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The Invisible Mosaic: Women, Ethnicity and the Vancouver Press, 1905-1976

ABSTRACT/RESUME

The newspapers have been important in the generation and perpetuation of ethnic stereotypes in Canada. Content analysis of four thousand items in several Vancouver newspapers over the period 1905-1976 shows that the press has historically generated well defined stereotypes of a wide range of ethnic groups and continues to do so up to the present day. Women play a very insignificant role in this panorama. At no time were women portrayed in more than seven percent of news items with ethnic content. Ethnic press stereotypes were almost exclusively those of adult males, created by, of and for men. The newspaper images of these groups gave strong ideological support for the self and social identity of dominant-group males and provide an example of the degree to which males control and shape the social definition of reality in their own image.

Les journaux ont grandement contribué à la création et à la perpétuation des stéréotypes ethniques au Canada. Une analyse de contenu de quatre milles items, publiés entre 1905 et 1976 dans plusieurs journaux de vancouver, démontre que la presse a créé, et continue à créer, des images bien stéréotypées de plusieurs groupes ethniques. Dans ce panorama ethnique, le rôle des femmes n'est pas important. Les femmes ne sont présentes que dans 7% des articles à contenu ethnique. La presse ethnique ne présente que des stéréotypes d'hommes adultes, créés par les hommes, pour les hommes. L'image de ces groupes vehiculée par les journaux renforce, au niveau idéologique, les identités personnelles et sociales des hommes du groupe dominant. C'est un très bon exemple de l'étendue du contrôle qu'exercent les hommes sur la définition sociale de la réalité.

> *Man is defined as a human being and woman is defined as female. Whenever she tries to behave as a human being she is accused of trying to emulate the male.*
>
> *Simone de Beauvoir*[1]

> *Up till now it has been thought that the growth of the Christian myths during the Roman Empire was possible only because printing had not been invented. Precisely the contrary. The daily press and 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*[2]

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Introduction

The anglophone newspaper press has been one of the most important historical sources of information about ethnicity in Canada. Throughout the last century the newspapers have defined the entry status of new immigrant groups. They have compared these groups with changing standards of Canadianness and have created and maintained stereotypes of ethnic individuals. A few of these stereotypes have been positive and have served to legitimate the role of those concerned in Canadian society. Most of them have been stigmatic and have supported prejudice and discrimination. Bad press has devalued the contribution of ethnic individuals to Canada, limited the range of activities open to them and weakened their feelings of belonging and self-confidence.[3] The newspapers have also influenced societal notions of how things happen and what effects events will have. By associating only a very narrow range of activities with ethnicity and by restricting the causes and effects of these activities to the immediate past and present, the newspaper set the agenda within which ethnicity will be discussed.[4]

Over the past decade the portrayal of women in the media has come under intense scrutiny for analogous reasons. I believe that it has been convincingly demonstrated that the media are one of the most formidable adversaries of women in their drive for equal rights. The media powerfully define and legitimate sex roles for men and women which are profoundly unequal.[5] Moreover, they stereotypically link maleness and femaleness to personality attributes, social behaviors, occupations and situations. The consequence is that media portrayal of men and women is as much a question of power, privilege, and social status as is the media's coverage of ethnicity. Further, ethnicity and sex roles are frequently dealt with by the media simultaneously.[6]

The analysis of both ethnicity and sex roles in the Canadian newspapers is in its infancy. Here, I would like to present some findings derived from a content analysis of the Vancouver press.[7] Section I demonstrates that ethnicity has always been an important aspect of the news, but that women have never figured prominently in it; ethnic individuals in the press are inevitably male. It also illustrates how ethnicity in the news remains primarily a male preserve even when the sex of individuals is not mentioned. Section II outlines the consequences which these findings have for the place of women in Canadian society and for the analysis of ethnicity.

Section I. Men, Women in Ethnic Events

My analysis of ethnicity in the Vancouver press gave a detailed content analysis of the newspapers during the decades 1905-1914, 1928-1937, and 1967-1976.[8] Ethnicity was extensively covered by the press throughout these three eras although the groups and issues which attracted press interest changed continually. Prior to World War I almost 40 percent of all ethnic items found in the *World* and the *Province* were on Chinese, Japanese, or South Asians.[9] Native people, the British, Americans and Italians also made the news with some frequency, but their combined coverage was less than that of Asians.[10] In the interwar decade from 1928-1937, press concentration on these particular groups continued, despite a radical restriction of Canadian immigration.[11]

By 1967-1976 the picture had dramatically altered. Ethnic news items more

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than doubled in frequency and the groups which received major press attention changed substantially. On the domestic front, Native people (20.2 percent), French Canadians (19.9 percent), Black Americans (11.1 percent), Asians (10.6 percent), Canadians (6.9 percent), and Americans (6.7 percent) dominated the news.[12] Coverage of international events with ethnic implications increased dramatically with Southern Africa and the Middle East as the principal foci.

Throughout this three-quarters of a century of Vancouver newspapers, ethnic portrayal has been in constant flux. Many of the ethnic groups and topics which attracted press commentary in 1910 are rarely noticed today.[13] Nevertheless, throughout the entire time one thing has remained constant: the ethnicity portrayed in the press is and always has been that of adult males. Coverage of women and ethnicity has been insignificant historically and shows no signs of increasing.

Table 1. The Sex of Individuals Involved in News Items by Newspaper, Era and General Locality.

	Sex						
Newspaper	**Unspecified**		**Male**		**Female**		
Province (1905-1914)	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total
domestic	233	43.1	279	51.7	28	5.2	540
foreign	103	67.3	43	28.1	7	4.8	153
							693
World (1905-1914)							
domestic	182	32.9	349	63.0	23	4.2	554
foreign	100	62.5	52	32.5	8	5.0	160
							714
Province (1928-1937)							
domestic	193	41.2	241	51.4	35	7.5	469
foreign	85	61.6	47	34.1	6	4.3	138
							607
Sun (1928-1937)							
domestic	215	48.5	200	45.1	28	6.3	443
foreign	139	72.4	40	20.8	13	6.8	192
							635
Sun (1967-1976)							
domestic	658	69.2	248	26.1	45	4.7	951
foreign	399	74.7	115	21.5	20	3.7	534
							1,485
Total Domestic	1,481	50.1	1,317	44.5	159	5.4	
Total Foreign	826	70.2	297	25.2	54	4.6	
Total	2,307	55.8	1,614	39.0	213	5.2	4,134

As Table 1 clearly shows, ethnic items involving women have never accounted for more than 6.8 percent of the total in any paper or era. In proportional terms, such coverage has gone *down* by about one third over the past forty years. At no time have there been less than five news items portraying men for every one about women.

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Table 2. The Sex of Individuals Involved in News Items for Selected Groups.

Group	Sex: Unspecified No.	Unspecified %	Male No.	Male %	Female No.	Female %	Total Total
Black (all)	175	59.1	102	34.5	19	6.4	296
Black American	65	44.2	69	46.9	13	8.8	147
Black South African	45	83.3	8	14.8	1	1.9	54
							497
Asian (all)	526	44.1	621	52.0	47	3.9	1,194
Chinese	167	35.8	281	60.2	19	4.1	467
Japanese	130	44.1	156	52.9	9	3.1	295
South Asian	138	49.5	124	44.4	17	6.1	279
							2,235
Native People (all)	232	56.9	155	38.0	21	5.1	408
Arab/Israeli (all)	216	79.7	53	19.6	2	0.7	271
Arab, Moslem	63	76.8	19	23.2	0	0.0	82
Israeli	45	86.5	7	13.5	0	0.0	52
							405
British (all)	264	55.5	169	35.5	43	9.0	476
English	58	41.4	62	44.3	20	14.3	140
Irish	59	60.2	29	29.6	10	10.2	98
							714
Canadian (all)	288	67.0	123	28.6	19	4.4	430
French Canadian	160	69.6	62	27.0	8	3.4	230
							660
Eastern European (all)	124	54.5	89	39.0	15	6.6	228
Doukhobors	57	57.6	31	31.3	11	11.1	99
Western & Northern European (all)	128	48.7	118	44.9	17	6.5	263
German	71	47.3	68	45.3	11	7.3	150
Southern European (all)	58	39.2	84	56.8	6	4.1	148
Italian	42	35.9	71	60.7	4	3.4	117
							678
American	142	66.4	58	27.1	14	6.5	214

As Table 2 suggests, sparse coverage of women was constant across the 68 groups whose coverage I considered. Women tended to be a bit less frequently represented in the coverage of European groups than they did in that of non-European ones, but in the case of no group did the percentage of news items devoted to women exceed 15 percent of the total.[14]

Even these meagre totals do not accurately express how little coverage of women there actually was. This becomes immediately evident when one begins to consider the content of ethnic news items. It might be expected that such a comparison would consistently reflect traditional sex-role stereotypes, such that men were associated with active, public, socially-valued activities while women were associated with passivity and with private, less-valued activity involving the

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family and home. Actually, as Table 3 indicates, news items about men exhibit very similar topic and subtopic frequency distribution as do news items about women.[15] In contrast, there is a substantial difference between stories involving either sex and those where sex is unspecified.[16] To understand the relevance of this for the portrayal of women, one must look at which subtopics do and do not attract attention when ethnicity is involved.

Table 3. Topics and Selected Subtopics by Sex: All Papers and Eras Taken Together.

			Sex				
Topic	**Unspecified**		**Male**		**Female**		
Housing	15		5		0		
Education	33		7		0		
Health and Welfare	25		13		0		
Employment and Economy	10		56		6		
Number	32		3		0		
Advocation of Restriction	78		44		2		
immigration		31		15		0	
Are Restricted	45		25		3		
Charge Restrictions	83		26		7		
general		40		9		2	
Ethnic Relations	528		145		12		685
general		27		7		2	
try to better relations		23		12		1	
relations mediated		52		14		0	
get better		47		8		0	
get worse		114		17		3	
are good		30		17		1	
are bad		70		16		0	
have outside help		21		7		4	
impose their ways		36		12		1	
Immigration	216		95		13		324
general		26		9		0	
is large		40		2		1	
illegal		15		14		1	
. . . arrive		45		17		3	
. . . deported		8		28		4	
Legislative and Legal	304		173		24		501
political restrictions		38		10		2	
laws limit		34		23		4	
laws protect		81		22		1	
are in court		20		86		10	
government reports on . . .		23		12		4	
Violence, Hostility Against	84		101		8		193
are assaulted		39		41		4	
are victims of crime		8		35		3	
Violence, Hostility By	238		377		42		
assault others		54		67		12	
assault each other		38		85		5	
demonstrations in British							

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Table 3 Continued.

			Sex		
Topic	**Unspecified**		**Male**	**Female**	
Empire	43		15	2	
meet imposition with force	19		8	4	
accused of crime	36		165	17	
Cultural Difference	197	72		15	
religion	23		6	2	
Celebrities	68	226		35	329
politicians	35		105	5	
notables	17		64	13	
Sports	15	30		3	
Ethnic Organizations	165	51		5	221
ethnic festivals	36		8	3	
organize in community	67		24	2	
suspicious organizations	24		6	0	
Normal News	79	165		38	282
human interest	11		34	16	
accident victim	14		50	8	
make good	7		35	7	
Total	2,307	1,614		213	

Consider first what areas of ethnic activity the Vancouver press have consistently *ignored.* As with other topics, the press has had a great attraction for the unusual, as defined in a very limited sense: confrontation, catastrophy, violence and sudden change especially if they occur in public. In contrast, the newspapers have been disinterested in everyday life; people getting along, normal family relations, personal goals and successes are not news, especially if they do not surface in public. This means that the newspapers have systematically neglected much of what ethnic individuals see as primal: the family, the settlement process, education, their physical and social welfare and even their economic situation.[17]

These are exactly the areas of life which have traditionally been of great concern to ethnic women and where (for whatever reasons) their involvement has been greatest. The first level consequences of this are profound. Because these activities have been routinely excluded from the news, their societal importance has been diminished with respect to aspects of life monopolized by ethnic men; the press is quick to note than an immigrant (male) has attacked one of his countrymen, but if his wife is on the receiving end the press will rarely comment on it. Similarly, when an ethnic spokes*man* protests against (male) job discrimination aimed at (male) individuals of *his* group it is news; ethnic women have had no comparable vehicle to express their concerns—concerns with which the press would not be overly interested in any case.

This selective silence consistently denies ethnic women the social legitimacy accorded to their male counterparts. Chinese men were vilified in the early press, but at least they were recognized as a factor in British Columbia society. In contrast, what ethnic women do has never been an ideological resource for them, for it has never been a part of the press definition of ethnicity.

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Women's contributions to the press ideology of ethnicity shrink further when one considers how the newspapers have specifically dealt with ethnicity and women. The essential similarity between the coverage of ethnic men and women arises through several related factors.[18] First of all, nominally 'male' or 'female' news items are almost always about *individuals;* either the item mentions the name of the individual concerned or the person's sex as in "a China*man*. . . ." This in itself is a major constraint on press definitions of ethnicity, because the range of topics of news items about ethnic individuals tend to be very restricted.[19] These are primarily violence or hostility, the legal consequences of deviant behavior, celebrity happenings and "normal news"; only these topics both received a substantial amount of coverage and had a majority of items which specified the sex of individuals involved (see Table 3). In each instance, the subtopics which predominate are either male preserves (e.g. politics) or what males have defined as being socially relevant (e.g. violence and crime). This holds for the coverage of women, just as much as it does for men. In short, when ethnic women have made it into the press they have done so almost exclusively on majority-group male terms. Indeed, it could be said that ethnic women have had to be double deviants to make news: deviants from "normal" society in one of the few ways in which the press is sensitive to ethnic activity, and deviants from "traditional" women's roles. Items like the following are typical:

> REBEL FROM RESPECTED FAMILY
> A Nice Girl Like Lise in the FLQ?[20]
>
> AFTER PRISON RAMPAGE
> DOUK WOMEN TO BE MOVED[21]

There were only two aspects of the traditional stereotype of women which received substantial attention. The more frequent of these was the presumption that *majority group* women needed "protection" from ethnic deviancy:

> 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.[22]
>
> MADE OPIUM SALES TO WOMEN: Jailed
> Chinaman Sentenced to Two Years.[23]

The other was motherhood:

> MOTHER BACKS ROSE BROTHERS
> 'My Children, regardless'[24]
>
> BIAFRAN MOTHERS SO DAZED CHILDREN'S NAMES FORGOTTEN[25]
>
> QUEEN'S ADDRESS
> Mother to us all[26]

Still, one might conceivably argue that since over 70 percent of ethnic items in today's papers do not overtly indicate sex these distortions of ethnicity and women are inconsequential in the overall scheme of things. This is far from the case.

The primary feature which characterizes these items is that they are about ethnic collectivities rather than individuals. For example, most articles on the exodus from Vietnam deal with "Vietnamese refugees" or the "ethnic Chinese" in

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fairly general terms rather than in terms of the individuals involved. Generally speaking, ethnic news items which do not specify sex are clustered in those topic areas which are fairly abstract—ethnic relations, discussion of ethnic restrictions, immigration, legislation, the law, cultural difference, and ethnic organizations (see Table 3). These are items which tend to characterize the ethnic group as a whole, its problems and its social context. It is clear that virtually all of these "sexless" items consider only those activities and attributes associated with ethnic-group males: group stereotypes in the press have uniformly built upon press notions of ethnic males.

A few examples can easily illustrate this tendency. During the first era which I considered (1905-1914), the Chinese, Japanese and South Asians received coverage far out of proportion to their numbers, and it was very bad press indeed. Although the press stereotypes of each of these groups was distinct, each group was seen as a social and economic threat to white Canadians. They were portrayed as being culturally different, unassimilatable, violent and contentious.

Women played almost no role whatever in these group stereotypes, despite the fact that at that time many Japanese women were already well established here. The Japanese press stereotype was entirely male:

> 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.[27]

Insofar as the press was concerned, the Japanese (men) were a threat because they were (paradoxically) so much like white men. They were hard working, resourceful, innovative and proud; their danger lay in the 'fact' that they would forever be loyal to Japan; this was simultaneously a stereotype of Japanese males and of the Japanese nation.

Women were similarly excluded from the discussion of the other ethnic groups which made the news in the period before World War I. Native people were portrayed like errant children—drunk, immoral, lazy, destitute and haughtily ungrateful for what whites did for them. There are few of the concerns of women in the stereotype: no discussion of their work, family life, or interests. Italians made the news only as (male) criminals:

> ITALIAN CONVICTS INVADE NEW YORK
> No Less than Five Thousand Said to be in City.[28]

Even the very positive portrayal of the British excluded women by touting such characteristics as the British love of order, industriousness and civility.

During the 1930's, press portrayal of ethnic women changed hardly at all. Women as individuals tended to be more frequently in the news, but these were by in large in highly stigmatic situations:

> HINDU MURDER CASE GOES TO ASSIZE JURY
> Denies She Ever Plotted to Kill Her Mate and Confession at Temple.[29]
>
> WOMAN DISROBES AT DOUKHOBOR PICNIC
> Exile Celebrated By Big Concourse
> Colorful Ceremonies Held at Brilliant.[30]

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In today's more enlightened times the press has dealt less harshly with ethnic groups than in the past, but it has not changed its pattern of identifying ethnic groups with the stereotype of its males. For instance, press coverage of Native people is much improved, but the male biases in it remain. Native (male) leaders in the press assert Native rights and challenge governmental policies, whereas Native women are rarely visible. This is particularly so of the coverage of ethnicity overseas, which has tended to be almost exclusively that of violent inter-ethnic and inter-racial conflict.[31]

Section II. Some Consequences of the Portrayal of Ethnic Women in the Press

Coverage of ethnicity and women by the press can be seen as the output of a multilevel, systematically biased selection process. The maximal constraints on how ethnic women will be covered are the newspapers' criteria for what is newsworthy. Newsworthiness has always featured the unusual, hence, the ethnic world-view of the press has never even approximated reality; the accuracy with which the papers report "the facts" is not the issue. The press ruthlessly selects its ethnic material by its criteria of what is news and this selection process is not random.

In addition, the newspapers have generally sought news about ethnic groups in accord with stereotypic, group-specific expectations. Groups which have had stigmatic social identities have been more frequently associated with deviant or threatening behavior in the papers than have groups with more positive social identities. For instance, Asian immigration has always been an issue which has received heavy and negative press coverage while the traditionally larger British immigration figures have been routinely ignored. When a member of a visible minority commits an act of violence his or her ethnicity is far more likely to be mentioned by the press than if he or she were a British or American immigrant. Ethnicity itself has news potential and this further separates press portrayals from reality. Coverage of ethnic women is subject to this selection process, just as is that of ethnic men.

The activities of ethnic women are however subject to a third level sorting which may be more ruthless than the other two: those who create the news do so in their own image and that image is male. Critics of the newspapers' portrayal of ethnicity point out that the great majority of the newspaper personnel who affect anglophone newspaper content are of Anglo-Celtic origin.[32] Moreover, they claim that this bias has had a determinate effect on ethnic portrayal, for it has been uniformly cast into an Anglo-Canadian point of view. My own work supports this contention entirely. What is rarely mentioned is that virtually all of these key press personnel have been Anglo-Celtic males.[33] As a consequence, the Canadian press (like that in the rest of the world) consistently presents as news what it believes to be of interest to other males; this practice is so pervasive that most press personnel do not even recognize its existence. They have so thoroughly mixed up these male biases with what they believe to be reality that the two are fused.

It is only now being recognized that a similar process has grossly skewed social science research, to the point where basic concepts like power have not been successfully separated from public, male roles. This pervasive bias has all but eliminated ethnic women from the newspapers. It has denied ethnic women the limited social prestige possessed by ethnic men. It has indirectly denied them a

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platform for their ideas and concerns. It has guaranteed that the press has never advocated their situation.

In today's more liberal political and social atmosphere, ethnicity has been recognized as a valued aspect of Canadian society. The federal Multicultural program is an official validation of this process, as is human rights legislation supporting ethnic and racial equality. Concern over issues affecting women has increased simultaneously and has been given limited recognition in law.

To date these dual trends have had very little impact on the Vancouver newspapers and I believe that this would hold for Canadian newspapers generally. To be sure, the press less frequently prints blatantly sexist or racist news items than it did previously, but ethnocentricism and sexism are built into the very foundations of the press world view. These systemic biases cannot be mitigated without addressing the very criteria for newsworthiness and this simply has not been done. Moreover, considering the present majority group male domination of the pressroom and the heavy dependence of today's newspapers on news service copy, it may not be possible without the most radical changes in the structure of news production.[34]

NOTES

1. de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex,* (1953).
2. Cohen and Young (1973:iv).
3. Indra (1979a).
4. These aspects of ethnic portrayal are easier to see in the gross excesses of the early Canadian press, but they are still prevalent. One need only consider the current press coverage of South Asians and francophones. The Vancouver papers now contain more ethnic material than ever before. The Vancouver *Sun* currently (1967-1976) prints about six items dealing with ethnicity in each issue (Indra 1979b:501). The number of column inches of ethnic material in the *Sun* has increased some 300 percent since the decade 1928-1937.
5. Ontario Press Council (1977:33-35). See S. Brownmiller's (1975) analysis of rape and the press.
6. Ethnic portrayal in newspapers generally has been given very little systematic attention. Women in the press have been considered more frequently (Weibel 1977).
7. There is no reason to think that these findings would not hold for other metropolitan Canadian newspapers.
8. The methodology of the study was quite complex, and a complete explanation of it would take several times more space than this whole paper (Indra 1979b:7-43). It should be noted that my criteria for what constituted an ethnic story were very restrictive: a person's or group's ethnicity or nationality had to be specifically mentioned in the item. The Vancouver *Province* and the 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 mentioning ethnicity, which were subsequently coded in terms of twenty-eight format and content variables.
9. 37.6 percent (N=261) of the *Province* sample and 38.5 percent (N=275) of the *World's* dealt with Asians. These correspond to 48.3 percent and 49.6 percent of the domestic coverage of ethnicity in these two papers.

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10. See Indra (1979b:100) for a breakdown of ethnic portrayal by group.
11. The only group whose coverage rose substantially was the Doukhobors (Indra 1979b:244).
12. Indra (1979b:378).
13. Topics have changed less radically than one might expect. The press has always been attracted to violence, catastrophe and confrontation and these characterize press portrayal of ethnicity.
14. The breakdown by Europeans and non-Europeans was:

	Unspecified	Male	Female
European	1,308 (53.6%)	1,035 (42.4%)	99 (4.1%)
Non-European	999 (59.0%)	579 (34.2%)	114 (6.7%)

Of 68 ethnic groups, the British have the highest proportion of news items devoted to women. There were many instances where there was almost no coverage of women whatsoever, such as modern day Arabs and Israelis (0 percent).

15. In the course of coding each news item I described the story in terms of a basic *topic* (out of 18 possibilities), a specific *subtopic* (out of 185) selected under the basic topics and as many as six subsidiary *themes* selected from the same list of activities and characteristics that was used to select subtopics. This procedure evolved out of one employed by Hartmann, Husband and Clark (1974: 103-119). This parallel remained very close at the level of subtopics. The linear correlation coefficient between the frequency distribution of male and female subtopics was 0.908.
16. The linear correlation coefficient between the frequency of subtopics of unspecified and male sex was only 0.488; between unspecified and female it was even lower (0.342). Table 3 includes only subtopics with a frequency of 30 or greater.
17. To take an extreme example, in the pre-World War I *Province* domestic sample (N=540) there were more news items with the *single* subtopic "ethnic(s) are accused of a crime" (N=49) than there were in the entire *topic* areas of Housing and Settlement, Education, Health and Welfare, and Employment and Economy taken together (N=36).
18. Coverage of various groups is considered together here, because of the low frequency of women stories.
19. For instance the 35 subtopics listed on Table 3 are sufficient to characterize over 60 percent of all ethnic news items.
20. Vancouver *Sun* , November 13, 1970, p. 15.
21. Vancouver *Province,* November 16, 1972, p. 17.
22. Vancouver *Province,* November 16, 1906, p. 1.
23. Vancouver *World,* March 16, 1937, p. 2.
24. Vancouver *Sun,* December 29, 1970, p. 2.
25. Vancouver *Province,* February 14, 1969, p. 6.
26. Vancouver *Province,* October 31, 1969, p. 5.
27. Vancouver *Province,* February 1, 1907, p. 6.
28. Vancouver *Province,* August 30, 1911, p. 1.
29. Vancouver *Province,* May 25, 1932, p. 1.
30. Vancouver *Province,* June 30, 1931, p. 24.
31. Indra and Buchignani (1979).
32. See the evidence presented in Pitman (1977:229-261). It is interesting that this otherwise sensitive analysis of the participation of visible minorities in the metro Toronto mass media never brought up the parallel limitations of women in these same industries.
33. There has been only one woman editor of a Vancouver newspaper to date. Authored columns by women writing on issues other than high society, cooking, and personal problems do not predate the 1970's and are still rare.

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Indra, Doreen, *The Invisible Mosaic: Women, Ethnicity and the Vancouver Press* , Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes ethniques au Canada, 13:1 (1981) p.63

34. Many analogies can be made between the selective and male-biased nature of ethnicity in the newspapers and the similarly selective treatment of ethnicity in most Canadian academic writing. As in the newspapers, the most prominent actors in academic works are inevitably male, as are what are presented to be significant goals, successes and problems. When talk turns to ethnic identity and culture in Canada, it is almost inevitably drawn to male expressions of them. It is well known that the concerns of ethnic groups are frequently not represented by the pronouncements of group spokespersons because of differences in class, but frequently their maleness is even more of a constraint.

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