had the slightest hesitation to "print the

facts" about these people without regard to how members of the groups so portrayed would react to their presentation. In due regard for the lack of significant social or political power of these groups, neither paper ever corrected its previous coverage or apologized for anything it said in print.

This practice probably went unrecognized by those that produced the newspapers. Nevertheless, to the extent that today's explanations will serve for yesterday's situations the explanation given would no doubt have been one based on the objectivity and freedom of the press: "After all, isn't what we print factually true?" I believe that this explanation (which is extremely common today), is altogether invalid, for it confuses an event being in reality with the reality which the portrayal of that event recreates in the press. These can be quite different, depending on those other selective aspects of the world which are or are not also portrayed.

5. **Despite the fascination of the press with ethnic happenings, almost never were the events portrayed ever given an historical or sociological context with which the reader could understand what truly happened and what consequences the events had for other things.**

Perhaps largely because of technical constraints discussed previously, the press dealt almost entirely with the here and now of ethnicity, as per "Doukhobor Burns School." For the press, sufficient explanation of such an event constituted presenting the factual sequence which was immediately causal to it (de Sola Pool 1963:30; Bagdikian 1971:273); in this case that might be no more than "Four Sons of Freedom were arrested yesterday in Brilliant after being seen by Mr. Joe Brown setting fire to the local elemen-

tary school." Occasionally, the press felt called upon to provide an explanatory resolution of the same order: "They will be arraigned in Nelson Superior Court on charges of arson Tuesday."

It is evident that news items of this variety about a given group are not explanatorily additive. To continue the example, no number of them will allow the reader any understanding of who the Doukhobors or Sons of Freedom were or why some Doukhobors occasionally ran around without clothes while others did not. For the period in question there seemed to be little relationship between the number of stories that a given group received and the degree of understanding of that group which a typical reader might have had if the press were his or her only source of information. Fundamentally, the Press was not an effective vehicle for informing people about the ethnicity of others.

6. **The press rarely supported minority ethnic groups; when it did so, the press was never able to maintain a consistent position of support.**

At their best, the two papers under consideration would occasionally support a particular ethnic group against further subordination; even the Doukhobors received this sort of editorial consideration on a piecemeal basis. Even so, neither paper during this era consistently supported a minority ethnic group, if by support is meant actively affirming that their place in Vancouver society should be more than it was.

Perhaps the clearest case where one of the papers seems to have had a policy of support for a group would be that of the Province's portrayal of

Native Indians. Province editorials were generally sympathetic to natives. At the same time, the types of news items found in the "factual" first few pages of the same paper which dealt with Indian people often associated Indians with extremely stigmatic events such as murder, drunkenness, and the like. The result was a fundamentally inconsistent stance on Indians. It should be noted that even this marginal advocate support of Indians constituted the (positive) exception to the rule. Most groups got no support whatever.

7. The Vancouver press maintained its geographically introspective view of the world in the face of the increasing impact of national affairs on British Columbia and despite the increased ease with which information about events in the rest of Canada could be obtained.

Although this study can lead to no firm conclusions about the degree to which the Vancouver newspapers dealt with social and political events in the rest of Canada, one generalization can be made on more narrow grounds; the local press was fundamentally unconcerned about ethnicity in the rest of Canada and gave almost no coverage to any of the Canadian ethnic groups who resided outside of the boundaries of British Columbia. Based on this study, one cannot say whether the local newspapers covered events in Quebec with any detail. What is certain is that neither paper presented anything substantive about French Canadians. Likewise, events in the prairie provinces might have been adequately reported; I cannot say. Nevertheless, none of the ethnic people who made up the population of the prairies were. The Province and the Sun were almost exclusively concerned with ethnicity

within British Columbia and within that context tended to concentrate on ethnicity in the urban area of Vancouver.

8. <u>This concern with ethnicity in British Columbia to the exclusion of other places extended to coverage of ethnicity overseas</u>.

This point is evident when one considers that foreign news items made up only 22.7% of the total found in the <u>Province</u> for this era and 30.2% of the <u>Sun</u>'s total. Even more than their domestic counterparts, foreign news items on ethnicity tended to disregard large scale societal happenings and instead concentrated upon foreign personalities, humorous ethnic events and ethnic violence. Those world situations of the day which were or were to be ones of fundamental ethnic or racial conflict were largely ignored by the press--Jews in Germany, ethnic groups in the Soviet Union, the oppression of blacks and others by whites in Rhodesia and South Africa--none of these received even marginal coverage. Moreover, the types of ethnicity covered by the press in these overseas items were also extremely restricted. Items dealing with the Chinese (18), South Asians (26), British (31), and Arabs and Israeli (11), for example, accounted for 62.3% of the <u>Province</u>'s foreign coverage. Similarly, coverage of the Chinese (21), Japanese (23), South Asians (19), Arab and Israeli (14), British (29), and Germans (23) accounted for 66.8% of the <u>Sun</u>'s foreign coverage.

9. <u>Ethnic individuals had little access to the press and had no control over their portrayal in it</u>.

Both of these points are self-evident, but bear stressing. There were only two means which ethnic individuals had to get their ideas into print in

the major newspapers and both of them were extremely restrictive. First, an individual at least potentially had access to the "letters to the editor" section of the paper. Realistically, this potential access was not often realized, perhaps in part due to editorial discretion and the reticence or inability of individuals to send a signed letter to the paper. For whatever reason, letters to the editor by individuals defending the place of their ethnic group in British Columbia were virtually non-existent, with one obvious exception--letters from the Canadian born. The second possible option that an ethnic individual had was to call a press conference; in reality, this was a device for social and political notables, and hence was effectively unavailable to most individuals.

Moreover, ethnic individuals had no control over their portrayal in the press. There were no laws which restricted what the press could say about ethnicity and ethnic groups. Neither did the libel laws cover the abstract defamation of a whole group. Besides, most ethnic individuals who the press defamed in any case were without the economic or political resources to launch an effective suit. Reinforcing this "press freedom" was the ethnic composition of the newspaper buying public; that public was primarily of British origins, and hence only coverage prejudicial to Canadians or the British would have had much of a potential to provoke people not to buy the paper. Minority groups could not exact this sort of pressure.

10. <u>The Depression did not lead the press to economic scapegoating of ethnic groups. Most scapegoating attempts were used as explanations of social rather than economic problems</u>.

As in the era previously analyzed, economic concerns were not fundamental to the critiques which the press made of minority ethnic groups. This tendency persisted into the era of the Great Depression, where the general topic of economy and employment was nowhere near the most frequent topic associated with any of the more stigmatized groups. Instead, violence and cultural difference tended to predominate. If one takes the coverage of ethnicity in the press in its totality it is clear that this association of certain types of ethnic people with violence and (negatively conceived of) cultural difference must have served as a support for the moral integrity and orderliness of "true human beings." One can go further than this and claim that those same groups also served a social scapegoating function, in that their perceived deviant activities were used to explain why certain types of evils persisted in the world. Nevertheless, the only group which was frequently blamed for economic hard times was the Chinese, who were the only minority out-group who made up a significant proportion of the working population.[24]

11. <u>Differences in the way in which the Province and the Sun covered ethnicity were discernible, but these differences were minimal.</u>

Throughout this Chapter I have tried to show that on certain points the <u>Province</u> and the <u>Sun</u> did not deal with ethnicity in an identical fashion. Differences in political philosophy, criteria for newsworthiness, and

editorial policy occasionally resulted in a particular group receiving quite different treatment in one paper than in the other. The Province's Conservative, pro-British orientation resulted in harsher treatment for most outgroups than they received from the Sun; possessing a firm idea of British cultural superiority, the Province was constantly critical of cultural difference and continually charged minority groups with being so. The Sun was much more assimilationist in its perspective; with the exception of racial minorities, those ethnic group individuals who conformed to Canadian behavior patterns were thereby Canadian. On the other hand, the Sun was also less restrained and more sensationalist than its competitor, which often cancelled out its more flexible perspective on who had entry into the Vancouver moral community.

Despite these small differences, the coverage of ethnicity by the Province and the Sun were essentially identical. Both papers were concerned with the same ethnic groups, and devoted about the same proportion of coverage to them. The topics and attributes associated with specific ethnic groups were largely the same. There were no fundamental differences of opinion on who did and who did not deserve to be a member of the ethnic elect. Neither paper provided a significant amount of backgrounding information on Vancouver's ethnic groups, and neither were advocates for subordinate ethnic groups. The coverage of the Province basically supported that of the Sun and vice versa, and ethnicity almost never became a point of issue between the two papers. For all the posturing that the Province and

the Sun did on how different and superior their coverage was from that of their competition, actual differences between the two papers in their ethnic coverage gave readers very little from which to choose.

Chapter Four: Notes

1. The numbers in brackets are the number of news items which were found in the Province in the era 1905-1914.

2. The mean length of news items remained almost identical in the Province (9.93 column inches), while the Sun's average was considerably higher (12.7 column inches).

3. As shall be shown, this increased interest of the Sun in Europe and Asia corresponded with its Liberal orientation towards international trade. In addition, the low figure for Sun news items originating in the United States should not suggest that the Sun was not concerned with Americans, but rather that it did not report extensively on ethnic groups in the United States.

4. This can be seen very clearly in the Province's coverage of ethnicity in the rest of Canada, which was almost five times more frequent than similar coverage in the Sun. It is reasonable to conclude that this heavy dependence on "Canadian sources" on the part of the Province reflected the ease and lack of expense with which the Province could get copy from the Southam Press organization, of which it had been a part since 1923.

5. The difference between old and new formats can be markedly seen in the dramatic way in which editorials grew shorter between 1910 and 1930. While the average length of a given news item did not increase between the two eras, the number of words per story decreased substantially.

6. Domestic news items dealing with Asians in the Province increased in frequency from five in 1935 to twenty-two in 1936 and twenty-three in 1937.

7. Many Chinese returned to China during the depression. In essence, they chose to exchange urban poverty and social isolation for rural poverty and community.

8. Of course, this "everyday world" is the everyday world of the press rather than that of individuals. It is, rather, the world of extra-ordinary events which occur in the normal context--accidents, job promotions, personal tragedies and windfalls.

9. If Tables LXXVI and LXXVII of this Chapter are compared with Tables XXIII and XXIV of the previous chapter, mitigation of the extremes of

ethnic evaluation is very clearly seen. The earlier Province's moral community scores ranged from 1.08 to -2.13, as compared with a range of 0.65 to -2.07 during 1928-37. Comparative ranges for the earlier World and the 1930's Sun are 0.20 to -1.81, and 0.30 to -1.31, respectively.

10. There were 60 domestic stories on the British in the Province sample; two of these were not coded for topic and hence, are not included in Table LXXVIII.

11. The greater abstraction with which the Province dealt with British as compared with the Sun is reflected in the geographical distribution of news items. One-half of all the Sun's domestic British coverage dealt with events occurring in British Columbia, while only 28% of the Province's were provincial in origin.

12. For instance, the Vancouver and New Westminster Trades and Labour Council rejected a bid by the Canadian Labour Party to restore Asian franchise in 1928.

13. The Japanese were especially active in trade in Vancouver. Adachi (1972:221) suggests that more than one out of ten Japanese residents in Vancouver in 1931 (858 individuals) held trading licences.

14. The Japanese had also begun to invest in British Columbia (Adachi 1972:243), especially in large scale timber leases.

15. The Japanese received this high moral community score in the Sun through a quite different means than the Scots. The latter group's stories were uniformly evaluated highly, whereas those of the Japanese had the following spread:

Number	Moral Community Score
1	-3
7	-2
7	-1
9	0
11	1
8	2
2	3
1	4

16. See the Sun editorials of March 13, 1929 (page 8), April 12, 1929 (page 6), April 22, 1930 (page 6), and December 30, 1930 (page 8).

17. I have been told by a member of the present day Province staff (who incidentally is a liaison between the Province and various native groups) that the Province made a conscious change in their editorial policy towards native people around World War I. While I have not been able to substantiate this from other sources, the marked change in the tenor of the Province's coverage supports this claim.

18. In the Province of the previous era only five topic areas accounted for more than 5% of the sample each, and two of them monopolized press interest. During this period the spread of subtopics was also much wider than it was.

19. During the ten years in question, there were no news items on Ukrainians, and only 3 items on Poles in the Province and 2 in the Sun.

20. Correspondingly, foreign news items with Germans as the main ethnic group during this period rarely mentioned Jews as a second ethnicity involved (Province: 1 out of 10: Sun: 0 out of 28).

21. During this era only two of the Sun items concerned events in the United States. There were four such items in the Province.

22. Letters to the editor and editorials in the Sun about Canadians were far more common than in the Province. 56.6% of the Sun's coverage was of this sort, in contrast to 26.1% of the Province's.

23. It should be noted that neither the Sun nor the Province cognatively included the non-British foreign born within the category "Canadian." To take the more expansive and liberal definition of the Sun, to be Canadian meant minimally that one functioned as would one of the Canadian born.

24. The Chinese made up 9.7 of the population in 1931. Considering that they were virtually all adult males, they must have made up considerably more of the working population than that.

Chapter Five: Ethnicity in the Vancouver Press (1967-76)

In contrast to the 1930's, in the last decade there have been fundamental changes in the ethnic composition of Vancouver and in the ways in which that ethnicity has been covered by the press. During the 1960's and 1970's Vancouver experienced an influx of immigrants the likes of which had not been seen in the city since before World War I. By 1971 Vancouver's demographic makeup diverged fundamentally from the national norms. While only 15.3% of the Canadian population in that year was born outside of the country, 22.7% of the British Columbian population was foreign born. Approximately 147,000 of the 426,000 people in Vancouver city were foreign born--a substantial 34.4% of the total population. While this proportion of foreign born actually decreased by about five percent since 1941, the ethnic makeup of that population changed substantially in the intervening thirty years. At the same time, the city of Vancouver and its urban environs increased substantially in population, such that the population of Vancouver city is now approximately twice what it was at the beginning of World War II. Well over a million people now reside in the metropolitan area.

I. Format

In a certain sense, changes in the format of the Vancouver papers during the last ten years reflect the growth of the city itself. For one thing, the overall size of the papers increased substantially since earlier times, prompted no doubt by the larger advertising base of their expanding

readership. In terms of the coverage of ethnicity this had two direct consequences. First of all, the number of news items dealing with ethnicity increased dramatically in comparison with earlier eras--so much so that it was not feasible to code two newspapers as had been done in the past. As can be seen in Table CXII, the ten year (1967-1976) sample of the Vancouver Sun alone produced 1,485 news items:

Domestic	Foreign Specific	Foreign Inferred	Total Items
951	371	163	1,485

Table CXII. The Number of Ethnically-Relevant Items in the Vancouver Sun (1967-1976) Found in a Sample of 223 Issues.

In comparison with the first and second periods, domestic ethnically-related news items increased in frequency by about 100%. For instance, the Sun sample of the 1930's only produced 443 domestic news items compared with 951 for the present period, despite the use of an identical sampling procedure. Foreign news items with ethnic relevance increased even more dramatically. In an overall sense, the figures suggest that ethnicity was at least as salient a feature of the press in Vancouver in the modern era as it was in the past. On the average, an issue of the Vancouver Sun during the decade in question had 5.8 items dealing with ethnicity; it should be recalled that the criteria for a news item to be coded as ethnically relevant were extremely restrictive, and hence the figure is an underestimate, if anything.

At the same time, the mean length of a given story has also increased significantly. In the 1930's the average article length in the Province was 9.93 column inches, as compared with the Sun's 12.7 column inches. The present day average for the Sun is now 15.7 column inches. Hence, the volume of news dealing with ethnicity in the Sun has increased from 31.0 column inches per issue in the 1930's to 91.0 column inches today--an increase of 300%.

The Distribution of Coverage: Sources and Localities

By the 1960's the Vancouver newspapers markedly expanded the geographical horizons of their ethnic coverage. British Columbian events no longer predominate in the ways in which they once did. The geographical distribution of the Sun's ethnic coverage in the 1930's and the present are presented in the following table:

Locality	1928-1937		1967-1976	
	number	%	number	%
British Columbia	280	44.2	296	20.0
Canada	128	20.2	491	33.1
United States	33	5.2	160	10.8
Europe	92	14.5	204	13.8
Asia	80	12.6	51	3.4
Africa	16	2.5	260	17.5
Latin & Central America	3	0.5	11	0.7
Australia & New Zealand	-	-	5	0.3
Caribbean	2	0.3	5	0.3
Not Coded	1	0.2	2	0.1
Total	635	100.0%	1,485	100.0%

Table CXIII. Geographical Location of Ethnically-Relevant Events Occurring in Items from the Vancouver Sun (1928-1937 and 1967-1976)

Some important changes can be noted in Table CXIII. First of all, it shows a decided shift in interest away from events in British Columbia. While the present day Sun has continued to publish news items on local events dealing with ethnicity with about the same daily frequency as before, in relative terms this coverage has decreased from 44.2% of the total to 20.0%. The Sun's interest in ethnicity in the rest of Canada has also become greater than it once was; as shall be shown, this was principally the result of

increased coverage of French Canadians.

In the rest of the world, it is clear that coverage of Africa changed the most, moving from an insignificant place in the 1930's newspapers to being the most actively covered area outside of Canada. This shift reflected increased interest in race relations in South Africa and Rhodesia and the ongoing Arab-Israeli crisis in the Middle East. Likewise, the frequency of reporting on ethnic issues in the United States increased in response to the urban riots of the late 1960's. Similarly, the conflict in Northern Ireland accounted for most of the European ethnic coverage during this decade. Ethnic relations in Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, Australia and New Zealand received very little coverage, with the exception of the Vietnam War, which was not coded in this study. [1]

The dependence of the Sun on foreign sources for its overseas news decreased in comparison with the past. While the number of overseas news items originating from Canadian sources remained unimpressive, such stories were more frequent than before. For instance, whereas virtually all of the Sun's news items of 1928-1937 originating in the United States came from other than Canadian sources, in the present decade 80.6% of the United States sample came from foreign news services (129 out of 160 items). As can be seen in Table CXIV, 26.0% of the Sun's ethnic coverage now comes from (non-local) Canadian sources, in comparison to 7.4% in the 1930's.

This shift away from local issues can also be seen in the Sun's editorial activities. Thirty-one editorials in the sample dealt with Canada

Locality	News, Local S.	News, Can. S.	News, For. S.	Edi-torial	Letter to Editor	Cartoon	Feature	Missing Value	Total
B.C.	197	28	0	5	43	0	24	2	296
Canada	36	255	20	31	59	1	88	0	491
Europe	1	34	142	9	1	0	17	0	204
Africa	4	42	173	14	11	0	14	0	260
Latin & C. America	0	3	5	0	0	0	3	0	11
Australia & New Zealand	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	5
Caribbean	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
U.S.A.	4	11	129	0	2	1	13	0	160
Asia	6	11	23	2	5	0	4	0	51
Total	249	385	497	61	121	2	165	2	1,485
Percent-ages	16.8	26.0	33.5	4.1	8.2	0.6	11.1	-	100.0%

Table CXIV. Type of Coverage by Locality: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

and ethnicity, in comparison with but five dealing specifically with British Columbia. Nevertheless, only 41% of editorials were about places other than Canada. At the same time, public interest (at least to the degree that it can be gauged by letters to the editor) also remained fixed on Canadian rather than foreign issues. Forty three letters to the editor (35.5%) dealt with British Columbia while another fifty nine (48.8%) addressed ethnicity in the rest of Canada.

Headlines, Photographs, and Page Placement

The format of ethnic presentation in the Sun of the 1960's and 1970's changed along with the format of the newspaper generally. Reflecting trends which began around the turn of the century, the Sun continued to move towards the production of a more visual (and less developmental) product. For instance, headline width increased more from the 1930's to the present (from a mean width of 1.679 to 2.495 columns in the Sun) than it had from the first era to the second. The two column wide headline is now the mode (38.1% of the total). The frequency of one column headlines have shrunk to 24.4% - about equal in frequency to those of three columns (20.7%). Headline widths of more than two columns now account for 37.5% of the total, whereas previously (1928-1937) they accounted for a meagre 13.5%. One out of fifty (2.2%) of ethnic stories merited a full page, eight column wide headlines.

Likewise, the visual impact of the newspapers was enhanced by a substantial increase in the number of ethnic news items in the Sun which

were accompanied by photographs (an increase from 42 in the previous era to 151). Approximately 10.2% of all ethnic news items in the Sun are now accompanied by photographs. Neither headline width nor the frequency with which items were accompanied by photographs differed significantly between domestic and foreign stories.

Page placement in the Sun remained essentially the same, with two significant differences. While Table CXV shows that the first page of the paper remains the most likely place to find ethnic news items, the relative percentage of front page news items has gone down by a factor of two (from 27.9% to 14.3%). Concomitantly, the frequency with which one finds ethnic news items in the back pages of the paper has increased considerably.[2] Nevertheless, the first five pages of the Sun remain fundamental to that paper's presentation of ethnicity, for fully 49.4% of all such news items occur there.

Page	number	%
1	213	14.3
2	95	6.4
3	116	7.8
4	117	7.9
5	193	13.0
6	63	4.2
7-10	156	10.6
11-20	263	18.7
21-end	220	14.9
Special Features	49	3.2
Total	1,485	100.0%

Table CXV. The Page Distribution of Items in the Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Yearly Distribution of Ethnically-Related Items

The yearly distribution of ethnic news items over the past decade did not follow a uniform pattern. The number of items found in the sample of a given year fluctuated by more than a factor of two, ranging from 98 to 213:

Year	Domestic News Items		Foreign News Items		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
1967	143	15.0	70	13.1	213	14.3
1968	118	12.4	59	11.0	177	11.9
1969	106	11.1	53	9.9	159	10.7
1970	88	9.3	38	7.1	126	8.5
1971	85	8.9	42	7.9	127	8.5
1972	94	9.9	54	10.1	148	10.0
1973	69	7.3	37	6.9	106	7.1
1974	57	6.0	41	7.7	98	6.6
1975	99	19.4	52	9.7	151	10.2
1976	92	9.7	88	16.5	180	12.1
Total	951	100.0%	534	100.0%	1,485	100.0%

Table CXVI. Yearly Distribution of News Items in the Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

As will become evident in the discussion of individual groups, this wide yearly variation was primarily the result of the Sun's erratic, on again, off again coverage of particular groups. This was in turn largely dependent on 'big issues.' Unlike the previous two eras, no ethnic group or nationality during the present decade was to receive uniformly high press coverage. Rather, the dominant pattern was for a given group to move into and out of the press eye very quickly. For example, taking all domestic news items on Asians together (n = 101), the yearly distribution of their coverage in the

sample ranged from 24 (1975) to none (1970). Similar oscillations are evident in the coverage of all the intensely covered groups of this era, such that the overall yearly fluctuation of the Sun's portrayal of ethnicity was primarily the additive consequence of even wider variations in the frequency of coverage of individual groups.[3]

II. Content: The Persistence of Ethnic Portrayal into the Present (1967-1976)

The People and the Issues

The end of World War II marked the beginnings of long term changes in the ethnic makeup of Canada. At that time Canada had one of the few industrial economies not disrupted by war. Its raw materials were in great demand on the world market and its expanded industrial plant was able to gain entry into export areas which overseas competition had earlier precluded. The result was a decade of large scale (though fluctuating) economic growth, with a concomitant demand for industrial and agricultural labor. Following past practices, the Canadian government looked towards a renewed immigration program to supply a considerable portion of its labor needs.[4] As those manpower requirements became more selective, so did immigration selection procedures; in essence the immigration regulations moved through a series of changes which propelled immigration towards further economic rationalization and away from selection on the basis of ethnic, racial, or national criteria. By way of example, the bans on the immigration of Chinese and South Asians were both lifted in 1947, and were

subsequently replaced by limited quotas.

In the 1950's, British, American, and European immigration predominated. Immigration from other areas of the world was not encouraged, and in many countries information about Canadian immigration was entirely lacking. It was only in the mid-1960's that the Canadian government finally created an immigration policy which claimed to be racially and ethnically unbiased. This policy culminated in the immigration act of 1967 which (together with its attendant regulations) created the point system for immigrant selection which essentially remains in effect today. At least formally, the point system's operation was to be entirely free of ethnic, racial, or national criteria. Rather, it was to be based upon socioeconomic factors which were designed to match prospective immigrants to the demands of the Canadian economy. It was also aimed at selecting immigrants who were more likely to adjust easily to the Canadian social context. Although it cannot be claimed that immigrant flows now completely reflect the absence of national biases (Indra 1978), a fundamental shift in the pattern of Canadian immigration has occurred. If the years 1964-1966 are compared with immigrant flows ten years later (1973-1975), one finds that in the former instance approximately 85% of all immigrants were either from Europe, the United States, or from one of the other (white, European) Dominions; in the latter case the figure is approximately 50% (Indra 1978). In contrast, Asian immigration has increased over the same decade from 7% to at least 25% of the total.

This renewed immigration has affected the demographic makeup of Canada's large urban areas far more than it has the population at large. Postwar immigrants have come primarily to the cities, notably Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal. Table CXVII. presents the ethnic makeup of Vancouver's population and the metropolitan area around it at the time of the 1971 census.

Group or Nationality	Vancouver City		Vancouver Metropolitan Area	
	number	%	number	%
British Isles	225,995	53.0	633,825	58.5
French	14,330	3.4	42,870	4.0
Chinese	30,640	7.2	-	-
German	32,515	7.6	89,675	8.3
Hungarian	4,005	0.9	-	-
Italian	19,020	4.5	30,050	2.8
Jewish	7,975	1.9	10,815	1.0
Native	2,995	0.7	-	-
Dutch	7,670	1.8	31,965	3.0
Polish	6,315	1.5	14,985	1.4
Russian	3,085	0.7	7,310	0.4
Scandinavian	15,465	3.6	51,870	4.8
Ukranian	12,105	2.8	31,130	2.9
All Asians	-	-	58,255	5.4
Others	39,150	9.2	79,605	7.4
Total	426,265	100.0%	1,082,350	100.0%

Table CXVII. The Ethnic Population of Vancouver and the Metropolitan Area (1971)

The above table is both informative and potentially misleading. One of the most important conclusions to be drawn from it is that the Vancouver metropolitan area has grown over the past thirty years to such an extent that it, rather than the city of Vancouver must be considered to be the

constituency of the newspapers. This is actually the case, for the Sun (and secondarily the Province) are the predominant newspapers throughout the area and for quite a distance into the Interior of British Columbia.

At the same time, it would be foolhardy to conclude that this table actually represents the ethnic makeup of the population. For instance, consider the category "British Isles." First of all, it lumps together all individuals who were born anywhere in the British Isles, including the Republic of Ireland. Secondly, it does not differentiate fifth generation Anglo Canadians from recent British immigrants; in fact, as shown in Table CXVII only 19.0% of these "British" in the metropolitan area were born in Britain. The most typical Vancouverite is Canadian born of British origin.

Country	number	%
United Kingdom	105,270	42.1
Other British	15,265	
Irish Republic	3,465	1.2
Germany	19,115	6.7
Netherlands	11,110	3.9
Other Western European countries	7,950	2.7
Italy	13,750	4.9
Other Southern European countries	11,755	4.1
Poland	6,780	2.4
Russia	9,060	3.2
Other Eastern European countries	8,290	2.9
China	17,040	5.9
India	6,530	2.3
Other Asians	6,525	2.3
United States	25,685	9.0
Africa	2,680	0.9
Caribbean	4,835	1.7
Other	11,380	4.0
Total Foreign-born	286,485	100.0%
Total Population	1,082,350	

Table CXVIII. Birthplace of Metropolitan Vancouver's Foreign Born Population in 1971 (in numbers and percentages)

Postwar immigration has resulted in significant changes in the size of Vancouver's minority populations. As a legacy of the 1950's and early 1960's the number of Germans, Italians, Greeks, and Dutch have increased substantially, as have people of various Scandinavian origins. Throughout the era immigration from the United States has held its own. After 1967, many Asian immigrants began comming to the Vancouver area; these individuals are only partially reflected in the 1971 census figures, for it was only in 1970 that Asian immigration was to reach a substantial size. Nevertheless, these figures show the marked increase in the number of

individuals born in "China" and India.[6] Despite large number of British born who came to the Vancouver area in the postwar years, in relative terms the number of British born residents in the metropolitan area has been going down steadily. The British born will nevertheless continue to be the numerically dominant immigrant group for the foreseeable future.

The Sun's coverage of ethnic groups between 1967 and 1976 in no way reflected the population distribution of the Vancouver area. In rank order, Table CXIX gives the frequency with which each of the general domestic ethnic categories were covered during the past ten years.

Group	number	%
Native	192	20.2
French Canadian	189	19.9
Black	106	11.1
Asian	101	10.6
Canadian	66	6.9
American	64	6.7
Arab-Israeli	50	5.3
Eastern European	47	4.9
Western & Northern European	40	4.2
Immigrant	32	3.4
British	29	3.0
Southern European	12	1.3
Hispano-Portuguese	8	0.8
South African & Rhodesian White	8	0.8
Colored	4	0.4
Australian & New Zealand	1	0.1
Not Coded	2	-
Total	951	100.0%

Table CXIX. Frequency of Ethnic Group Portrayal in Domestic News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Several important changes from past practice are readily evident.

It should be recalled that in the previous era Asians received the largest

amount of coverage in both the Province and the Sun. Collectively, they have dropped to fourth place. Coverage of native people has moved from being the sixth most frequently covered group in the Sun of the 1930's to the first; this shift is even more remarkable when one considers that the number of news items in the Sun samples of the two eras were 32 (in the 1930's) and 192 in the present--an increase of six times. The rise to prominence of French Canadians in the intervening forty years is even more startling; previously they received almost no coverage in the Sun whatsoever (8 items), while they now account for 20% of all domestic ethnic news items. The portrayal of British ethnicity correspondingly decreased (from 13.8% to 3.0% of the total items) as did that dealing with Eastern Europeans (10.4% down to 4.9%). Southern European coverage also decreased (4.3% previously to 1.3% at present). Discussion of Canadian ethnicity has remained stable at around 7.0% of the domestic sample.

The issues involving ethnicity which interested the press continued to shift, as can be seen by comparing Tables CXX and CXXI with Tables LXXIII through LXXV of the previous chapter. Even at this general level it is evident that the Sun has continued to moderate its position of ethnicity in two basic ways. On one hand, it has substantially increased its coverage of positive events involving ethnicity. For example, frequent coverage of legal and legislative happening now more commonly involves ethnic groups agitating for their rights or the government moving to protect those rights. Like the category legal and legislative happening, items in the category

ethnic relations have also more than doubled in their relative frequency of occurrence; while a considerable number of the news items classified under this broad topic continued to deal with inter-ethnic conflict, those which concerned more positive relations continued to increase. Likewise, topics which were usually stigmatic, such as "violence by ethnics" decreased sharply.

As in both previous eras a number of the social and economic concerns of minority individuals and others continued to receive scant coverage by the Sun. These include employment and economic activities, housing, education, health, and the provision of social services.

The Sun nevertheless continued to concentrate its ethnic coverage in a few key areas. The eight most frequent topic areas accounted for 74.4% of all the Sun's domestic coverage of ethnicity (see Table CXXI). News items coded with a topic of either ethnic relations (n = 144) or legal and legislative affairs (n = 222) together made up almost 40% of the sample.

Topic	number	%
Housing	4	0.4
Education	15	1.6
Health and Welfare	10	1.1
Employment and Economy	22	2.3
Population	4	0.4
Advocation of Restriction	22	2.3
Ethnics are Restricted	13	1.4
Restrictions Charged	58	6.1
Ethnic Relations	144	15.1
Immigration	55	5.8
Legal and Legislative	222	23.3
Violence to Ethnics	27	2.8
Violence by Ethnics	79	8.3
Cultural Differences	66	6.9
Celebrities	91	9.6
Sports	10	1.1
Ethnic Organization	63	6.6
Normal News	46	4.8
Total	951	100.0%

Table CXX. Domestic Material by Topic: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Topic	number	%
Legal and legislative	222	23.3
Ethnic Felations	144	15.1
Celebrities	91	9.6
Violence by ethnics	79	8.3
Cultural differences	66	6.9
Ethnic organization	63	6.6
Restrictions charged	58	6.1
Immigration	55	5.8
Total	708	74.4%

Table CXXI. Most Frequent Topics: Domestic Stories in the Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

The Domestic Moral Community of the Press (1967-1976)

Two significant observations can be made about the moral community generated by today's Sun. The first of these is that the Vancouver press--at least to the extent that the Sun is representative of it--has continued to make strong evaluative distinctions between one ethnic and national group and another. This is evident in Table CXXII, which gives the moral community scores for those domestic ethnic groups for which there were ten or more news items found.

Group	Number	Moral Community Score	Rank
British	13	0.54	1
Chinese	29	0.31	2
Jewish	29	0.28	3
Germans	13	0.15	4
Native Indians	181	-0.13	5
Russians	14	-0.14	6
Asians	10	-0.20	7
Anglo Canadians	24	-0.21	8
South Asians	35	-0.40	9
Canadians	42	-0.52	10
Immigrants	32	-0.72	11
Doukhobors	15	-0.73	12
French	19	-0.89	13
French Canadians	189	-0.97	14
Americans	64	-0.97	15
Black Americans	88	-1.14	16

Table CXXII. The Domestic Moral Community: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)[7]

Indeed, despite the frequent claim by members of the press that their coverage of ethnic groups has become much less negative in recent years, these moral community scores do not indicate that this is so. The measures used to create these scores were no different than they were in the other

eras which were considered, yet the scores themselves range across values which are very nearly the same as they were in the 1930's. To put it bluntly, the present day Sun is neither unbiased nor more kind in its coverage of ethnicity than it was previously.

What has changed significantly has been the treatment of those ethnic groups which were heavily stigmatized by the Sun in the previous era. In a general sense the coverage of virtually all of these groups has become considerably better. This trend was most marked in the case of the Chinese and native Indians, but was also significant for Germans and Asians. Even the portrayal of the Doukhobors was not as stigmatic as it was before. What runs counter to this positive trend is that other groups have taken the place of those who were once so stigmatically portrayed. French Canadians, Americans, American Blacks, and the French, are the Asians of today's Sun. In addition, South Asians and Immigrants have maintained their previous marginal statuses.

The second observation about this ethnic hierarchy relates to the apparent randomness with which the groups are distributed through it. Unlike previous eras, it should become evident as the various groups are discussed that the Sun has lost an overall philosophy of ethnicity that it once had. As will be seen, coverage of ethnicity itself has for the most part given way to the portrayal of events where ethnicity is of some consequence. The result has been that the moral worth of today's ethnic groups as evaluated by the Sun is primarily determined by the sort of event which that

press chooses to associate with them. For some groups this has led to incorporation into the moral community. For others it has been their undoing.

The British

With the termination of hostilities in Europe, immigration from Europe resumed in earnest. As before, British immigrants were the preferred variety. From then till now, the number of British immigrants to Canada has annually exceeded those of all other countries, with the exception of a brief period in the late 1950's. Approximately one million Britons came to Canada between 1946 and 1966 and about 400,000 have come subsequently (Kalbach 1974:7). While many of these new Canadians came to the Vancouver area, the growth of their numbers has not kept pace with other groups (particularly the Canadian born). Individuals born in the United Kingdom now make up about 9.7% of the population of metropolitan Vancouver. While this percentage is considerably less than it was in the past, the British continue to be the largest immigrant population in the area by far. In more visual terms, one out of every ten individuals in the Vancouver area was born in Britain.

Considering their numbers, British immigrants were rarely seen in the Sun. In the whole ten year sample only 25 news items dealing with the British in Canada were found--but 2.6% of the total domestic sample. In contrast, South Asians, who in 1971 constituted less than 1.5% of the population of the metropolitan area, received 4.2% of the total domestic coverage.[8]

Tables CXXIII through CXV present the distribution of topics, subtopics, and themes associated with these news items.

Topics and Subtopics	number	%
Health & Welfare		
other	1	4.0
Employment & Economy		
are unemployed	2	8.0
Ethnic Relations		
relations are mediated	1	4.0
relations are good	1	4.0
Immigration	1	4.0
arrive	1	4.0
Legislative & Legal		
laws limit	1	4.0
laws protect	1	4.0
Cultural Difference		
have different work practices	1	4.0
are loyal to home	4	16.0
other	1	4.0
Celebrities	1	4.0
entertainers	1	4.0
politicians	2	8.0
social notables	2	8.0
Sports	1	4.0
Ethnic Organizations	1	4.0
Normal News		
victim of accident	1	4.0
suicide or die	1	4.0
Total	25	100.0%

Table CXXIII. British Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Topic	number	%
Cultural Difference	6	24.0
Celebrities	6	24.0
Normal News	2	28.0
Legislative & Legal	2	8.0
Immigration	2	8.0
Ethnic Relations	2	8.0
Employment & Economy	2	8.0
Total	22	88.0%

Table CXXIV. The Most Frequent Topics of British Domestic News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Theme	number
Cultural Difference	10
Celebrities	6
Ethnic Relations	4
Victims of Crime	3

Table CXXV. Most Common Themes in Domestic British News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

In most respects, the portryal of the British by the Sun followed lines set down by the press far earlier. As before, this coverage was extremely selective and very positive. Of all groups, the British garnered the highest moral community score (0.54). Despite the many Britons who came to

Canada during the past ten years, British immigration was not news; only two news items in the sample dealt with this subject. The first of these was a letter to the editor ("Britons Aren't Favored," August 8, 1974, page 5) which asserted that the British were not getting any more benefits in Canada than were "their Commonwealth rights." The other was an extremely positive account of how British miners had benefitted by immigrating to the East Kootenay region of British Columbia. The British were not definitionally included by the press in the ongoing saga of immigration--a saga about which the press had a great deal to say with respect to other groups. According to the Sun, there were no deportees and no illegal British immigrants; as before, British immigrants were an invisible press minority. This invisibility carried over into virtually all aspects of British immigrant life. This can be no better illustrated than by noting that in the whole ten year sample the British were not once associated with criminal activities, bad cultural differences, or poor ethnic relations.

Instead, the British were frequently associated with a narrow range of positively portrayed "British institutions;" this, too, was nothing new in the Vancouver press, but it is of some interest that such practices persisted into an era when most people in the Vancouver era were no longer of that tradition. The key institution of this sort was the monarchy. Royal activities were continually in the news, especially when members of the royal family were in Canada ("A Visit by Their Queen," July 15, 1970, page 5). Moreover, the monarch was frequently the topic of letters to the

editor ("Monarchy Very Canadian," March 15, 1971, page 6; "Keep Queen," February 16, 1968, page 5; "Monarch Useful," May 30, 1970, page 5). Criticisms of the Queen ("Her Majesty Spoke with Forked Tongue", September 7, 1974, page 5) or of the monarchy ("Queen Made a Pawn," February 20, 1976, page 5), were rather rare. Moreover, even the slightest indication of press discourtesy or disrespect to the Queen was quickly noted ("Tasteless Story on Queen," May 27, 1972, page 5.)

In certain respects what little coverage there was on the British indicated that the press continued to maintain a double standard by which the British and other immigrants were to be judged; what was 'bad' for other immigrants was often 'good' if done by the British. The most conspicuous example of this was the Sun's continual practice of associating the British (positively) with loyalty to their home country. The British continued to be portrayed as people who were proud of their heritage and who actively tried to keep that heritage alive in Canada.[9] If associated with other groups, such a characteristic would very often be portrayed as being traditionalistic and an impediment to assimilation.

As before, the Sun continued to maintain total silence on British immigrant deviance. There were no stories portraying British immigrants as criminals, and only one item referred to unemployment and British immigrants. As portrayed by the press, the British immigrant had no deviant practices and posed no consequential problems for Canadian society. They were not a burden on social services, they never imposed their ways

on others, and they never had trouble getting along. Instead, the "British Are Magnificent" (April 7, 1974, page 4), for wherever they go they bring with them "British Justice" (August 3, 1967, page 5).

This image of British justice, orderliness, and fair play carried over into the Sun's foreign coverage of the British. The great majority of the items in the sample were about events in Britain itself (23 out of 27). While a number of these items dealt with social problems, notably the state of the economy and the situation in Northern Ireland, throughout conviction was expressed that British perseverance would win out. In Northern Ireland the Sun portrayed the conflict primarily as one between order and anarchy, symbolized by the British troops and the Irish, respectively. Even Britain's economic woes were attributed primarily by the temporary triumph of disorder and mismanagement over the natural state of things.

The Chinese

In 1947 the Oriental Exclusion Act was finally repealed, ending twenty five years during which Chinese immigration was completely banned. Nevertheless, Chinese immigration continued to be restricted throughout the 1950's. Although the Chinese population of Vancouver doubled between 1951 and 1961, large scale Chinese immigration did not resume once more until the racial and national restrictions were removed from the immigration statutes in the mid-1960's. Between 1961 and 1971 the Chinese population of Vancouver doubled once more to 30,640.[10] By 1981, the figure will probably have doubled again.

This renewed immigration has greatly increased the heterogeneity of the Chinese community. Most earlier Chinese immigrants were from the same part of China, were of the same class background, and experienced similar socioeconomic conditions here. After 1960 Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan became important sources of Chinese immigrants. The selection criteria for today's immigrants have also generated great heterogeneity in the educational and occupational experience of recent Chinese immigrants. In addition, Chinese people are no longer constrained to live in the Chinatown area. They enjoy formal equality under the law, which they have translated into practical access to rights and privileges comparable to many other Canadians.

Considering the great sensitivity which the Vancouver press has always shown to Chinese immigration, one would have expected that renewed Chinese immigration in the 1960's would have produced a simultaneous increase in press coverage of the Chinese. Actually, the rate that the Sun published items dealing with local Chinese decreased by more than 50% compared with the period 1928-1937. There were only 29 domestic news items on Chinese found in the ten years sample of the Sun. This meagre total represented but 3.0% of the local items on ethnicity found in the Sun. Tables CXXVI through CXXVIII summarize the coverage of Chinese during this era.

Even a superficial comparison between Table CXXVI and Table LXXXI of the previous Chapter will show that Chinese newspaper coverage

Topics and Subtopics	number	%
Numbers		
are a given number	1	3.4
Are Restricted		
are denied ethnic ways	1	3.4
Ethnic Relations	1	3.4
relations get better	1	3.4
do not get along	1	3.4
Immigration		
immigration is large	1	3.4
enter illegally	2	6.9
Legislative & Legal		
laws limit	1	3.4
protest to government	1	3.4
discuss restriction of	2	6.9
Violence, Hostility Against		
are assaulted or harassed	1	3.4
are victims of crime	1	3.4
Violence, Hostility By		
cause crime to increase	1	3.4
are violent	1	3.4
Celebrities	2	6.9
Sports		
participate in sports	1	3.4
other	1	3.4
Ethnic Organizations		
organization takes role	5	17.2
celebrate holidays	2	6.9
Normal News		
makes good	1	3.4
suicide or die	1	3.4
Total	29	100.0%

Table CXXVI. Chinese Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Topic	number	%
Ethnic Organizations	7	24.1
Legislative & Legal	4	13.6
Immigration	3	10.2
Ethnic Relations	3	10.2
Total	17	58.1%

Table CXXVII. The Most Frequent Topics of Chinese Domestic News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Theme	number
Cultural Difference	15
Legislative & Legal	9
Ethnic Organizations	5
Normal News	4
Violence, Hostility By	4
Immigration	4
Ethnic Relations	4
Celebrities	4

Table CXXVIII. Most Common Themes in Domestic Chinese News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

has changed its character fundamentally from the 1930's. In both of the earlier periods considered in this study the Chinese were unambiguously defined as moral outcastes. They were constantly associated with crime and other evil activities to the virtual exclusion of all others and they were frequently the object of press attacks. These tendencies have greatly weakened in the past ten years.

Although an occasional article has appeared in the Sun on the Chinese and drug smuggling ("Heroin Trade Linked to Chinese Seamen," June 27, 1972, page 8), the Chinese are no longer associated with crime as frequently as they once were. Interpersonal violence between one Chinese and another has ceased to be a press issue save in a few articles on the sins of Chinatown:

> THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN CHINATOWN
> Community Upset by Clash of Maoists and Nationalists
>
> (February 27, 1973, page 6)

> CHINATOWN GANGS APPROACHING CRISIS
>
> (October 24, 1973, page 52)

Despite the fact that Chinese immigration was given far more attention by the Sun than was British immigration, the Sun of the last decade has not directly taken a stand against it.[11] As will be discussed at further length in the subsequent section on South Asians, the Sun is presently far from sympathetic to Asian immigration, but it has contained its attacks to 'those of different cultures' and no longer frequently mentions Asian groups

by name.

The Sun has also begun to give Chinese a small measure of social recognition. For example it has partially incorporated the Chinese into the natural and historical landscape of British Columbia by linking their past with that of another important element of British Columbia's history--the CPR. Although the Sun has much improved its historical view of the Chinese over what it once was, to give the Chinese credit for 'building the CPR' is to grossly distort the relationship between the Chinese and others in British Columbia's past:

> REDRESS OF ANCIENT WRONGS IN PNE SALUTE TO CHINESE
>
> (August 18, 1967, page 29)

The Chinese did far more than help to build a railroad. Moreover, white British Columbians did more than watch them build it. Although the Sun has begun to incorporate the Chinese into the Vancouver moral community, the price seems to be the loss of any understanding of that group in the history of British Columbia.

In other areas there have also been important changes, most of which have also served to mitigate what was once a very bad press image. The Sun now gives Chinese organizations, cultural events, and celebrities greater attention than previously, and has also begun to recognize China-town area residents as a significant political force. Although the Chinese remain one of the groups most frequently linked to cultural difference on the

local scene (see Table CXXVIII), the tenor of the Sun items dealing with such differences has changed; cultural difference was once used by the press to argue that Chinese themselves were the social problem, today the Chinese have problems stemming from culture difference which need corrective action. This is an important change. In the 1930's the sort of action suggested was the subordination and exclusion of the Chinese. Since today Chinese culture difference rather than the Chinese are defined as the problem, the Sun's solutions to the "problems" are considerably less drastic.

It is tempting to argue that at least part of this mitigation of Chinese press portrayal has been due to the much improved international image of China, but there is little in the coverage of either the local Chinese or of Chinese in the Republic of China which directly supports such a position.[12] Without a doubt, the Sun's coverage of China has also much improved over what it was before the War. In contrast to most countries in Asia, the Sun has grudgingly granted China the fact that it has developed order in a country once wracked by chaos, fed the people, and given them jobs.[13]

The Japanese

The relative stability which Japanese Canadians in British Columbia had achieved by the end of the 1930's was completely disrupted by their forced relocation away from the coast during World War II. In essence, the total Japanese population of Vancouver, aliens and citizens alike, were removed and their property was sold. Many never returned. Even though

Japanese citizens were once more allowed to immigrate to Canada in the 1950's, post-war Japanese immigration has never been extensive. In addition, most of these new immigrants have gone to Ontario rather than British Columbia. The 1971 census listed only 5,045 people of Japanese origin resident in Vancouver city.[14] This figure has not increased dramatically in the intervening years.

The Japanese were once one of the most prominently portrayed ethnic groups in Vancouver's newspapers. Today their coverage is absolutely inconsequential. There were only 8 items on local Japanese found in the ten year sample of the Sun. Such a small number does not allow them to be dealt with in any detail and it suffices to say that these news items all dealt with topics like cultural festivities, social notables, and ethnic organizations. Similarly, there were only four foreign stories on the Japanese.

It is not difficult to account for this lack of coverage. Since the traumatic events of the Second World War the Japanese in Vancouver have kept a very low profile. They have made virtually no attempts to assert their cultural identities except privately and in public ethnic celebrations. Without the racial caste line to constrain them as it did in the past, they have economically and to a large extent socially merged with the general population. Most Japanese Canadians of today have been born and raised in Canada. They are not immigrants, and as such are not open to critique in the ways which immigrants so often are. In no respect are they defined by anyone as a social problem. Having lost that problematic aspect they have

vanished from the newspapers.

South Asians

Since 1947, the many legal restrictions which were earlier enacted against South Asians have been eliminated. Legal South Asian residents of Canada were formally granted the franchise in the late 1940's, and in the 1950's and early 1960's overseas South Asians were given greater access to the Canadian immigration system. As for the Chinese, the culmination of these changes was the Immigration Act of 1967, which eliminated ethnicity, nationality, and race as criteria for immigrant selection. South Asian immigration subsequently increased with great rapidity, such that at present approximately 10% of each year's immigrants are of South Asian origin. Many of these new immigrants have come to Vancouver, where they currently number about 50,000 in an urban population of over one million.

South Asians who come to Canada today must pass through a set of fairly rigorous selection procedures which insure that most of them are skilled, educated and resourceful. At the same time they come from a very wide range of national, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. Whereas most earlier immigrants were Sikhs, many East African (Gujarati) Hindus and Ismailli Moslems, Pakistanis, Fijians, Punjabi Hindus, and Sri Lankans have also come to Vancouver in the last ten years, as have fewer individuals of many other backgrounds.

This new wave of South Asian immigration has not gone unnoticed by

the Vancouver press. During the past ten years an article dealing with local South Asians has appeared on the average in one out of every six issues of the Sun. On the domestic scene only French Canadians, native Indians, Black Americans, Americans, and Canadians now receive more frequent coverage than do South Asians. Inasmuch as the coding rules of this study did not consider items where ethnicity could be inferred from the name of individuals, the frequency of South Asian news items was actually quite a bit more than this. Tables CXXIX, CXXX, and CXXXI give the topics, subtopics and themes associated with South Asians in this sample.

As they have become more politically powerful over the past thirty years, Canada's non-British racial and ethnic groups have made considerable social, economic, and political gains. In British Columbia, an era characterized by legal limitations on South Asians has given way to one where minority rights are actively affirmed by law. Nevertheless, the Vancouver press has not substantially improved its coverage of South Asians over that of the 1930's.

As they have for over 50 years, South Asians continue to be associated with deviant practices which do not characterize the portrayal of most other groups. South Asians are still defined by the press to be a "problem," in that their presence in Vancouver is seen to bring with it certain difficulties or liabilities for others or for the immigrants themselves. In this sense, South Asians have not yet been incorporated by the press into

Topics and Subtopics	number	%
Employment & Economy		
are needed for the work force	1	2.5
Numbers		
are a certain number	1	2.5
Advocation of Restriction		
should deny ethnic ways	1	2.5
Are Restricted	1	2.5
Restriction Charged	5	12.5
claim job restriction	1	2.5
Ethnic Relations		
relations get better	1	2.5
have outside support	1	2.5
Immigration		
are entering illegally	2	5.0
are deported	1	2.5
Legislative & Legal		
politicians urge restriction	1	2.5
discuss protection of	2	5.0
are in the courts	1	2.5
Violence, Hostility By	1	2.5
are accused of crime	2	5.0
Cultural Difference		
religion	1	2.5
other	1	2.5
Celebrities		
politicians	5	12.5
Ethnic Organizations		
ethnic festivals	1	2.5
organizations have a role	2	5.0
organizations are sinister	1	2.5
organize concerts, etc.	3	7.5
Total	49	100.0%

Table CXXIX. South Asian Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Topic	number	%
Ethnic Organizations	7	17.5
Charge Restriction	6	15.0
Celebrities	5	12.5
Legislative & Legal	4	10.0
Violence, Hostility By	3	7.5
Immigration	3	7.5
Total	28	70.0%

Table CXXX. The Most Frequent Topics of South Asian Domestic News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Theme	number
Ethnic Relations	21
Cultural Difference	12
Violence, Hostility Against	9
Legislative & Legal	9
Immigration	6
Housing	5
Normal News	5

Table CXXXI. Most Common Themes in Domestic South Asian News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Vancouver society. Rather, they pose certain challenges to that society and thus continue to be ideologically placed outside of it.

Several of the deviant tendencies which were historically part of the South Asian press stereotype continue to be current, although all of them have been modified to fit the concerns of today. In the era before World War I the press argued that South Asians posed a threat to Vancouver society itself. In the 1930's newspapers this threat had been contained. During the past ten years the central "problem" which the press has associated with South Asians has once again become immigration and its consequences. There are several aspects to this association.

First of all, the press has consistently portrayed "immigration" as identical with "Asian immigration." Thus, any problems which stem from immigration which make their way into the newspapers are at least implicitly linked to South Asians. Almost without exception, immigration stories in the Sun will only mention Asians, if any specific groups are mentioned at all. For example, the piece "Immigration Rules Lauded by Business, Labor Groups," (October 23, 1974, page 25), described how business and labor were pleased by the fact that today's stringent criteria for immigrant selection allowed only skilled, educated individuals to come; only South Asians were mentioned. The "Immigrants' Center Planned for City Area," (December 7, 1974, page 11) was to help new immigrants adjust to their new cultural environment; once more, the item referred only to Asians.

It should be stressed that most immigrants to Canada are in fact not

South Asians. Whereas no more than 150,000 South Asians have immigrated to Canada over the past thirty years, over 1,500,000 have come from the United Kingdom alone. The most common Canadian immigrant continues to be white, English speaking, and culturally western, while the press stereotype of the immigrant would have it that he or she is brown, ignorant of English, and culturally Asian. This has direct consequences for South Asians.

Since South Asian immigrants are so often portrayed as identical with the category "immigrant," it should be no surprise that South Asians are also shown to be the most common violators of the immigration regulations:

VICTORIA AIRPORT USED FOR SLAVE IMMIGRANTS

(January 22, 1975, page 2)

EAST INDIAN 'SLAVE' RACKET BROKEN HERE

(January 22, 1975, page 1)

WITNESS DENIES DEAL TO HALT DEPORTATION

(March 8, 1975, page 27)

This sort of coverage must support the common misconception that a large number of South Asians are illegal immigrants. Moreover, since one rarely finds items which refer to other (white) ethnic or national groups violating the immigration regulations, it must further emphasize people's convictions that South Asians are indeed fundamentally different from other people. In a way, this stance is already implied in the above headlines. The headline "British 'Slave' Racket Broken Here" appears ludicrous, but

"East Indian 'Slave' Racket" does not.

The Sun consistently carried this theme of South Asian cultural difference into other areas. For instance, ethnic relations between South Asians and others has become an important press theme over the past decade; about one half of all items on South Asians mentioned it (see Table CXXXII). Predictably, the Sun has concentrated almost exclusively on the problem aspect of ethnic relations: interethnic violence and vandalism, cultural impediments to intergroup communication, and (bad) relations between South Asians and the press. Once more, the press neglected to mention that these ethnic relations are actually quite good, and that the extraordinary incidents of violence and abuse which so often find their way into the newspapers are rather rare.

Disrespect for the law continued to be an important element of South Asian coverage. In addition to maintaining its historical fascination with South Asian violence, the press has recently suggested that South Asians tend to cheat and defraud the government, evading taxes and living illegally off of welfare and unemployment insurance:

PAIR FINED IN FRAUD

(January 7, 1974, page 3)

TAX EVADER FINED $2,700

(December 7, 1974, page 101)

These, too, have become common folk prejudices about South Asians.

The Sun covered South Asian immigration to Britain in a similar

manner. Information about successful South Asian immigrant adaptations to British life was conspicuous in its absence, and items concerning illegal immigration, prejudice, and South Asian violence predominated:

> ASIANS BELIEVED SMUGGLED TO U.K. VIA OLD AIR BASES
>
> (May 29, 1971, page 7)
>
> BROWN'S BEAUTIFUL IN N.Y.--NOT LONDON
>
> (October 1, 1969, page 5)
>
> BREN GUNS, BULLION BAFFLE BOBBIES
>
> (October 1, 1969, page 40)

Items on South Asians in Britain tended to read like warnings of what Canada could expect if the number of South Asians in the country continued to increase.

In certain limited ways the coverage of South Asians in the Sun has improved since the last era under consideration. Stigmatic labels like "Hindoo" have been entirely replaced by "East Indian" or by reference to a person's country of origin. More importantly, no example of the Sun's editors directly advocating restrictions on South Asians was found in the entire ten year sample. On the other hand, the Sun was frequently concerned about the immigration of people who were "culturally different," which to many readers must have meant Asians. To date, the paper also continues to allow its most vociferous columnist (who is an immigrant himself) to regularly advocate that racial restrictions be placed on Canadian immigra-

tion; in this, the paper justifies its 'hands off' stance by reference to the "freedom of the press."[15]

Today's South Asians are also more likely to be portrayed in normal news than previously. South Asian celebrities (notably university professors, people in the performing arts, and religious figures)[5] are more prominent and are taken more seriously than in the past. So also are individuals involved in personal success, disaster, or death:

> ROGERS PASS CRASH ENDS RANJIT'S YEAR OF SACRIFICE
>
> (June 19, 1967, page 1)
>
> LAST RITES MONDAY FOR MRS. BAINS
>
> (February 17, 1967, page 22)
>
> USMAN DOES WELL
>
> (January 18, 1967, page 5)

Still, these are very small gains when one considers that the Sun continues to give some other groups far better treatment. The press moral community continues to be a stratified one, where South Asians (with a moral community score of -0.40) do considerably worse than the British (0.54), the Chinese (0.31), or Native Indians (-0.13). Their coverage was worse than any other immigrant group. Table CXXXII shows that the differences between attributes found in South Asian news items and British ones is still very substantial:

Attributes	South Asians	British
Ethnic relations	23	6
Ethnic organizations	15	3
Cultural difference	14	16
Legislative & legal	13	4
Immigration	9	3
Crime, violence to	9	4
Normal news	9	4
Claim restriction	8	1
Celebrities	7	12
Crime, violence by	6	1
Advocation of restriction	4	1
Numbers	4	-
Employment & economy	4	1
Housing	4	-
Health & welfare	3	1
Education	1	-
Are restricted	1	-
Sports	0	1

Table CXXII. Major Attributes of South Asians and British in the Vancouver Sun (1967-1976) [16]

Americans[17]

Even though liberalization of the immigration regulations in the 1960's allowed people of many developing countries access to Canadian immigration, the primary beneficiaries of this process continue to be the British, Western Europeans, and Americans. American immigration has been very strong since World War II, even though it has in no way compensated for Canada's enormous loss of people to the United States. The 1971 census listed 25,685 American born as living in the Vancouver metropolitan area. They made up about 8.9% of the region's foreign born population--within one percentage point of what it has been since 1931.

There have been several important issues which involved Americans in Canada during the last ten years. In certain sectors of the economy there were loud objections voiced to American immigration. This was most marked in reference to academic employment and the hiring of Americans for top management positions in Canadian corporations. While this debate often was placed into a framework of the threat of "Americanization" of Canadian institutions, the primary problems seemed to be personal and economic; Canadians in these occupations have been restricted from emigration to the United States by the latter country's present immigration laws. At the same time they have had to compete with Americans who have access to both job markets.

The other primary issue was very closely related--that of the take-over of Canadian businesses by American corporations. This concern was

factually justified, for during the 1960's and early 1970's an enormous amount of American capital flowed into Canada, with the consequence that a substantial majority of Canadian businesses are now directly under the control of American parent corporations (Clement 1975:101). This worry over the Americanization of the economy merged imperceptibly into that of cultural and social Americanization, and together they generated a renewed "search for a Canadian identity" and a degree of antipathy to certain things associated with Americans.

As can be seen in Tables CXXXIII, CXXXIV, and CXXXV, coverage of Americans in the Sun was quite extensive. It accounted for 6.7% of the domestic items collected during this ten year period. In many respects, the way in which the Sun portrayed Americans reflected the issues of the day. By far, the most frequent issue associated with Americans in the Sun was that of American involvement in the economy. A minimum of 35.4% of the sample brought up this question, either as a subtopic or a theme. This figure is very conservative, for it does not include those items on Canadian-American relations or legislative and legal topics which stemmed from this question but did not mention it prominently enough to warrant being coded under the topic of employment and the economy.

Through accident or design, the Sun was far from neutral in its coverage of American investment in Canada. It was not that the Sun attacked American participation in the economy editorially; there were only two editorials found which touched upon American economic involvement, and

Topics and Subtopics	number	%
Education		
other	1	1.6
Health & Welfare		
cost services	1	1.6
Employment & Economy		
seek jobs	1	1.6
cause unemployment	2	3.1
are unemployed	1	1.6
buy or own property	1	1.6
Numbers		
are increasing	1	1.6
Advocation of Restriction	1	1.6
should deny services	1	1.6
Are Restricted		
are denied rights	1	1.6
Restriction Charged	1	1.6
Ethnic Relations	1	1.6
relations mediated by others	1	1.6
relations get better	1	1.6
relations get worse	2	3.1
have outside support	1	1.6
impose their ways	2	3.1
anti-American investment	10	15.6
Immigration		
too much	2	3.1
immigration is large	3	4.7
are deported	2	3.1
Legislative & Legal		
politicians urge restriction	3	4.7
laws limit	1	1.6
laws protect	3	4.7
Violence, Hostility Against	1	1.6
are dealt with harshly	1	1.6

	number	%
Violence, Hostility By		
assault, harass others	1	1.6
meet imposition with force	1	1.6
are accused of crime	3	4.7
other	1	1.6
Cultural Difference		
have different morals	1	1.6
Canadianness urged	2	3.1
Celebrities		
politicians	3	4.7
Sports		
sports controversy	1	1.6
other	1	1.6
Normal News		
victim of accident	3	4.7
makes good	1	1.6
Total	64	100.0%

Table CXXIII. American Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Sub-topics: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Topic	number	%
Ethnic Relations	18	28.8
Immigration	7	11.2
Legislative & Legal	6	9.6
Violence, Hostility By	6	9.6
Employment & Economy	5	8.0
Human Interest	4	6.4
Total	46	73.6%

Table CXXXIV. The Most Frequent Topics of American Domestic News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Theme	number
Ethnic Relations	43
Legislative & Legal	14
Cultural Difference	9
Employment & Economy	7
Immigration	7
Violence, Hostility By	7

Table CXXXV. Most Common Themes in Domestic American News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

they did so secondarily ("Americans and Trudeau," December 22, 1975, page 4; "Time and Reader's Digest Issue," February 5, 1976, page 4). Likewise, only two letters to the editor attacked American control over the Canadian economy. Still, the Sun consistently printed far more news items critical of American business activity in Canada than those giving opposing views. About 15% of the American sample were items decrying the American takeover of the economy at the level of subtopics, and it figured as a theme in 11% more. By way of contrast, no items primarily supportive of American investment were found, although this sentiment was expressed as a theme in 9.4% of the sample.

It should be noted that most of the items on this subject did not actually describe the takeover of specific Canadian businesses by American interests. This type of article was surprisingly rare except in the business section of the Sun, where it was inevitably framed in economic terms rather than in socio-political ones. Items in the first pages of the newspapers almost inevitably were secondary commentaries which dealt with the pronouncements of government, academics, and influential citizens. Thus, the intensity with which the subject was covered was largely a function of the availability of "prepackaged" opinion about it, and as such it bore little relationship to the actual takeover process or the structure of American economic control over Canada. Important documents like the Watkins Report got extensive coverage, even long after its publication; yet newspaper coverage of the process of economic takeover was insufficient to give a reader the

material with which to understand the debate.[18]

The Sun portrayed American corporations and the United States government as the main problems in this dispute. Nevertheless, it was equally evident that the Sun did not completely disassociate this discussion from other ways which it saw in Americans or the United States constituting a problem for Canada.

One of the most frequently found of these topics which were linked to American control over Canadian business was that of American immigration. Items coded under subtopics relating to American immigration accounted for about 20% of the sample. American immigrants to Canada were portrayed as generating two somewhat different problems. The most salient one was the claim that Americans were taking jobs away from qualified Canadians, thereby causing unemployment and further subjecting Canada to American cultural domination. The predominant concern of the press was with rather elite positions, notably those in Canadian universities:

AMERICANIZATION AT WATERLOO HIT

(August 1, 1969, page 1)

TORONTO'S A HAVEN FOR ELITE FROM U.S.

(December 14, 1970, page 29)

NO AMERICANS AT SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

(May 1, 1969, page 4)

AMERICANS GET UBC POSTS

(September 28, 1971, page 13)

Items such as these stressed both the economic and the cultural consequences of this "American takeover of the universities."

There were far fewer items in the Sun about American immigrants taking jobs in those sectors of the economy where Canadian workers had fewer ways of making themselves heard. Consequently, the Sun portrayed this phenomenon as if it were only operating at elite levels. "Now U.S. Pilots Threaten Us" (April 10, 1973, page 5) with unemployment in the airline industry, yet similar threats in other occupations went unvoiced.

There was also considerable worry that American immigrants (legal or otherwise) were unjustly exploiting social services in Canada. This is obviously a new press attribute for the American who was for so long considered to be the immigrant par excellence. In actuality, the press did not make the polar switch in opinion about American immigrants that might be suggested by the prevalence of such items. In an overall sense, the press image of "normal" American immigrants remained good, to the extent that they were covered at all; like the British, American immigrants had considerable immunity against press coverage.[19]

Instead, the principal focus of press concern over American immigration was on the immigration of young people, especially draft dodgers, deserters, and hippies. Even though there was considerable sympathy shown to those who left the United States for Canada because of the Vietnam War, this press sympathy did not always extend to individual Americans once they were here. Paradoxically, Canada's acceptance of these people

was portrayed in a fashion which reflected negatively on the United States government's harsh treatment of them, yet those who came often got as bad press as did hippies:

BORDER JUMPERS GET COMMUNE GRANTS

(June 29, 1971, page 1)

U.S. FREELOADERS IN OUR HOSPITALS

(October 13, 1971, page 16)

CAR DRIVEN BY AMERICANS 'WAR ARSENAL'

(April 2, 1968, page 7)

POLICE ON U.S. DESERTERS TIT FOR TAT, SAYS SHARPE

(December 1, 1970, page 7)

The Sun also ambiguously treated the other primary issue surrounding Americans in the press--the relationship between Canadian nationalism, Canadian identity, Americans, and the United States. On one hand, the press reported (though it did not editorially support) the rise of a Canadian reaction to American culture which occurred in the later 1960's:

CANADA SOLVING GREATEST PROBLEM
U.S. Influence Being Shaken, Pearson Says in Interview

(May 2, 1968, page 1)

At the same time the Sun itself gave no evidence that it was making attempts to be anything but a full participant in extending the American worldview into Canada. Perhaps to a greater extent than ever before, the

Sun depended on American sources for its news of foreign affairs. The Sun's heavy use of UPI, AP, and copy received from American newspapers and "White House correspondents," made the paper dependent on those sources for making decisions about what constituted news and what was not. Moreover, these news collection agencies tended to select and edit news in relationship to its principal consumers--the United States media. Consequently, most of the foreign copy printed in the Sun came with a prepackaged worldview--a worldview which at best reflected the concerns and interests of media personnel in the United States.

Similarly, the Sun continued in its tradition of not making a distinction between the United States and Canada when covering American individuals. For instance, Jimmy Carter was always labelled "President Jimmy Carter" rather than "U.S. President Jimmy Carter." The Sun likewise failed to portray the United States Congress, politicians, and celebrities as being in a different country. Most news items on North American events found in the Sun could just as easily have been in any of the larger American dailies. In a similar fashion, events occurring in the United States were very rarely portrayed as if they were happening in a foreign country. While this may seem like a smallish point, it becomes more significant when one considers that what was news in the United States was also largely determined by United States interests and not by the Sun. This dependency which the Sun allowed itself to have on United States sources of news largely explains the extensive coverage which the Sun gave to Black

Americans over the past ten years.

Black Americans

The decade 1967-1976 will assuredly stand as one of the most important in the history of Black Americans. The civil rights protests of the previous ten years led to a fundamental change in the attitude of the United States Federal Government towards its Black citizens. Earlier it had found it politically expedient to allow the question of Black economic, social, and political equality to be decided by the various states--and the state governments were entirely controlled by white males. Only in the later 1950's did the combined forces of Black revolt and the Federal government begin to break down the racial barriers which Black people had endured for generations.

The 1960's was the decade of the urban riot. They were not race riots in the classical sense of the term, for they were not primarily battles between Whites and Blacks. Nevertheless, they were riots about race. Most of the large scale 'civil disturbances' of this period were ignited because of reports of racial injustice, and they were certainly fueled by similar feelings (Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders 1968).

By 1970 Black people in the United States were beginning to make tangible political and economic gains. While the relative standard of living of Blacks in 1970 was still far lower than that of Whites, an increasing number of Blacks were able to rise to social or political prominence. Blacks appeared on the national political scene, in the entertainment media, and in

the arts.

Considering that Blacks constitute something on the order of 12% of the United States population, it is not hard to understand why the United States newspapers covered them extensively, especially in the light of how important the successful resolution of their subordinate position was to the future of the United States. What is more difficult to explain is the fascination which the Sun had for these people, particularly in the light of the kind and quality of the coverage associated with them. Of the entire domestic sample of news items in this period, 8.2% was devoted to news written on Black Americans. Only native Indians (n = 192) and French Canadians (n = 189) were more extensively covered.

As can be seen in Tables CXXXVI, CXXXVII and CXXXVIII, the Sun's interest in Black Americans was extremely selective. When they were violent, criminally inclined, or otherwise deviant they were far more likely to appear in the Sun than when they were not. So one sided was this portrayal that of all ethnic and national groups who received an appreciable amount of coverage during the last decade, Black Americans received the worst coverage; their moral community score (-1.14) was the lowest of any. Both the score and the type of coverage which it represented were more representative of the past practices of Vancouver newspapers than they were of the 1960's and 1970's.

The Sun focused in particular upon the violent and the confrontational. About 30% of the Black American sample was coded with a subtopic of this

Topics and Subtopics	number	%
Health & Welfare		
are on welfare	1	1.1
Charge Restriction	3	3.4
claim job restriction	1	1.1
claim rights barred	1	1.1
Ethnic Relations	2	2.3
relations are mediated	1	1.1
relations get better	1	1.1
relations get worse	3	3.4
relations are good	1	1.1
relations are bad	1	1.1
do not get along	2	2.2
Legislative & Legal		
politician urge restriction	1	1.1
laws limit	3	3.4
laws protect	4	4.5
are in court	5	5.5
other	1	1.1
Violence, Hostility Against		
are assaulted	5	5.5
Violence, Hostility By		
violence by	1	1.1
assault, harass others	4	4.4
assault each other	2	2.2
demonstrations, riots	17	18.7
meet imposition with force	1	1.1
are accused of crime	3	3.3
Celebrities	3	3.4
entertainers	1	1.1
politicians	5	5.7
social notables	1	1.1
historical notables	2	2.3
Ethnic Organizations		
organizations are sinister	3	3.4

	number	%
Normal News		
victim of accident	1	1.1
make good	5	5.7
suicide or die	2	2.2
Total	88	100.0%

Table CXXXVI. Black American Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Topic	number	%
Violence, Hostility By	28	30.8
Legislative & Legal	15	16.5
Celebrities	12	14.4
Ethnic Relations	11	12.1
Normal News	8	8.8
Total	76	92.6%

Table CXXXVII. The Most Frequent Topics of Black American Domestic News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Theme	number
Violence, Hostility By	57
Violence, Hostility Against	22
Ethnic Relations	22
Charge Restriction	18
Legislative & Legal	12
Cultural Difference	6
Normal News	6

Table CXXXVIII. Most Common Themes in Domestic Black American News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

sort, and as Table CXXXVIII indicates, themes of violence and confrontation by far outnumbered all others. 18.7% of all news items on Black Americans in the Sun portrayed their participation in riots or demonstrations. This subtopic was by far the one most frequently associated with Blacks. The Sun's coverage of these events had two basic themes. The first of these concerned the role which Blacks were shown to be playing in these riots and demonstrations. Were they victims or victimizers, rioters or revolutionaries? For the most part, the Sun portrayed Black Americans as the instigators of violence and disorder, thus indirectly making them responsible for the situation and its consequences. Blacks rioted and the police restored order; Blacks conspired while Whites planned. Black Americans were five times more frequently portrayed as the instigators of violence than as its victims. Black Americans in the Sun were disorderly, dangerous, and impatient to achieve equality with others:

TOLL OF VIOLENCE FILLS FBI REPORT

(January 2, 1970, page 8)

NEGRO CONSPIRACY CHARGED

(May 17, 1968, page 29)

RACIAL TENSION CLOSES SCHOOL

(April 2, 1968, page 20)

THE PANTHERS
Black Cats are Reaching for their Guns Because Whitey's Driving Them to It.

(November 15, 1969, page 6)

In a general sense, Black Americans were blamed for the situation in which they were in. To be certain, the Sun never suggested that Blacks were directly responsible for their disadvantaged socioeconomic status. But at the same time, in those articles having to do with civil disturbances consideration of the root causes of Black poverty, political impotence, and frustration fell before the immediacy of the event. As always, the Sun took a strong stand against any sort of violent action perpetrated by this minority group, and its disapproval of the event in hand consistently removed from discussion the underlying causes of it. In this way the coverage of Black American violence and confrontation in the past decade closely resembles that accorded to Asian crime and violence at the turn of the century. Black Americans in the press functioned to 'explain' much of the disorder and conflict in United States society.

The second 'use' to which Blacks were put by the Sun was more specifically Canadian. Only about 8% of the news items on Black Americans were derived from Canadian sources (see Table CXXXIX). Nevertheless, these items typically argued that Black-White relations in the U.S. illustrated the difference between the U.S. and Canada; such things as racial confrontation could never happen in such an enlightened country as this. For instance, in the previously mentioned editorial 'The Panthers," the Sun editor's enthusiasm to tar the United States with the brush of racism forced him into the position of supporting part of what the Black Panthers stood for--something the paper never did on the front pages. Similarly, in "Cause of

Disorders in U.S., Living Conditions Partially Responsible" (August 3, 1967, page 19), the Sun directly compared the standard of living of Blacks in the United States with that of Canadians, and in the difference found the "cause" of the U.S.'s racial problems. In "Pinning the Rap for Riots Popular American Pastime" (August 3, 1967, page 8), the Sun's Washington D.C. correspondent pontificated in a similar fashion.

In making such a distinction between ethnic and race relations in Canada and the United States the Sun thus gave support to a Canadian belief that is as widespread as it is unsupportable--that ethnic and racial discord in the United States was a particularly American disease that was never prevalent in Canada. Insights to the contrary could have been easily collected from the Sun's own behavior in past decades. As in most other issues the Sun's perspective on ethnic relations has no past. It is only a thing of the present.

Why was the Sun's coverage as negative as it was? Clearly part of this bad press can be accounted for by the utter dependency which the Sun had on American news agencies to provide information about Black Americans:

Source	Number	Percentage
Local	4	4.5
Canadian	3	3.4
American	79	89.8
British (Cartoon)	1	1.1
Other	1	1.1
Total	88	100.0%

Table CXXXIX. The Source of News Items on Black Americans: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Nevertheless, this information dependency alone was insufficient to have determined that the Sun's portrayal of Black Americans would be so stigmatic. While it is true that the overwhelming proportion of the news items which the Sun printed about these people came directly from American news services, the Sun nevertheless had to select these items out of the far greater number that were available. The volume of information which is generated by these news services is so great that the newspapers must still make continual choices about what to print. Moreover, a quick perusal of one of the large American dailies who are similarly dependent on the news services for information will confirm that the Sun was actively selecting out items on crime, protest, and violence to the exclusion of more normal affairs. There is empirical support for this comparison. In the wake of the massive urban riots of the 1960's the United States government struck a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to look into the causes of

the riots and to suggest ways in which they might be avoided. One aspect of their inquiry was to look into the role of the media in covering these riots. Their content analysis of the subject (1968: 364) found that the most frequent topic of news items was not the riots themselves, but discussion of legislative and other means by which riots could be prevented. This was definitely not the case for the Sun, where legal and legislative matters were only secondarily presented.

So also were news items which dealt with Blacks successfully overcoming the barriers of racial segregation. In order for Black American achievements to make the Sun they had to either be about a Black celebrity or deal with some important event like a court judgment or governmental policy statement. By far, items on celebrities were the most common; such stories make up 13.6% of the sample. By in large, these stories were all of the same form--"Black Gets High Position":

U.S. NEGRO WINS GENERAL'S STAR

(September 16, 1968, page 1)

BLACK OFFICER NAMED POLICE HEAD

(September 9, 1972, page 10)

NEGRO GETS HIGH ATTICA PRISON JOB

(October 28, 1971, page 53)

The Sun's coverage of Black Americans illustrates the degree to which what is news in the Vancouver newspapers has been disassociated from the immediate concerns of local readers. Black Americans are quite

irrelevant to the everyday world of most readers of today's Sun. There are very few Black Americans in Vancouver, and few Vancouverites have much to do with places where Black Americans live.

I am not suggesting that because these events occur on the other side of the border that they should not be newsworthy in Canada. Nevertheless, Black Americans were more frequently found in the pages of the Sun than were any Canadian group, save for French Canadians and native Indians. Moreover, this biased and extensive coverage of Black-White confrontation in the United States must have some important consequences for how Canadians view ethnic relations. Black Americans were so constantly associated with social problems that this must have placed psychological and social liabilities on Black individuals in Canada. It must also have affected Canadians' views about the desirability of non-White immigration.

Native People

The 1960's marked a significant change in the relationship between native people and the Canadian government. At best, the government's prior role had been one of a paternalistic caretaker of native people who had been deprived of most of their land and who did not have the resources to utilize what little of it remained. On the whole, native people had very little power to affect their own destinies, yet the government which controlled so much of their lives assigned a low priority to its stewardship.

Native people in British Columbia only succumbed to this system in the 1930's. The earlier history of government-Indian relations in British

Columbia was distinct from that in the rest of the Canadian provinces in several important ways. Native demands for land rights in British Columbia developed well before Confederation, and led to conflicts between native people, the provincial government, and the federal government. These conflicts lasted well into the 1930's and are still not resolved (Drucker 1974). Likewise, native people in British Columbia were partially protected from the excesses of reserve life by the ongoing and shifting dispute between the province and the federal government over who had responsibility for what in the Indian administration. Moreover, native people in British Columbia were afforded some protection against white domination by geographical isolation and by their early entry into the cash economy. Still, the depression forced a great many native people out of the cash economy, and they correspondingly became more dependent on the government. They were unable to regain their place in the economy after the war.

Two factors were to lead to a revolution in the government-Indian relations in the 1960's. On one hand, native groups generated a number of effective spokespersons for their grievances and they developed the institutional means to make their complaints more widely known. The public relations sophistication of British Columbia native groups presently far exceeds that of most immigrant groups. Using the media as their public platform, these leaders put increasing pressure on government to address the sorry state of Indian affairs.

On the other hand, government policy and practice were changing, partially in reaction to native criticism and partially as a reflection of internal bureaucratic adjustments to the postwar welfare state philosophy. Although the most evident changes were to come in the 1960's, this process was well along somewhat earlier. For example, between 1951 and 1961 federal funds designated for Indian education grew from 7.4 million dollars annually to 27.7 million (Dosman 1972:26). As early as 1960 most bands had elected councils, who had an increasing input into Indian Affairs programs.

During Lester Pearson's government and Pierre Trudeau's first term the philosophy of government's role in native affairs was significantly altered. Several widely-publicized reports on the living conditions of Canada's native people had severely criticized the government's handling of the matter (Hawthorn 1966), such that a major revamping of the bureaucracy was necessary. Henceforth, the government began to recognize the validity of allowing native people to control more aspects of the various assistance programs aimed at native people. For the first time, government began to accept the principle that these programs were compensatory rights rather than welfare. In the practical sense, the economic boom of the 1960's and early 1970's allowed an enormous growth in the range and availability of these programs. Despite ongoing mismanagement, some of the money and services which the government has made available to these programs has gotten to native people.

In spite of a growing sense of legitimacy, native people in British Columbia remain severely disadvantaged with respect to the rest of the population. They are economically worse off than any other segment of the population. Although the restrictive provincial laws are now gone, British Columbia native people still must contend with profound prejudice and discrimination.

No other group, inside or outside of Canada, received more extensive coverage in the Vancouver Sun during the past ten years than did native people. There were 192 items on native people in the Sun sample, which represented 20.2% of all domestic items. These figures are sharply up from the 1930's both absolutely and relatively. Despite the identical sample size used in the period 1928-1937, only 32 items on native people were found in the Sun; these 32 items constituted only 7.2% of the domestic news items collected during that ten year period.

As can be seen in Tables CXXXX through CXXXXII, the Sun covers native affairs in a far different fashion than it did in the 1930's. Previously, the Sun's portrayal of native people had been quite harsh, such that its (1928-1937) moral community score for native Indians of -1.34 was worse than any other groups except for the Doukhobors.[20] Presently, the moral community score for native Indians is -0.13. Native people have been brought into the moral community of the press.

Considering that native people in the United States were continually in the public eye during the 1960's and 1970's, it is somewhat surprising the

Topics and Subtopics	number	%
Housing		
cause neighborhoods to go ethnic	1	0.5
are denied housing	1	0.5
other	1	0.5
Education		
need special education	1	0.5
are educationally disadvantaged	1	0.5
other	1	0.5
Health & Welfare		
health is poor	3	1.6
want health & welfare services	1	0.5
Employment & Economy		
are unskilled	1	0.5
are unemployed	1	0.5
own or buy property	1	0.5
Advocation of Restriction	1	0.5
Are Restricted	1	0.5
Charge Restriction	6	3.1
claim job restriction	3	1.6
claim barred from social services	1	0.5
claim institutional barrier	2	1.0
claim barred from rights	3	1.6
claim no ethnic ways barred	2	1.0
other	1	0.5
Ethnic Relations		
try to better relations	3	1.6
relations mediated	1	0.5
have bad police relations	3	1.6
relations get better	1	0.5
relations get worse	1	0.5
relations are good	1	0.5
are assimilatible	2	1.0
have outside help	1	0.5
do not get along	1	0.5

	number	%
Immigration		
arrive	1	0.5
Legislative & Legal	5	2.6
politicians urge restriction	5	2.6
laws limit behavior	8	4.2
laws protect behavior	28	14.6
are in court	9	4.7
go to government to protest	12	6.3
other	14	7.3
Violence, Hostility Against	2	1.0
are assaulted, harassed	5	2.6
are dealt with harshly	2	1.0
are dealt with leniently	1	0.5
Violence, Hostility By	1	0.5
assault each other	2	1.0
demonstrations	1	0.5
are accused of crime	1	0.5
Cultural Difference	2	1.0
require special practice	3	1.6
are unassimilatible	2	1.0
are assimilatible	1	0.5
other	10	5.2
Celebrities	1	0.5
politicians	8	4.2
social notables	1	0.5
historical notables	1	0.5
Ethnic Organizations		
organize in the community	10	5.2
organize concerts, etc.	1	0.5
Normal News	1	0.5
victim of accident	2	1.0
make good	3	1.6
suicide or die	1	0.5
other	1	0.5
Total	192	100.0%

Table CXXXX: Native Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Topic	number	%
Legislative & Legal	81	42.3
Cultural Difference	18	9.3
Charge Restriction	18	9.3
Ethnic Relations	14	7.2
Celebrities	11	5.7
Ethnic Organizations	11	5.7
Total	153	70.2%

Table CXXXXL. The Most Frequent Topics of Native Domestic News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Theme	number
Legislative & Legal	126
Ethnic Relations	47
Cultural Difference	39
Charge Restriction	36
Violence, Hostility Against	23
Violence, Hostility By	23
Employment & Economy	16

Table CXXXXII. Most Common Themes in Domestic Native News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

great majority of events concerning native people which the Sun carried occurred in Canada:

Locality	Number	Percentage
British Columbia	94	49.0
Canada	79	41.1
United States	19	9.9
Total	192	100.0

Table CXXXXIII. The Geographical Locality of Events Occurring in Items on Native People: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Moreover, only 9.4% of the items in the sample derived from foreign sources. In short, the Sun was primarily concerned with Canadian native people, and the above moral community code is therefore a reflection of changes in the Canadian press image of Canadian native people.

Coverage of native Indians has changed in several ways. Perhaps the most important of these has been a decided shift in what topics the Sun considers to be newsworthy when they involve native people. The earlier stereotypic associations of native people in the Sun were that they were culturally different, violent, criminal, and drunk. They also had poor relations with others and they were portrayed to be primarily victims of their own inability to assimilate with the larger society.

Today, the Sun's primary focus is upon a range of legal and legislative happenings concerning native rights and privileges. These presently account for 42.3% of the sample of the level of subtopics; and themes in this area

outnumber those under any other topic area by at least three to one. These news items concerned topics which were quite different in emphasis than those of the past. For one thing, in the past ten years native people have been portrayed as active <u>participants</u> in trying to get native living conditions changed. 6.9% of the items showed native people charging that they were in one way or another discriminated against. Another 7.3% were of native people going to the government to protest. In addition, many of the items which involved discussion of laws and regulations pertaining to native people (18.8%) also portrayed native individuals as acting on their own behalf. 5.2% more portrayed native people organizing in their various communities. This activist aspect of native people's coverage was altogether absent earlier.

It is equally important to note that the way that the <u>Sun</u> portrayed native people and the law gave far more legitimacy to their cause than was the case of earlier newspapers. In both of the eras which have been previously considered native people were more frequently portrayed as being <u>subject to</u> the law; they were before the court on criminal charges or else the means were being discussed <u>by others</u> about how laws regarding native people might be changed. Today's <u>Sun</u> allows for the possibility that some of the laws and regulations pertaining to native people may well be wrong, and does not automatically stigmatize native people for protesting against the law or attempting to get the laws changed. Nevertheless, the <u>Sun</u> is not always consistent in this, for it still continues to print articles about some

native protests which characterize the participants as being obstinate, stubborn, and irrational.[21]

In this, the Sun seems to reflect the more general difficulty which many people have about deciding what rights are legitimately the heritage of native people and which are not. Such decisions are not made solely on the bases of fact, for they involve very primary definitions of society. Issues like land claims call attention to the fact that native people are autochthonous; they spring from the land, while all other people in Canada do not. Hence, native people's very existence draws attention to the creation of this country by conquest and colonization. To say that native people have rights which are different than those of other people is to acknowledge that other native rights were taken away previously, and it questions the privileges held by others. The Sun's somewhat inconsistent portrayal of native people, mostly sympathetic but sometimes unconscionably harsh, is a common response to this dilemma.

Certain key topic areas common in the past continue to be extensively covered by the Sun, but the manner in which they are developed is quite different than it was earlier. For instance, while cultural difference continues to be a salient feature of the Sun's coverage of native people, the moral framework surrounding these reported differences has changed substantially. Before, cultural difference was almost always portrayed in negative terms and it was often presented as a reason for native backwardness. Today, the Sun concentrates more on the positive, "multicultural"

aspects of native behavior and belief. To a certain extent the Sun has incorporated the native people of British Columbia into the natural landscape, along with the mountains and the sea. Native culture, particularly as it is represented by art and crafts, has become associated with the distinctiveness of British Columbia, and the Sun has given considerable support to this perspective.[22]

Likewise, the proportion of news coverage which shows native people as violent and criminal has gone sharply down relative to other types of coverage. At present these topics account for a very small proportion of all items, and the portrayal of native people as the victims of crime and violence is at least as frequent. Ethnic relations continues to be a principal aspect of the portrayal of native people, but the problem of native-white relations is no longer defined as lying only on the Indian side; these problems are portrayed as mutual concerns to be resolved only by joint action. In a similar fashion, very little coverage is now given of immediate native social problems such as housing, education, social services, and employment; the primary 'problem orientation' of the Sun is now more abstract.

In overview, the past seventy years of newspaper reporting on native peoples shows a number of ways in which the press goes about incorporating a stigmatized group into the moral community. While these will be dealt with more generally at the end of this chapter, it is useful to outline them here, insofar as they pertain to native people.

Like other groups, the stigma which native people once had was com-

posed of a rather coherent set of attributes. Native people were (1) criminal and violent, (2) more frequently the perpetrators of social deviancy and disorder than its victims and (3) were culturally different in ways which were presumed to account for their position in society. Moreover, (4) their coverage was largely such that it isolated the situation of native people from larger social forces and (5) it rarely gave them the chance to be portrayed as acting in their own behalf. Similarly, (6) very little of their normal everyday lives or their significant successes made the news.

These attributes seem to have changed together, which is reasonable in that they reflect a structured constellation of meaning surrounding the term "native." Incorporation into the moral community for native people and others would seem to involve two phases. In the first of these the group is portrayed as distinct from normal society, but these distinctions are not bad; this is where native people now stand. As "good but different" people, the coverage of many of the deviant practices once associated with native people in the newspapers have been severely restricted. They are no longer violent and contentious, save in the (orderly) defense of their rights. More often they are portrayed as victims rather than victimizers. No longer do they prey on each other. As indicative of their good but different status, their relations with others has become more significant to the newspapers than it was earlier. Their extensive coverage is representative of the problematic nature of their transitional status from that of a stigmatized out group to being fully incorporated into normal society.

It would seem that the final stage would be reached when the once stigmatized and subordinate group achieves both ideological acceptance and access to resources which are somewhat commensurate with those of others; for native people this phase is likely to be far in the future. Should they achieve this state they would cease to be a societal problem (at least in the narrow fashion which the press defines problems) and they will then vanish from the world of the newspapers as have the Japanese.

Eastern Europeans: Doukhobors and Russians

The establishment of a communist government in the Soviet Union eventually led to the end of extensive outmigration from Eastern Europe. From the first, the Soviet government considered its people to be a national resource and saw emigration as a cowardly and treasonable act; emigration signified an abandonment of social responsibilities by those who left. The postwar governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania, developed similar policies with respect to emigration. After World War II only Yugoslavia allowed a significant number of people to leave. The exceptions to this rule occurred during civil unrest in Hunary and Czechoslovakia and resulted in a sudden outflow of individuals, a considerable number of whom came to Canada. While many Eastern Europeans came to Canada after World War II, most of them did not go to the Vancouver area. In 1971, Eastern Europeans made up only 5.6% of the population of metropolitan Vancouver.

Coverage of Eastern Europeans in the Sun has been fairly substantial

over the past ten years. The sample of 47 items represents 4.9% of the total number of domestic news items collected over the last decade. At the same time, this figure of 4.9% is something of a statistical artifice because it represents all those items which mentioned one or another variety of Eastern European ethnicity. The number devoted to any one ethnic or national group was actually quite small, as can be seen in Table CXXXIV.:

Ethnic Group	Number	Percentage
Eastern European	1	2.1
Doukhobor	15	31.9
Hungarian	5	10.6
Polish	2	4.3
Russian	14	29.8
Ukrainian	1	2.1
Yugoslavian	4	8.5
Other	5	10.6
Total	47	100.0%

Table CXXXXIV. The Distribution of Domestic News Items on Eastern Europeans by Specific Ethnic and National Groups: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Only Doukhobors and Russians received press attention with any regularity. Ukrainians and Poles, who together represent 897,000 Canadians, were once more totally neglected by the Sun.[23]

In actuality, the Sun's coverage of Eastern Europeans was even more restricted than that indicated by Table CXXXXIV for Doukhobors continued

to be news only to the degree that they participated in unusual and spectacular events. Typical would be the items "After Prison Rampage Doukhobor Women to be Moved" (November 16, 1972, page 17) and "Douk Leader Expected" (December 31, 1968, page 2). This sort of coverage was nothing new, as was shown in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, one found an occasional defence of Doukhobors on the letters to the editor page that was not common earlier:

DOUKHOBORS MALIGNED

(August 13, 1971, page 5)

'DOUK' HEADLINE WAS REDNECK

(November 24, 1972, page 5)

The former letter complained about the way that Doukhobors were portrayed in a book of ethnic groups which was assembled to celebrate British Columbia's centennial (Norris 1967). The latter complained about the unfair manner in which the Sun portrayed Doukhobors.

As Table CXXXXV indicates, the Sun's coverage of Russians in Canada was very distinct from that accorded to Doukhobors. It was nonetheless extremely restrictive in its own way. Russian Canadians were almost never mentioned in the Sun; instead, most of the news items involved the activities of Soviet citizens or their government in Canada. This coverage could be further divided into three types: items about political refugees from the Soviet Union, items on the travels of illustrious Russians, and those concerned with Canada-Russia political relations.

Topics and Subtopics	Doukhobor number	%	Russians number	%
Education				
other	2	13.3	-	-
Health & Welfare				
is poor	1	6.7	-	-
Employment & Economy				
are unemployed	-	-	1	7.1
Advocation of Restriction	-	-	1	7.1
Charge Restriction	-	-	1	7.1
claim they are barred from	1	6.7	-	-
other	1	6.7	-	-
Ethnic Relations				
relations get worse	1	6.7	-	-
impose their ways	-	-	1	7.1
Legislative & Legal	-	-	1	7.1
laws protect	-	-	3	21.4
are in court	2	13.3	-	-
go to government to protest	1	6.7	-	-
Violence, Hostility By				
are accused of crime	2	13.3	-	-
Celebrities				
entertainers	-	-	1	7.1
politicians	-	-	2	14.3
social notables	-	-	1	7.1
historical notables	1	6.7	-	-
Sports				
sports controversy	-	-	1	7.1
Ethnic Organizations				
organize in community	2	13.3	-	-
Normal News	-	-	1	7.1
victim of accident	1	6.7	-	-
Total	15	100.0%	14	100.0%

Table CXXXXV. Doukhobor and Russian Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

By far, the greatest number of refugees stories involved the place of Jews in the Soviet Union and attempts to secure their emigration.[24] Because Jews were frequently the primary ethnicity involved these items were coded under Jews rather than Russians, but they so explicitly contained opinions about Russians and the Soviet government that it is justifiable to treat them here. Stories dealing with Jews in the Soviet Union consistently presented Russians and the Soviet government in a very bad light. Articles like "Religion in Russia" (November 15, 1969, page 5) claimed that the historical attitude which Christianity in Russia had towards Jews continued to the present; it was asserted that Jews were systematically discriminated against by other Russians in the search for jobs, education, political office, and social honor. The decision of the Soviet government to not allow the free emigration of Jews was portrayed as being anti-semetic and indicative of the totalitarian nature of that government.[25] Invidious distinctions between the restrictive emigration policy of the Soviet Union and the West were continual; predictably, the Sun never sought to explain why the Soviet Union was unwilling to let Jews emigrate. Neither did it give more than the faintest idea that in this regard the Soviet Union was not singling out Jews. In actuality, when the Soviet Union eventually allowed a number of Jews to emigrate they made a massive exception to a more general rule which has not been accorded to any other group, but this was never reported by the Sun.

Neither did the Sun comment on the fact that those people who eventu-

ally left the Soviet Union were exactly those people whose class status would be the most improved by emigration--professionals, artists, musicians, and writers. "Polish Atom Experts Defect in Purge Wake" (April 17, 1968, page 1), and "Soviet Ballet Star, Wife get Exit Okay" (June 8, 1974, page 7), but few less illustrious people left.

In many respects the image of Russians which came out of these items on Russian Jews expressed a particular view of a more general image of Russians which was inextricably tied up to the press' ideas about Communism. The Sun rarely made a distinction between Russians, Communists, Marxists, and the government of the Soviet Union, and it was suspicious of all of them. It had no sympathy whatever for the Soviet Union as a governmental entity. The "Soviets were seen as 'New Nazis'" (November 26, 1976, page 46). The Russians were portrayed as an ongoing threat to the "free world" ("Russia's Pincer Movement," September 18, 1967, page 4). The Sun's coverage of this particular aspect of world events was extremely political. Individual Russians might be quite nice personally, but ultimately they were the enemy, citizens of a country bent on the destruction of our way of life. This theme permeated virtually all the Sun's coverage of Russians.

Paradoxically, the Sun's portrayal of the activities of Russian social and political notables in Canada and the United States did not seem to be prejudiced by the extremely negative coverage accorded to Russians on the subjects of Jewish emigration, imperialism, and the lack of freedom of

dissent in the Soviet Union. The Sun rarely chose to attack visiting Soviet politicians, and adopted a practice of staying strictly away from political questions when dealing with visiting performers and other celebrities.

Germans, Nazis, Jews, and Arabs

Between 1939 and 1945 Canadians and Germans fought on opposing sides in a major war. The Germans lost, and have continued to pay the ideological price of defeat up to the present. Although both the domestic and foreign samples of German news items were small (13 and 16 respectively) concerns, stereotypes, and accusations stemming from World War II was a fundamental aspect of them. The identification of Germans with Nazis continues to be pervasive and ongoing, despite the fact that the War is now thirty years past. 38 % of the domestic sample and 75% of the foreign news items on Germans specifically mentioned Nazis.

On the domestic front this association of Germans with Nazis was less frequent than it was overseas, but it nevertheless was common. One of the many uses of Nazis by the press was to make an analogy between a present social or political practice and the stereotype of the National Socialist regime in Germany. For instance, the Sun editor claimed that "Alberta's Sterilization Program was 'Like Nazi Germany'" (October 31, 1967, page 4). In this way "Nazi" was used by the press as a synonym for brutal, unfeeling, totalitarian, or racist, depending on the specific requirements of the time. Other common items were remembrances of the War (from the Allied perspective), none of which were particularly flattering to

Germans. For instance a "Deutchland Tour" (April 19, 1967, page 5) had as an objective an understanding of the way that Nazis had dealt with Jews during the War. Rarely did domestic press coverage make any attempt to separate out German people from Nazis.

People of German ancestry in Canada are now the largest "ethnic group" in Canada after the British and the French. The German origin population of Canadians always has been large, but it was significantly raised by extensive German immigration between 1948 and 1968. The 1971 census listed 1,317,200 Canadians as being of German origin. Virtually none of these people made the pages of the Sun in any way in which their ethnicity was identified. Although the "P. M. Lauds 'Enrichment by Germans'"(April 18, 1967, page 14), German Canadians rarely were associated with positive events or attributes. They were another invisible minority. The prime difference between the Germans and other groups who were systematically ignored by the press was that the ideological connection between Germans and Nazis must have reflected badly upon German Canadians even though they were not mentioned. Moreover, it has been my personal experience that German Canadians are extremely sensitive to these Nazi items; they see such stories as an indication that they are not fully accepted as Canadians.

Coverage by the Sun of Germans outside of North America could not help but give further support to this conviction, for the great majority of it concerned Nazis. Many were straight descriptive pieces about the activities

of Nazis during World War Two or thereafter:

NAZIS GOT VATICAN AID FOR FLIGHT

(May 30, 1970, page 14)

GERMANS CLEARED OF WAR CRIMES

(June 27, 1972, page 1)

GERMAN VOTERS UNHORSE THE BROWN SPOOK LEADER

(May 30, 1971, page 4)

NEO-NAZI RISE DUE TO OTHER PARTIES' APATHY

(May 2, 1968, page 6)

GERMAN CHIEF CALLED NAZI

(April 2, 1968, page 3)

BUCHENWALD'S ILSE KOCH HANGS SELF

(September 2, 1967, page 1)

There were many more.

Jews

There were several reasons why the number of items on Jews increased dramatically since the last period under consideration. The first of these was the systematic genocide of European Jews during World War II. Inextricably linked to the Nazis, the Holocaust has not been forgotten by the Sun, and a number of domestic items on Jews involve the topic in one way or another. The second was the establishment and expansion of the state of Israel. Two full scale Arab-Israeli Wars occurred during the last ten years,

and together with reports of reciprocal terrorism between Israel and the adjacent Arab states and coverage of the various "peace missions" this was one of the most heavily covered issues of recent times. The third issue was that of Jews in the Soviet Union, as discussed earlier. In addition, Jews in Canada and the United States were rather frequently given press coverage when involved in public celebrations, demonstrations, or performances.

Despite these rather different types of issues, the coverage of Jews by the Sun was consistently sympathetic to them. This can be seen in the types of attributes and events associated with Jews outlined in Tables CXXXXVI to CXXXXVIII. The Sun moral community score for Jews was 0.28--one of the very highest of the last ten years.

One of the primary roles of Jews in Sun domestic stories was that of people protesting prejudice or restriction being placed upon them. 23.8% of the domestic and 31.6% of the foreign sample involved a topic which charged restriction, and it figured heavily at the level of themes as well.

For instance:

> **JEWISH GROUPS SEEK TV SERIES BAN (re: the suggested assimilation of Jews)**
>
> (February 8, 1973, page 42)
>
> **JEWS PROTEST IN CITY VIGIL (re: Vancouver mayor's alleged slur on Jews)**
>
> (December 29, 1970, page 12)

Topics and Subtopics	number	%
Charge Restriction	3	10.3
claim rights are barred	1	3.4
claim they are not allowed ways	1	3.4
other	2	6.8
Ethnic Relations		
try to better relations	1	3.4
relations are mediated	1	3.4
unite with others	1	3.4
impose their ways	1	3.4
Immigration		
other	1	3.4
Violence, Hostility By		
assault, harass people	1	3.4
Cultural Difference		
different religion	1	3.4
are loyal to home	1	3.4
other	1	3.4
Celebrities	1	3.4
politicians	1	3.4
Ethnic Organizations		
celebrate festivals	2	6.8
organize in the community	3	10.2
organizations are sinister	1	3.4
organize concerts	1	3.4
other	1	3.4
Normal News		
suicide or die	1	3.4
Total	29	100.0%

Table CXXXXVI. Jewish Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Topic	number	%
Ethnic Organizations	8	27.2
Charge Restriction	7	23.9
Ethnic Relations	4	13.6
Cultural Difference	3	10.3
Celebrities	2	6.8
Total	24	81.8%

Table CXXXXVII. The Most Frequent Topics of Jewish Domestic News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Theme	number
Ethnic Relations	14
Cultural Difference	9
Charge Restriction	8
Violence, Hostility To	2
Violence, Hostility By	2
Legislative & Legal	2

Table CXXXXVIII. Most Common Themes in Jewish Domestic News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

ARABS? OH, NO! (re: allowing Arabs to immigrate to Canada)

(June 19, 1967, page 5)

SNEER AIMED AT 'CHOSEN PEOPLE' (re: alleged prejudicial statements)

(January 8, 1974, page 5)

Over the past decade, Jews have been able to employ the newspapers as an effective vehicle to advance their interests. They have been able to respond quickly and forcefully to a wide range of perceived restrictions and prejudicial statements about themselves in ways in which the press listens. The Sun itself has not been immune to these charges, and has frequently printed objections to the way in which Jews have been portrayed by the Sun:

RABBI DEPLORES RALLY COVERAGE

(October 28, 1971, page 5)

FURORE FOLLOWS EDITORS' PRO-ARAB STAND

(May 31, 1969, page 15)

SATIRE FILTHY (in a previous Sun article)

(March 1, 1969, page 5)

It is difficult to say with any certainty why Jews have been able to use the press in this way while other groups have not. Part of this ability must derive from the superior organizational characteristics of Jewish community infrastructure. Jewish groups in Vancouver are organizationally structured to quickly respond to prejudice and discrimination. Jews have also been able to use the atrocities done against others of their faith during

World War II as a powerful legitimation for their present activities. The Sun frequently covers Jewish memorials and commentaries about the Holocaust, as in:

JEWS SAVED IN NAZI PURGE HONOR DANISH BENEFACTORS

(October 1, 1968, page 9)

JEWS MOURN 14 HANGINGS

(January 30, 1969, page 2)

The Holocaust has been used to remind potential discriminators of the consequences of their acts. It has also been used to argue for the continued Canadian and American support of the state of Israel:

JUDGE URGES SUPPORT OF PEOPLE OF ISRAEL

(April 16, 1969, page 29)

POLITICAL LEADER SAYS: ISRAEL NATION MUST FIGHT TO SURVIVE

(October 10, 1972, page 16)

In addition, Jews were accorded more news items descriptive of their culture and history than most other groups. In this, people of Jewish faith made frequent use of the letters to the editor page to explain themselves to others:

JUDAISM: PAST SURVIVAL AND FUTURE HOPES

(December 9, 1972, page 52)

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A JEW

(December 29, 1970, page 6)

A TRADITION THAT ISN'T THERE

(January 3, 1967, page 5)

Jews were also given extensive coverage in their attempts to support Israel financially:

U.S. JEWS SEEK $100 MILLION (for Israel)

(October 9, 1973, page 53)

TORONTO FLOOR CLEANER GIVES LIFE SAVINGS TO AID ISRAEL

(October 9, 1973, page 5)

Arabs -

Arab ethnicity was almost never covered by the papers of the first two eras considered in this study. With the rise of the state of Israel and the increasing importance of Arab oil to the western world, Arab coverage has increased dramatically, as Table CXXXXIX indicates:

Newspaper	Era	Number Domestic Items	Foreign Items
Vancouver World	1905-1914	-	-
Vancouver Province	1905-1914	-	3
Vancouver Sun	1928-1937	-	4
Vancouver Province	1928-1937	2	4
Vancouver Sun	1967-1976	9	59

Table CXXXXIX. The Frequency of Arab Coverage: All Eras

This increase has actually been far greater than that shown above,

for there were technical coding difficulties which made it impossible to collect a representative sample of Arab stories. These problems centered around the difficulty in distinguishing ethnicity from nationality in foreign news items. There are many international situations where the event turns upon the relationship between two countries; a war would be representative. In these cases (as for instance in the various Arab-Israeli wars), press coverage is totally inconsistent in its use of labels assigned to the disputants. In different items describing the same event the participants might be described as Israel and Egypt, Israelis and Egyptians, or Jews and Arabs. Similar difficulties required that coverage of the first era terminate at the beginning of World War I and dictated that the Vietnam War be excluded from considerations. With respect to Arab coverage, I believe it to be a significant enough problem that no quantitative assessment of the attributes of Arab ethnicity is attempted here. Nevertheless, over a hundred news items relating to Arabs over the past ten years were collected during this study (counting those primarily involving Israelis), and they allow an impressionistic assessment of their structure to be made.

By in large, Arabs have been badly treated by the Sun. Internationally, Arabs have played the villain to Israel's hero. The coverage of events concerning both Arabs and Israelis has mutually defined each of their press identities. In this, their coverage reflects the same relationship as Asians and whites once did and which Anglo Canadians and the French have at present. The Israelis have been consistently portrayed by the Sun as the

righteous defenders of their native soil. Arabs have not. Rather, they have been continually pictured as being sneaky and devious.

Word use in news items often gives greater legitimacy to the Israelis than the Arabs. For instance, the Israelis have an army, while Arabs have terrorists. Items such as the following consistently placed right, order and morality on the side of the Israelis:

ARAB HATCHET MEN KILL 3 IN TERROR RAID
Religious Settlement in Israel Attacked

(November 21, 1975, page 1)

ISRAEL JETS BOMB ARAB GUERILLAS

(December 1, 1967, page 8)

BERUIT RAIDERS RIDE IN RENTED CARS

(April 10, 1973, page 1)

Similarly, Israelis were "competent" while Arabs were not. Arabs could not stabilize their governments and neither could they organize an effective military. Israelis "made the desert bloom" while Arabs were "unable to feed their people." Israelis were "democratic," while Arabs were "tyranical" and "exploitive" of their own kind. Israelis were "peaceful" while Arabs were "warlike" and offensive; 30.5% of the topics coded for the 59 foreign Arab items involved violence and conflict.

Similar attributes arose from coverage of Arabs which was not directly concerned with Israel. There were several nouveau riche items about the spendthrift and decadent habits of oil rich Arab leaders, which portrayed

these people as if they lacked concern with the future of their countries and peoples. This lack of concern over other people's welfare extended to the world, for the Sun was extremely critical of Arab manipulation of the international price for oil, claiming that it was selfish, irrational, and short sighted. Just as the portrayal of the Arab-Israel conflict was utterly lacking historical and sociological background, so also was that of the relationship between Arabs and oil.

In contrast to the extensive coverage of Arabs overseas, Canadians of Arab ethnic or national origins, were scarcely covered at all. Of the nine domestic items coded under Arabs only two involved Arab Canadians.

Immigrants

Canada is an immigration country, in the sense that it is one of the few nations which still accepts large numbers of immigrants. Immigration has been extensive since World War II, and its impact upon Vancouver has been considerable. Nevertheless, despite the frequently heard claim that "we are all immigrants" most Canadians have been born here. In Vancouver and the rest of Canada the Canadian born monopolize positions of economic and political control.

Canadians have always held a grudge against the immigrant. Immigration policy has historically been decided upon from the top down, and common citizens rarely have had a hand in its creation. This continues today. Immigration policy is an imposed policy, one which has been primarily determined by criteria which are not identical with the interests of

all Canadians. It is not a policy which has been well explained to Canadians, and consequently both the policy and immigrants frequently provoke hostility and suspicion. This suspicion has tended to focus on cultural or racial minorities, but all immigrants partake of it to some degree.

We have seen that the Vancouver press has historically attacked and defamed immigrants who it saw as culturally and racially different. For the most part it did this in an overt manner, mentioning the "problematic" group by name and directly associating it with a particular social problem. This tendency has been slowly weakened, as a comparison of the coverage of any one group through the three eras clearly shows. Nevertheless, the Sun still disapproves of cultural and racial difference. In certain respects the abstract category "immigrants" fulfills the same function today that specifically named groups did earlier. Tables CL through CLII outline the topics, subtopics and themes associated with domestic items on immigrants.

Immigrants do not fare very well in today's Sun.[76] For one thing, immigrants are portrayed almost exclusively in terms of one or another social problem. They of course were the representations of the "problem of immigration," and hence contributed directly to unemployment. They created a burden on the educational system. Discussion of the law or of legal and legislative matters concerning immigrants was included in over half the sample. Many of the Sun's news items on immigrants were directly critical of them, especially in a collective sense. The Sun was strongly against the continuance of the high rate of immigration that continued

Topics and Subtopics	number	%
Education		
need special education	1	3.2
are educationally disadvantaged	1	3.1
adjust to educational well	1	3.1
other	1	3.1
Employment & Economy		
cause unemployment	1	3.1
own or buy property	1	3.1
Advocation of Restriction		
advocate immigration be barred	2	6.2
Immigration	2	6.3
too much	5	15.6
immigration is large	3	9.4
discussion of laws protecting behavior	1	3.1
discussion of laws limiting behavior	3	9.3
protest to government	1	3.1
discuss reports re immigration	3	9.3
other	1	3.1
Cultural Difference		
multiculturalism	2	6.2
Celebrities		
politicians	1	3.1
social notables	1	3.1
Ethnic Organizations		
organize in the community	1	3.1
Total	32	100.0%

Table CL. Immigrant Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Topic	number	%
Immigration	11	34.1
Legislative & Legal	8	24.8
Education	4	12.4
Total	23	71.3%

Table CLI. The Most Frequent Topics of Domestic Immigrant News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Theme	number
Legislative & Legal	17
Economy & Employment	10
Immigration	10
Cultural Difference	7

Table CLII. Most Common Themes in Domestic Immigrant News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

throughout the era:

'STUPIDIST' GOVERNMENT URGED TO END IMMIGRATION

(August 21, 1976, page 13)

NEW BILL TO CLAMP QUOTA LID ON IMMIGRATION QUOTAS

(November 20, 1976, page 1)

HIGH PRICE FOR IMMIGRATION

(October 7, 1975, page 1)

IMMIGRATION ASSAILED

(October 7, 1975, page 2)

RESTRICT IMMIGRATION

(January 18, 1968, page 35)

As least 31.1% of the news items on immigrants indicated that there were too many of them. No item claimed that there were too few.

As was historically the case, the Sun continued to present a very narrow picture of the immigrant. Stories about illegal immigration were frequent and were very harsh:

How Officers Use Power to Bar Entry or Okay It
WHEN IMMIGRANTS CONFRONT THE ENFORCERS

(March 8, 1975, page 6)

The above item spread its headline across a whole page, under which there was a page wide pen drawing of a sarcastically grinning policeman with his broken billy club in hand. The feature story itself took up the whole page

and dealt with the role of immigration officers at the Vancouver International Airport and at the White Rock border crossing.

Immigrants were also frequently portrayed as subversives or frauds:

> Some Abuse Our Hospitality, Says St. Pierre
> TIGHTEN IMMIGRATION LAWS, GOV'T TOLD
>
> (February 26, 1972, page 3)
>
> INSTANT COMPUTER CONTROL OF "UNDESIRABLES"
>
> (March 8, 1975, page 6)
>
> IMMIGRANTS TARGET OF WELFARE INVESTIGATION
>
> (September 21, 1976, page 1)

Although it was nowhere stated specifically, it was clear from the things that the Sun associated with immigrants that they were referring primarily to a rather small class of immigrants: those who were from places other than Europe or the United States. Many examples of this selective use of the word immigrant can be found. For instance, the letter to the editor "Only Russia will be more Polyglot than Canada" (August 1, 1974, page 5) claimed that the liberalization of the immigration laws in 1967 had led to the immigration of many foreign cultures, whose presence would eventually "change the face of Canada" for the worse. It was clear that Asians were the intended referent, even though they were not mentioned by name. "Immigration Policy Blasted by Tory" (June 27, 1972, page 33) attacked the immigration policy of the Liberal government on the grounds that it was altering the British character of Canada.

Some of the Sun's news items on immigrants were overtly racist.

Many of these in turn stemmed from a continuing series of columns by Sun writer Doug Collins, some of which have been referred to in Appendix III. Commentary on Collins' articles was extensive on the letters to the editor page, and much of it was favorable to him:

WHY BE AFRAID TO BE LABELLED RACIST

(June 23, 1975, page 5)

COLLINS' VIEW FULLY SUPPORTED

(June 7, 1975, page 5)

Collins' basic argument was based on the proposition that racial mixing inevitably leads to conflict, hence, colored immigration to Canada should be severely restricted. He also advanced supporting propositions that must have had wide appeal in British Columbia, that the present national mix of the immigrant flow was destroying the British character of Canada and that immigrants with markedly different cultural backgrounds (the differences were never specified) were an economic drain on Canada. His impact on immigrant groups has been substantial, for they have taken his statements to be indicative of the Sun's convictions; in some respect his statements also stand for what other Canadians think of immigrants. Collins' support among some elements in the population are such that I know of an instance where a person who wrote a letter to the editor opposing Collins received hate mail from angry readers for weeks thereafter.

To be fair, it must be said that not all of the Sun's coverage of immigrants was bad. On occasion the Sun noted the particular successes of

immigrants and there was an odd article supportive of the principal of multiculturalism. Nevertheless, these items in no way compensated for what was generally a stigmatic image of the immigrant.

Black Africans

With regard to the news, developing nations suffer two fundamental liabilities. For both economic and political reasons they are often unable to insure that their own news media accurately reflect national concerns.[27] At the same time, developing nations have little control over how they are portrayed in the rest of the world. In an age of increasing economic and social interdependency this latter problem has become a very serious one, for the international image of a particular country is largely a function of its media portrayal. Quite aside from concerns which the national governments of developing nations may have over the truth value of their coverage, it is obvious that such portrayal can have immediate economic and political consequences. A bad international image can lead to a loss of foreign investment and development assistance, a deterioration of tourism, and a weakening of intellectual and political ties with other countries.[28]

In the postwar era, African countries have been among the first to realize the scope of this problem, for they have frequently been its victims.[29] Nevertheless, they have been hampered in their attempts to deal with this issue because they are on the periphery of power. This has been compounded by a lack of concrete information about the press portrayal of Africa overseas.

The worldview of Africa and its people generated by the media in the developed world has been a prime concern. What image of the African nations has been created? What events and attributes have been associated with its people? What implications does this coverage have for Africa?

African people were not a significant element of the news in the forty years prior to World War II. Between 1905 and 1914, the two major dailies of Vancouver were primarily concerned with ethnicity and ethnic relations in Canada, the United States, Europe, and Asia. There were only 12 items on Africa found in the Province sample and 17 in the World. Most of those very few news items about Africa concerned events in the Near East, and as such are African only as an artifact of the coding process. Only three items in the Province sample and four in the World had to do with Sub-Saharan Africa.

It is not difficult to account for this lack of interest in African affairs. First of all, Africa was simply not defined as a "problem," as were other colonial possessions such as India.[30] In contrast to China and Japan, Africa was not seen to have significant trade potential for Canadians, and this also restricted its coverage.[31] Moreover, during this era the local press was primarily involved with ethnic relations in British Columbia, especially with respect to Chinese, Japanese, and Indian immigration.

If one considers the world distribution of news items in the Vancouver press during the period 1928-1937, African items continue to be relatively rare (Province, n = 14; Sun, n = 16). Once more, events in the Near East

made up the bulk of the "African" items. There were but five items in the Province dealing with black Africans and they all dealt with violence by one or another "native" group. There were no articles on black Africans in the Sun. Whites in South Africa garnered two articles in the Sun, one on sports and another to do with a celebrity.

Since the Second World War, the people of Africa have become an important element of Vancouver press portrayal. Coverage of race, ethnicity, and nationality in Africa now exceeds that of any other geographical area outside of Canada. There were 260 items in the Sun sample on events occurring in Africa. This accounted for 17.5% of the Sun's coverage of ethnicity.

The coverage of African people during this era has several important characteristics. The most consistent theme throughout has been one of conflict. This was usually expressed in the context of violent ethnic or racial confrontation. Predictably, Rhodesia and South Africa figured prominently in the news of Africa:

Primary Group Involved	number	%
Black Rhodesians or South Africans	46	33.6
White Rhodesians or South Africans	34	28.8
Other Africans	57	41.6
Total Items on Sub-Saharan Africa	137	100.0%

Table CLIII. The Primary Group mentioned in News Items Dealing with Sub-Saharan Africa from the Vancouver Sun (1967-1976) [32]

The way in which recent events have been portrayed in Rhodesia and South Africa has been extremely paradoxical insofar as how this coverage reflects upon Africans. On one hand, the Sun has been extremely unsympathetic to the white regimes of these two countries. No instances were found of the Sun editors advocating the position of those in political control in either country, nor were there many news items which directly legitimated either situation; the only exceptions were a few articles giving the opinions of visiting South African whites on the matter.[33] The Sun's headlines often presented white rule in South Africa and Rhodesia as oppressive, arbitrary, and brutal:

SOUTH AFRICA ACCUSED OF SEIZING 5,200

(September 21, 1976, page 3)

PICTURE STILL SORDID IN SOUTH AFRICA

(January 21, 1976, page 5)

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE FACE TORTURE CHARGE

(October 28, 1971, page 3)

SLAVE-LIKE CONDITIONS CLAIMED

(September 3, 1968, page 6)

At the same time, the Sun credited foreign news sources in about 75% of its articles on Africa, and it tended to uncritically accept the pre-packaged worldview which went with these sources. Leaving aside the degree to which they reflect reality, the international news collection services make available a torrent of information about certain types of African

affairs. Nevertheless, Sun articles on race relations in South Africa and Rhodesia did not use this information to provide any sort of economic, historical, sociological, or political perspective through which the immediately portrayed events could be understood. Consequently, the violent aspect of each event became central, with the result that what were often political and economic issues were uniformly reduced to military or police ones.

This press tendency to concentrate upon strife and violence per se had the effect of severely reducing the effectiveness of the Sun's position on Southern Africa. For one thing, the terminology used to describe the various participants of incidents in this area often made blacks appear to be the "problem" rather than the whites. Blacks were "looters," "rioters," or "terrorists," depending upon the sort of violent activity with which they were involved.[34] Only in the past two years have the liberation armies on Rhodesia's borders been accorded the statuses of revolutionaries or nationalists by the Sun. Before they were "terrorists" or at best "guerrillas."

These terms are the modern equivalents to the "natives" of the colonial period, and they serve the same function--of defining those who are so labelled as deviants and threats to the moral and social order. Consider their opposition. In the press they are engaged in struggle with "citizens," "missionaries," "police," and "the military," all of whom in the developed world are normally associated with right and order. Hence, blacks "riot"

while police "restore order;" terrorists "murder" while the military "defends the border:"

RHODESIA-ZAMBIA BORDER CLOSED OVER TERRORIST ACTS

(January 9, 1973, page 10)

NEW RIOTING ERUPTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

(July 21, 1976, page 3)

CALM FOLLOWS BLACK RIOTING

(July 21, 1976, page 3)

WHITE COUPLE BATTLES KNIFE-WIELDING BLACKS

(August 21, 1976, page 16)

Until very recently, the primary sources of information about Southern Africa used by the Western press were ultimately either the government or white residents supportive of it; the blacks involved in the events of the day were often anonymous, difficult to get ahold of, seen to be dangerous, or without knowledge of English. Perhaps without intention, the relative ease with which information could be gotten from whites has indirectly led to the Sun presenting far more detail about white than black Africans. Whites more frequently had names, personalities, and goals than blacks, and it should not be surprising that despite the Sun's clear disapproval of white rule in South Africa, whites were several times as likely to be portrayed as the individual victims of a given situation than were blacks. Similarly, 25.0% of the news items where Southern African blacks figure prominently portray them as the perpetrators of violence,

while articles of a similar nature about whites are very rare.

When one considers how the Sun covered other African issues over the past ten years, it is not hard to see that the Southern African situation is only a representative example of a much more general press worldview of Africa. Once more, the theme of conflict predominates and wars are central.

For instance, the Nigerian civil war was given extensive coverage. The Sun was overtly on the side of the Biafrans, in this reflecting the sympathies of the press and public in Canada and the United States. Once more, the Sun relied extensively upon foreign news service copy and abstracted out of it the events and not the context. It thus tended to trivialize the causes of the war as well as the motives of those engaged in it.[36] In order to express its support of Biafra the Sun used one of the oldest press interest-grabbers: "Big Bad Bully Beats Brilliant Boy." In order to make this thesis a bit more plausible, the Sun portrayed the Ibo as identical with the Biafran revolutionaries, and made them out to be the oppressed Puritans of West Africa.

In one important respect it did not matter that the Sun supported one side of this dispute rather than the other. Regardless, the Nigerian civil war served to give credence to a general image of Africans as people who were not yet capable of managing their own affairs. In the Nigerian case, they fought in a "Useless War" (editorial, October 1, 1969, page 7), which was the result of the inability of both sides to transcend narrow tribal and

ethnic affiliations towards the greater good.

Africans in the press were generally portrayed as being incapable of following the rules of "civilized conduct" in situations of stress, as if their civility was only a thin veneer covering brutal, uncontrolled instincts. To once more take the Nigerian civil war as an example, the federal government forces were continually shown to be inhumane and insensitive to the plight of the Biafrans:

> NIGERIA REJECTS CALL FOR CEASEFIRE —
>
> (August 16, 1968, page 1)
>
> MALNUTRITION RIFE SAYS NIGERIA TEAM
> Ibo Being Wiped out
>
> (October 16, 1968, page 16)
>
> RELIEF PLANES RUN GAUNTLET TO BIAFRA
> Canadian Crew Makes Two Flights
>
> (October 31, 1968, page 1)
>
> BIAFRAN MOTHERS SO DAZED
> Children's Names Forgotten
>
> (February 14, 1969, page 6)

This theme was brought to the fore in the Sun's very heavy handed coverage of Idi Amin. Of Amin, the Sun created the ideal stereotype of the ignorant ex-colonial who does not know his place.

Canada accepted several thousand South Asian refugees from Uganda in 1972 and 1973, which required that the Sun formulate its own position on Amin before the world press was much interested in him. What was

generated was a picture of an arbitrary, racist, irrational leader who did not know what was in the economic interest of his country and what was not. Neither the degree of popular support which he had in expelling South Asians nor any of the negative aspects of South Asians in the Ugandan economy were considered.

- From 1974 on, the Sun's coverage of Idi Amin has succumbed entirely to the image of him generated by the foreign news services. As such, Amin was portrayed as being viciously mad, pure and simple. In the Sun he became a clown:[37]

IDI AMIN EXECUTES REBELS

(March 25, 1974, page 1)

AMIN CLAIMS TO HAVE PLANS FOR ATTACK ON SOUTH AFRICA

(July 27, 1975, page 37)

AMIN SAYS HE'S FOND OF HITLER

(April 23, 1975, page 40)

HEY IDI-BABY, WANNA BE A MOVIE STAR?

(November 20, 1976, page 42)

Amin's coverage could not but reflect badly upon other African people. Amin's excesses served as the perfect legitimation for the perpetuation of minority rule in Southern Africa--"look what happens when they take control too quickly." It also provided an ex post facto rationale for colonialization, while at the same time it supported the thesis that the underdevelopment of

Africa was its own fault; African people did not know how to govern themselves, hence, they were poor.

If anything, this <u>was</u> the essence of the press image of Africa and Africans. Africa was the continent of wild animals and people. As a representative of an African country one put it to me, the Canadian press made Africans part of the "Wild Kingdom," more part of nature than culture.

The dramatic and violent aspects so routinely associated with African people in the press contributed to an image of a continent in a constant state of crisis; there was no peace, stability, or order in the Wild Kingdom. This view was made more believable by the press fascination with the meetings and pronouncements of elites. The <u>Sun</u> continually followed the travels of Washington and London diplomats in Africa to the exclusion of their African equivalents, to the extent that it appeared that these white elites were responsible for what little order there was there.[38]

This same view of African people was given further support by what the <u>Sun</u> did not print about Africa. Items which dealt directly with the economies of African nations were virtually non-existent, leaving the readers without an insight into one of the most basic areas necessary to an understanding of African affairs.[39] Neither was there much information about Africa which dealt with "normal events."[40] Descriptive articles about African countries were notable in their absence. Indeed, most of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa received absolutely no coverage whatsoever. Only those which were the scene of violent, large scale conflict--

South Africa, Rhodesia, Nigeria, Uganda, Namibia and Angola--were "news", and they were so only insofar as these types of violent events were noted by the press. Thus, even in a context as densely covered as South Africa, the readers of the Sun would be ignorant of the low grade, oppressive violence of the pass laws, and other racial restrictions, to say nothing of the more "normal" aspects of the everyday lives of the people.

This sensitivity to the confrontational also made the Sun incapable of reporting the successes of African individuals or countries. Ensconced in the metropoles, such things were not sufficient to attract the collectors of news to Africa.[41] A country where people got along was not news, whereas one whose people did not was. A high sustained economic growth rate simply did not have the newsworthiness of a famine or drought. Likewise the Sun did not provide its public with positive images of black leaders. With the exception of Idi Amin, the spokespersons of the liberation groups in Rhodesia, and an occasional mention of Jomo Kenyatta, no other black leaders received significant attention by the Sun.

In an overall sense, the Sun was primarily a vehicle for bad news about Africa, even when this was not its intention. Like most large North American dailies, the Sun does not collect its own information about Africa. Only large scale, confrontational issues in Africa attracted the attention of the metropole centered "international" news agencies, and upon these the Sun was ultimately dependent for its definition of what was news. Moreover, format considerations, especially the length of a "readable" article and the

demand for "today's news today" seemed to make developmental arguments impossible. Readers were rarely given more than a superficial account of who the players were, and what the score was at present.

It would not be overstating the case to say that coverage of African news events in the Sun and other North American newspapers ultimately has nothing whatever to do with accurately portraying reality. Certainly, the newspapers rarely achieve this objective, but that is not my point. Instead, I would suggest that African affairs are so far from the concerns of local press personnel who know virtually nothing about Africa that what appears in print has been selected largely in terms of dramatic considerations rather than informational ones.

I believe that the Sun is broadly representative of the way in which most other North American newspapers cover Africa. Considering that these newspapers all ultimately depend upon the same sources, have similar financial and format constraints, are often part of the same larger media conglomerates, address the same type of audience, and have the same business goals this is not an unreasonable proposition. If this is so, it would have several important consequences for African countries and North American readers. It would mean that the newspapers serve to confirm stereotypical views of Africa which make it difficult for North Americans to be anything but indifferent to African problems. At best, the press might elicit sympathy for Africans in certain situations of oppression, but only at the expense of forcing the event into an unrealistic paradigm of racial or

ethnic relations, with the consequent mystification of historical, economic, social, and political factors underlying it.

Canadians

As has been the case throughout the twentieth century, most of the potential readers of today's Vancouver newspapers have been born in Canada.[42] A great many of these people know no other affiliation but Canadian. If anyone is representative of the normative resident of Vancouver it is they.

Nevertheless, they are not alone in wishing to be considered Canadian. This label, which for so-long was restricted to people who were white, Protestant, and British, is now undergoing considerable modification in order to reflect Canada's changing ethnic and racial makeup. The traditional definition of Canadian was one which considered both birth and right action; it was not a status that was easily achievable by those people who were not of British birth. In this sense, being counted as a Canadian was an ideological asset to those who had access to it. For British Canadians it rationalized their access to privileges which hyphenated Canadians could aspire to only with difficulty.

Thus, the question of what constitutes a Canadian today is of considerably more significance than whether there is a "Canadian identity" or not. It is also a question of power and privilege, for the term will inevitably confer legitimacy upon those who are included under it at the expense of those who are not.

If history is the judge, the media will continue to play an important role in determining the form which this definition of Canadian will take. Moreover, if the Sun is representative, the media will not be in the vanguard of change on this issue. The Sun's use of the term Canadian during the past years is largely representative of an earlier time, even to the extent that its primary definitional attributes remain what it is presumably not--it is someone who is not American.

There were only 42 items collected from the Sun sample which primarily involved Canadians. This modest number represented 4.4% of all domestic news items--about the same as were devoted to local South Asians. Tables CLIV through CLVI outline the topics, subtopics and themes associated with these news items.

As can be seen, Canadians made the news largely in reaction to Americans. Fully one-third (33.3%) of the sample actually mentioned Americans and their relationship to Canadians; no other groups were associated with Canadians with any frequency.[43] No other group in the whole study had a higher proportion of its items involve another group.

Having once said that Americans were so heavily involved in items on Canadians the topics dealt with are fairly predictable. Ethnic relations, which is to say Canadian-American relations, made up 24% of the sample. One-third of the sample dealt with the subject of American investment in the Canadian economy; following the same patterns that were found about how this topic was covered in the American sample, most (64.2%) items were

Topics and Subtopics	number	%
Education		
other	1	2.4
Employment & Economy	1	2.4
Advocation of Restriction		
advocate job restriction	1	2.4
are denied ethnic ways	1	2.4
Are Restricted		
are barred from jobs	2	4.8
Claim Restriction		
claim they are not allowed ways	1	2.4
Ethnic Relations	1	2.4
relations get better	2	4.8
relations get worse	1	2.4
relations are good	1	2.4
relations are bad	2	4.8
impose their ways	1	2.4
pro-American investment	1	2.4
anti-American investment	1	2.4
Immigration		
should stay in Canada	1	2.4
Legislative & Legal		
politicians urge restriction	1	2.4
laws limit	3	7.2
laws protect	2	4.8
other	1	2.4
Violence, Hostility Against		
other	1	2.4
Cultural Difference		
different morals	1	2.4
are unassimilatible	1	2.4
are loyal to home	2	4.8
Canadianness urged	5	12.0

	number	%
Celebrities		
politicians	4	11.2
social notables	1	2.4
Sports	2	4.8
Total	42	100.0%

Table CLIV. Canadian Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Topic	number	%
Ethnic Relations	10	24.0
Cultural Difference	9	21.6
Legislative & Legal	7	16.8
Celebrities	5	12.0
Total	31	74.4%

Table CLV. The Most Frequent Topics of Canadian Domestic News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Theme	number
Ethnic Relations	21
Employment & Economy	9
Legislative & Legal	6
Violence, Hostility Against	4

Table CLVI. Most Common Themes in Domestic Canadian News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

against increasing American involvement in the economy.

As it did in the 1930's, the Sun continued to strongly support a Canadian nationalism, albeit of a fairly narrow variety. The Sun had earlier attempted to define Canadianness as separate from British. For the most part, the Sun presently attempts to distinguish Canadians from Americans. For instance, the Sun frequently (19% of the sample) urged Canadians to greater nationalism, in each case to the end of "protecting them" from being culturally or economically submerged by the United States.

Because of its fascination with the topic of Canada and the United States, the Sun tended to severely neglect the question of what it meant to be Canadian within Canada. In its concern to differentiate Canadians from Americans it tended to use those elements of the traditional view which for so long were the ones in which only some Canadians participated--the British heritage in Canada. Almost never did items in the Sun discuss Canadianness and ethnicity, save for an occasional worry about extensive non-British immigration upsetting British traditions.[44]

Similarly, the Sun gave its readers very little indication of the heterogeneity of the Canadian population in those items dealing with Canadians. French Canadians were almost never included under the definition without being further distinguished as being French. Whenever the Sun presented instances of Canadian traditions, these were uniformly British ones; they were rarely French and never 'ethnic.' In many practical respects the Sun currently uses the terms Canadian as synonymous with the common meaning

of "Anglo Canadian."

It should be added that the Sun of today has given somewhat more extensive coverage to Canadians overseas than the Vancouver newspapers did in earlier times. At present about 3.7% of the overseas sample directly involved Canadians (n = 20). Basically, Canadians overseas made the news in one of two ways. A number of these items involved Canadians who were acting as political or military intermediaries in international conflict situations such as South Africa or Cyprus. These sort of positively portrayed roles for Canadians overshadowed all other aspects of Canada's foreign policy. The other way Canadians overseas were news is when some tragedy befell them, such as being accused of crime, being assaulted, or being in an accident. There was virtually no coverage at all of Canadian business activities overseas.

French Canadians, the French, and Anglo Canadians

The two labels "French Canadian" and "Anglo Canadian" are intimately intertwined with each other, and to treat them as entirely separate categories would inevitably distort their meaning. This is particularly so with respect to their portrayal in the Vancouver press, where one was usually found in association with the other. As such, the two categories will be addressed together here. For the same reason, domestic coverage of the continental French is also included in this section.

French-English relations have always been one of the most important factors on the Canadian political scene. Nevertheless, the recognition of

their importance in English speaking Canada through time has been extremely variable. For the most part, French-English relations have become relevant to anglophone Canada only when those relations have been problematic to anglophones. They have always been problematic for French Canadians.

This on-again, off-again anglophone concern with French-English relations has been very evident in British Columbia. British Columbia is geographically far removed from the center of the controversy, and it has traditionally been little concerned with the matter. British Columbia has never had a large francophone population, and inevitably Quebec was of relevance to British Columbians only to the extent that Quebec determined the balance of power in Ottawa.

This historical British Columbian lack of concern with French Canadians has already been indicated by the near total absence of press coverage on them which characterized the first half of this century. Similarly, the term Anglo Canadian was scarcely used in the two eras considered previously.[45] "Canadian" was the more relevant term, and it was defined in terms of British ancestry and against Americans and (non-British) immigrants.

When one turns to the press of the past ten years, the difference from the past is dramatic. French Canadians now share the dubious privilege with native people of being the most covered domestic group in the sample. 189 items were found on French Canadians, which accounted for 19.9% of

the Sun's domestic coverage of ethnicity. Tables CLVII through CLIX outline the topics, subtopics, and themes associated with these items.

The number of items on Anglo Canadians have also risen substantially, although not to anything near the degree of French Canadian coverage. For comparative purposes the attributes found in these news items on Anglo Canadians have also been placed in Tables CLVII through CLIX.

What accounted for this sudden rise in press coverage? The answer is very clear: activities among Quebec francophones which threatened anglophone rights and privileges. British Columbia papers like the Sun now participate in a "debate" which was traditionally restricted to Eastern Canada. It is unrealistic to attempt to infer what now motivates the Sun's personnel to cover what they did not cover earlier. Nevertheless, as will be outlined shortly, the topics associated with French Canadian news items concentrate so heavily upon conflict, violence, and threats of francophone domination of anglophones that interest in this subject may well simply reflect the press's long term interests in the spectacular and the unusual. I will return to this point at the end of this discussion.

The coverage of French and Anglo Canadians was dominated by discussion of the relationship between them. As can be seen in Table CLVIII, subtopics in ethnic relations accounted for 26.0% of the items on French Canadians and 25.0% of that on Anglo Canadians. The most frequent topic category for both groups was legal and legislative business, and most of these items dealt with legislative or legal action in defense of one group or

Topics and Subtopics	French Canadians		Anglo Canadians	
	number	%	number	%
Education				
are under educated	-	-	1	4.2
need special education	1	0.5	-	-
other	1	0.5	-	-
Health & Welfare				
cost services	1	0.5	-	-
Employment & Economy				
lower standard of living	1	0.5	-	-
are employed	1	0.5	-	-
are cheap labor	1	0.5	-	-
Number				
are a given number	1	0.5		
Advocation of Restriction				
should deny ethnic ways	4	2.1		
advocate no foreign language	1	0.5	1	4.2
Are Restricted	1	0.5	-	-
denied ethnic ways	-	-	1	4.2
Charge Restriction	2	1.1	-	-
claim job restriction	1	0.5	-	-
claim institutional barriers	1	0.5	-	-
claim their rights are barred	2	1.1	-	-
claim they are not allowed ways	1	0.5	-	-
Ethnic Relations	3	1.6	-	-
try to better relations	-	-	2	8.3
relations are mediated	4	2.1	-	-
relations get better	2	1.1	-	-
relations get worse	2	1.1	-	-
relations are good	2	1.1	-	-
relations are bad	7	3.7	1	4.2
are assimilatible	2	1.1	-	-
have outside help	2	1.1	-	-
unite with others	1	0.5	-	-
impose their ways	8	4.2	1	4.2
do not get along	1	0.5	-	-
threaten world	4	2.1	-	-

	French Canadians number	%	Anglo Canadians number	%
Ethnic Relations (Cont'd.)				
pro-American investment	1	0.5	-	-
bilingualism advocated	10	5.3	2	8.3
Legislation & Legal	7	3.7	-	-
politicians urge restriction	3	1.6	-	-
laws limit	11	5.8	6	25.0
laws protect	27	14.3	1	4.2
are in court	7	3.7	-	-
protest to government	1	0.5	1	4.2
immigration	2	1.1	-	-
language bill	6	3.2	1	4.2
Violence, Hostility Against	1	0.5	-	-
are assaulted or harassed	1	0.5	-	-
Violence, Hostility By				
assault, harass others	1	0.5	-	-
demonstrations in P.Q.	2	1.1	-	-
meet imposition with force	2	1.1	-	-
hostile to Canadians	1	0.5	-	-
are accused of crime	4	2.1	-	-
other	1	0.5	-	-
Cultural Difference				
require special practice	1	0.5	-	-
bad national language use	5	2.6	-	-
different ideas of law	1	0.5	-	-
are loyal to home	1	0.5	-	-
best cultural practice	1	-	1	4.2
other	2	1.1	1	4.2
Celebrities	2	1.1	-	-
politicians	14	7.4	2	8.3
social notables	3	1.6	-	-
historical notables	1	0.5	-	-
Ethnic Organizations				
ethnic festivals	1	0.5	-	-
organize in community	1	0.5	1	4.2
have sinister organizations	6	3.2	1	4.2

	French Canadians		Anglo Canadians	
	number	%	number	%
Normal News				
make good	1	0.5	-	-
humor	1	0.5	-	-
other	1	0.5	-	-
Total	189	100.0%	24	100.0%

Table CLVII. French Canadian and Anglo Canadian Domestic News Coverage by Topics and Subtopics: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Topic	French Canadians		Anglo Canadians	
	number	%	number	%
Legislative & Legal	66	35.0	9	37.5
Ethnic Relations	49	26.0	6	25.0
Celebrities	20	10.6	2	8.3
Violence, Hostility By	11	5.8	0	0.0
Cultural Difference	10	5.2	2	8.3
Ethnic Organizations	8	4.2	2	8.3
Total	164	86.8%	21	87.5%

Table CLVIII. The Most Frequent Topics of French Canadian and Anglo Canadian Domestic News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

Theme	French Canadians number	Anglo Canadians number
Ethnic Relations	123	16
Legislative & Legal	99	12
Violence, Hostility By	93	2
Cultural Difference	66	9
Celebrities	27	1
Charge Restriction	13	1
Advocation of Restriction	12	3

Table CLIX. Most Common Themes in Domestic French Canadian and Anglo Canadian News Items: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

at the expense of the other. Moreover, Anglo Canadians were explicitly mentioned in 27.0% of the items on French Canadians.[46] One third of the items on Anglo Canadians mentioned French Canadians.

Over the past ten years the Sun has portrayed Anglo-French relations in a fashion which has been extremely unflattering to French Canadians. The Sun's moral community score for French Canadians was -0.97, one of the worst of any group in recent times. In comparison, that of Anglo Canadians was fairly good (-0.21). This wide difference between the ways in which French and Anglo Canadians were portrayed is the result of two basic press tendencies.

First of all, virtually every piece on French Canadians in the sample of 189 had something to do with Anglo-French conflict. 85.7% of this coverage was either about conflict in Quebec or governmental activities in Ottawa related to such conflict. Separation and the deterioration of anglophone rights dominated the news of French Canadians. Normal news about French Canadians accounted for only 1.5% of the sample and only one out of 189 items dealt with French Canadian cultural festivities. With the exception of French Canadian politicians, French social, intellectual, and business elites were rarely covered, and events participated in by typical francophones were not reported at all.

Secondly, the Sun consistently used anglophone standards to judge francophone behavior. This being the case, it is not difficult to see why French Canadians fared so badly in the press. The Sun tended to follow

classical anglophone thought by consistently reducing anglophone-francophone conflict to a problem of different culture or of language. Some of the major separatist objections to things as they are were therefore automatically removed from consideration. For instance, the structure of the present day Quebec economy and the historical relationship between English and French in Quebec were given almost no attention at all. There were only 3 (1.5%) items in the sample directly dealing with French Canadians and the economy.

Neither was the Sun an effective vehicle for airing French Canadian grievances. Although it was necessary for the Sun to deal with some of the points raised by French Canadians if it was to deal with the question of Anglo-French relations at all, very few articles which found their way into the Sun provided a platform for French Canadians to outline the liabilities which they claimed spring from their present place in Canada.[47]

Press interest in French Canadians has fluctuated widely, even during the last ten years, as the following table indicates:

Year	Number	Percentage
1967	24	12.7
1968	25	13.2
1969	17	9.0
1970	42	22.2
1971	22	11.6
1972	14	7.4
1973	9	4.8
1974	5	2.6
1975	14	7.4
1976	17	9.0
Total	189	100.0%

Table CLX.. French Canadian Domestic News Items by Year: Vancouver Sun (1967-1976)

This variation was primarily the result of a rise of a few key events in particular years. These events were so extensively covered that they must be considered directly in order to illustrate how the Sun portrayed French Canadians.

The key story of 1967 was President Charles de Gaulle's visit to Canada. De Gaulle overtly supported separation for Quebec and took no special pains to hide this sentiment during his stay in Canada. The French protocol used during the trip dealt with Quebec as a sovereign entity. Most of his energies were directed towards francophones. For the Sun, the focal

point of de Gaulle's visit was a single line in one of his numerous public appearances made by the French President; his toast "Vive de Quebec Libre" resounded across the land.

Sun editorials immediately attacked de Gaulle's comment as inappropriate meddling in Canadian affairs; "No Thanks Mr. de Gaulle" (October 18, 1967, page 5), we Canadians have things nicely in hand without your interference. Commentary on this speech was continuous, and two months later one still found the issue on the editorial page of the Sun:

> WITH HIS FRENCH CANADIAN ROCKETS
> De Gaulle Aims a Satellite at Uncle Sam
>
> (December 2, 1967, page 5)

The above item contained virtually all the charges aimed at de Gaulle by the press. He was attempting to disrupt life in Quebec for imperialistic purposes. Quebec was a province, and not a sovereign nation and de Gaulle had no business suggesting otherwise. The editorial went so far as to suggest that French Canadians were entirely against de Gaulle's separatist policy--an assertion which would have been difficult to support if the Sun were even slightly aware of French Canadian thought on the matter.

De Gaulle's statement generated a number of articles which were not directly related to the event itself. These all centered on the question of separatism--a question for which the Sun had already formulated a very clear answer. From the point of view of the Sun, separation was impractical, immoral, and illegal. "Separation was the Road to Ruin" (October 3,

1967, page 4) for Quebec, because Quebec got far more out of Confederation than it contributed to it. There was already an "Exodus from Separation: Business Runs out on Quebec" (October 18, 1967, page 4). Those who agitated for separation were portrayed as a small group of anarchists, who did not represent Quebecois feeling ("Separatist Stays in Jail," October 3, 1967, page 2). As a cartoon suggested on October 18 (page 5), people in Quebec preferred "Kicking Levesque out of Confederation" to doing the same to Quebec.

In many respects press coverage of de Gaulle's visit paralleled that accorded to the French throughout the era. In the two periods covered previously there were almost no news items on the activities of continental French in Canada. During the past ten years the number of French stories have increased to about 2.0% of the domestic coverage. News items on the French were concentrated heavily into the area of ethnic relations (57.9% of the total). In addition, 57.9% of the items involved either Canadians or French Canadians.

Most of these items concerned French involvement with affairs in French speaking Canada. Like the reaction to de Gaulle's visit, the Sun took a very dim view to these activities, considering them to be interference in Canadian affairs. France was seen to be supporting separatists in Quebec for its own purposes:[48]

QUEBEC FIND RUMORED
De Gaulle Gambles on Uranium

(December 18, 1967, page 28)

The Sun took an extremely hypocritical stand on the relationship between Quebec and France. It was unable to see the relationship as being in any way similar to that between anglophone Canada and Britain. The Sun rather enthusiastically supported the monarchy as a cultural and historical link between Canada and England, but was intolerant of French suggestions of a similar link between French speaking people in North America and those in France. If visiting French dignitaries did not remain silent on Canadian internal matters, the Sun editors thought that they should not be allowed to come at all ("On Inviting Offensive Guests," October 16, 1969, page 4). "We British , Who Founded Canada" (editorial, December 16, 1968, page 5) could do very well without the likes of Mr. de Gaulle.

French foreign coverage was also up considerably over that of previous eras (n = 15). Essentially, domestic and foreign French coverage were reflections of each other. Most of the domestic coverage dealt with French interference, stubbornness, and lack of civility, and the overseas portrayal of French showed them acting likewise in Europe. The Sun took a very dim view of France's unwillingness to allow Britain into the common market (February 17, 1967, page 20) and it explained this reluctance on purely cultural grounds; the French hated the British, and hence, were unwilling to allow Britain any advantage.

The bumper year for French Canadian coverage in the Sun was 1970. Far more items on French Canadian appeared in that year than in any other during the past ten, despite a three month strike which shut the Sun down from February 1st to May 14th. 1970 was the year when anglophone Canada first began to sense the degree to which francophones were fundamentally dissatisfied with their status in Confederation. It was the year that Rene Levesque's Parti Quebecois won 24% of the popular vote in the Quebec provincial election. This alone would have produced considerable press response.

Nevertheless, the growing strength of the Parti Quebecois paled in comparison with coverage of the FLQ kidnapping of James Cross and Pierre Laporte. Sun coverage of the October Crisis was heavier than that accorded to any other event involving ethnicity in this study. The six issues of the Sun sampled between October 14th and the end of 1970 produced 33 items on the FLQ. This meant that for that period there were about five items on the FLQ in every issue of the Sun.

The Sun's coverage of the FLQ was remarkably consistent. First of all, it was consistent in the perspective which it used to relate FLQ events to other things. Whatever the particular happening, it was placed into a context of what implications it had for Canada, not for Quebec or for French Canadians.[49] Would the FLQ spell the end of Canada as we knew it? Would Canada have sufficient resources to deal with the threat? These were questions which were typical of the Sun's perspective.

By far, the primary concern of the Sun was the threat which the FLQ posed to "law and order." The political implications of their activities were for the most part ignored. This concern for law and order completely negated the political and historical aspects of the situation. The FLQ members were routinely reduced to "terrorists" or at best, to "kidnappers." As far as the Sun and other anglophone papers were concerned, the FLQ's activities were criminal, not political. As such, they were to be dealt with by the police, the military, and other means which were available to deal with those who broke the law.

The Sun gave continual support for the War Measures Act and other moves on the part of the government to strike back against the FLQ. It generated a great number of news stories which covered government spokespersons and others justifying such measures:

> WEAK-KNEED BLEEDING HEARTS' FLAYED
> PM Vows No Limit in Terrorist Fight
>
> (October 14, 1970, page 1)

> TRUDEAU TAKES A HARD LINE
>
> (October 14, 1970, page 1)

> IN THEIR OWN WORDS, WHY THEY SUSPENDED LIBERTY
>
> (October 27, 1970, page 4)

Protests against the imposition of the War Measures Act (on October 19, 1970) were rarely found in the Sun, and they were inevitably restricted to Quebec opponents of the Act:

QUEBEC CRITICS SPEAK UP IN OPPOSING INVOCATION AND USE OF WAR MEASURES

(October 29, 1970, page 2)

QUEBEC OPPOSITION MOUNTS AGAINST EMERGENCY LAWS

(October 29, 1970, page 1)

As one might expect, the Sun developed very little background material on the FLQ. There were a few "human interest" items on individual FLQ members, but there was almost nothing on the history of the organization itself. The Sun left the reader without any insight into the political philosophy of the FLQ or the depth of its popular support. Instead, the Sun linked the FLQ to large scale international forces which were acting to destabilize the governments of the western world:

LINKS KIDNAPPING TO MASTER PLAN
Drapeau Issues Revolution Warning

(October 14, 1970, page 2)

FLQ BASES NEW THREAT IN EUROPE

(October 14, 1970, page 14)

Although of a less spectacular nature than the FLQ Crisis, several other events and processes involving French and Anglo Canadians received extensive coverage in the Sun. One of the most salient was the conflict over language rights. The passage of federal statutes decreeing French and English to both be national languages has generated press response since its inception. For the most part the Sun has been extremely unsympathetic

to the idea of a bilingual Canada. It thought the legislation a "High Price to Pay for a Dying Language" (editorial, May 8, 1975, page 6) and it ridiculed the use of French where there were few francophones ("City Depot: CN Plans Bilingual Signs Soon," January 18, 1967, page 2). The Sun subscribed to the standard anglophone thesis: English is the dominant language of the country; it is a world language, while French is not; it is undemocratic to impose a minority language on the majority; federal legislation which protects French language rights are a political concession to a strident minority.

Also in keeping with more general anglophone thought, the Sun had no particular trouble reversing this argument in defense of the minority language rights of anglophones and others in Quebec. Quebec provincial government language bills were unfair because they forced minority language users in Quebec to conform to the language of the majority. As in the editorial "Come Out in the Open" (January 28, 1971, page 4), the Sun portrayed the language question as if it were simply a cover for francophones discriminating against anglophones. Similarly, the Sun could see no reason why non-anglophone immigrants who settled in Quebec should be required to send their children to francophone schools; it was a gross violation of the right of free choice.

In the Sun the question of language rights was intimately connected with the "threat of Quebec separation." In almost all respects the Sun was unsympathetic to separatist sentiment, and it tended to go so far in the de-

fense of national unity as to argue that the social and economic inequities claimed to exist by francophone Quebecers were themselves invalid. As far as the Sun was concerned, Quebec had gotten a good deal out of confederation, and was using the spectre of separation to exact further special privileges out of the federal government. The Sun was convinced that Quebec was unlikely to separate because French Canadian sentiment was against it; besides, argued the Sun ("The Price of Separation," April 17, 1968, page 4), separation would lead to the economic demise of Quebec.

In its stand against separation the Sun exhibited the fundamental weakness of other media representatives of anglophone Canada who dealt with this issue: although the Sun was "for national unity," its coverage did nothing to foster it. Its pro-unity stand was one that was based upon the subordinance of Quebec to the nation. It was not a stand of reconciliation or resolution. The Sun's coverage of the Parti Quebecois and others in Quebec contributed next to nothing to a British Columbian anglophone's knowledge of the situation. For the Sun, the Parti Quebecois was synonymous with Rene Levesque. There was essentially no coverage of the philosophy of the Parti Quebecois, its history, or the size of its political support. Likewise, the Sun virtually ignored those activities of the Parti Quebecois government which did not bear on the confrontational aspects of the separatist issue.

Moreover, the Sun's coverage of Anglo and French Canadians legitimated the rights and privileges of the former at the expense of the latter. Anglo Canadians in Quebec were portrayed as being sober, industrious and

non-political. French Canadians were argumentative, confrontational, irrational, impractical, and self-centered. This pair of stereotypes has been historically present in Canada since the time of the Conquest. They are the classic top-down stereotypes of the conqueror and the conquered. Their currency in anglophone newspapers of the last quarter of the twentieth century is illustrative of how little the perspective of Anglo Canadians has changed in the intervening centuries.

Conclusions

The intervening years between the last decade and that considered in the previous chapter saw remarkable changes occur in Canadian orientations towards ethnicity. Tolerance for those of different backgrounds increased, both officially and in the public, and ethnicity became less significant as a factor in social and economic mobility than it once was. During the same period changes in immigration policy led to a postwar diversification of the ethnic and national backgrounds of Canadians unexceeded by any other era in history. Economic necessity brought many of these new Canadians into contact with others all across the country.

The past twenty years in particular have been ones of extensive adjustment of old and new Canadians to each other. They have been times when the definition of what it means to be a Canadian has undergone considerable modification in order to reflect the new demographic and cultural makeup of Canadian society. Clearly, these are important changes, for they directly affect the life chances of individuals. Foreign born Canadians

are significantly affected by the entry status of people of their particular ethnic or national background, if not economically then certainly in terms of self identity and feeling of ease and security. Similarly, ethnicity is of some consequence for the Canadian born. For some, ethnicity remains an important aspect of self identity and is a frequently activated basis for interpersonal relations. For others, interaction with those of different ethnicity either challenges or confirms notions of self and society. In short, ethnicity remains an extremely fundamental aspect of Canadian society. It is also an extremely visible one to many Canadians, and whatever their position on the subject they realize its importance in everyday life; ethnicity in Canada is a social as well as a sociological issue.

In this chapter it has been shown that the Vancouver press has far from ignored ethnicity in the past ten years. Rather, it has dealt with the subject in very complex ways, depending much on whose ethnicity was being portrayed and the issue involved, among many other factors. Following the format of the concluding sections of the two previous eras, the following set of points are of a more general nature than those raised during the case-by-case discussion of the various groups which made the press between 1967 and 1976.

1. <u>Ethnicity continues to be an important aspect of the news. In fact, the amount of coverage devoted to ethnically related issues has increased.</u>

Ethnic and race relations in British Columbia have changed fundamentally since the 1930's. In certain respects they have gotten better, but

it is equally significant that they have changed structurally. Earlier ethnic relations were frequently characterized by direct, group against group conflict and competition, at least in the minds of majority group individuals. For example, the Chinese (as a group) were seen as a threat to white jobs. Ethnic groups and ethnicity per se were extremely vocal issues of the day. Presently ethnic relations have become much more individualized and are more dependent on the individuals involved and the circumstances surrounding them. None of the large scale issues of the past era are salient now, with the exception of immigration. At the same time, it has become inappropriate to voice specifically prejudicial statements about ethnicity and race in most social contexts, regardless of personal convictions to the contrary. Explanations of the cause of social problems by reference to race and ethnicity are passé, at least in the form that they were frequently aired in the past.

Nevertheless, analysis of the Sun shows that ethnicity remains a very important element in the world of the newspapers. As we have seen, a typical issue of the Sun now contains about six items with ethnic content. News items are on average longer than they were in the 1930's, such that the number of column inches in each day's Sun dealing with ethnic issues has increased some 300% in the intervening years.

Consequently the Sun must be considered an important input to people's ideas about ethnicity, especially to the degree that individuals do not have access to alternative information sources. Moreover, ethnicity forms an

integral part of the Sun's worldview, regardless of the degree to which its presentation affects the views of its readership. Decreases in the degree to which local ethnic relations are characterized by conflict and competition have not led to consequent decreases in the level of press concern with ethnicity. Several factors seem to have insured that ethnicity continues to be important in news presentation, as outlined in the subsequent discussion.

2. The press is no longer a spokesman for majority views of local ethnic issues in the same way as it was in the past.

In the past two eras it has been shown that the Vancouver press supported the sentiments of the majority in many overt ways. It editorially attacked Asians and the Federal government which it held responsible for their presence in British Columbia. It morally degraded Asians and others, in striking contrast to its coverage of ethnically acceptable individuals. Its interests were specifically British Columbian, and Canadian national issues were rarely its concern; international questions were virtually beyond the pale.

For the most part the press (at least to the degree that the Sun is representative of it) has lost much of its role as spokesman for local majority group interests. Its advocacy of dominant group interests has been made difficult by a number of factors. For one thing, it is far more difficult to discern exactly who is the majority group than it was in the past. In addition, the Sun is far more constrained in its advocacy role by the threat

of public outcry and government displeasure at the appearance of specifically racist, or ethnically-exclusive news items. Consequently, the Sun has restricted its advocacy to 'motherhood' issues such as immigration and urban social problems and has delegated the more sensitive aspects of its support of the majority in particular to 'independent' columnists.

The Sun is also less of a spokesman for local majority interests as an indirect consequence of a shift in what sort of people and events make the news in relation to ethnicity. Over the past thirty years the press has become much more geographically expansive in its ethnic coverage. Quebec, the United States, Africa, and the Middle East have received extensive coverage over the past ten years, such that items dealing with ethnicity in British Columbia are relatively fewer than they were in the past.

3. <u>The criteria for what people and events are news when they involve ethnicity have changed significantly.</u>

   a. The nature of events primarily determine what is news. The ethnicity of the people involved does not alone determine that events and issues concerning them will be newsworthy.

When the Vancouver press was more concerned with local issues than it is at present, ethnicity alone was often sufficient to make a particular event newsworthy even when it would not be news if done by individuals of a different ethnic background. This tendency persists in terms of local issues, as has been pointed out several times in previous discussions. For example, Asian immigration is news while British immigration is not. At the same time it never was the case that the ethnicity of an individual was

sufficient to guarantee that events concerning that individual made the newspapers. The press has always been sensitive to certain types of events and issues to the virtual exclusion of others. In the past these issues and events seem to be divisible into two varieties: issues of high local interest and events that were unusual, especially if they were of a violent and confrontational sort.

Today, criteria of newsworthiness have shifted. No longer is ethnicity alone nearly as important a criterion as it was in the past, and issues and events are now the principle considerations which now make a thing news, such that the various ethnic groups are now only covered when they are associated with particular types of events. This has led to an enormous yearly variation in the number of items dealing with any one group..

b. The specific factual content of events is not as important a selection factor as is the degree to which the event involves confrontation, violence, crime, or discord between individuals or groups.

The manner in which the Sun covered ethnicity over the past ten years shows a virtually complete victory for the tendency to allow the violent and unusual to dictate what is news and what is not. This was especially so of ethnicity involved in events which occurred outside of British Columbia. French Canadians were only news in relationship to anglophone-francophone conflict or to crime. Similarly, Black Americans were newsworthy when engaged in civil strife or crime. Coverage of Sub-Saharan Africa was almost exclusively that of conflict. This tendency is now so strong that it

is almost inevitable that if the press accords a substantial amount of coverage to an ethnic or national group outside of British Columbia that coverage will be negative. Because the press seeks out the violent and confrontational as being especially newsworthy, this constantly leads to what might be termed the incidental stigmatization of the people so portrayed. Conflict situations are typically presented in such a way that ethnicity is associated primarily with minority individuals; as in the case of French Canadians or Blacks in Southern Africa the press frequently portrays conflicts as being between an (ethnic) minority group and society. Consequently, minority group members are commonly portrayed to be the perpetrators of violence--they are always the deviants. This is but one aspect of a more general press tendency.

4. The Vancouver press continues to hold to an extremely narrow anglophone North American view of British Columbia, Canada, and the World. As a consequence the press continues to generate a stratified ethnic moral community in spite of the changing nature of its outgroups.

The press only rarely expresses itself directly in support of particular ethnicities or in opposition to others. In certain respects this has meant that some groups who were heavily stigmatized by the press in earlier times now receive more favorable coverage. Nevertheless, the press continues to employ a perspective on the news which indirectly leads to some ethnic groups getting unfavorable treatment. This perspective can be characterized as being white, middle-class, middle of the road North American. It is one that approves of representative democracy, order,

stability, and the peaceful amelioration of social problems through gradual change. It is not a particularly philosophical outlook and it is an extremely ethnocentric one. It is intolerant of minority group protest, especially if it is done through extralegal means and it is strongly assimilationist vis a vis Canadian ethnic groups.

While the Sun no longer overtly derogates ethnicity or ethnic groups simply because of racial or cultural origin alone, the narrowness and inflexibility of the Sun's worldview inevitably disapproved of things which diverged from its ideas of normal behavior. Consequently, violence and protest by French Canadians, Black Americans, Doukhobors, Arabs, Black Africans, and others was portrayed in a stigmatic fashion not only because it was sensationalistic and normally considered to be bad; it was also stigmatic because of the explanatory framework into which that violence was placed. The press was sensitive only to violence and conflict which contradicted its view of the normal. As such, the organized, rationalized use of violence and other means of subordination by governments and their military and police usually did not convey the same sense of disapproval when such actions made the newspapers.

The terminology with which the Sun described the activities of various groups varied in accord with this general perspective on the world. As has been shown with respect to the portrayal of Arabs, Black Americans, Black Africans, and French Canadians, deviant and disapproved acts on the part of minorities merited labels which underscored the impropriety of the acts

themselves. Terms such as terrorist, guerilla, militant, and kidnapper denied legitimacy to those so labeled. For instance, in the Near East, conflict was often portrayed as being between a collection of ragtag guerillas and a national army. Similarly, ethnicity was far more frequently associated with minority causes than with those who held positions of power. Hence, Arab guerillas would come into conflict with the Israeli army.

5. Press coverage of ethnicity is non-reflective, non-integrative, and non-developmental.

As the Vancouver press' horizons have expanded to consider events and issues in the rest of Canada and the World much of the earlier philosophy of ethnicity which the press used in its portrayal of local ethnic matters has been lost. Many local items dealing with ethnicity no longer are directly relatable to social concerns about ethnicity in the way that things like Asian immigration once were. Likewise, most Canadian and overseas items are portrayed in such a way that they are for the most part detached from local concerns. This has further contributed to what has always been a weakness in the way in which the press has portrayed ethnicity; items with ethnic content only rarely seek to explain what occurs in the particular event portrayed except through the simple chronological outlining of events leading up to the immediate present. The press almost never provides an economic, political, or social context for events, with the consequence that a great many happenings are dealt with in extremely individual terms, despite the fact that the events involved could far better be explained as manifestations of far larger forces.

The press does no better in dealing with long term historically developing situations. Even situations like the FLQ Crisis of 1970 which received an extremely large amount of press coverage failed to elicit even the barest press discussion of past Quebecois grievances. Neither did the press outline the history of the FLQ itself or its past relationship with other groups. The time depth of the news is often so shallow that the beginning of events which took over a month to resolve themselves were lost from press discussion before the event had come to its final resolution. Coverage of long term issues and events were developmental only insofar as today's coverage tended to link itself to yesterday's events.

The Sun was also completely unreflective about its own role in the portrayal of ethnicity. Following general press practice, virtually all news items in the Sun were written in the strict third person without any discussion of the newspaper's role in the collection and interpretation of the events portrayed in them. Items rarely contained any indication of the processes which come together to generate a news item; it was as if the news was generated unproblematically from the facts at hand and that the medium itself had no impact on the final product. The Sun never commented on its own presentation of ethnicity and only allowed public input about its coverage on the carefully controlled letters to the editor page. Neither did it ever comment in print about its own historical practices, even to the extent of commenting that its practices had changed.

6. <u>The press' perspectives on ethnicity have become increasingly dominated by its extralocal sources of information, United States news services in particular</u>.

Somewhere between 60 and 70% of the news items coded over the past ten years of the <u>Sun</u> derived from other than the <u>Sun</u>'s own collection of information. This increasing informational dependence on non-local sources is more than a simple dependence on fact-gathering. As has been shown at several points in this chapter, information derived from the international news services carries with it the heavy imprint of its creators. While the production of news service copy is subject to the same limitations as news items which the newspaper generates itself, it has several others, some of which significantly affect the way in which ethnicity is presented in the newspapers. These all center around the fact that (with the exception of CP), the news services which the <u>Sun</u> has available are all primarily oriented towards major markets outside of Canada. UPI and AP are American owned services, and their major market is the United States. Reuters is primarily a British news agency which provides much of CP's foreign coverage. As such, what appears or does not appear in the copy of these agencies is selected in the light of their primary audiences, not Canada. Consequently, domestic American affairs make up a large proportion of the news items available through UPI and AP--a fact reflected in the high proportion of news items in the <u>Sun</u> which portray events in the United States. These items are naturally framed in terms of their consequences for American, not Canadian affairs. Reuters' news is similarly biased towards events in

Britain.

The coverage of international events by UPI and AP also reflect American interests. American politicians overseas and current crises in American foreign policy attract heavy and disproportionate attention by both of these news services. Conversely, when relations between the United States and a given foreign power are non-problematical, activities in that country frequently drop out of the news despite the consequences which internal affairs there might have had for other foreign countries. The most blatant current example of this would be news service coverage of the demise of the Shah of Iran, where brutal repression on the part of the Shah's military and police and the vigorous reactions to it were not "news" until the Shah's position was so unstable that United States interests were directly threatened.

Similarly, both UPI, AP, and Reuters have distributed their personnel worldwide in a fashion which reflects the interests of their home market, the volume of information available from particular parts of the world, and the traditional spheres of influence of their metropoles. Hence, UPI, AP, and Reuters all have a high proportion of their personnel in Europe and the United States, with UPI and AP prevailing in the latter. All three have a number of people in the Near East and South Africa, while the rest of the world is only sparsely covered; Reuters prevails in those areas of the world where British influence once was felt, while AP and UPI's proportion of personnel in Latin America is somewhat greater. News

flow from the various parts of the world approximate this distribution of personnel. In no case could one argue that this distribution of personnel reflects Canadian interest; neither does the perspective on foreign affairs presented in their copy.

One consequence is that it is not difficult to support the thesis that the Sun has grown considerably less Canadian over the past fifty years. The predominant place of local issues has diminished, and the void has only partially been filled by increased coverage of the rest of Canada. With respect to ethnicity 'the rest of Canada' means only anglophone-francophone relations in Quebec and their expression in federal political debate. At the same time, international coverage of ethnicity has greatly expanded, and Canadian input to it has correspondingly decreased. For the most part, control over the content, philosophy, political orientation, and possible relevance of stories about international events has been ceded to others.

7. The ethnicity portrayed in the press is and always has been the ethnicity of adult males. Coverage of women and ethnicity has historically been insignificant, and shows no signs of increasing.

To this point, I have not discussed the fashion in which the press articulated the sex of individuals portrayed with their ethnicity, save for mentioning in Chapter One that I coded sex as a variable. This decision stemmed from the dramatic disparity in the frequency with which males and females are associated with ethnicity through the years. The frequency of news items dealing with women was so low in toto that discussion of males and females in the context of distinct ethnic groups would have been virtually

meaningless. Here, the statement that ethnicity as it is portrayed in the newspapers concerns what the papers have defined to be the activities of males has far greater saliency. It means that in retrospect what I have been dealing with in this thesis has been a representative sample of ethnicity in the press, but it has been a sample that has virtually excluded the lives and interests of one half of the relevant population.

Indeed, it means quite a bit more, for it is a direct commentary on what are and are not markers of ethnicity for the public at large. As in so many other areas of life what has attracted the attention of the press and public has been almost exclusively the public activities of males.

I do not mean to say that the papers have been concerned with male-specific ethnic attributes to the detriment of the attributes of ethnic women. More careful analysis shows that this is not entirely true. To be sure, when they have been portrayed at all in ethnic contents, women have been more commonly characterized as the passive recipients of actions begun by others than are males. For instance, Canadian women were more likely to be in need of "protection" than men and men were more likely to "attack others" than women.

Still, the portrayal of men and women in the Vancouver newspapers has been characterized by very similar topics. This is demonstrated by the fact that if all papers and eras are considered together the linear correlation coefficient between the frequency of male and female subtopics found in ethnic news items was .908. In fact, it would be more accurate to

say that women made the news only in a few of the instances when they did things normally associated with men.

There are a few more points to be made about the disparity between male and female presentation for which table CLXI provides some support. First of all, it is clear that the proportion of news items given over to the portrayal of women and ethnicity has not increased appreciably over the 71 years considered in this study. Women figured prominently in 5.1% of the sample from the Province (1905-1914) and 4.4% of the sample from the Sun (1967-1976). Approximately speaking, there were six items dealing with men for every one on women.

Secondly, although Table CLXI might suggest that relative to males the proportion of coverage accorded to females has gone up over the past seventy years, but this is not entirely true. To be sure, the proportion of news items involving men has slipped steadily over the era in question; from 46.5% of the early Province sample (1905-1904) to 24.4% of the late Sun sample (1967-1976)--a proportional loss of almost 50%. Those lost percentage points have been picked up by the 'unspecified' category. Nevertheless, one should not infer from this that the portrayal of ethnicity has become more balanced with respect to sex over the years, for when one considers the nature of items in this 'unspecified' category more closely such a conclusion does not seem justified.

As Table CLXII indicates, the topics coded on items which were also coded as of unspecified sex are considerably different than those associated

Newspaper	Unspecified	Male	Female
Province (1905-1914)			
domestic	233	279	28
foreign	103	43	7
World (1905-1914)			
domestic	182	349	23
foreign	100	52	8
Province (1928-1937)			
domestic	193	241	35
foreign	85	47	6
Sun (1928-1937)			
domestic	215	200	28
foreign	139	40	13
Sun (1967-1976)			
domestic	658	248	45
foreign	399	115	20
Total Domestic	1,481	1,317	159
Total Foreign	826	297	54
Total	2,307	1,614	213
Percentage	55.8%	39.0%	5.2%

Table CLXL The Sex of Individuals Involved in News Items by Newspaper, Era, and Locality

Topic	Unspecified	Male	Female
Housing and Settlement	15	5	Ø
Education	33	7	Ø
Health and Welfare	25	13	Ø
Employment and Economy	10	56	6
Number	32	3	Ø
Advocation of Restriction	78	44	2
Are Restricted	45	25	3
Charge Restrictions	83	26	7
Ethnic Relations	528	145	12
Immigration	216	95	13
Legislative and Legal	304	173	24
Violence, Hostility Against	84	101	8
Violence, Hostility By	238	377	42
Cultural Difference	197	72	15
Celebrities	68	226	35
Sports	15	30	3
Ethnic Organizations	165	51	5
Normal News	79	165	38
Total	2,307	1,614	213

Table CLXII. Topics by Sex: All Papers and Eras

with items on males or females. At the more finely discriminating level of subtopics the linear correlation coefficient between the frequency of subtopics of unspecified and male sex was only .488; between unspecified and female it was even lower (.342).

When one looks at the range of subtopics associated with unspecified sex it is evident that they tend very strongly to express the common characteristics of abstractness and generality. Alternatively, subtopics associated with males and females are more concrete and tend to express more individual activities. This can be seen even at the level of topics. The number of items of unspecified sex is disproportionately higher than those of male or female sex in the areas of ethnic relations, legal and legislative concerns, cultural difference, housing, education, health, population, and ethnic restrictions. Items involving males or females had substantially higher than average frequencies only in the areas of crime and violence, celebrities, and normal news. These differences are much more significant at the level of subtopics. For instance, 4.9% (114) of the unspecified category were found with the subtopic 'relations get worse', as compared with 1.1% (17) of those coded as male and 1.4% (3) of those coded as female. Similarly, the percentage of male items devoted to "action" subtopics was much greater than unspecified items; for example 'are assaulted' (2.5% male; 1.7% unspecified); 'victims of crime' (2.2%, 0.3%); 'are in court' (5.3%, 0.9%); 'assault and harass others' (4.2%, 2.3%); 'assault each other' (5.3%, 1.6%); and 'accused of crime' (10.2%, 1.6%).

In essence, whenever a particular story dealt with general conditions it was likely that it would not involve individuals and hence did not designate sex.

Having said as much, one is left with three conclusions of relevance to the coverage of ethnicity. First, foreign items tend to less frequently exhibit the sex of actors than domestic ones; Table CLXI shows that this trend has been consistent across seventy years of Vancouver newspapers. Second, the overall proportion of items of a general (and hence, 'sexless') nature has steadily increased over time. Surprisingly, despite ethnicity being one of the most personal of subjects, individuals are slowly being removed from its portrayal in the press.

The third point is more difficult to support on the basis of the data from this study alone: that in essence 'unspecified' items are actually male items. In the case of certain groups at particular points in time this has certainly been the case; for a long time groups like the Chinese were almost exclusively male, but I mean this more generally. Almost exclusively, 'unspecified' items describe the events in the public arena--an arena which until recently has been virtually the exclusive preserve of men. I do not mean to parody the processes of news gathering and editing which are involved in the generation of daily newspapers, but they nevertheless frequently have the appearance of being mechanisms through which men can comment on the male-relevant activities of other males.

Consider as support for this proposition the way the press has dealt with more important historical issues involving ethnicity. For example,

in the first era considered here one of the principle fears of the press was that Asians (and others) would take away jobs from white Canadians; Asian immigration was seen as an attack on white privileges. The whites who were having their privileges attacked were clearly not the whole European population--they were white <u>males</u>. I never came across a single news item that was concerned about the possible effects of immigration on the employment of women. Similarly, sexual biases were involved in the way the press dealt with virtually all other questions like those of ethnic violence, cultural difference, and ethnic restrictions.

Chapter Five: Notes

1. The enormity of the coverage on the Vietnam War was one factor in not coding it for its ethnic content. In that war of Americans against Vietnamese it was nearly impossible to separate out ethnic from military, sociopolitical, and other sorts of relations. Similar problems earlier led to my decision not to code the first months of World War I (late 1914).

2. For instance, the percentage of news items in the Sun found from page 11 to the end of the paper increased from 26% (1928-1937) to 34.2% at present.

3. This fluctuation is but one indicator of a rather fundamental shift in the way that the press covered ethnicity during this era. In short, the Sun had shifted from covering events because they were ethnically based (as per "the Chinese take away Canadian jobs") to a fascination with spectacular events--events which were unusual in part because of their racial or ethnic component. This is not as subtle a point as it may seem as presented here. See the more extended discussion of it in the concluding part of this chapter.

4. For detailed (albeit quasi-"official") views of postwar immigration see Hawkins (1972), Department of Manpower & Immigration (1975), and Richmond (1967). Corbett (1957) presents the most objective outline of the first ten years of postwar immigration presently available.

5. It goes without saying that the categories listed in this Table mix a wide range of ethnic, racial, national, and religious criteria, and do not directly indicate the presence of ethnicity or ethnic groups. Nevertheless, they are the best figures available, and do indicate the range of ethnic variety of the Vancouver population (Statistics Canada 1972: table 7-20).

6. Most "Chinese" immigrants during the past decade have been from Hong Kong rather than from mainland China.

7. Here, "South Asian" refers only to those news items which mentioned "East Indians," "Indians" or the like, and as such does not include news items referring to more specific groups such as the Sikhs. Likewise, "British" does not include the English, Scots, or Welsh if one of the latter groups was referred to specifically.

8. Because figures for the ethnic origins of immigrants are not officially

kept, it is nearly impossible to accurately assess the populations of most immigrant communities through governmental statistics. The figure of 1.5% for the South Asian population of the Vancouver area is therefore only a crude estimate.

9. Of the six items dealing directly with cultural difference, four of them were about British loyalty to their home country.

10. See Table CXVIII of this chapter.

11. About 20% of the domestic items dealing with Chinese were on subjects relating directly to immigration.

12. The Sun only infrequently covered events dealing with Chinese overseas. There were only 14 items of this sort in the sample. Naturally, the number of items on China (as opposed to Chinese) was very high.

13. This view of China has no doubt also been supported by China's extensive trade with Canada, most of which flows through the port of Vancouver. Laurier's wish to establish a market in China and Japan has been realized.

14. Statistics Canada (1972:table 5-22).

15. See Appendix III.

16. The "attributes" in this table are a summation of the subtopics and themes found in each sample, arranged under basic topic headings.

17. As noted previously, the Vietnam War was not coded in this study.

18. "Peter Newman on Watkins Report" (February 16, 1968, page 15; "Report Studies American Pawns," February 16, 1968, page 14; "Watkins Carries Message to U.S.," July 30, 1970; "Thoughts on Owning Canada," August 29, 1970, page 5).

19. "Americans Welcomed in Canada," April 16, 1969, page 5; "Brain Drain Helps Us, Yet We're Grumbling," May 31, 1969, page 5.

20. Recall that Indians were separated out from other native people when the moral community scores were generated.

21. "Indians Protest Fee at Kamloops Meet," May 16, 1969, page 2; "All B.C. Ours, Indians Declare," April 1, 1969, page 2; "Time to Bury the Hatchet," September 26, 1972, page 4; "Indians Picket Federal

Building," March 1, 1969, page 10.

22. See "The Potlatch in Perspective," February 20, 1975, page 6: "Carvers Face a Bright Future," May 9, 1974, page 55: "Haida Artist Will Try Restoration," May 29, 1974, page 10.

23. This figure was given in the 1971 census (Statistics Canada 1972: table 1).

24. See "Eastern European Jews in 'Precarious Peril'" (November 15, 1969, page 7).

25. There were also a few items on the defection of Russian seamen at Canadian ports. See "Russian Seamen moved to Quebec" (September 13, 1971, page 1).

26. The moral community code for immigrants in the Sun was -0.72.

27. The impediments to the evolution of the press in the developing world are both economic and political. For African countries the establishment of a secure economic base for newspapers has been a severe obstacle (Sommerlad 1966:53). Once such a foundation has been built, another difficulty arises--striking a balance between "freedom of the press" and press responsibility. A major difficulty has been that developing countries in Africa and elsewhere are almost completely dependent on the international news services for their foreign news (MacBride 1978), with the consequence that newspapers often reflect metropolitan rather than local interests. This has even been the case with the Canadian print media (Litvak & Maule 1974; Davis 1970; Butler 1976a).

28. Examples from recent years could be put forward endlessly. Bad press has seriously hurt the Jamaican tourist industry and has destroyed Uganda's international credibility. For years, negative press images have hurt China's foreign relations (Myrdal and Kessle 1972).

29. For a recent example, see "The Press on Mozambique" (Africa 1977).

30. From the point of view of the early Vancouver press, the Empire scarcely included Africa, Australia, New Zealand, or Britain's Caribbean colonies. Concern over social and political disruption in India overshadowed all of these other areas (Buchignani 1977:1-76).

31. It should be recalled that during the first ten years of the twentieth century, Vancouver businessmen had high hopes of dominating the

European trade with Japan. By the 1930's this focus had shifted to China. By comparison, Africa had little to offer; it was too far away, it was a small market, and it was too much under British economic control.

32. 260 items dealing with Africa were found in the Sun, but only 137 of these involved Sub-Saharan Africa, with the majority of the rest having to do with the Arab-Israeli conflict.

33. Examples were "This Was the Speech They Wouldn't Let you Hear" (October 21, 1976, page 6); "Racial Mix 'Bad Error'" (August 1, 1968, page 6).

34. This sort of differential labelling, where Africans are associated with disorder, rioting, and unorganized protest while whites are associated with order, stability, and the state, follows the same pattern as the portrayal of black-white relations in the United States. The relationship between reader's views of Africans and American blacks is unknown, but it is reasonable that the similarity of their respective press images must lead to an identification of one with the other.

35. Only 6.8% of the items on blacks in Southern Africa showed them to be the victims of violence. This contrasts with a figure of 26.9% of the items about whites.

36. April 2, 1968, page 15; September 3, 1968, page 1; January 15, 1969, page 1; April 16, 1969, page 7; July 2, 1969, page 1; October 16, 1969, page 37.

37. On the coverage of Amin in the world press see La Rose (1974) and Nazareth (1977). Coren's (1974) "Collected Bulletins of Idi Amin" is a fictitious satirical account of Amin, but it closely follows the press stereotype of him.

38. September 7, 1976, page 1; October 7, 1975, page 10; November 5, 1976, page 1.

39. Only four of the items in the sample dealt directly with economic issues.

40. In the Sun sample all of the items on Blacks in Southern Africa were to do with race relations. None could be called normal news. Only three items on Black Africans in other geographical areas were normal news.

41. Correspondents for the five dominant international news agencies are distributed in the following way: 34% in North America; 28% in Europe; 17% in Asia and Oceania; 11% in Latin America; 6% in the Middle East; and 4% in Africa (MacBride 1978).

42. The 1971 Census (Statistics Canada 1972:table 1) gives 73.8% of the population of metropolitan Vancouver as having been born in Canada.

43. Two items were coded with immigrants as the secondary ethnicity. British, Chinese, South Asians, and South African whites each were found in one item dealing primarily with Canadians. It should be noted that this is indicative of the degree to which press concern with the relationship between Canadianness and Britain has decreased over the years.

44. One should not neglect the fact that in differentially characterizing and evaluating all types of "non-Canadian" ethnicities, a latent definition of what constitutes Canadianness is always being formed. I will return to this point in the conclusion of this work.

45. In all, there were two such items in the Province (1905-1914), none in World of the same period, three in the Province (1928-1937) and one in the Sun (1928-1937).

46. By way of comparison, "Canadians" were mentioned only once in French Canadian items.

47. 3.7% had a subtopic dealing with French Canadians claiming that they were restricted in some way. Only one item had a subtopic which directly stated that the French were restricted. This does not include items coded under legal and legislative business.

48. The Sun moral community code for the French was -0.87.

49. This tendency was also found in Siegel's (1974:65) analysis of the national press during the FLQ crisis.

50. "Mother Backs Rose Brothers. My Children, Regardless" (December 29, 1970, page 2); "Behind the Unrest: Life of Poverty" (October 29, 1970, page 50). "Rebel from a Respected Family: A Nice Girl Like Lise in the FLQ" (November 13, 1970, page 15).

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to characterize how ethnicity has been portrayed in the Vancouver press. If nothing else, the foregoing chapters have demonstrated how complex that portrayal has been. At a concrete level I have shown that the newspapers have always differentiated one ethnicity from another and have generated reasonably consistent images of many of them. Moreover, these various press stereotypes have been intimately interconnected, such that at any one point in time they can be merged together to form a more general worldview of ethnicity in the press. As such, as the portrayal of one ethnic group has changed, so have all the others, for to a certain extent they have been mutually defining.

At a more abstract level, I have shown that ethnic portrayal in the Vancouver newspapers has derived from a complicated interplay of causes and constraints which have also changed through time. At no time has press coverage of ethnicity accurately reflected societal happenings, yet it has never been disassociated from them. Criteria for what is news, constraints of time and format, political considerations, and *a priori* notions of what constitutes normalcy and deviancy have all heavily influenced ethnic portrayal.

In retrospect, I feel that what I have done here may well have exceeded the normal expectations of a work of this sort in scope and detail, but it is my expectation that it will be those two qualities which will allow this thesis to contribute to subsequent research in the areas of ethnic relations and

communications. To be sure, one could argue to the contrary that the scope of this work is rather small--ethnic portrayal in one city in one country in the world. If understanding only that were its objective I would readily agree, but neither in its formulation nor realization have I had that as my only goal.

Instead, I have sought to characterize ethnicity as but one element of the news. As such, much of what I have said here to do specifically with ethnic portrayal applies directly to the more general problem of how the daily papers generate the news. Similarly, I believe that in dealing with a well-defined social context my analysis was able more easily to move between ethnic portrayal and current social issues than would have been the case if I had drawn my geographical sample more widely. As it is, to the degree to which press organization, context, or ethnic group elsewhere parallel those found here this study's findings should be extendible to other places.

I believe the specificity with which I approached ethnic portrayal in this thesis also has the potential to make a contribution to subsequent work, particularly on the relationship between the media and ethnicity in Canada. If nothing else, no other study is comparable with it in either detail or the volume of data upon which it was constructed. What I believe to be of greater importance is the fact that because of its specificity it has outlined a representative, <u>relative</u> picture of how one group has been portrayed by the press in comparison with others at the same point in time. I believe

also that these various analyses of group portrayal will augment both historical and sociological work done on Canadian ethnic relations.

Finally, I think that it contributes something to a greater understanding of the role of the press in shaping social stratification in Canada. In this thesis I have dealt primarily with the newspapers themselves, as if they really were the final output of the newspaper industry. As I have mentioned in Appendix III, I realize that they are not the ultimate product at all - the ultimate and most consequential output of the press is to be found in the meanings which people attach to those printed words and the actions they take based upon them.

Save for the limited instance of Sikh reactions to their press portrayal found in Appendix III I have defined the analysis of the effects of ethnic portrayal on belief and behavior to be outside the bounds of this thesis. Still, I believe that it is ultimately the most important question--one which is far from resolution. Despite the paucity of Canadian research in this area, common sense alone suggests that ethnic press portrayal must act as an unequally distributed resource in personal quests for power, privilege, and prestige.

It is only reasonable that a stigmatic press identity is as much a liability to aspiring individuals of that background as being portrayed as ethnically normal and non-problematical is to others. Moreover, I have shown that in Vancouver (and presumably, elsewhere in Canada) this resource has never been distributed randomly. Anglo Canadians, the

British in Canada, and a few others have rather consistently been dealt a better hand than most, both in the positiveness of their own coverage and in the selective silence with which the press has responded to their deviant acts. Of course, this long term inequality in ethnic portrayal corresponds to patterns of ethnic stratification in Canadian society more generally.

It is within this framework that ethnicity in the press becomes a social and moral question rather than only a sociological one. In these relatively enlightened times I believe that very few Canadians think that it is right that an individual's access to the things he or she want should be determined even in part by that person's ethnicity. In any case, such a premise is antithetical to government policy and the law (at least in the negative case). Framed differently, whereas both Canadian mores and Canadian law stand mute to inequality based on class, to an increasing extent inequality based on ethnicity is being defined as immoral, unacceptable, and in certain cases, illegal. The portrayal of ethnicity in the Vancouver press poses a clear challenge to this ideal.

More generally, the portrayal of ethnicity by the press would seem to be antithetical to Canadian unity; it certainly does little to foster it. One need not be either 'for' or 'against' the persistence of ethnicity and ethnic identity in Canada to recognize that the presence of such a major social institution which makes invidious distinctions based upon ethnic or national origin is disfunctional to national cohesion and to a specifically pan-Canadian national identity.

Appendix I: General Rules for Coding Topics and Subtopics

As noted in Chaper I, the potential problem of topic and subtopic overlap was eliminated by developing rules to arbitrarily assign events and attributes to one rather than another possible category. The following sections detail these guidelines in terms of the appropriate topics and subtopics. Each section also includes a headline from a news item representative of that topic.

100. Housing and Settlement

This category included virtually everything about the housing of ethnic people that was distinctly an 'ethnic' story. It did not, however, include stories on discrimination in housing. These were classified under the topics "ethnics charge restriction," "ethnics are restricted," or "advocation of ethnic restriction." Neither did it include items on different housing customs, which were classified under the topic "cultural differences."

For example:

> BOARDING HOUSE FOR THE HINDUS: Building at Corner of Granville Street and Beach Avenue rented from C.P.R.
>
> (Vancouver Province, November 1, 1906.)

Subtopics:

101. ...are overcrowded
102. ...cause high rents or house prices to rise
103. ...cause neighborhoods to go ethnic
104. ...housing is restricted or are denied housing
105. ...provide their own housing
106. ...cannot find housing

100. Housing and Settlement (Cont'd.)

107. ...do not keep up their houses
108. ...cause overcrowding
109. ...other

200. Education

This category included news items relating to the education and training of ethnics as well as to their impact on the educational system. Discrimination in education, however, was included under the topics "advocation of ethnic restriction," "ethnics are restricted," or "ethnics charge restriction," as the case might be. Lack of occupational skill items fell under the topic "employment and economic activities."

For example:

> CANNOT SEPARATE ORIENTAL PUPILS: City Solicitor reports against proposed move to City Council. Resolution proposed to request Act to be changed in that respect.
>
> (Vancouver Province, April 9, 1914.)

Subtopics:

201. ...cause schools to be overcrowded
202. Canadian children are held back by ...children
203. Special educational provisions are required or have been established for ...
204. ...in the educational system are costing too much money to the taxpayer
205. ...are educationally disadvantaged compared to Canadians
206. ...make bad adjustment to Canadian schools
207. ...make good adjustment to Canadian schools
208. ...are under-educated and lack western cultural knowledge (except regarding work)
209. Support of foreign students
210. other

300. Health and Welfare

This category included news items to do with the impact of ethnic peoples on health services as well as articles relating to their own health and welfare. Discrimination was once again coded under the topics "advocation of ethnic restriction," "ethnics charge restriction," or "ethnics are restricted."

For example:

SLOWLY KILLING INDIAN PUPILS: 25% DEATH RATE AT GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS IN MANITOBA - TB VICTIMS
(Vancouver Province, November 21, 1907.)

Subtopics:

301. ...are a hazard to health
302. ...health is poor
303. ...health is good
304. ...are a drain on social services
305. ...are not a drain on social services
306. ...are on welfare
307. ...want health or welfare services
308. ...do not pay their share of social services
309. other
310. ...provide their own social services

400. Employment and Economic Activities

This category included news items about employment in relation to the labor market except those that could be classified as discrimination. Included in this category also were stories dealing with expenditure of funds and entrepreneurship.

For example:

CHINESE TO BUILD SAWMILL AT CANTON
(Vancouver Province, January 18, 1905.)

400. Employment and Economic Activities (Cont'd.)

or:

60 HANDSOME PROFIT ON REAL ESTATE - CHINESE MERCHANT SOLD HOLDINGS ON CARROLL STREET AND PURCHASED HASTINGS ST FRONTAGE
(Vancouver Province, March 4, 1905.)

Subtopics:

401. ...seek jobs
402. ...cause unemployment or take jobs
403. cause lower standard of living for Canadian workers (re: work)
404. ...are needed for the labor supply
405. ...work hard or are good workers
406. ...are poor workers or lazy ones; do not work hard or do not follow orders
407. ...are skilled workers
408. ...are unskilled workers
409. other: (mostly trade soliciting - tariffs and markets)
410. ...are unemployed
411. ...are employed
412. ...are or will be driving Canadian establishments out of business
413. ...send their money out of the country
414. ...are frugal and do not spend much
415. ...own or are buying up property or businesses
416. ...patronize only their own businesses
417. ...employ each other
418. ...are a source of cheap labor (positive)
419. ...are in economic distress

500. Numbers

This category included news items about the size of ethnic populations, census figures, etc. All stories were included except those where numbers were subsidiary to other topics (as for instance, immigration, which would have been classified into the topic "immigration").

For example:

500. Numbers (Cont'd.)

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION INTO BRITISH COLUMBIA--7,589 Japanese...
(Vancouver Province, October 15, 1910.)

Subtopics:

501. ...are of a certain population
502. ...are increasing in number
503. there are not enough ... here
504. ...birth rates are higher than general population
505. ...cause overpopulation in Canada
506. too many...will lead to trouble
509. other

600. Advocation of Ethnic Restriction

This category included news items in which ethnic restriction was specifically advocated. No other topic dealing with specific examples of the advocation of restriction overrode it.

For example:

JAPANESE EXCLUSION LEAGUE WILL BE FORMED
(Vancouver Province, August 2, 1907.)

Subtopics:

601. ...should be barred from certain jobs or get less wages
602. ...should be denied social services
603. ...should be denied rights of citizenship (votes, etc.)
604. ...should not be allowed to use conveniences, businesses, etc.
605. ...should not be allowed to do things in ethnic ways
606. ...should not be allowed to compete with other businesses
607. ...should be barred from immigrating
608. ...should not be allowed to speak foreign languages
609. Keep Canada White

700. Ethnics Are Restricted

This category included news items that related to actual restrictions upon ethnics. Discussions of legislative restrictions were classified under the topic "legislation, citizenship and legal business." Those claiming that ethnicity restricted school performance were coded under the topic "education."

For example:

> WHITES AND BLACKS NOT TO INTERMARRY.
> Order Goes Forth in Samoan Islands Belonging to Germany
> (Vancouver Province, February 20, 1912.)

Subtopics:

701. ...are barred from certain jobs or get less wages
702. ...are denied social services
703. ...are denied rights of citizenship
704. ...are not allowed to use white conveniences
705. ...are not allowed ethnic ways
706. ...cannot immigrate
707. lack of information or knowledge restricts ...
709. other

800. Ethnics Charge Restriction

This category included any news item in which ethnics charged that they were restricted in their access to rights, institutions, places or services.

For example:

> WOULD SUE TORONTO PAPER FOR LIBEL:
> DR. SUNDER SINGH OBJECTS TO STATEMENT
> THAT HINDUS ARE SEDITIONISTS
> (Vancouver Province, January 29, 1912.)

800. Ethnics Charge Restriction (Cont'd.)

Subtopics:

801. ...claim that they are barred from jobs, housing, or get less wages
802. ...claim that they are barred from social services
803. ...claim that they are barred from Canadian social institutions
804. ...claim that they are barred from rights of citizenship
805. ...claim that they are not allowed ethnic ways
806. ...claim that they cannot immigrate
809. other

900. Ethnic Relations -

This category was very broad, and included material that could not be specifically classified into other categories dealing with ethnic relations. Included were items on ethnic relations, relations with the police, articles on assimilation, and the like.

For example:

> LAW-BREAKERS ARE FOREIGNERS: Only Four-Native-born Canadians Prosecuted in Strike Zone. Whitehead, Secretary of the IWW at Lytton, Got Six Months
>
> (Vancouver Province, May 29, 1912)

Subtopics:

901. ...organizations try to better ethnic relations
902. ...relations are being mediated by an external force
903. ...have good relations with the police
904. ...have bad relations with the police
905. relations between ... and the larger society are getting better
906. relations between ... and the larger society are getting worse
907. relations between larger society and ... are good
908. relations between larger society and ... are bad (French Canadian separatism in this category, too)
909. other

900. Ethic Relations (Cont'd.)

910. ...are assimilating
911. ...have outside support
912. ...and another group unite in action or concern
913. ...try to impose their ways on other parts of society (includes Canadian language conflicts)
914. ...do not get along and exploit each other
915. ...are a threat to the Western World
916. pro-American investment or pro-Americans in Canada
917. anti-American investment or anti-Americans in Canada
918. ...bilingualism advocated

1000. Immigration

This category included all news items relating to the entry of ethnic peoples. Exceptions included the advocation of their restriction which was classified under "advocation of ethnic restriction" or discussion of immigration legislation which was classified under the topic "legislation, citizenship and legal business." Settlement of immigrants was coded under "housing."

For example:

> RUSH OF ENGLISH SETTLERS TO CANADA. Increasing Tide to Dominion Follows Industrial Troubles in British Isles. Canadian Chamber of Commerce will adopt energetic policy of publicity (Vancouver Province, April 13, 1912.)

Subtopics:

1001. there is too much immigration from ...
1002. ...are coming to the country in large numbers
1003. ...are entering illegally
1004. ...arrive or will arrive
1005. ...should be aided in immigration or are aided
1006. ...bring over their relations or would like to
1007. a ... is being deported
1008. ...are refused entry

1000. Immigration (Cont'd.)

1009. other
1010. Canada goes to or should go to ... to solicit the 'right kind' of immigrant
1012. ... should stay in Canada rather than emigrate to U.S.A.
1013. make money on incoming immigrants

1100. Legislation, Citizenship, and Legal Business

This category included all news items dealing with the discussion of acts of legislation concerning immigration or citizenship. It also included evaluative stories on ethnics' potentials as citizens and events concerning ethnics involved in litigation.

For example:

> INDIANS TRACKED WEARY MILE ON MILE.
> Graphic Description of Chase Given At Paul Spintlum's Trial. Chief Fernie tells of Trailing Fugitives through Wild Country. One Indian Witness arrested today to be charged with perjury. Defense has only a few witnesses to call, it is said ...
> (Vancouver Province, June 26, 1913.)

Subtopics:

1101. politicians are acting or urge the restriction of ...
1102. discussion of laws limiting ... behavior
1103. discussion of laws protecting ... behavior
1104. ...are in the courts
1105. ...go to the government to protest
1106. ...make good citizens or contribute to the general good
1107. ...make bad citizens or do not contribute to the general good
1108. discussion on parliamentary debates or government reports concerning immigration of ... to Canada
1109. other (including Native land claims)
1110. discussions of language bills in Canada

1200. Violence, Hostility, or Crime Against Ethnics

This category included news items about assaults, harassment, and derogatory statements against ethnics and their property.

For example:

> T'WAS OTHER MAN WHO BROKE SWEDE'S NOSE. William Pierce, however, was fined by Judge McInnes for Assault
>
> (Vancouver Province, July 26, 1913.)

Subtopics:

1201. ...are assaulted or harassed in an ethnic-related incident
1202. ...property is destroyed or vandalized in an ethnic-related incident
1203. ...property or person is the victim of crime
1204. ...should not do something or they will be met with force
1205. ...feel that they are isolated from others
1206. ...are dealt with harshly by government and police
1207. ...are dealt with leniently by government and police
1209. other

1300. Violence, Hostility, or Crime by Ethnics

This category included news items about assaults, harassment and derogatory statements by ethnics against members of the majority population or against each other.

For example:

> AUSTRIAN SENT TO JAIL. Eighteen Months for man who stabbed woman at Greenwood ...
>
> (Vancouver Province, June 26, 1913.)

Subtopics:

1301. ...assault, harass or destroy persons or property (except for 1303 and 1304 below)

1300. Violence, Hostility, or Crime by Ethnics (Cont'd.)

1302. ... assault, harass or fight each other (or property) (except for 914)
1303. riots in the U.S.A. involving ...
1304. demonstrations involving ... in Britain or in the British Dominions
1305. ...will meet (or meet) an imposition with force
1306. ...are hostile to other Canadians
1307. ...are accused or suspected of crime
1308. ...cause crime to increase
1309. other
1310. ...are violent
1311. ...is being given capital punishment

1400. Cultural Differences

This category included all news items where cultural differences were central.

For example:

> STORY HOW PETER DUNLEVY BRAVED THE INDIANS AND WHAT LUCK IT LED HIM TO. Johnny Walker of Nanaimo continues his story to Dr. Walkem. Trip to Cariboo in Earliest Days of the Gold Rush.
>
> (Vancouver Province, July 6, 1912.)

Subtopics:

1401. ...have different housing customs
1402. ...have different eating customs or food
1403. ...have different morals
1404. ...have different religious beliefs or practices
1405. ...have different dress customs
1406. ...have different working practices
1407. ...differ in sanitation standards or health, different medical practices
1408. ...require special cultural provisions or are provided with them
1409. other
1410. ...are unassimilatible
1411. ...stick together

1400. Cultural Differences (Cont'd.)

1412. ... do not learn English or 'speak it badly'
1413. ... humor
1414. ... have different concept of law
1415. ... are learning English
1416. ... are assimilatible
1417. ... have home country loyalties
1418. Canadianness urged
1419. ... have best cultural practices
1420. ... and multiculturalism

1500. Celebrities

This category included all news items on ethnics who got into the news because of their status as celebrities. Such stories must have contained reference to ethnicity.

For example:

RUSSIAN PIANIST AT THE IMPERIAL: Versatile Artist to give Grand Concert on Thursday Evening
(Vancouver Province, March 12, 1913.)

Subtopics:

1501. ... entertainer in the news
1502. ... politician in the news
1503. ... social notable in the news
1504. ... historical notable in the news
1509. other

1600. Sports

This category included all news items in which sports were mentioned in relation to ethnicity.

For example:

BRITISH SOCCER SEASON WANES: Results Today in the Football Games Played in the Motherland. Many Draws and Postponements in Big League Matches
(Vancouver Province, April 26, 1913.)

1600. Sports (Cont'd.)

Subtopics:

1601. keep ethnic politics out of sports ...
1602. ...participate in sports
1603. ...and ethnic-related sports controversy
1604. a Canadian wins over or loses to ...
1609. other
1610. boycott because of ... participation

1700. Ethnic Organizations, Celebrations, and Events

This category included news items on ethnic events, celebrations and ethnic organizations except those emphasizing cultural difference, which were placed under the topic "cultural differences."

For example:

CHINESE WOULD STOP COMPATRIOTS COMING:
Local Colony takes Steps to Discourage other
Celestials Flocking Here
(Vancouver Province, May 13, 1908)

Subtopics:

1701. ...celebrate ethnic festivals
1702. ...organizations take a role in the community
1703. ...celebrate national holidays
1704. ...organizations have sinister, suspicious activity
1705. ...organize concerts, plays
1706. religious organizations help...
1709. other

1800. Normal News

This category included news material in which ethnics were featured prominently because of their involvement in otherwise newsworthy events.

For example:

1800. Normal News (Cont'd.)

CHINESE TO BUILD FREAK STRUCTURE. Permit Issued Today for Thinnest Building on the Continent. Will be Six Feet Wide and Four Stories in Height
(Vancouver Province, March 27, 1913.)

Subtopics:

1801. human interest story on ...
1802. ...victim of accidents
1803. ...ethnic makes good
1804. ...commits suicide or dies
1809. other
1810. tourism and ...

Appendix II. Values Assigned to Subtopics in Generating a Moral Community Score

	Subtopic	Value
100.	Housing	0
101.	...are overcrowded	-1
102.	...cause high rents	0
103.	...cause ethnic neighborhoods	-1
104.	...are denied housing	0
105.	...provide own housing	0
106.	...cannot find housing	0
107.	...do not keep up their homes	-1
108.	...cause overcrowding	-1
109.	other	0
200.	Education	0
201.	...cause schools to be overcrowded	-1
202.	Canadian children held back by ... children	-1
203.	...need special education	-1
204.	...education costs too much	-1
205.	...are educationally disadvantaged	0
206.	...make bad adjustment to Canadian schools	-1
207.	...make good adjustment to Canadian schools	+1
208.	...are undereducated	-1
209.	support of foreign ... students	0
210.	other	0
300.	Health & Welfare	0
301.	...are a hazard to health	-1
302.	...health is poor	-1
303.	...health is good	+1
304.	...are a drain on services	-1
305.	...are not a drain on services	+1
306.	are on welfare	-1
307.	...want health or welfare services	0
308.	...do not pay their share of social services	-1

309. other 0

310. ...provide their own social services +1

400. Employment & Economy 0

401. ... seek jobs 0

402. ... cause unemployment -1

403. ... cause lower standard of living -1

404. ...are needed for the labor supply 0

405. ...work hard or are good workers +1

406. ...are poor workers or lazy -1

407. ...are skilled workers +1

408. ...are unskilled workers -1

409. other (mostly trade soliciting) 0

410. ...are unemployed -1

411. ...are employed +1

412. ...are or will drive Canadian business out -1

413. ... send money out of country -1

414. ...are frugal 0

415. ...own or buy up property 0

416. ...patronize only their own business 0

417. ... employ each other -1

418. ...are a source of cheap labor -1

419. ...are in economic distress -1

500. Numbers 0

501. ...are of a certain population 0

502. ...are increasing in number 0

503. there are not enough ... here +1

504. ...birth rates higher than general population -1

505. ... cause overpopulation in Canada -1

506. too many ... will lead to trouble -1

509. other 0

600. Advocation of Ethnic Restriction -1

601. ... should be barred from jobs or get less wages -1

602. ... should be denied social services -1

603. ...should be denied citizenship -1

604. ...should not be allowed conveniences -1

605. ...should not be allowed ethnic ways -1

606. ...should not be allowed to compete in business -1

607. ...should be barred from immigrating -1

608. ...should not be allowed to speak foreign languages -1

609. keep Canada white -1

700. Ethnics are Restricted 0

701. ...are barred from certain jobs or get less wages 0

702. ...are denied social services 0

703. ...are denied rights of citizenship 0

704. ...are not allowed to use white conveniences 0

705. ...are not allowed ethnic ways 0

706. ...cannot immigrate -1

707. lack of information or knowledge restricts... -1

709. other 0

800. Ethnics Charge Restriction 0

801. ...claim they are barred from jobs, housing 0

802. ...claim they are barred from social services 0

803. ...claim they are barred from Canadian social institutions 0

804. ...claim they are barred from rights of citizenship 0

805. ...claim they are not allowed to vote 0

806. ...claim they cannot immigrate 0

809. other 0

900. Ethnic Relations 0

901. ...organizations try to better relations +1

902. ...relations are mediated by external force 0

903. ...have good relations with police +1

904. ...have bad relations with police -1

905. relations between ... & larger society are better +1

906. relations between ... & larger society are worse -1

907. relations between larger society & ... are good +1

908. relations between larger society and ... are bad -1

909. other 0

910. ...are assimilating +1

911. ...have outside support 0

912. ...and another group united in action and concern 0

913. ...try to impose ways -1

914. ...do not get along and exploit each other -1

915. ...are a threat to the Western world -1

916. pro-American investment in Canada +1

917. anti-American investment in Canada -1

918. ...bilingualism advocated 0

1000. Immigration 0

1001. there is too much immigration from ... -1

1002. ...are coming to the country in large numbers 0

1003. ...are entering illegally -1

1004. ...arrive or will arrive 0

1005. ...should be aided in immigration or are aided +1

1006. ...bring over their relations -1

1007. ...is being deported -1

1008. ...are refused entry -1

1009. other 0

1010. Canada goes to or should go to ... to solicit 'right kind' of immigrant +1

1012. ...should stay in Canada +1

1013. make money on immigrants -1

1100. Legislation, Citizenship, and Legal Business 0

1101. politicians acting or urge restriction of ... 0

1102. discussion of laws limiting ... behavior 0

1103. discussion of laws protecting ... behavior 0

1104. ...are in the courts 0

1105. ...go to the government to protest 0

1106. ...make good citizens +1

1107. ...make bad citizens -1

1108. discussion on government reports re immigration of ... 0

1110. discussion on language bills ... 0

1200. Violence, Hostility, or Crime Against Ethnics 0

1201. ...are assaulted in an ethnic-related accident 0

1202. ...property is destroyed 0

1203. ...property or person is the victim of crime 0

1204. ...should not do something or they will be met with force 0

1205. ...feel they are isolated from others 0

1206. ...are dealt with harshly by government and police 0

1207. ...are dealt with leniently by government and police 0

1209. other 0

1300. Violence, Hostility, or Crime by Ethnics -1

1301. ...assault, harass or destroy persons or property -1

1302. ...assault, harss each other -1

1303. riots in the U.S.A. -1

1304. demonstrations involving ... in Britain or in British Dominions -1

1305. ...will meet an imposition with force -1

1306. ...are hostile to other Canadians -1

1307. ...are accused of crime -1

1308. ...cause crime to increase -1

1309. other -1

1310. ...are violent -1

1311. ...is being given capital punishment -1

1400. Cultural Difference 0

1401. ...have different housing customs -1

1402. ...have different eating or food customs 0

1403. ...have different morals -1

1404. ...have different religious practices -1

1405. ...have different dress customs -1

1406. ...have different work practices 0

1407. ...differ in sanitation or health standards -1

1408. ...require special cultural provisions 0

1409. other 0

1410. ...are unassimilatible -1

1411. ...stick together -1

1412. ...do not learn English -1

1413. ...humor 0

1414. ...have different concept of law -1

1415. ...are learning English +1

1416. ...are assimilatible +1

1417. ...have home country loyalties 0

1418. Canadianness urged 0

1419. ...have best cultural practices +1

1420. ...and multiculturalism 0

1500. Celebrities +1

1501. ...entertainers +1

1502. ...politicians +1

1503. ...social notables +1

1504. ...historical notables +1

1509. other 0

1600. Sports 0

1601. keep ethnic politics out of sports ... 0

1602. ...participate in sports +1

1603. ...and ethnic-related sports controversy 0

1604. a Canadian wins or loses to ... 0

1609. other 0

1610. boycott because of ... participation 0

1700. Ethnic Organizations, Celebrations, and Events 0

1701. ...celebrate ethnic festivals +1

1702. ...organizations take a role in the community +1

1703. ...celebrate national holidays +1

1704.	...organizations have sinister, suspicious activity	-1
1705.	...organize concerts, plays	+1
1706.	religious organizations help ...	+1
1709.	other	0
1800.	Normal News	0
1801.	human interest story on ...	0
1802.	...victim of accident	0
1803.	...ethnic makes good	+1
1804.	...commits suicide or dies	0
1809.	other	0
1810.	tourism and ...	0

Appendix III. South Asians and their Coverage in the Press: A Case Study[1]

One of the principal difficulties which limits any analysis of newspaper content is that the ultimate output of the press is not the printed word. Rather, it is to be found in the meanings which readers attach to those words. In the realm of ethnic presentation this problem is further compounded by the polyethnic makeup of the reading public. It is a virtual certainty that in such situations the same printed words will not mean the same thing to those whose ethnicity is portrayed as it will to those whose ethnicity is not.

In this Appendix I would like to complement my content analysis of ethnic portrayal in the Vancouver press by briefly outlining how members of Vancouver's Sikh community reacted to their press coverage in the first half of 1975. I will then conclude with some findings on how these people presently view the press and their place in Canadian society.

In January of 1975, press coverage of South Asians rose sharply above previous levels. Some four months later it declined with equal suddenness. Table CLXIII shows the number and type of news items relating to South Asians which were found in a daily search of the Vancouver Sun:

Topic	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	Total
Crime	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	6
Cultural Events	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Discrimination, Victimization	1	2	2	1	1	0	0	7
Colored Immigration	5	4	10	7	2	0	1	29
Other Immigration	3	1	6	1	1	2	1	15
Supportive Letters and Articles	1	1	10	4	1	1	1	19
Total	10	9	32	15	5	3	3	77

Table CLXIII. South Asian News Items in the Vancouver Sun (January 1 to July 31, 1975)

This sequence began with a spate of articles on the theme that Asian immigration was the root cause of several social problems in the Vancouver area. Although South Asians were rarely mentioned specifically, such transparent euphemisms like "the immigration of those of different cultures" or of those with "difficulties in adjusting to Canada" left little to the imagination as to who was the intended referent.

This theme was expressed in several ways. Vandalism and minor crimes against South Asians were uniformly presented by the Sun as racial incidents. In virtually all of these cases of individual vandalism, name calling, and assault, the Sun tended to suggest that such acts were the inevitable outcome of the interaction of two fundamentally different cultures,

thus reviving a hoary theme in the portrayal of South Asians in Vancouver. As will be shown shortly, both the editors of the Sun and the mayor of Vancouver were to use this same theme to explain what they saw to be the dangers faced by the city through continuing immigration.

Provoked in part by the Federal Government's public review of immigration policy and practice which culminated in the Green Paper on Immigration (Department of Manpower & Immigration 1975a-d), the Sun's direct coverage of this subject increased enormously. In keeping with its past practice, the Sun linked immigration to several current social problems, notably the soaring price of housing, unemployment, and the high cost of government.

During January and the first half of February many Vancouver Sikhs were well aware that the Sun's interest in them had increased. Already considerable concern had been generated that the press was misrepresenting South Asians and was using Asian immigration as a scapegoat for social ills that were not of their making. Sikhs were not prepared to agree that they were any sort of social problem whatsoever. Nevertheless, the relatively low key way in which these topics had been approached by the Sun did not provoke any active response by Sikhs or for that matter, by other South Asians.

A story carried by the Sun on February 20 (page 2) began a sequence of interaction between the press and local Sikhs which eventually resulted in national media coverage. Capped by a large picture of a Sikh family

looking out through the broken view window of their Surrey home, the story outlined the ongoing problem of vandalism which the family had weathered over the previous few months. The husband claimed that the police were ineffective in stopping the problem, and suggested that this was because he was South Asian. Subsequent to this news item (and perhaps because of it), this family was protected against further vandalism by members of the East Indian Defense Committee, a leftist political association which has strong support among younger Sikhs.

On February 27 (page 20), the Sun carried another picture story under the large byline "Race Fight Puts Youth In Hospital." A local youth had tempted fate by shouting insults at those protecting the Surrey family's home and for his efforts had been caught and beaten. One result of this press exposure was that on the 4th of March (page 19), it was announced (in the press) that the RCMP had set up a special unit to deal with "racial violence" in the Surrey area. It was subsequently found that only 10% of the vandalism cases in Surrey in January and February 1975 listed South Asians as victims.[2]

The next item in this sequence occurred on the 10th of March, which the Sun and the Province both introduced with 8 column wide, front page headlines:

> EAST INDIANS VOW TO FIGHT
> A Vigilante Group Organized by Communist Party
> Plans to Retaliate Against 'White Racist Attacks'
> on East Indians in the Lower Mainland
>
> (Vancouver Sun)

VIGILANTES TO ACT AGAINST WHITE RACISTS
The Leader of a Maoist Political Party Claims that More than 800 East Indians were Prepared to Meet Violence with Violence

(Vancouver Province)

These stories dealt with a mass meeting of the East Indian Defense Committee in Vancouver the night before. The press version of what happened read much like what one might have expected in the newspapers fifty years earlier. According to the press, several hundred angry, foreign subversives had formed a compact to react towards any racial attacks with violent retribution. They had been whipped into a frenzy by a political troublemaker from Eastern Canada who was the national leader of a Communist Party. Substantially the same story was fed to the wire services and figured prominently on the CBC National news. It was also first page news in the Toronto newspapers.

What actually occurred was very different.[3] The spokesman had indeed suggested that South Asians protect themselves. He claimed that after resorting to the police it was the legal right of South Asians to protect themselves and their property from attack. His political party was planning to assist people in this manner. Never was the word vigilante used, nor was it even implied that their goal was to seek out wrongdoers or to punish them. Nevertheless, the press version of the event was to predominate. Even South Asians who had no first hand knowledge of the event tended to take the press at its word.

On the 11th of March (page 4), the Sun ran a lead editorial under the

caption "Incitement to Violence," asserting that the " ... city cannot tolerate activities of Communists or anyone else who tries to exploit racial tensions for political advantage." In yet another response to the press rather than to the event itself, the leaders of twelve influential South Asian groups met and collectively denounced the press-reported views of the East Indian Defense Committee as being unrepresentative of the community at large. This piece was buried in the Entertainment Section of the Sun on March 11th (page 29).

By far the most intensely covered topic of this period was Asian immigration. Although a detailed analysis of these articles is beyond the scope of this Appendix, that of February, 1975 is generally representative of it and will be briefly considered here.

On February 3 the Sun's first page headline announced:

IMMIGRATION STUDY WARNS:
Vancouver Faces Racial Tension

The story which followed heralded the publication of the Federal Green Paper on Immigration. Within hours of its release, the Sun was able to distill a four volume report into the single conclusion that the Federal Government predicted racial problems in Vancouver. Worse yet, nowhere in the report was such a suggestion even implicitly made.

Nevertheless, to a public who did not have the report, press coverage once more stood for the real thing. The next day's Sun (February 4, page 29) had a full page response to this "press Green Paper" under the

headline "City Immigrants Not Concerned by Racial Tension." On February 6 (page 5), the Sun printed an editorial on the Green Paper which justified the "racist" tone of the Green Paper by reference to Canada's racially biased past. This was followed two days later (page 5) by another editorial which was captioned "Violence is coming to our land...a Pervasive, Individual Violence." The headline was taken from a speech by the Prime Minister which attacked racial violence. However, the Sun used the sentence out of context to legitimate racism. Selective editing made it seem that the Prime Minister was making a prediction that future racial violence was a certainty.

Many other news items appeared which reinforced the belief that Asian immigration brought trouble with it. On January 22, the Sun's front page headline shouted "East Indian 'Slave' Racket Broken Here." It was an account of an alleged scheme to bring immigrants illegally into the country. In another full page item of February 18 (page 6), the Sun claimed that there was a "Crisis in the City Schools. Thousands Know Little or No English."

Immigration continued to be news in March. On March 5, the mayor of Vancouver made a speech on the subject in Winnipeg. The next day South Asians were subjected to a page one headline which directly questioned their place in British Columbia:

DRAW RACIAL LINE ON IMMIGRATION, MAYOR URGES

(Vancouver Province, March 6, page 1)

The only parts of the mayor's hour long speech which were presented in the accompanying article were overtly racist. The mayor suggested that while "It is laudable to have non-discriminatory policies ... it is a mistake if they lead to racial violence." Rather, "the cause of tolerance and brotherhood can be better served by policies which recognize the realities of human nature ... [which are that]... tensions are increased if the rate of immigration of any group from a dramatically different background is too great for the community to absorb." It is difficult to believe that the reporting of this speech in such a prominent manner was done without editorial decision. The Sun stand on this issue was made in an editorial March 10 (page 4) under the byline "No Ducking This Issue.". In it the Sun supported the mayor, and suggested that "no less than the federal government Green Paper on Immigration ... [saw this danger]... of the influx of Asian immigrants ." Once more, the Green Paper said nothing of the sort.

Several other issues of the day also singled out South Asians for special treatment. About the same time, several South Asians were being tried in court for allegedly arranging marriages of convenience for other South Asians in order for them to secure immigrant status. This trial was reported on the front page of the Sun on March 7 and received extensive coverage on March 6, 7, 8, and 26, April 9, 11, and 16, and May 1. Coercion, sex, and violence were constant themes in these items. On March 12 (page 6) the Sun printed an authored piece titled "The Violent Minority" which referred directly to Sikhs and to violence among them.

There were several ways in which this coverage affected the Sikh minority of Vancouver. Previously, there was no single opinion held by all Sikhs about the press and its place in Canadian society. Younger and more politicized individuals were always suspicious of it, especially with regard to how it portrayed South Asians. Nevertheless, it was more common that the press was simply not a major issue in people's lives. As such, many Sikhs subscribed to a theory of the press which was quite similar to that propounded by the press itself--that it reflected the events of the world approximately as they really were.

This view of the press was to change remarkably over the course of the next few months. Initial anxiety over the negative coverage of South Asians was consistent with seeing the press as a neutral mirror, for it was focused on the <u>events</u> portrayed rather than on the <u>medium</u> which was portraying them. People were worried about the consequences which the actions of those portrayed might have for other Sikhs. It was only after items attacking South Asians continued unabated for some time that people more frequently questioned the motives of newspaper personnel. When the <u>Sun</u> began to editorialize against Asian immigration a decided shift occurred towards a conspiratorial, 'elite' model of the press. So different was Sikh life and the press image of it that it was difficult for people to explain their portrayal in any other way but that the creators of the newspapers were against Sikhs. Once sensitized to potential press racism, it was seen in virtually every story pertaining to South Asians.

A shift in attitudes regards the press was by no means the only effect that was noted. A number of Sikh individuals and associations wrote protesting letters to the editors. The only ones which the Sun printed criticized inaccuracies in the coverage of events rather than the newspaper itself. Representations were made to the British Columbian Human Rights Branch and the Sun was sporatically picketed by demonstrators. Sikh community meetings began to use Punjabi exclusively, in order to insure that the press could have no way of inaccurately reporting what occurred.

Two Years Later

Newspaper coverage of South Asians in the Vancouver area subsequently decreased to more 'normal' levels and did not increase again during the period under consideration. Still, the portrayal of South Asians continued to be stigmatic. In order to assess Sikh views of their place in Canadian society and the impact of the media on it, a formal questionnaire was prepared and administered in 1977. The questionnaire was extensive (over one hundred questions) and was designed to elicit information on Sikh attitudes controlled for a range of demographic variables such as age, marital status, occupation, education, and length of residence in Canada.

In order to avoid biasing responses by administering the questionnaire myself (I am not Sikh), I engaged an adult male Sikh to do the interviews. To simplify analysis and keep the sample size manageable, I restricted the study to adult male Sikhs. In all, 99 questionnaires were satisfactorily completed. They were subsequently coded and the information was punched

onto cards. The data was then manipulated by computer techniques similar to those used in the content analysis.

Although I did not make a formal attempt to produce a random sample, every indication is that the resulting sample was reasonably representative of the Sikh population of the Vancouver area. The mean age of the sample population was 32, and ranged from 20 to 76; this is consistent with the mean age of Indian immigrants who are 20 years old or more (Department of Manpower & Immigration 1976:10-11). 60.6% (n = 60) were married. 61.6% had lived in Canada 6 years or less. They were occupationally concentrated in blue collar work:[4]

Occupational Sector	number	%
Unskilled blue collar	32	40.0
Skilled & semi-skilled blue collar	25	31.3
Skilled & semi-skilled white collar	12	15.0
Professionals	3	3.8
Independent businessmen	5	6.3
Not working	3	3.8
Total	80	100.0%

Table CLXV. Sikh Occupations, by Sector

When asked to give their opinions on what was the most important problem facing Canadian society, discrimination was the third most frequent response after unemployment and inflation:

Key Canadian Social Problem	number	%
Unemployment	32	32.3
Inflation	21	21.2
Discrimination	16	16.2
Moral Decay	9	9.1
Bilingualism & Separatism	8	8.1
Other (n < 4)	13	13.1
Total	99	100.0%

Table CLXVI. Sikh Perceptions of Key Canadian Social Problems

Sikhs nevertheless had a very pessimistic view of how other Canadians viewed them. When asked whether other Canadians liked a range of ethnic and national groups, Sikhs put themselves at the very bottom of the list:

Group	Score	Rank
British	1.11	1
Americans	1.28	2
Germans	1.40	3
Italians	1.58	4
French	1.64	5
Eastern Europeans	1.69	6
Portuguese	1.85	7
Chinese	2.18	8
Filipino	2.19	8
West Indian	2.3	9
Indigenous People	2.70	10
Sikhs	2.74	11

Table CLXVI. Sikh Perceptions of the Attitudes of Other Canadians to various Ethnic and National Groups[5]

Table CLXVI shows that Sikhs were using a very consistent "ideal

type" of a Canadian: an ideal Canadian is culturally British and biologically white. In their view anyone diverging from either of these two criteria merited less esteem.

Sikh perceptions that other Canadians disliked them was also affirmed by their estimations of how frequently they had been the victims of discrimination:

Experience Discrimination	number	%
Frequently	45	45.4
Occasionally	34	35.1
Rarely or never	18	18.5
Total	97	100.0%

Table CLXVII. Sikh Perceptions of Discrimination

They were convinced that others believed very stigmatic things about them:

	number	%
Object to different Sikh behavior	30	30.9
Hard working	19	19.6
Ignorant, stupid	16	16.5
Good people, like them	13	13.4
Object to use of different language	8	8.2
Cause unemployment	6	6.2
Object to Sikhs on racial grounds	5	5.2
Total	97	100.0%

Table CLXVIII. Sikh Perceptions of what Other Canadians Think of Them

What was telling was where they believed that other Canadians got this stigmatic view of Sikhs:

The Most Important Source of Information About Sikhs	number	%
Newspapers	41	41.8
Canadian friends	24	24.5
Direct contact with other Sikhs	15	15.3
Television	8	8.2
Sikh friends	7	7.1
Other	3	3.1
Total	98	100.0%

Table CLXIX. Sikh Perceptions of the Most Important Source of Information About Themselves

The newspapers were by far the most frequently given response. Whether true or not, it is clear that even at this time when press coverage of South Asians was relatively low, Sikhs saw the newspapers as directly contributing to their stigmatic social identity. They were manifestly not insensitive to their press portrayal. This was no doubt partially so because a substantive number of them were active newspaper readers:

Do you Frequently Read the Province or the Sun?	number	%
Yes, the Sun	35	35.4
Yes, the Province	20	20.2
Yes, both	19	19.2
Occasional reader of one or the other	12	12.1
No, neither	13	13.1
Total	99	100.0%

Table CLXX. Sikh Newspaper Reading Habits

The sections that they most frequently read were (in order): the international and national news, sports, local news, the entertainment section,

editorials, letters to the editor, ads, and feature stories.

There was no doubt that Sikhs thought that of all the media the newspapers did the worst job of providing coverage of Sikhs. Measured on a three point scale where 1.0 = fair, 2.0 = sometimes fair, sometimes not, and 3.0 = unfair, Punjabi language radio programs received a score of 1.35, while television (2.09), radio (2.09) and the newspapers (2.24) did much worse.

Sikhs felt shut out of the newspapers, in the sense that they felt unable to gain any input into them, either as individuals or as groups. Very few (13, or 13.5%) thought that as it stood, the Sun and Province printed "both sides" of issues and events dealing with local South Asians. 71.7% (71) of respondents thought that a South Asian organization did not have the same chance of receiving newspaper coverage as other organizations, and only 23.5% (23) believed that a South Asian candidate for office would get the same access to the newspapers as others.

It seems evident that at least insofar as this single immigrant group is concerned press portrayal has substantially influenced individual perceptions of their place in Canadian society. Sikhs see themselves as degraded by the Vancouver press--a press which they do not clearly separate from Canadian society as a whole. While the newspapers are by no means the only source of information Sikhs have about what others think of them, they are in certain respects unique. Accounts in the newspapers are fixed in print; as words on a page they are concrete, relatively

unambiguous pieces of information which can be discussed, passed about, and compared with Sikh perceptions of reality. In this regard, they are substantially different than information derived from social interaction, which is transitory and frequently dependent upon the individuals involved. Moreover, Sikhs (and presumably other people who maintain ethnic or national identities) are extremely sensitive to their press portrayal in the true sense of the word. They tend to notice when individuals of their ethnicity make the newspapers and tend to read these articles carefully. In a real sense, these articles serve as tests of the social honor of individuals--a social honor which the press far too frequently degrades.

This degradation process may well be for the most part unintentional, but this makes little difference to the reader. If a Sikh attacks another Sikh the event may fit the criteria of newsworthiness of the papers, even aside from the fact that Sikhs are involved. Nevertheless, from the point of view of the Sikh reader were such a story to find its way into print its principal effect would inevitably be seen to be that of "giving the Sikh community a bad name." It is but a small intellectual jump to the position that the press <u>wishes</u> to use that article to give Sikhs a bad name. Such a position would certainly be more consistent with the stories and editorials mentioned in the first part of this appendix than a notion that the press was a neutral window on the world.

Appendix III; Notes

1. A modified version of this appendix has appeared in print (Indra 1979a).

2. This information was volunteered by J. Kehoe, Department of Education, University of British Columbia.

3. The author was present at this meeting.

4. This concentration was much greater among older individuals. Dividing the sample in two at the median age of 29, 68.1% (32) of the older sample were blue collar workers; 42.6% (20) were unskilled.

5. Respondents were allowed to pick from these possibilities; Yes, Neutral, No, Don't Know. In order to create the scores in this table a "yes" response was assigned a value of 1, a "neutral" a value of 2, and a "no" a value of 3. "Don't Know" responses were excluded from the calculations. The scores are the mean responses from the resulting sample.

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