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Canada

Canadian Press Coverage of
the Ethnic Chinese Community: A Content Analysis of
The Toronto Star and The Vancouver Sun, 1970-1990

By

Jianming Ma

A thesis submitted to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of Communication Studies
in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of
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at the
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1992

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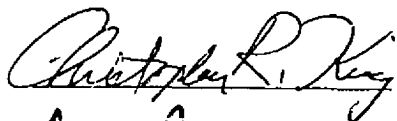
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APPROVED BY:

Christopher R. King
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Kai Hildebrandt

Bruce Burton
    Department of
    Political Science

ABSTRACT

This is a content analysis on the coverage of the ethnic Chinese community by The Toronto Star and The Vancouver Sun from 1970 to 1990. 783 news items were analyzed, representing all of 1990 and half of 1980 and 1970 reportage in both papers. Sampling differences were weighted for real numbers.

Over time, coverage showed substantial increase in story number, length, layout, format, areas of interest and themes. Coverage growth in the 1980s far surpassed ethnic Chinese population growth, implying the new image of ethnic Chinese did not merely result from demographic expansion. This was made clearer by a sharp rise in economic and crime stories which broke a previous dominance of 'soft,' cultural stories.

Such increases confirmed that the recent thriving of the Chinese community, especially economically, received more attention from the Canadian press and public opinion. Meanwhile, ethnic problems too were getting more concern.

Coverage slant moved from "patronizingly positive" (75%) to mainly neutral but slightly positive. The Sun exceeded the Star in all aspects, including the neutralization of slant as well as the growth in quantity and variety. From the evidence, a double-sided picture of Canadian public opinion emerged: while a prosperous ethnic Chinese community caught the public eye, it also aroused uncertainty and provoked complaints. This trend was stronger in Vancouver, where the Chinese presence has existed longer and by greater proportions than in Toronto.

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Dedication

To my former colleagues in Xinhua News Agency

and fellow journalists in Canada

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Significance and Purpose of This Study

> If something is not done speedily it will be too
> late to consider whether the Pacific Province shall
> be given up to the Chinese or not. They will have
> solved the question by taking complete possession
> of it. The Celestial wave may be expected to roll
> eastward.... Ten times more people than Canada now
> holds could be poured in on us from the teeming
> soil of China without being missed from that land
> (Wickberg, 1982:56).

This provident warning was given more than a century ago

by the press on the occasion of an early wave of Chinese

immigrants to Canada. The government heeded this advice, by

first restricting and then excluding Chinese immigration. But

it opened the door wide again with the new immigration rules

of recent years. This time, Chinese immigrants did "pour in"

--by tens of thousands each year from a land now with 40 times

the population of Canada. They did roll eastward and, it

seems, in other directions as well. They are still streaming

in and seem likely to continue to come provided the

immigration policies remain unchanged.

The press in Canada nowadays does not carry the kind of

blatant warnings it used to, but as a major part of the mass

media it has to react; and what it says, and how it says it,

about the current Chinese community is still important. On the

one hand, press coverage offers one of the most informative

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sources for our knowledge about public attitudes. On the other, though to what degree is controversial, it is commonly agreed that the press has considerable influence, in turn, on the formation and alteration of public opinion. It plays a similar double-sided role, too, in its relationship with public policy. While press coverage at all times, in one way or another, reflects federal and local policies, it also has, to varying degrees, an impact on the political decision-making process.

Thus a study of the press coverage of the Chinese community can be significant in at least three aspects: first, it addresses the historical and present issue of Chinese immigration to Canada; second, it may help to better understand the general attitude of Canadians and the effects of public policies towards ethnic Chinese; third, it promises better knowledge about the media's orientation with regard to ethnic issues.

The significance of such a study extends beyond the specific ethnic group itself for several reasons: (1) Canada has always been and is still a country of immigrants; (2) the origins and roles of immigrants have become more complicated since the Canadian government issued its non-discriminatory immigration law in 1967; (3) the institutionalized multicultural nature of Canadian society will, no doubt, have a long-term impact on the country's future development; (4) and most pertinent, since Chinese immigrants have been the

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largest group of newcomers to this country since the mid-1980s and ethnic Chinese now form Canada's largest visible minority group (Logan, 1991), they will inevitably affect Canada's domestic social structure as well as its international role in the 21th century, in which the Pacific Rim countries, including Canada, will have to adjust to a new economic, political and cultural balance.

This paper conducts an empirical study of the Canadian press coverage of the ethnic Chinese community. It focuses on a content analysis of The Toronto Star and The Vancouver Sun, the major local newspapers of two of Canada's leading metropolitan areas--Greater Toronto and Greater Vancouver, where the bulk of the ethnic Chinese in this country have settled. The study samples the 1970, 1980, and 1990 issues of both papers, thus covering a time span of the two decades that have witnessed the shaping of a large part of the present Chinese community.

The purpose of this study is to explore some basic characteristics of the coverage of ethnic Chinese by mainstream Canadian media. It tries to describe, on the one hand, how the Canadian press has portrayed the recent rapid growth of the Chinese community and, on the other hand, in what aspects ethnic Chinese received attention or failed to receive attention from the press and, perhaps, from public opinion. My observations include not only the possibility of changes in the volume, styles and topics of coverage, but also

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the manifest evaluations of ethnic Chinese within this reportage. Theoretical discussions will precede and follow the analysis of observed data, so that the empirical findings can be explained or discussed.

Since little Canadian research has focused on the systematic examination of media coverage of ethnic minorities,[1] it needs to be stated at the outset that this study does not presume as part of its purpose a critical or apologetic approach toward the recent mainstream media, although from the plenty of criticisms seen in historical studies, we may have reason to be critical of the media's handling of ethnic coverage in the distant past.

1.2 The Chinese in Canada

Though still fewer in number compared with some other ethnic groups in Canada, such as the Italians and Ukrainians, the Chinese community has in recent decades been growing at a rate much greater than the others. It is now the biggest visible minority group in this country.

Census figures, though commonly recognized as somewhat incomplete, show that since 1971 the population growth of the Chinese in Canada has assumed a two-fold acceleration in each decade, boosted by an increasing proportion of immigrants as seen in the lessening percentage of native-born community members (see Table 1.1).

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Table 1.1: Population growth of Chinese in Canada

Year	Total number of Chinese in Canada	Males per 100 females	Native-born %
1881	4,383	--	0
1891	9,129	--	0
1901	17,312	--	--
1911	27,831	2,790	3
1921	38,587	1,533	7
1931	46,519	1,241	12
1941	34,627	785	20
1951	32,528	374	31
1961	58,197	163	40
1971	118,815	112	38
1981	289,245	102	25
1991 by mother tongue	492,000	--	--

Source: Compiled from Census of Canada.[2]

Meanwhile the newly achieved gender balance promises the community in addition to greater numbers better opportunities for internal population regeneration. Moreover, such potential is enhanced by a younger age composition, with over 75% of the Chinese in Canada below 45 years of age in 1986, 5% lower than that in Canada's national population structure.[3] Based on the present trends, it seems likely that the Chinese population in Canada will come close to--if not actually reach--one million by the turn of the century.

The continuous influx of Chinese immigrants seems to be officially guaranteed in the near future. Some evidence for this prediction is Canada's augmenting interest in Asia as reflected in its foreign policy. For example, in May, 1990, Canada accepted the first official visit by the British

governor of Hong Kong. Not only did Ottawa receive the colonial custodian as a head of state, but it also announced Canada's "unwavering" commitment (Joint Centre, Fall 1990:3) towards Hong Kong and those Hong Kong residents leaving in fear of the Communist Chinese takeover due in 1997.[4]

The burgeoning of the Chinese community is most visible in two provinces, Ontario and British Columbia, where 80% of the Chinese in Canada are clustered. Greater Toronto and Vancouver, in turn, host 80% of these provincial Chinese populations.

Much more meaningful than rising arrows on demographic charts are the socio-economic, socio-political and socio-cultural implications of this increase. In the past two decades or so ethnic Chinese have developed beyond traditional Chinatowns. Nowadays frequently recognized as one of the most successful minority groups in Canada, they are bringing about more and more noticeable economic and social changes to the cities the they inhabit -- so much so that Vancouver has already been nicknamed by some as "Hongcouver" after the Hong Kong immigrants.

Acceptable or not, the existing and latent influences of this increasingly prominent ethnic group cannot be ignored. Some drastic changes, it seems, have already aroused astonishment and concerns with the arrival of "new Chinese immigrants"--those landing after 1967, but especially those coming since the beginning of the 1980s from Hong Kong, Taiwan

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and The People's Republic of China. A growing number of these people have either considerable financial wealth or professional and educational backgrounds. This phenomenon, unprecedented both in the Chinese community itself and in Canadian immigration history, may create further changes and imbalances which need to be studied and predicted. These changes seem particularly radical when viewed against a backdrop that the Chinese, for almost a century, ranked among the most demeaned in ethnic Canada (Li, 1988:2).

1.3 Historical Review

> In April 1860, after sixty-two days at sea and two foregoing vessels doomed in the ocean, the Norwegian ship Hebe brought the first shipload of 265 Chinese passengers from Hong Kong to Victoria, including one female (Lai, 1988:17).

Fleeing the poverty and political oppression of their over-populous homeland, the earliest wave of Chinese immigrants to Canada came for "Gim Shan" (Gold Mountains), the gold rush in British Columbia. By free entry, they first arrived from the west coast of the United States around 1858[5] and then directly from China. As said by Li, "the same social and economic forces that had driven many Europeans to North America earlier in the nineteenth century also drove many to emigrate from China to Canada and the U.S. during the latter half of the [19th] century" (Li, 1988:2).

But they had a different fate from the earliest European immigrants to North America. When the gold rush was over,

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economic recession set in, and Chinese labourers became scapegoats blamed for making the economy worse by competing with the white population. Discriminatory laws and regulations began to restrict the entry of the Chinese. Ironically, the urgent need to build the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway after the Colony of British Columbia joined the Confederation in 1871 soon necessitated summoning large amount of cheap Chinese labour again.

The second wave of Chinese immigrants started in 1880 in response to the shortage of white labour in the construction of CP Railway. The B.C. government, though strongly and openly opposed, had no other choice but to let in the flux.[6] The federal government echoed this reluctance, but withheld legislative reaction for reasons frankly explained by Prime Minister Macdonald to the House of Commons in 1883: "It will be very well to exclude Chinese labour, when we can replace it with white labour, but until that is done, it is better to have Chinese labour than no labour at all" (Canada, 1883:905).

As one Canadian historian has noted, years of arduous toil and a death toll of at least hundreds of Chinese labourers on CPR[7] gave no credit to those who wished to stay after the construction. By the time the last spike was driven, these temporary expedients, rented "like pieces of agricultural equipment," had served their purpose (Dempsey, 1984:15).

In 1885, the same year the CPR was completed, the

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Dominion government of Canada passed its first anti-Chinese bill. Among other measures to restrict Chinese immigration, it introduced a "head tax" (later widely criticized) on a nationwide basis, levied exclusively on Chinese upon their entry into Canada. The amount of taxation on each individual went up from $50 at the beginning to $100 in 1900 and, from 1903 on, to $500 (Canada-a, 1885:71; 1900:32; 1905:8), or more than a year's living expense for an ordinary Canadian[8] and twice the annual income of an average Chinese labourer.[9] In the several decades that followed, an estimated $23 million (DeMont & Fennel, 1989:56) of head tax was collected from Chinese newcomers.

As a matter of fact, prior to its national practice, head tax had already been initiated in British Columbia, which had over 95% of the country's Chinese population.
Between 1875 and 1923, British Columbia passed numerous bills to restrict the civil rights of the Chinese. Anti-Chinese organizations, unions and the press mounted one campaign after another to radicalize and benefit from racial conflict. Other provinces, such as Saskatchewan and Ontario, in spite of their much smaller Chinese population, followed suit. Faced with deteriorating legislative, social, and economic conditions, many Chinese labourers started to leave. But at the same time, more people came from China with a persistent dream of the Gold Mountain.

Finally, in 1923 the federal Parliament promulgated

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another Chinese Immigration Act, which excluded Chinese immigration for 25 years. By doing this it sanctioned an "institutional discrimination against the Chinese in virtually every sector of society" (Li, 1988:33), which included not only the removal of citizenship rights, exclusion from immigration, and restrictions on occupational competition, but also widespread social hostility as shown by such derogatory terms as "John Chinamen," "Celestials," "Heathen Chinese," and "Chinks".

Those who stayed after the construction of the CPR and later arrivals struggled for their survival by shifting to other low-prestige jobs including working in hand laundries, restaurants, farming, and factory assembly and as domestics (see Table 1.2). By and large, they remained in austere livelihood and unable to reunite with their family members in Canada for almost half a century.

The result of this, says a Canadian history book, was "a declining, aging population."

> From a high point of 46,519 in 1931, the number of Chinese had fallen to 34,627 a decade later and would decline still further to 32,528 by 1951. Until the late 1960s, Chinese communities would still be characterized by a preponderance of men. In the 1930's there had been more than thirteen men to every woman; by the middle 1940's there were only about 2,000 Chinese women of marriageable age in a total population of 23,000. In the immediate post-war period Chinese communities were still demographically imbalanced, and the "married bachelors" had been cut off from virtually all contact with their families for almost a decade (Wickberg, 1982:209).

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Table 1.2: Occupations of Chinese
          entering Canada (1885-1903)

Occupation	Number	%
Labourer	3,308	72.5
Farmer	309	6.8
Laundryman	267	5.9
Merchant	232	5.1
Cook	136	3.0
Miner	44	1.0
Wife	30	0.7
Storekeeper	28	0.6
Student	21	0.5
Other	189	4.1
Total	4,564	100.2

Source: Compiled from Public Archives of Canada.[10]

During the Second World War, the Chinese in Canada saw some relief from the social antagonism against them owing to the fact that their home country was an ally with the United States and Canada, and also because of their active fund-raising campaigns and direct military participation in Canada's war effort. However, even for several years after the United States repealed its Chinese exclusion act in 1943, the complete structure of discriminatory legislation and regulations against the Chinese in Canada remained intact. This anomaly eventually received increasing criticism from white society as well. It might seem natural that "the only way to end this humiliation and Canada's embarrassment in the face of the UN Charter and its own professed ideals would have been to put Chinese immigration on the same basis as that of

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all other countries" (Ibid).

In 1947, Canada finally repealed its Chinese immigration act, but only gave the Chinese "half a loaf" (Wickberg, 1982: 207). In contrast to its launching of grandiose immigration promotion campaigns in post-war Europe, Canada permitted resumed Chinese immigration only in the limited category of overdue family reunion. The intention for this was explicitly explained in a statement by Prime Minister Mackenzie King:

> The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration.... The essential thing is that immigrants be selected with care, and that their numbers be adjusted to the absorptive capacity of the country.
> ...the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alternation in the character of our population. Large-scale immigration from the Orient would change that fundamental composition of the Canadian population (Canada, 1947, Vol III:2644-6).

It was not until 1967, when Canada eliminated all racial restrictions in its immigration rules, that the Chinese started coming again in big numbers.

Developing hand in hand with the Chinese community were their ethnic organizations.[11] The first of these emerged as fraternal, clan, and locality associations. A couple of community-wide organizations appeared before and right after the exclusion act, but were too weak to be influential in Canadian politics. It was not until the end of World War Two that national ethnic Chinese organizations for the first time altered governmental policy--in prompting the repeal of exclusion law--by winning considerable sympathy and

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collaboration from general society. The post-war and especially post-1967 years saw a great proliferation of ethnic organizations in communal life. At present, although traditional fraternal associations remain active, trade-wide, community-wide, and beyond-community-linkage features of the new ethnic organizations are more characteristic. Besides providing aid to the community and protecting its cultural heritage, the latter are attempting more participation in municipal and, sometimes, national decision-making process.

In summary, the history of Chinese in Canada can be divided into four distinct periods:

(1) The period of early immigration, between 1858 and 1923, saw the emergence of institutional racism, which made the Chinese frequent targets of racial antagonism and attacks.

(2) The period of exclusion, from 1923 to 1947, was the Dark Age for ethnic Chinese. Struggling under harsh social and material conditions and unable to bring their family members to this hostile land, the depressed and aging community survived by persistence and hard work.

(3) The period of selective entry, from 1947 to 1967, saw the reunion of Chinese families and increased tolerance of the Chinese community by the Canadian society.

(4) The post-1967 period saw the Chinese community obtain rights of immigration equal to those of all other ethnic groups and its revival and increasing prosperity.

A government-commissioned ethnic history book, From China

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<u>to Canada</u> (Wickberg, 1982:269), concludes thus:

> Whether or not Canada's treatment of its Chinese was worse or better than treatment of any other ethnic minority, it is significant that two unique forms of discrimination were applied in the Chinese case: only the Chinese had to pay a head tax and only the Chinese were excluded from Canada by an Act of Parliament.

Deeply impressed by the results of his historical research, Li asserts with hardly concealed agony: "Aside from the indigenous people, no other racial or ethnic group had experienced such harsh treatment in Canada as the Chinese" (Li, 1988:1). He adds that still worse, "the development of the Chinese community in Canada was largely constrained by exogenous factors over which the Chinese had little control."

1.4 <u>Power of the New Chinese Community</u>

"The coming of Hong Kong money has buried forever the old image of Canada's Chinese as inferior, second-class citizens... they are no longer coolies" (Cannon, 1989:15). Exaggerated or not, this statement by a Canadian journalist emphasizes the aspect of the Chinese community most highlighted by the press recent years--their soaring economic power.

Once again 1967 was the turning point. The new immigration law, with its emphasis on boosting employment and productivity, set up a sub-group under the independent immigrant category for "entrepreneurs," those who had proved intentions and means to establish a viable business in Canada.

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In 1978 the government introduced the Business Immigration Program which for the first time put business immigrants into a separate category. Aiming at recruiting new blood for the national economy, the government loosened the standards for business immigrants several times and in 1986 added a new "investor" category to the Business Immigration Program. To get admission as an investor, a candidate needed to have a net worth of $500,000 or more, and commit at least $250,000 or $150,000 for a minimum of three years, depending on where in Canada the money was headed for. To date, nearly half of these wealthy immigrants have come from Hong Kong and Taiwan (DeMont & Fennel, 1989:94-5).

Attracted by the Business Immigration Program, Hong Kong investment in Canada reached $2.4 billion in both 1988 and 1989, while two-way trade between Canada and Hong was $2.2 billion in 1989 (Joint Centre, Spring 1990:13). Industry sources estimated that in 1988 alone, Hong Kong investors pumped in $1.5 billion into Vancouver and $2 billion into Toronto (Cannon, 1989:252). As a matter of fact, even without official statistics, many press stories were already legendarizing the incoming Chinese opulence.

Li attributes the thriving of the post-war Chinese community to three main reasons: first, improved government policies; second, the ironic fact that unfavourable social conditions before the end of World War Two stimulated the ethnic businesses and the prosperity of ethnic associations;

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third, the much different and better composition of many factors in the contemporary Chinese community such as age, gender, education and occupation.

Table 1.3: Occupations of Chinese in Canada (1971-1986)

Occupations	1971 %	1981 %	1986 %	National 1986 %
Managerial, and administrative	1.2	4.9	10.0	10.1
Professional and technical	17.8	17.8	18.0	16.4
Clerical and related	11.0	18.5	18.0	18.2
Sales	10.8	7.5	7.8	9.1
Service trade	27.9	24.5	22.2	12.7
Transport equipment operating	0.8	1.4	no longer apply	
Processing, machining, and construction	11.8	16.5	17.8	19.1
Farming and primary occupations	2.2	1.0	1.1	5.6
Other	4.8	3.7	5.1	8.4
Not stated	11.8	4.2	0.0	0.0
Total	00.1%	100%	100.0%	99.6%
(Number)	(50,100)	(168,100)	(215,340)	(12,740,230)

Source: compiled from Census of Canada.[12]

In the area of occupation, for example, (see Table 1.3),

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compared with the occupational composition of their 19th-century predecessors shown in Table 1.2, ethnic Chinese in 1971 had made huge progress by replacing an overwhelming majority coolie class with a high percentage of professional and technical workers.

However, they still had relatively low occupational status, as reflected by small proportions of managerial and clerical staff and a very high percentage of people in service trade. Yet by 1986, they reached almost the same levels as the rest of nation in managerial and clerical occupations and continued to surpass the national average in professional jobs. Their disproportionate share in the relatively lower-class category of service trade could be roughly balanced by a much lower presence in farming, primary, and other occupations. In short, in just one and a half decades, they made a fundamental accomplishment by catching up with the national trend.

In addition to equalling or exceeding several national occupational averages, ethnic Chinese made rapid strides in higher education (see Table 1.4).

For both 1981 and 1986, the proportion of ethnic Chinese holding university degree was approximately double the national level. The comparatively lower percentages of trade school goers may be seen as an evidence for a stronger Chinese inclination to more comprehensive, white-collar-oriented education. This probably reveals potentially further upward

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mobility in their future occupational structure and, accordingly, economic power.

Table 1.4: Levels of education for ethnic Chinese and national population of Canada (1981, 1986)

Level of Education	1981 Chinese %	1981 National %	1986 Chinese %	1986 National %
Some high school or less	43.9	47.8	42.1	44.4
Completed high school	11.1	16.6	10.7	12.8
Trade school	16.1	19.8	17.3	24.4
Some university	11.3	17.9	12.1	8.9
Completed university	17.5	7.9	17.8	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
(Number)	(217,250)	(18,389,250)	(315,015)	(19,634,100)

Source: Compiled from Census of Canada.[13]

1.5 Summary of Introduction

Many factors necessitate a study like this: firstly, the important role played by the mass media in portraying and affecting the relationship between ethnic groups and general society; secondly, Canada's existing multicultural characteristics and its unwavering stand in the foreseeable future of absorbing a continuous influx of immigration; thirdly, the facts that ethnic Chinese have suffered from the

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longest institutional discrimination in Canada's history, have formed in recent years the greatest inflow of immigrants, and now make up the largest visible minority group in this country; and lastly, the rarity of content analysis on the long-term media coverage of Canadian ethnic groups, which is of increasing importance to ethnicity studies.

Chapter Two: <u>Literature Review</u>

Research on the press coverage of the ethnic Chinese community involves a complex set of theoretical issues. This chapter will inspect some academic research closely related to prospective findings, including: previous content analyses of the press coverage of other ethnic groups both in Canada and elsewhere; theories about the impact of public policy, economics, and socio-cultural factors on ethnicity and ethnic images; and discussions about the particular stereotyping of Asian minorities in North America. Based on this theoretical background, we will hypothesize the questions to be further scrutinized through the data analysis.

2.1 <u>Concepts and Definitions</u>

To have a clearer basis for our discussion, the definitions of some concepts in this study need to be articulated.

1. <u>Ethnic group</u>. An ethnic group according to Isajiw (1974:122) is "an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group." It usually refers to a minority group, though sometimes to dominant groups as well, so that we

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can call both the Chinese and the British in Canada ethnic groups. It can be a racial group, though in many cases this would be controversial, e.g. people of cross-bred parentage.

2. Ethnic identity. By objective criteria summarized by Anderson (Anderson & Frederes, 1981:37), ethnic identity consists of the following four factors: (1) Ethnic origin, largely determined--according to Census Canada specifications--by the mother tongue spoken by an individual or his patrilineal predecessor upon immigration to North America; (2) mother tongue, that is, a language traditionally spoken by members of a particular ethnic group; (3) ethnic-oriented religion, that is, participation or membership in a religious affiliation recognized as the traditional religion of a particular ethnic group; (4) folkways, the practice of certain customs unique to the group. With one or more of these factors absent, the rest can still render ethnic identification. Such identification may be ascribed to or assumed by persons, which means it can also be subjective. However, ethnic consciousness is not an automatic subjective correlate of the objective ethnic category.

3. Race and racial. The concepts of "ethnic" or "ethnicity" are richer than those of "racial" or "race." The latter attempt to phenotypically isolate groups of people purely based on physical characteristics and, through pseudo-scientific methods, infer the superiority and inferiority of such human groups in collective personality and social

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behaviours. In comparison, "ethnic" or "ethnicity" categorize the population with more emphasis on cultural differences so that inequality among such categories can be attributed to a combination of cultural, social, economic, political, and historical reasons instead of physical features alone. I agree that "the concept of race should be omitted from social science terminology and that it should be used carefully only by individual scientists who recognize some utility in building physiological or genetic taxonomies" (Anderson & Frederes, 1981:19). Therefore, the terms "race" and "racial" are brought up in other parts of this thesis only in reference to social phenomena rather than academic research.

4. <u>Minority</u>. The term minority group seems more ambiguous in denotation. In the Western context, as stated by Theodorson (Theodorson, 1969), it can suggest "any recognizable racial, religious, or ethnic group... that suffers some disadvantage due to prejudice or discrimination."

For coherence with common usage, this thesis uses "minority" interchangeably with "ethnic group." Meanwhile, the concepts of ethnic group and ethnic identity are mainly based on objective rather than subjective definitions. This is to facilitate the clarity of discussion as well as consistency with the census category of "Chinese" in our empirical study.

5. <u>Stereotype</u>. One of the most frequently used concepts in media and minority relationships is the somewhat worn-out term, stereotype. According to Allport (1954:191): "A

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stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category," be it ethnic or any other generalized social group. As quoted by Erickson and Nosanchuk, a stereotype is a form of social cognition since it is "a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people."[14] To further explain, they claim that experimental work on cognition shows that "people constantly simplify information in ways that make it easier to observe, code, and recall. For any kind of grouping... the perception and recall of differences between groups is exaggerated while differences within groups are reduced" (Erickson & Nosanchuk, 1989:2).

A stereotype is composed of two functions, Seiter says: the descriptive function and the evaluative function; the evaluative aspect is more important for its significance "as an operation of ideology". (Seiter, 1986:16). In the words of Lippmann:

> A pattern of stereotypes is not neutral. It is not merely a way of substituting order for the great blooming, buzzing confusion of reality. It is not merely a short cut. It is all these things and something more. It is the guarantee of our self-respect; it is the projection upon the world of our own sense of our own value, our own position and our own rights. The stereotypes are, therefore, highly charged with the feelings that are attached to them. They are the fortress of our tradition, and behind its defenses we can continue to feel ourselves safe in the position we occupy (Lippmann, 1922:96).

Combining these definitions we arrive at the following: a stereotype is an exaggerated social category that allows people to organize information with an economy of effort; such

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categorizing, whether by individuals or groups, is rooted in the social context and ideologies in which those persons are engaged.

2.2 Previous Studies

Content analysis of the media's portrayal of ethnic minorities has a history of half a century, but it was not until the 1980s that it began to gain popularity.

In a review of early content analyses on media coverage of minorities, Singer (1982:350) noted that the first major effort was an examination conducted in the 1940s of American magazine fiction. It found that "minority group members more often appeared in roles as 'disapproved characters,' and that their values involved self-gain, in contrast to the roles and values of the white majority group" (Berelson and Salter (1946:125).[15] An early study on newspapers was done by Kerckhoff, who found that U.S. newspapers published between 1911 and 1932 portrayed an "anti-social" image in 43% to 84% of their news about Negroes. He also concluded that "the more items published about blacks, the higher the proportion dealing with such 'anti-social' events, suggesting negative imagery was inevitably associated with high visibility in the press" (Kerckhoff, 1951).[16]

The "most substantial content analysis of minorities in newspapers," in the words of Singer (1982:350), was a study of the British press between 1963 and 1970 by Hartman and

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Husband. It concluded that the British media coverage of coloured minorities had two main facets:

> On the one hand people have been kept aware of the hostility and discrimination suffered by coloured immigrants. In this respect, in not allowing social injustice and hardship to go unnoticed and in maintaining the visibility of egalitarian and anti-racist values, the media have performed a valuable function. On the other hand, and simultaneously, people have derived from the media a perception of the coloured population as a threat and a problem, a conception more conducive to the development of hostility towards them than acceptance (Hartman and Husband, 1974:208).

It further concluded that the negative aspect was "prevailing" (Hartman and Husband, 1974:208).

Many recent content analyses on media and minority relationships in the West seem to focus on blacks and North American Indians. For example, a study of five selected U.S. metropolitan papers (Martindale, 1985, 1990a and 1990b) explored the changing image of blacks from the 1950s to the 1980s. It saw positive changes in "the increased volume of coverage and greater attention to everyday life coverage of black Americans." The old image of blacks as criminals went down to a very small percentage of black coverage during the 1970s; meanwhile, the image of blacks as protesters, politicians, sports figures, and entertainers rose. In the 1980s, however, "stereotypic coverage" of black problems-- including crimes and conflicts--increased again. These changes suggested that the old stereotypes of black Americans were "beginning to lose their sway" while new stereotypes, some of them positive ones, were setting in (Martindale, 1990a:48-49).

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Entman, with his analysis of blacks in television news between 1989 and 1990, echoed Martindale's findings and developed them into a criticism of "modern racism" (Entman, 1992:341-361). "Modern racism," Entman explained, is based on two assumptions. On the one hand, it assumes that racial inequality has disappeared; and on the other, it assumes that individuals are responsible for their own fate.

> Because old-fashioned racist images are socially undesirable, stereotypes are now more subtle, and stereotyped thinking is reinforced at levels likely to remain below conscious awareness. Rather than the grossly demeaning distortions of yesterday, stereotyping of blacks now allows abstraction from and denial of the racial component (Ibid).

He found that local television aired a lot of news about blacks with a generally fair and professional coverage and high visibility of black anchors and reporters. This might give the audience an impression that racism was not a social problem any more. However, crime news about blacks still abounded and portrayed black criminals as more likely to be low-class and violent than white defendants. At the same time, black politicians were portrayed as more demanding and likely to be a "special interest" group. These aspects, added together, would "help to produce modern racism by denying the history of discrimination whose residue--high crime, high and impatient demands for services--local television so graphically emphasizes" (Ibid).

In sum, the comparatively large number of studies on blacks have perceived the media coverage of blacks changing

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from "grossly demeaning distortions" (Entman, 1992:345) in and before the 1950s to "a permanent shift" in the level of awareness and commitment in the 1970s (Martindale, 1990b:110) to "its current ambivalent compound of hostility, sympathy and indecision" as represented by "modern racism" (Entman, 1992:361).

Content analysis of minorities by Canadian researchers has been very limited and until the late 1970s, had been a "blank area" (Ujimoto, 1980:6-7).[17] An early systematic effort was made by Scanlon (1977:193-262) in research on "The Sikhs of Vancouver," a group of East Indians wh immigrated to Canada and largely settled in Vancouver. Sampling from several periods between 1945 to 1974 among issues of The Vancouver Sun and the Province, he found that the press reported "mainly intragroup conflict, conflict among Sikh factions at the temple, conflict and violence among family groups." Such negative coverage, he noted, was similar to findings by other ethnic image studies elsewhere (1977:252).

Probing into the reasons for the media's uniformity in conveying negative reports on various minority groups, Scanlon asserted (1977:251):

> The media act only in a Pavlovian sense: they respond to certain alarms. They report only what is called to their attention. They rarely, very rarely, initiate. Given such a situation, it is easy to see why the stories reported are mainly about conflict. Those are the ones forced upon the media. It is also easy to see why background stories are missing. These require individual initiative.

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> There is another syndrome which is also becoming evident and that is the protective syndrome -- the 'I don't want to get beaten' syndrome.... Media personnel are not (as sometimes portrayed) in the business of scooping their competitors. They are in the business of preventing themselves from being scooped.

However, Scanlon admitted that these problems did not originate in the media per se, but were rather a reflection of the "society's value systems"; therefore, he suggested "some of this blame be cast on the society itself" (Scanlon, 1977:254).

Another Canadian study, by Singer (1982:348-359) on the image of native Canadians in the 1971-1975 metropolitan daily press, also yielded negative findings: native Indians were apt to be conveyed as dependent on the government and as frequently engaged in aggressive land claims; moreover, 80% of news about native Indians wrote about "conflict-deviance." Image of Eskimos (Inuits) appeared milder, but had the same negative features (Singer, 1982:357).

Worth noting is that not every content analysis about media and minorities has been critical of the mainstream media for negative and stereotypic reporting. For example, a U.S. study of attitudes toward Natives in Alaskan newspapers of the early 1980s (Murphy and Avery, 1982:39-45) concluded that "overall attitudes toward Native people were found to be positive." Although non-Native papers had a lower favourability rating than Native papers in the study, the difference was small and, to the researchers, what came

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through most clearly was "the pro-Native bias of the Native press."

Comparing various studies, we find that some patterns of minority image change have been established by cumulative research findings, such as the general development of media coverage of black Americans. Nevertheless, some generalizations may not be pertinent to situations at a different time or another place. For instance, the inevitable association between negative imagery and high visibility in the press asserted by Kerckhoff (1951) was not born out by the acknowledged improvement of black coverage in the 1970s. Perhaps Scanlon's assertion that the media "rarely, very rarely, initiate" in ethnic coverage also met an exception in the case of native Americans of Alaska in the early 1980s, when non-Native newspapers had more Native coverage than ever before with no apparent social conflicts happening (Murphy and Avery, 1982:43).[18]

What has been emphasized by previous studies is that ethnic reportage patterns--if there are any--are closely linked with specific historical, political, economic, social, and cultural contexts, and that replications of such patterns may, but do not necessarily, occur in similar situations in other times or places. Therefore, to better understand the changing media coverage of ethnic minorities, we need to better understand the changing contexts of society and, in particular, better understand the factors

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of direct impact to the destiny of ethnic groups.

In the following, we will review some of the literature on ethnic issues which may have significance for this study.

2.3 Role of State Intervention

In all ethnic issues, especially in ethnic conflicts, it is often the case that state intervention plays a decisive role. This opinion has been echoed by many theorists.

Looking back to the history of tne Chinese in Canada, some leading historians in the field conclude that "in so many phases... immigration legislation was to have a decisive effect on the possibility of community formation and continued community growth" (Wickberg, 1982:209). This was true when Chinese labourers were allowed free entry in the middle of the 19th century in pursuit of their Gold Mountain dream; it was true when they were recruited to ease the labour shortage on CP Railway. It was true after CPR project, when the less needed coolies were charged heavy head taxes and then excluded from coming; and it was true when they were equally empowered by the country's first non-racial immigration law. The present inflow of Hong Kong money also owes much to preferential government policies. While individual hard work and intelligence did play an important role in the survival and upward mobility of different persons, today's flourishing community would not have been possible without a fundamentally upgraded political environment.

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State intervention also has a major influence on the media and minority relationship, "since the machinery of the state is frequently central in determining the rights of minorities and the regulation of the media" (Husband, 1986:1-22). This role is played mainly through legislation, education and intervention in the media system. While legislation may limit the civil and political rights of minorities and contributes to either the general hostility or toleration towards those groups, the state's education provisions "are likely to be informed by, and to inform, policies on ethnic relations elsewhere in the society." In addition, "government intervention in determining the nature and range of media systems may arise from economic considerations and yet have political and cultural implications" (Ibid).

Examples of the role of state intervention in media's treatment of ethnic groups abound. Mass media carrying outrageous anti-Chinese propaganda, such as the 19th-century Victoria dailies, British Colonist and Victoria Gazette, could not keep going to such extremes without institutional support for racial discrimination. However, as public policies changed to multiculturalism in recent decades, the media have had to pay more attention to being politically correct lest punishments would ensue. For example, CTV and CBC radio of Vancouver aroused strong protests from the Chinese community after broadcasting racially controversial programs in 1989 and 1991 respectively. As a result, CTV was ordered by CRTC to

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make public apology;[19] and CBC of Vancouver, besides receiving pressure to report to CRTC and apologize in public, was urged to "produce another series emphasizing the positive images of Chinese-Canadians".[20]

What we can observe in state intervention regarding the Chinese in Canada is a gradual shift from what Li calls "institutional discrimination" (Li, 1988:33) before 1947 to an institutional tolerance in the post-war era and then to the somewhat institutional encouragement--at least economically-- since the 1980s.

However, changes in state intervention do not take place in isolation. We have yet to probe for factors that generate such political changes. In this respect, different theorists give various emphases.

2.4 Other Factors: the Economic Role

In the process of ethnicity establishment, Brass stresses three sets of struggles (Brass, 1985). One is the struggle within the ethnic group itself for control over its material and symbolic resources, which in turn involves defining the group's boundaries and its rules for inclusion and exclusion. The second takes place between ethnic groups in their competition for rights, privileges, and available resources. The third occurs between the state together with the dominating group, and the population that inhabits its

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territory. Such struggles are necessary, because

> the social, legal and political legitimacy of an
> ethnic group must first be contested and
> established. Within any society or state, until a
> group's ethnic identity is accorded legitimacy it
> is effectively disenfranchised from seeking to
> employ the social and institutional mechanisms
> available for bidding for media resources.

Therefore, in the case of ethnic Chinese, the low or high media images they have had through state intervention may be seen as resulting from their losses or triumphs in the intra- and inter-group power struggles. This might be proved by the fact that, all through history, the evolution of ethnic Chinese organizations have underlined the ups and downs of communal well-being as described in Chapter One. Developing such a theme, neo-Marxist and cultural pluralistic researchers may see the state as a "relatively neutral context within which ethnic groups and other cultural communities compete for resources" (Husband, 1986:1-22) and it follows that whoever wins the competition wins favour of the government. But such plausible explanations give no ultimate answer to the rises and falls of different groups, for obviously no ethnic group-- no matter how hard it struggles--can assume total control of its own destiny.

Gramsci's perception of hegemony offers yet another interpretation for changes in state intervention and, therefore, ethnic images. Hegemony, which includes such institutional apparatuses as education, law, religion, and the media, is seen by him as "being the winning of consent rather

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than the pure imposition of control by force" (Ibid). This may be particularly true in ethnic relations of modern times, when dominant groups try to maintain their rule by more disguised means. Accordingly, historically rejected groups like the Chinese are now better treated so as to win their consent over the otherwise less bearable status quo.

Developing such a perspective, political scientists like Dyson argue that it is ideological variations between different interest groups within the state that have brought about changes in ethnic and media policies. "Hence media policy cannot be explained by who governs but by who inhabits the policy sector" (Ibid).

These approaches draw our attention to a dialectic of power, namely, the fact that neither state intervention nor struggles for ethnic identity always follow a simplistic governing and governed direction. But to Husband, all the neo-Marxist, pluralistic and political science approaches are problematic because they have significantly under-estimated "the economic determination of the material and social situation of minority communities" (Ibid). With his inclination towards a fundamental Marxist analysis of the state, he shares the view of political economists such as Schiller (1981, 1984), Mattelart (1983, 1984) and Murdock and Golding (1977) in prioritising class as the basic analytic concept to explain the relative significance of international capitalism in determining national economic and political

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agenda. This, in turn, helps expose the determination of national and local communication policy.

The political economist perspective may better explain the behind-the-scenes power struggle of the press and minorities. For instance, it gives us a probably valid explanation as to why federal and provincial governments made about-face changes in their policies towards Chinese immigration. Obviously, the current encouragement of immigration from Hong Kong and Taiwan does not mainly aim at solving racial or social conflicts. If this were intended to promote equality and justice, the job had already been done by the 1967 non-discriminatory immigration law. The underlying philosophy of the present preferential policies, as widely publicized by the press and specified by observers like DeMont and Fennell (DeMont & Fennel, 1989:92), "is to attract immigrants with the right skills and background to help stimulate the more-industrialized Canadian economy.... Indeed no other Western country has engineered such a blatant grab for Hong Kong's elite and their wealth."

2.5 Social and Psychological Factors

Notwithstanding what we have learned from the above, I cannot be satisfied with the economic interpretation, either. Economic roles have been important not only for the Chinese, but for Caucasian groups as well. Unskilled and poverty-stricken Southern European immigrants of 1950s, such as

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Italians and Portuguese, enjoyed a social status not much better than the Chinese.[21] But how is it that the Chinese experienced the severest and longest discrimination in Canadian immigration history and today still seem to face more racist problems than some new Caucasian groups such as Eastern Europeans even though they are, as a whole, more financially established?

Instead of grounding anti-Oriental attitudes in economic tensions created by cheap Asian labour in a maturing industrial capitalist society, Ward (1978:1) holds that racism in places like British Columbia was fundamentally a problem in the social psychology of ethnic relations. In retrospect, he finds that anti-Orientalism was endemic in B.C. and racist beliefs were largely static, self-sufficient, with no need of being nourished by theories such as post-Darwinism or guided by nativist leaders. He admits that "by themselves these beliefs did not generate anti-Oriental activity. They were a necessary, not a sufficient, condition of openly hostile action" (Ward, 1978:167).

Unfortunately, since his discussion stops short of further elaboration, we have insufficient reason to replace the political economist explanations with a social psychological one. Nevertheless, his opinion should still be of some value. No wonder Wickberg, in ending a study on ethnic Chinese history with a group of researchers, supports the notion that both the economic and socio-psychological

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interpretations have "abundant evidence" (Wickberg, 1982:269).

Lieberson (1989:1-14) offers another complement to the social power behind ethnicity image changes. He finds:

> Racial and ethnic groups are not merely static entities, but are also products of evolving labelling and identification processes... This continuous process of combining and recombining means that the very existence of a given group is not to be taken for granted; groups appear and disappear.

Such forces of flux, he says, are of special significance in nations experiencing extensive immigration, such as the United States and Canada. International migration often means a novel combination of groups brought together in settings and conditions quite different from what they had experienced in their homelands. Under these circumstances, there is a great potential for shifts, new categories, and new identifications.

The de facto ethnic ranking system means that members of some groups enjoy prestige and various advantages whereas others face handicaps or punishments. Insofar as groups differ in their prestige and access to advantages, we have reasons to expect "shifts towards more desirable or less disadvantaged origins at the price of others" (Lieberson, 1989:1-14) Thus under some circumstances, ethnic origins may be lost and identifications changed to avoid social disadvantages.

Applied to the Chinese case, the above theory may imply two results. One is that some members of the community may try in different ways to lose or change their ethnic identity in order to avoid the disadvantages or handicaps of being a

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minority. However, this cannot be properly reflected by the press. What can be partly observed in our study is another aspect of the identity loss: the pointing-out or leaving-out of ethnic identity in press coverage which latently associate with favourable or unfavourable evaluation. For example, we can assume: more stories covering or partially covering ethnic Chinese leave out or de-emphasize the ethnic label of "Chinese." This indicates a deliberate or unconscious attempt on the part of the media to be "politically correct." That is, by downplaying the ethnic label, they could seem more equal and fair in treating all ethnic groups.

2.6 Media and Asian Minority: "Positive Stereotyping"

In recent years, complaints about "positive stereotyping" came into currency in some research. "Positive stereotyping," according to Nakayama, exists particularly with the coverage of Asian Americans, now being a relatively successful ethnic group and acknowledged for their achievement partially through constant praises by the media. He observes a somewhat strange shift in the American mainstream media's treatment of Asian Americans--that from "yellow peril" some 20 years ago and earlier to the "model minority" since the 1980s (Nakayama, 1988).

"While the dominance of negative representations of Asians and Asian Americans should not be overlooked, the appearance of the "model minority" is puzzling within this

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historical context" (Nakayama, 1988:65). He argues that the present praises of Asian Americans "serve neither the interests of Asian Americans, nor other minorities, particularly Blacks and Latinos. Instead, this discursive formation functions to legitimate status quo institutions."

The term "discursive practice," originated from Michel Foucault, who stresses the relationship between discourse and social functions. Such an approach finds that the seemingly scattered and unrelated messages in mass media can actually be seen as "tied together around particular objects, concepts, and so forth" (Ibid). Therefore, significant analyses can start from unveiling these relationships. In short, Foucault's approach is not to peer into the works of particular authors, but to trace the most common media messages. The objects frequently brought up by the discursive media messages reflect the parameters of public discourse. These parameters are not static, but dynamic. They correspond to the changes in the power frames that are pulling the strings behind the scene.

The improving image of Asian Americans exemplifies Foucault's concept. Behind the praises of "model minority" lies an attempt, which can be seen as a power move, to control and explain the "place" of Asian Americans in American society. It is oriented not only towards Asian Americans, but to other minorities as well. Asian Americans simply serve the role of the "model" upon which other minorities are asked to base their behaviours (Nakayama, 1988:67).

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Nakayama gives many recent examples of how the American mainstream media emphasize the supremacy of ethnic Asians over the Black and Hispanic groups in academic excellence, economic independence and well-being, hardworking, traditional life style, and even political open-mindedness. Such an association, he points out, imposes an oversimplified identity, on all ethnic groups—to the neglect of their actually different experiences, cultures and histories.

Quoting an observation by a <u>Newsweek</u> article,[22] he claims that many of the Asians' problems actually stem from their image as a "superminority" and that to a large extent the stereotype rings true, though he did not explain how the Asians are exactly suffering from such kind of stereotyping.

In a word, "superminority" is seen by Nakayama as an unwanted label for both the Asian- and other "-Americans."

2.7 Hypotheses for Empirical Research

From the discussion thus far, we can derive some hypotheses for the upcoming content analysis.

First, the role of state intervention, represented by the enforcement of Canada's post-1967 multicultural policies and its Business Immigration Program since 1978, may have been a chief factor helping the Chinese community to flourish and draw more public attention in recent decades. To observe this, we come up with:

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Coverage of ethnic Chinese from 1970 to 1990 increased in quantity and at a rate higher than the community's population growth.

This suggest there were factors more than mere population growth that led to increased press coverage. The main such factor suggested here was a more lenient political climate which gave the community a higher status as well as more opportunities for economic and cultural development. Main Hypothesis One is operationalized into three sub-hypotheses:

H1.1: Reportage quantity growth was firstly shown by story number.

H1.2: Reportage quantity growth was also shown by annual total and average story lengths.

H1.3: Such growth was also reflected by upgraded story layout, including (a) size of headline; (b) usage of picture; (c) position on page; (d) page location in an issue; and (e) source of author.

If story number tells how often a newspaper picks up a subject, and story length tells how much space the paper allocates to the subject, then layout shows how much importance the editor extends to a given story in a given space. He does this mainly through (1) the size of headline, (2) use or disuse of picture, (3) the story's position on page, (4) the story's page location in the whole newspaper

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issue, and (5) the manner of attribution to its author.

It is common sense that stories with big headlines and pictures in main positions of front pages easily get more attention from the reader than lower- and back-page stories with tiny headlines and no pictures. The source of author is also important, because to whom and how the story is attributed often influences the reader's first impression about the credibility of an article. Generally speaking, a story printed with its author's name looks more credible than an anonymous one; a wire service source seems more professional and authoritative than a simple by-line; and a "staff writer" tag to the author's name usually reveals the most direct attention to a subject from the editor.

Different layout treatments can make the same story either visually outstanding or commonplace. In fact, how the editor highlights or downplays the layout of stories often decides which story the reader first comes to or whether some readers notice certain stories at all.

Second, the Chinese community's upward mobility in social status and public image has much to do with its strengthened economic role in recent years, especially when explained in a political economic perspective. If this is true, the increased amount of attention given to the Chinese community should focus a good deal on the economic factor as well as other new aspects:

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Main Hypothesis Two

Coverage of ethnic Chinese (1970-1990) also increased in the variety of content so as to have greater presentation in media opinion, wider areas of interest, and more economic issues.

This indicates that coverage of the Chinese community has moved from simple topics such as restaurant and cultural reviews towards more comprehensive and, thus, more "normal" aspects of daily life, such as business, employment and crime. Hypothesis Two contains four sub-hypotheses. The first one is about reporting format.

H2.1: significant proportional changes occurred in five formats of writing, including

(a) more hard news;

(b) less feature stories;

(c) more letters to the editor;

(d) more editorials/commentaries.

Formats are important to reportage content because they are not only divisions of technical styles, but, more importantly, of content as well. A single event like a traffic accident can be covered through all formats. It can be covered by a hard news story, which, as usual, tells the five W's and how the accident happened. The same news can be more briefly conveyed by a single picture with a short caption. It can be elaborated by a feature, which gives all the relevant details or simply uses the incident as a "news tag" before relating it

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to a series of other traffic problems. Further on, it can also be brought up by a letter to the editor, which sharply accuses the police for coming late to the venue and adding to the drivers' embarrassment. It can also be mentioned by a commentary or editorial in criticism of municipal government's lack of commitment to metropolitan infrastructural constructions. So even for the same event, different formats often choose largely different materials for different functions. Sometimes, materials picked up by one format can hardly be used by another. For instance, a reader may write a letter to the editor complaining about being misunderstood after opening the door for two other persons in a shopping mall. Such trivial incidents, unless they lead to some social crisis or a fight, may never turn into a hard news or feature story.

Most important, formats draw a distinct demarcation between two vital parts of press content--news and opinion. As professed by the common ethics of Western journalism, "News is news and opinion is opinion." Newspaper staff usually refrain from directly expressing their own opinions unless in commentaries and editorials. The letters-to-the-editor pages form another part of the opinion arena. Other than these, all reportage supposedly comes in the name of "news," which, no matter what it is and how the materials are selected, should be "objectively" reported.

In short, formats give the reader a basic idea about the

nature (news or opinion) as well as material-selecting orientations of content.

The first sub-hypothesis about content variety, H2.1, presumes proportional changes in formats of writing. It is mainly based on the my impression that much of the earlier reportage about ethnic Chinese under study appeared to be slow-paced, feature-style restaurant, food and cultural reviews. As the community prospered in later years, stories about Chinese seemed to come in more styles, although food and culture remained the journalists' favourite subjects.

H2.2: significant percentage changes occurred in

five areas of interest, including

(a) less local interest;

(b) more provincial interest;

(c) more interest of other provinces;

(d) more national interest;

(e) more international interest.

Area of interest is an important index for content capacity. Although the Star and the Sun are both local newspapers, the large metropolitan and multicultural readership they serve unavoidably require information from a much wider geographical area. This may be particulary true for coverage of the Chinese community, in which well over haif of the population is born out of Canada and ranks one of the most prominent immigration groups in recent decades. Doubtless, the community's development and influence could not be

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comprehensively reported by focusing on local interest alone.

        H2.3: significant percentage changes occurred in

                five themes of reporting, including

                (a) more political;

                (b) less cultural;

                (c) more about immigration;

                (d) more about crimes;

                (e) more economic.

Theme is perhaps the most commonly-used method of content categorization. If reporting format determines the range and orientation of a story's information, and area of interest tells the geographical whereabouts of the reporting subject and its potential impact, then theme directly refers to the subject's nature or, to be more exact, what the newspaper staff perceives its nature to be.

In the earlier coverage of the Chinese community in this study, the press seemed much preoccupied with the theme of the alien characteristics of Chinese culture. This could mean, on the one hand, a superficial understanding and acceptance by the press, as if the Chinese subject were basically of some ornamental value. On the other hand, it could also mean the Chinese community's weak participation in and penetration of the general society.

However, ethnic Chinese seem to be much more frequently acknowledged nowadays for a bigger economic role and higher social status in Canadian society. If this is true, relevant

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developments should be reflected by updated themes in press coverage.

> H2.4: significant percentage increase occurred,
>
> too, in other content approaches, including
>
> (a) more references to history (happenings
>
> of the year before or earlier; and
>
> (b) more personal profiles.

These approaches are closely related to the above-mentioned aspects of coverage volume and content. If there are more and longer stories engaged with more reporting formats, areas of interest and themes, they should employ more in-depth and colourful approaches to modify the content. Among such approaches, two will be scrutinized in this study.

One is the historical approach, which is commonly deemed imperative for in-depth reporting. It could be especially useful for covering the Chinese community, which has an immigration history longer than the Confederation, experience of century-old discrimination, and spectacular development in each of the past few decades. Nevertheless, we do not expect news articles to become historical reviews. In the coding sheet of this study, "reference to history" was operationalized as any mentioning of happenings in the year before or earlier. To explain, here the historical approach means some basic time-wise background account about the reporting subject. Though it might not be given abundantly for each story, overall increased usage of such an approach would

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lead to more comprehensive coverage.

The other type of content modification to be analyzed is personal profile, perhaps the most effective human interest approach. During the story selection process, my impression was that, in the earlier part of the time span, personal profiles could only be found in cultural features about ethnic Chinese. In 1990, as the community became more prosperous and influential, personal profiles came out more frequently and, besides talking about culture, many of them wrote about Chinese businessmen, investors, and persons involved in crimes. Even the culturally-related profiles looked different.

Take, for example, a touching series in The Toronto Star about Elizabeth Lue, a 6-year-old Chinese girl who fought against a rare spine disease and eventually died after failing to find compatible marrow for transplanting. In the first place, such an incident, if it had happened back in the 1970s, probably could not have stirred up such widespread public concern and such intensive press coverage, which ended up with a $1.3-million fund-raising campaign and 8,000 marrow-donation volunteers across the nation. Take another example: another series in the 1990 Star gave detailed descriptions of a suspected Chinese murderer who allegedly killed his ex-girl friend and dumped her dismembered body into Lake Ontario. Such an elaborate report, too, would be hard to imagine for coverage of ethnic Chinese in the 1970s. If a general reportage upgrading resulted from the greater and more

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influential presence of the Chinese community, then the presumed increase of personal profiles would imply an even more impressive enhancement of social influence.

Third, in addition to the quantity growth and content enrichment in the press coverage of the Chinese community, there would also be some improvement in the directional or evaluative slant of coverage. However, the slant change would be small and much less dramatic, due to the lingering power of traditional social psychology.

Main Hypothesis Three

The coverage of ethnic Chinese used to be generally neutral but slanted a little to the negative side. However, it generally moved toward more neutral and slightly positive evaluations.

On the one hand, this indicates that the media's treatment of a minority group became increasingly sensitive, cautious, and "politically correct;" on the other, it suggests that the change of traditional attitudes comes less quickly than the mere increase or decrease of attention.

H3.1 There was a possible move toward more positive slant, a possible decrease in negative slant, and a significant increase in neutral slant.

Progress towards more positive coverage, if true, contained two possibilities. One was, of course, an evident upturn of positive slant. However, this did not guarantee that

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coverage would turn more positive in general: what if negative slant grew more rapidly? Another possibility for positive progress was that positive slant remained at the same level or even went down, under conditions in which negative slant fell or fell faster. Because of huge gaps between the story numbers of different years, it is hard to tell which way the positive slant seemed to follow.

But we can make a better educated guess on the neutral slant for basically two reasons. Firstly, it is usually true that the more stories there are, the less likely that coverage would go to extremes. Since coverage about ethnic Chinese gained substantially in number in the past two decades, the most probable outcome for all three slants would be a rising trend in the middle one. The other reason has to do with postulated increase in economic stories. Of the five listed themes, the economic seems to be the one that is most likely to receive neutral reporting. As the common saying goes, business is business. Politics, immigration, or crime can be business, too, but less often would it be the other way round. Therefore, if nothing seriously abnormal occurred, such as successive disastrous racial conflicts, the speculation of a bigger neutral slant would be quite safe.

H3.2 There was a significantly bigger percentage difference between positive and negative slants in which the positive exceeded the negative at the end of the time span.

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Such a bigger percentage difference can be accounted for by two possibilities. The first and more likely is that negative slant declined and went below the percentage of positive side, when neutral slant expanded. The second is that negative slant remained at the same level or even went up, but still lagged further behind the positive slant in the end as compared with the beginning of the time span. This second possibility would mean a shrinking neutral slant instead of the expanding one expected by H3.1. Nevertheless, if it were true, Main Hypothesis Three could still be supported despite the H3.1's disposal.

> H3.3 Over time, less percentage of stories had
>
> reference to mainland China, Hong Kong,
>
> Taiwan, or Orient in general.

This is to apply Lieberson's theory of ethnicity flux to analyzing the press content. Since de facto disadvantages exist among different ethnic groups, the removal of ethnic label by the press may either directly or indirectly indicate that the persons covered were treated more as Canadians in a macroscopic sense than minority members in specific. It may also suggest that those subjects were better assimilated into the general society than those in stories with references to ethnic origins.

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Main Hypothesis Four

The tendencies reflected in Main Hypotheses One to Three were stronger in The Vancouver Sun than in The Toronto Star, mainly because the province of British Columbia has a longer history of Chinese immigration, a bigger proportional presence of ethnic Chinese, and is part of the Pacific Rim.

This indicates that owing to different socio-economic dynamics in Vancouver and Toronto, (1) the West coast's public opinion, as represented by The Vancouver Sun, may have an edge over Toronto in noticing and scrutinizing the resurgent role of the Chinese community; and (2) The Toronto Star may give less attention to the Chinese community, because Ontario has a greater cultural diversity than British Columbia.

sub-hypotheses: tested by all above sub-hypotheses.

2.8 Summary of Literature Review

Previous content analyses generally yielded negative findings about the media's coverage of ethnic minorities, but saw at least manifest improvement in the media's heightened awareness of and commitment to ethnic reportage in recent decades. Of course, variations existed among different ethnic groups, different places, and different periods of time.

As explicated by many theorists, the fate of ethnic development, including ethnic images in the mass media, is seriously influenced by several factors. The most decisive

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role proven by history is state intervention, which can not only lead to growth or decline, but also the survival or extinction of certain ethnic groups in a nation. In turn, public policy is steered by political-economic and social psychological factors, although there have been arguments as to which of the two factors has a more determinant power.

With the development of racial equality, various studies have shown that the images of minority groups in the mass media have improved from being overtly demeaning to less negative or even "positive" ones. However, such improvements are seen by critical theorists as a shift to "positive stereotyping" and "modern racism," which may hide the still existent power struggle between the dominant and oppressed ethnic groups.

Being aware of these preceding findings and theories, this study hypothesizes that the Canadian press coverage of ethnic Chinese also showed a generally improving trend in recent decades. If true, these changes would be observed through the quantitative growth of coverage (Main Hypothesis One), content enrichment (Main Hypothesis Two), improvement of directional slant (Main Hypothesis Three), and these changes would be manifested to a greater degree in Vancouver, where the Chinese community has a greater presence in the local population (Main Hypothesis Four).

Chapter Three: <u>Research Methods</u>

This chapter deals with the methodological issues encountered by this project. It explains why the disputed method of content analysis is chosen for this specific study, why <u>The Toronto Star</u> and <u>The Vancouver Sun</u> are purposefully selected instead of randomly selecting from all Canadian metropolitan papers, why we set the time span of 1970 to 1990, why we confine the definition of ethnic Chinese in accordance with the practice of Census of Canada, and how the data were sampled, categorized and coded.

3.1 <u>Using Content Analysis</u>

By choosing content analysis as the research method of my thesis, I am aware that

> the first step for anyone considering a major content analysis project... ought to be a reconsideration of Bernard Berelson's still-useful point that one should not use this methodology if the desired information can be acquired any other way (Stevenson and Cole, 1982:167).

The potentials and limitations of content analysis, a traditional social research methodology, have been disputed. As noted by another researcher, definitions even by some well-known content analysts give competing versions as to what content analysis can be used for (Beardsworth, 1980:373-375). For example, Berelson stresses the manifest content as being

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the proper concern; he says: "Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952:18).

Budd, Thorp and Donohew (1967:2) offer a broader definition: "Content analysis is a systematic technique for analyzing message content and message handling--it is a tool for observing and analyzing the overt communication behaviour of selected communicators." Here, message handling is added, and the overall observation target is overt behaviour rather than overt content.

Lasswell gives a stronger statement than Berelson on the descriptive function. Content analysis, he says, is a technique specializing in "describing, with optimum objectivity, precision, and generality, what is said at a given place at a given time" (Lasswell et al., 1952:34). Holsti echoes Lasswell's definition but puts further emphasis on the generalization potential: "Content analysis is any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti, 1969:14).

These definitions may differ in the degrees of application, but they share a bottom line on the four basic features specified by Berelson: objective, systematic, quantitative, and manifest. These features, as noted by Stempel (1989:125), are the "key to understanding content

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analysis and performing it competently."

Challenges to content analysis have called each of the four aspects in question. To quote from Beardsworth (1980:371-394), objectivity is hardly attainable because of "the possibility of discrepancies between the intentions and perceptions of those who communicate via the mass media, of those who consume that communication, and of those who seek to analyze it systematically;" the systematic approach is pretentious, because it "turns out to be reliant upon unexplicated and ultimately elusive forms of pre-supposed knowledge about the social world;" the quantitative measurement is "an oddity, since its application does not take place in the context of theory of human communication that can specify what the magnitudes and frequencies our measurements give us actually mean;" and findings from manifest materials "are relevant only to those populations from which samples were drawn, and then only for the particular point in time at which the research was carried out."

However, even the critics have to agree that these problems are "not quite so peculiar to content analysis" (Ibid). Content analysis constitutes just one of many social research methods; like others, it has its benefits and limitations. If absolute objectivity and a totally systematic approach are impossible, the pursuit of objective and systematic study, in my opinion, at least holds value in attempting to look at the "facts" before arguing. If the

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analysis of quantitative and manifest materials sometimes or "typically" (Seiter, 1986:19) neglects the social context, and, thereby, fails to get to the essence of the communication content, it does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that quantitative and manifest characteristics should be bypassed altogether. Much would be lost in meaning if the analysis of quantitative and manifest data was totally neglected by social research.

Quantitative and qualitative methods are not mutually exclusive (Stempel, 1989:126); nor are the analyses of manifest and contextual materials. On the contrary, they can and should be mutually complementary. To assume that either side can fulfil the whole task of social research alone would be, to me, unreasonable. Perhaps compared with qualitative research, content analysis seems less full-fledged in theoretical elaborations; but this does not mean that content analysis has to be superficial.

Regardless of the disputes, what cannot be overemphasized, in my opinion, is that content analysts--now equipped with increasingly powerful computing devices--should supplement their empirical method with enhanced references to the social context, more theoretical discussion, more caution in making inferences, and the awareness that any inference drawn from data analysis constitutes just one among many potential perceptions of the social reality.

Content analysis is chosen for this study because to

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observe the reportage of daily newspapers, no other evidence can be as systematic and complete as the content analysis of the press itself. To analyze the Canadian press coverage of the ethnic Chinese community--a topic rarely touched by previous studies--content analysis can be especially useful for scanning the massive amount of materials and, thereby, for developing theoretical explorations.

Being aware of the limitations of content analysis, I believe it promises at least one advantage that cannot be easily matched by a qualitative study: within the same limitation of time and space, content analysis examines a larger number of "cases." While a fairly large number of Chinese stories are scattered in years of newspaper issues, we first need to locate and read them before making any comment about ethnic Chinese coverage. As implied by Lasswell et al. (1952:31):

> Can we assume that a scholar read his sources with the same degree of care throughout his research? Did he allow his eye to travel over the thousands of pages of parliamentary debates, newspapers, magazines and other sources...? Or did he use a sampling system scanning some pages superficially, though concentrating upon certain periods.

Even if we somehow managed to read all stories with equal attention, in a qualitative study we could only use some stories; the rest would not be selected partly because we considered them "less representative" and partly because we did not have enough time and space.

Comprehensiveness of manifest materials is important for

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this study because with fewer materials provided, the readers would have less opportunity to obtain a basic understanding of the coverage of ethnic Chinese from which they can draw their own conclusions; and without starting from the manifest, we would have less chance to get to the essential.

Blaming the mass media for spreading racist stereotypes has been an oft-told tale. In doing background research for this thesis, I found citations of racist media coverage about ethnic Chinese of all times in many books, academic papers and other essays. Since ethnic image in mass communication is of increasing concern in recent years, systematic research on the media coverage of ethnic Chinese, the biggest visible group in Canada, is called for. It facilitates another perspective as to what the coverage of the Chinese community is really like: whether it is as bad as, or worse, or better, than what has often been stated; what else has been said by this coverage; and whether and how the coverage has changed.

3.2 <u>Selection of Papers</u>

The two newspapers in this study, <u>The Toronto Star</u> and <u>The Vancouver Sun</u>, were purposefully chosen for this study. Another strategy could have been selecting papers by random sample from all Canadian newspapers or from those Canadian newspapers of a certain size and type. However, a random selection of papers, I believe, would be less fitting for the purpose of this study, because of the concentration of ethnic

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Chinese in Vancouver and Toronto.

Like many other minorities in Canada, ethnic Chinese have been highly urbanized in their settlement and, moreover, have been highly concentrated in their distribution across Canada. As mentioned in Chapter One, for the past several decades, approximately 80% of Chinese Canadians lived in Ontario and British Columbia; and, in turn, about 80% of the Chinese in these two provinces resided in Greater Toronto and Greater Vancouver.

Since the purpose of this study is to explore representative characteristics of the press coverage of ethnic Chinese in Canada, we have a better chance of doing so by choosing the leading papers of the biggest concentrations of Chinese Canadians. Out of the same consideration for better focus, many other studies, including the content analyses mentioned before, also adopted a purposeful choice of media.

The Toronto Star and The Vancouver Sun are deemed suitable and comparable for this study, because of their similarities in many aspects. Besides representing the two Canadian cities that have an overwhelming majority of post-war Chinese immigrants, they are similar in their nature, prestige, and technical styles.

The two papers were founded about the same time, the Sun in 1886 and the Star in 1892, and each is privately owned. Each of them is the largest circulation local daily in its market. The Star, in 1992, reported a daily circulation of

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523,458; the Sun a daily circulation of 207,084. Each number equals 15% of the population in the corresponding census area. They have the same print method, similar layout characteristics, a similar length of around 70 pages for each issue, and similar sections. For example, the Star has sections named "Greater Metro," "Ontario," "Entertainment," "Life/People," "Family," "Food," "Fashion," and "Business Today." In turn, the Sun has "Vancouver," "British Columbia," "What's on," "Life," "You," "Family," "Food," "Fashion," and "Business." The Star publishes everyday except on major holidays. The Sun publishes from Monday to Saturday, but the absence of a Sunday issue is partly remedied by its "Weekend Extra" section.

They also adopt similar ethnic coverage policies in general. The Vancouver Sun has decided that "multicultural coverage should not be separated from other coverage, that the various ethnic communities should be covered as mainstream news."[23] The Toronto Star declares: "We do not single out any community for specific coverage, but we do cover interesting and important events with the community and also important to Toronto as a whole."[24]

As will be seen in the data analysis, their similarity extends to many areas of the coverage as well.

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3.3 Defining the Population: Reference to "Ethnic Chinese"

The ethnic Chinese community in this study refers to all permanent residents or claimed would-be permanent residents in Canada of claimed Chinese origin who were either born in Canada or originally from China's mainland, Hong Kong or Taiwan. Thus the concept excludes ethnic Chinese originating from Southeastern Asian countries such as Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. True, many people of the latter groups are actually part of the Chinese community, not to mention that visibly they show no remarkable differences from the former group. Nevertheless, they are excluded from our calculations for several reasons.

1. This study must show coherence with official statistics. They are counted as separate ethnic groups both by Census and Statistics of Canada, the most important sources for our demographic figures.

2. It is beyond the author's means to determine how many people of the latter groups have Chinese origin and even harder to tell how many of them are merged with the Chinese community.

3. Despite common ancestors, the latter groups do show distinctive cultural characteristics of their own. Very often they also have their own languages. Their kinship with the Chinese community can be considered both a result of cultural proximity and a necessity for survival in a white dominant society.

Of course, being excluded in demographic statistics does not mean that the influence of this large group of Chinatown dwellers should be neglected. On the contrary, although abiding by official demographic standards, we would not be wrong to add a plus to most of the indices concerning the Chinese community--whether it be population, investment or the crime rate.

3.4 Time Span

A time span of a little more than two decades, starting from 1970, with the interval in 1980, and ending in 1990, has been chosen for this study. The main consideration is to reflect Canada's new immigration and ethnic features after the promulgation of the 1967 immigration rules.

Of course, this time span is by no means the sole choice. Looking back to the latest happenings of significance to the Chinese community, there are other possible starting points, too. For example, the afterwave of every major political change in China could be seen in a sudden increase of Chinese immigrants to Canada. This was true for 1989, when escalating immigration from mainland China followed the events at Tiananmen Square and the Canadian government's temporary policy of granting immigration status to Chinese mainlanders on humanitarian grounds. The same was true for 1984, which saw a new surge of Hong Kong immigrants as Britain agreed on the returning of Hong Kong to China on the eve of July 1, 1997;

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for 1982, when the initiating of Sino-British talks on the Hong Kong issue was unveiled; for 1979, when China adopted its "open-door" policy; for 1967, after China commenced its disastrous "cultural revolution;" and for 1949, when Chinese communists took power and a swarm of capitalists and ex-landowners fled overseas.

Doubtless, other important dates marking changes in Canadian immigration policy also served as milestones of ethnic Chinese history. These include 1978, when the Business Immigration Program was introduced; 1973, when Canadian Premier Pierre Trudeau paid a historic visit to Beijing and promised to better facilitate Chinese-Canadians' efforts in bringing their family members to Canada; 1970, when the establishment of Sino-Canadian diplomatic relations enabled the normalization of immigration procedures from China's mainland; and 1947, when Canada repealed its exclusion act for Chinese immigrants.

However, 1970 seems to me the best starting time, because:

1. It combines two of the most important turning points of both communal and national significance. One is 1967, the year of "independence" for ethnic Chinese and the year of institutionalized immigration equality for all ethnic groups in Canada. The other is 1970, the year which saw Sino-Canadian diplomatic relationship reestablished and set up and defined the fundamental relations between Canada and its sources of

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Chinese immigration.

2. Judging from immigration statistics, 1970 was also the starting point of a steady and irreversible inflow of Asian newcomers. If we began, say, in 1947, those coming to Canada before 1967 would seem too few and too old to be representative of the ethnic Chinese population today; whereas if we start from 1973, we would run the risk of leaving out the period immediately after the crucial legislative confirmation of Chinese immigration to Canada.

3. Any case study would aim its conclusions at the maximum reasonable generalization. Only by picking a point nearest to 1967 can we attach the greatest national meaning to our results.

3.5 Sampling Process

Sampling was done as follows:

Every issue of The Toronto Star and The Vancouver Sun in 1990 was searched. One out of every two issues of the 1980 and 1970 Star and Sun was sampled by coin flipping before searching each month. (Heads meant starting from the first issue of that month, whereas tails meant starting from the second issue.) In analysis, the difference in the sampling fraction was adjusted for by weighting the data, which equalizes the case numbers for all three years.

The searching for these newspaper items on ethnic Chinese (see Section 3.2 for definition) was done manually through

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microfilm copies. With the large number of selection decisions the possibility exists that some of the items that deserved to be picked up were missed. Our control device was the <u>Canadian News Index</u>; however, it does not offer the category of "Chinese-Canadians" for issues prior to 1986. In the years that it does, its selection of stories is much less complete than this study's. For example, the 1990 index lists fewer than ten stories each from <u>The Toronto Star</u> and <u>The Vancouver Sun</u>, far below my actual findings of 221 and 303 news items respectively in the <u>Star</u> and <u>Sun</u> for the same year. To say the least, the index has a much narrower definition than this study for coverage of ethnic Chinese, not to mention that it leaves out all the relevant pictures and cartoons.

My selection of newspaper items followed these rules:

1. Initial indicator. For each story, the title, the source attribution and the first two paragraphs were scanned to see if there was any mention of ethnic Chinese in Canada. This could be "ethnic Chinese," "Chinese," and the like in general, or it could be a typical Chinese name or, in some cases, a Western-style name of a possible Chinese like Peter Leong or Jenny Lee.

2. Verification. If an indicator was found, the coder went on to the later paragraphs to see if the story was really about Chinese. For example, a word "China" (capitalized like every other word in a title) could be for a china shop, while a seemingly Chinese name, like Ng or Kim, might actually

belong to a Vietnamese or Korean. Therefore, if the rest of the story showed that the story was really about ethnic Chinese or the person's ethnic origin really was Chinese, the story was selected. If not, the story was rejected.

3. Judgement. When a story only gave a Chinese name but gave no reference to the person's ethnic origin, the coder decided whether to include the story or not based mainly on two estimations. First, was the name typically Chinese. For example, names like Chang, Chan, Chong and Eng are, but those such as Ng, Vu, Kim are also likely to be Vietnamese or Korean names. Thus the former should probably be included in our selection but the latter excluded to be on the safe side. The other thing taken into consideration was whether the event described by the story looked more likely to be related to Chinese or to some other ethnic group. For example, if the person, say, Mr. Lee, in the story teaches Tai Chi (shadow) Boxing, he may quite likely be a Chinese. Yet if he teaches Tae Kwon Do, we may well speculate that he is of Korean origin.

4. If a story's author had a typical Chinese name but the story's content showed no specific relation to ethnic Chinese, the story was not selected unless it, at the same time, had a picture of that author. This was because in the latter case, the combined usage of the author's name and picture obviously emphasized the person's special perceptions about a certain issue. Therefore, the source of such story actually became an

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important part of the content.

5. For each picture or cartoon, the coder had an indicator when seeing an obviously Oriental face or Oriental-style activity. To verify this indicator, we checked the caption to see if there were any reference to ethnic Chinese in general or a typical Chinese name. If there were no such reference in the caption, the item was discarded. If there were, the rest of the rules for inclusion or exclusion remained. All selection decisions were made by the author.

3.6 Coding and Intercoder Reliability

Coding started with the following rules:

1. When a selected story appeared by itself, it was treated as one item.

2. When a selected picture or cartoon appeared by itself without a story, it was treated as one item.

3. When a selected picture or cartoon was attached to a selected story, the two were treated as one item.

4. When more than one picture or cartoon appeared under the same title without a story, or when they were attached to the same selected story, they were treated as one item.

5. When a selected picture or cartoon was attached to an unselected story, the picture was treated as one item.

6. When a selected story was divided into two parts with the continued part on another page, it was treated as one item unless

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(1) the continued part had a headline of its own which was printed as the biggest one on its page; (2) the continued part had a main-story position on its page; and (3) the continued part had a size of up to half a page (40 to 72 column inches in length) or larger. Were any of these qualifications missing, the continued part was not treated as a separate item.

An inter-coder reliability test was administered among six independent coders who were graduate students in the Department of Communication Studies, University of Windsor. With regard to their ethnic origin, three were Caucasian Canadians, two were ethnic Chinese, and one was East Indian, a composition not too far from that of Canadian society. The test used 36 randomly sampled stories from the data set, or 5% of the total, in equal proportions for each year under study. Coders received briefing on variable definitions, but were prohibited from communication with each other during the coding process. An overall inter-coder reliability of .96 was achieved, resulting from the simplicity of the yes-no questions for most variables. However, inter-coder reliability for story slant scored lower at .83, though still within acceptable limits.

There were 18 coding categories in the coding sheet. The coding sheet is included in Appendix A. Many of the variables are self-explanatory, but the following items merit explication.

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3. Format

When a selected picture or cartoon was attached to a selected story, it was coded according to the format of the story, whatever category the latter belonged to. However, when a picture or cartoon was affiliated to an unselected story, it was coded as "picture or cartoon alone".

Occasionally the demarcation between a hard news story and a feature seemed arguable. In such cases, the decisive criterion was whether the story used the "inverted pyramid" style, that is, putting the five Ws in the lead and elaborations afterwards. If it did, it was coded as hard news; and if not, as a feature.

5. Headline

This referred to all headlines on a page, everything except advertisements.

The values 'smaller," "medium" and "biggest" referred not only to type size, but also the boldness of printing--in short, the general attention-getting effect. Yet size came before boldness in importance. For example, when two headlines were of the same size, the bolder one was coded "bigger." But even if headline B was bolder than headline A, it was considered smaller than A if it was of a smaller size. When there was only one headline or one size of headline on the a page, such a subject was coded as the biggest.

Smaller referred to any headline (1) smaller than the third biggest, when there were more than three headlines; (2)

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smaller than the second biggest, when there were three headlines; and (3) on the smaller side, if there were only two headlines. Medium referred to any headline between the biggest and the smaller ones.

6. Position

"Main story" referred to any story with the strongest attention-getting effect on a page. To specify, it was coded as "main story" under any of the circumstances below:

(1) the story had the biggest headline;

(2) the story had a medium headline, but was located at the upper-left position of the page;

(3) the story had a medium headline, but ran for more than three horizontal standard columns on the uppermost position of the page.

A picture or cartoon was also coded as "main story" if it had all of the following features:

(1) it was located above fold;

(2) it was big enough to have a width of at least two standard columns and a length equivalent to the width of at least three standard columns;

(3) when there were more than one pictures or cartoons on the same page, the coded one was the biggest.

"Above fold" meant a story which had its headline on the upper half of the page, above the folding line in the middle. A picture or cartoon so coded had at least half of its body above the folding line. Any story or picture below these

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demarcations was coded as "lower page."

8. <u>Story length</u>

Story length was counted in standard column inches. "standard column" means each page has six columns. The space taken by headlines and captions for pictures or cartoons is also included.

9. <u>Source</u>

An anonymous story, one without the author's name, was coded as 1. A "by-lined" story, coded as 2, refers to one that gives the author's name and which has no label of wire service or staff writer. Even if the coder suspected an author to be a staff writer, he or she should code the name as "by-lined" if there was no clear indication of staff writer identity.

A story or picture with the wire service source indicated was coded as 3; and one by a writer with clear indication of staff writer identity was coded as 4.

10. <u>Writer with obvious ethnic Chinese name</u>

This variable coded the coder's impression that the writer of a story had a name which indicated a Chinese origin. So if the author's name appeared to be possibly Chinese, such as Wang, Wong, Chang, Chan, Chen, Chung, Li, Lee, Young, Sun, Leung, Eng and Yin, it was coded as Yes, even if the coder did not know for sure that the person was really ethnic Chinese. If the name did not appear to be Chinese, it was coded as No.

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11. Area of interest

More than one area of interest was coded whenever applicable.

"Other provincial" meant any news from provinces other than the one the publication is based in.

"National" meant reference to more than two other provinces not located adjacent to each other, or reference to federal institutions or to Canada as a whole.

"International" meant reference to events outside of Canada yet directly related to ethnic Chinese in Canada.

12. Themes

More than one theme was coded whenever applicable.

The "political" theme included legislations, elections, protests, racial complaints and military service. An example of a political story:

Commons praises Chinese

OTTAWA (CP) -- Describing Canada's historical treatment of Chinese immigrants as disgusting and shameful, the Commons Monday endorsed a resolution praising Canadians of Chinese background for their contribution to this country.
The resolution was introduced by New Democrat Ian Waddell, whose riding of Vancouver-Kingsway houses a large population of Chinese-Canadians. It was passed with less than 45 minutes of debate.
Spokesman for all parties said the resolution was long overdue...(The Sun, June 17, 1980:A4).

"Cultural" included book reviews, restaurant reviews, art, living style, social customs, education and historical studies. An example of a cultural story:

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<u>A Restaurant that</u>
<u>deserves its loyal clientele</u>

Eating Out: Charles Oberdorf

Burlington has more than its fair share of Chinese restaurants and the best known of these is the Tien Kue Inn.
It's not right downtown, but any Burlingtonian can give you directions. Get off the Queen Elizabeth Way onto Plains Rd. crosses under Skyway you'll see it on the left...(The <u>Star</u>, June 6, 1970:57).

"Immigration" included not only events, policies, and consultations directly related to immigration, but also stories in which persons were treated as immigrants. An example of an immigration story:

<u>Asians account for</u>
<u>51 per cent of new Canadians</u>

By Paul Watson
TORONTO STAR

More than half of newcomers to Canada are now from Asia...
Just 22 countries sent more than 1,000 immigrants to Canada in 1969. By far, most newcomers that year were from Britain, the United States and Italy. But two decades later, the list had grown to 37 countries and now 51 per cent are born in Asia -- in such places as Hong Kong and India...(The <u>Star</u>, April 10, 1990:A2).

"Crime/scandal" was confined to issues focusing on these words, as in the following:

<u>Chinese gangs stirring</u>

By Larry Pynn

* Wayne Ma, 16, is shot in the foot at the entrance to the Duck Lee Social Club...
* Johnny Cheung, 20, suffers multiple gashes to the back and neck during a fight...

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> * Warren Mak, 21, narrowly escapes injury
> after a volley of shots...
>   Vancouver police suspect the involvement of
> Chinese gangs in all three incidents which occurred
> in the past year...(The Sun, August 28, 1990:front
> page).

"Business/Finance/Investment" stories were those emphasizing the business aspect. For instance, a restaurant review usually talked about the food and, therefore, belonged to the "cultural" theme. Yet if it also dealt with management and competition, it had to be coded as "business" as well:

<div align="center">

Hong Kong Bank grows
to more than 100 branches

By Oscar Rojo
</div>

>   A network of more than 100 branches has been
> created with Hong Kong Bank Canada's takeover of
> Lloyds Bank Canada this week.
>   Hong Kong Bank, which now ranks itself the
> seventh largest in Canada, said yesterday it has
> received regulatory approvals to acquire Lloyds
> Bank Canada...(The Star, June 1, 1990:F7).

"Other" included all other instances that did not fit into the above five themes, such as some sports news published outside of the sports section.

13. Personal profile

If the whole story focused on a person rather than on an event, it was coded as a personal profile:

<div align="center">

Ming is already saving for school
</div>

>   At the age of 13, Ming Kwan already has
> mastered the art of saving money.... He's saving up
> for university, although he doesn't know yet what
> he'd like to do for a career.
>   This Star Carrier of the Week is a Grade 7
> student at Queen Alexandra Public School, where he

<div align="center">75</div>

says he enjoys all his subjects. Ming is a math
whiz, as he proved last year by winning first place
in a city-wide math contest among Grade 6 students
(The Star, April 9, 1980:B13).

16. Reference to P.R.C., HK, Taiwan or Combo

The following corresponding numbers were coded if the
story, even just for once, referred to: (1) P.R.C., or the
People's Republic China, mainland China or by specific name or
in general to any place in China; (2) HK, Hong Kong or
Hongkong; (3) Taiwan or Formosa; and (4) Chinese, Oriental, or
Asiatic in general, or more than one of (1) to (3).

17. Reference to History

Yes was coded if the story, even just once, referred to
events of the year before the publication date or earlier.

18. Slant

This category attempted to capture the evaluation of the
ethnic Chinese expressed in the story or picture or cartoon.
However, the precise determination of "slant" could be marred
by the subjectivity of the coder. To minimize subjectivity,
the coder was required to make judgements only on the literal
composition and meaning of the text.

"Positive" was usually represented by references to
cooperation, conformation and adaptation, or catering to the
values and views of North American society. An example of a
typical positive story:

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These youngsters find MECCA
in beating Yankee competitors

By Herve De Jordy

Wendy Chu and 35 other Toronto high school students are feeling like international stars today, just back from a business conference where they wowed more than a few Yankee traders.

The students, members of the Management and Entrepreneurship Educational Clubs of Canada Association (MECCA), competed against 8,000 American counterparts in San Jose, Calif., at an annual event....

"We're just as good as any American and maybe even better," said Chu, a 19-year-old East York Collegiate student... (The Star, May 21, 1990:C2).

"Negative," on the other hand, was represented by strangeness, disconfirmation of North-American values, difficulty of understanding, isolation or alienation. An example of a typical negative story:

Superstitious home-owners
can change addresses

By Daniel Girard
TORONTO STAR

Scarborough will relax the city's policy on house numbering to let superstitious residents switch numbers they don't like.

The works department receives hundreds of requests each year to change house numbers, most of them containing the number 4.

The number is a symbol of death for some members of Scarborough's Chinese community, which numbers about 40,000 people and is expected to grow... (The Star, Jan.18, 1990:E5).

"Neutral" meant either refraining from giving an obvious slant, or presenting a balance of positive and negative aspects. An example of a typical neutral story:

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<u>First stage completed:</u>
<u>Chinese centre set to open</u>

After more than four years of fund-raising, planning and political manoeuvring, the first stage of Vancouver's Chinese Cultural Centre complex will open its doors officially this Sunday....
The federal government provided $1.5 million towards an elaborate Chinese garden to be completed by the end of the year, the provincial government kicked in $400,000 for the first-stage and the city gave the CCC a lease-option on the Pender-Keefer location.
However, the centre still is actively seeking contributions towards completion of the complex and about $500 million has yet to be raised....
Victor Lee,... said money is the only thing holding up completion of the entire project,...
"It will be a rallying point in the community," Lee said (The <u>Sun</u>, Sept.10, 1980:B7).

If the coder was uncertain, the story was coded as "neutral." Though some precision might have been sacrificed by doing so, this rule was probably better than pushing the coding to extremes by forcing a choice between positive and negative slants. In other words, the coding scheme called for a conservative decision of "neutral" unless the tone or slant obviously called for a "positive" or "negative" evaluation.

3.7 **Summary of Methodology**

Content analysis, as a systematic and effective way to study media message, has been rarely used for research on press coverage of ethnic minorities in Canada. To facilitate further research efforts, the population definition, time span selection, and sampling and coding for this project have been done according to common standards of quantitative content

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analysis.

Possible criticisms might focus on the restrictive definition of "ethnic Chinese" that follows Statistics Canada practice; on the selection of stories, although I went far beyond the coding in the Canadian News Index; and on the selection of the two major newspapers from the major markets with the largest ethnic Chinese population, during the three years of 1970, 1980, and 1990. However, each of these choices was deliberately made on the basis of careful reasoning; alternative proposals would have to be justified in terms of different (and more valid) results.

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Chapter Four: <u>Results and Discussion</u>

To observe changes in press coverage of Canadian Chinese community, we have stated our expectations in four main hypotheses. These are, in turn, composed of 10 specified sub-hypotheses. In the following, we will test these hypotheses in relation to changes in coverage volume, content and directional slant.

4.1 <u>Growth in Coverage Quantity</u>

Main Hypothesis One

Coverage of ethnic Chinese from 1970 to 1990 increased in quantity and at a rate higher than the community's population growth.

H1.1: Reportage quantity growth was firstly shown by story number.

H1.2: Reportage quantity growth was also shown by annual total and average story lengths.

H1.3: Such growth was also reflected by upgraded story layout, including (a) size of headline; (b) usage of picture; (c) position on page; (d) page location in an issue; and (e) source of author.

4.1.1 <u>Story number</u>

A total of 783 stories, pictures and cartoons about or partially about ethnic Chinese have been sampled in <u>The Toronto Star</u> and <u>The Vancouver Sun</u> of 1970, 1980 and 1990. In 1970, there were only 100 items in the two newspapers combined, or approximately one story in each week. The

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increase by 1980 was gradual, to only 159 stories, or 1.5 stories in each week. In 1990 a total of 524 stories were coded for the two papers, almost one story for each publishing day (see Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1).

Table 4.1: Number of findings in the two newspapers

Year	Toronto Star %	(n)	Vancouver Sun %	(n)	Combined %	(n)
1970	12.4%	(40)	3.0%	(60)	12.8%	(100)
1980	19.2%	(62)	21.1%	(97)	20.3%	(159)
1990	68.4%	(221)	65.9%	(303)	67.0%	(524)
Total	100.0%	(323)	100.0%	(460)	100.1%	(783)
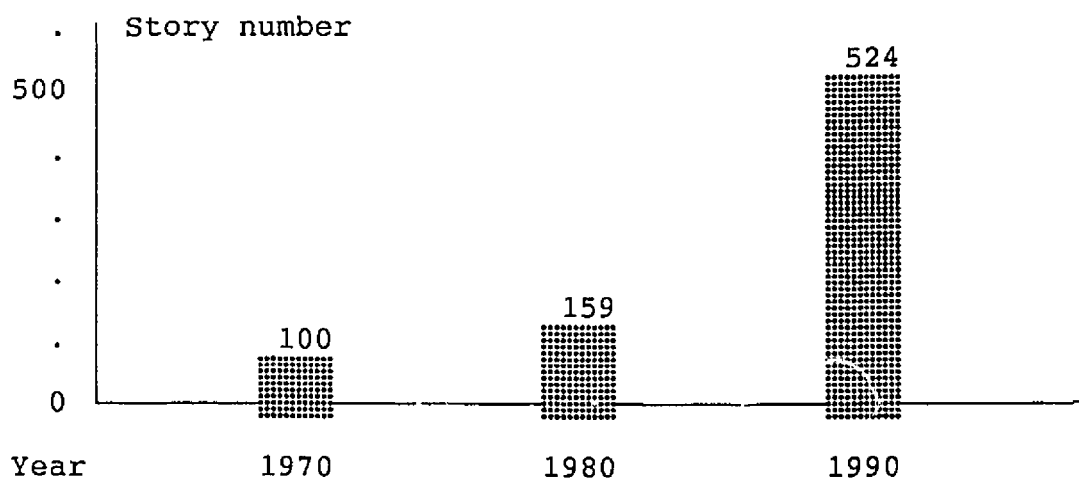
Figure 4.1: Number of overall findings

The Toronto Star had less Chinese coverage than The Vancouver Sun. With an aggregate of 323 news items sampled from the Star compared with 460 from the Sun, the ratio of story number between the two papers roughly came to 2:3, which means for every two stories in the Toronto paper about ethnic

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Chinese, the reader could probably find three stories in the Vancouver paper.

The acceleration of reporting volume should, in the first place, be attributed to the dramatic population growth of ethnic Chinese in recent years as described in Chapter One. With many more people than ever before, it seems only natural that the Chinese community would receive more coverage in the press. However, the demographic expansion of ethnic Chinese in recent decades did not take place by itself, but rather resulted from favourable government policies and an improved social environment. Therefore, by hypothesizing that coverage volume increased faster than ethnic Chinese population growth, we expected newspaper coverage to--as usual--reflect the general social environment rather than merely echoing census figures.

Table 4.2 shows that, at different given times, discrepancies existed between the rate of ethnic population growth and ethnic coverage increase. From 1970 to 1980, the population of Chinese community jumped by 241% in Toronto and 139% in Vancouver, both growing well above 80,000. Reportage of ethnic Chinese, in comparison, went up just moderately by 55% in The Toronto Star and 62% in The Vancouver Sun. Then, from 1980 to 1990, the Chinese population rose by 120% in Toronto and 61% in Vancouver, approaching 200,000 and 140,000 respectively. This time coverage of ethnic Chinese far outpaced the community's population growth rate, with a 256%

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increase in the Star and 120% increase in the Sun.

Table 4.2: Relationship of population and reportage growth

Year	Toronto Population	Star stories	Vancouver Population	Sun stories
1970	26,285	40	36,405	60
1980	89,590	62	83,945	97
% growth 70-80	241%	55%	139%	62%
1990	196,880	221	134,895	303
% growth 80-90	120%	256%	61%	212%
Total growth 70-90	649%	453%	271%	405%

Source of population data: Census of Canada.
1990 population estimated by doubling 1981-1986 growth.

Over the entire 1970-1990 time span, coverage of ethnic Chinese rose by 453% in the Star, lagging behind the 649% growth rate of Toronto's Chinese population. In the Sun, the growth rates were reversed: coverage more than quadrupled by 405%, outrunning the 271% Chinese population growth rate of Vancouver.

Hence, the first sub-hypothesis, H1.1, is partly supported, as coverage of ethnic Chinese increased in story number at a rate much higher than the community's population growth in the 1980s for both papers and, across the whole time span, at a rate higher than population growth for The Vancouver Sun.

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4.1.2 Story length

Besides the story numbers, the total and average lengths of news items were inspected to determine the portrayal volume about ethnic Chinese. It was found that coverage increased more obviously in terms of story length. While annual length totals grew significantly, the length of individual stories also became much longer over time (see Figure 4.2).

Total length in column inches

Year	70	80	90	70	80	90	70	80	90
	Toronto Star (100%=6,639)			Vancouver Sun (100%=11,241)			Combined (100%=17,880)		

% up in
decade   139%   291%   118%   223%   125%   245%
% up over time 835%   604%   679%
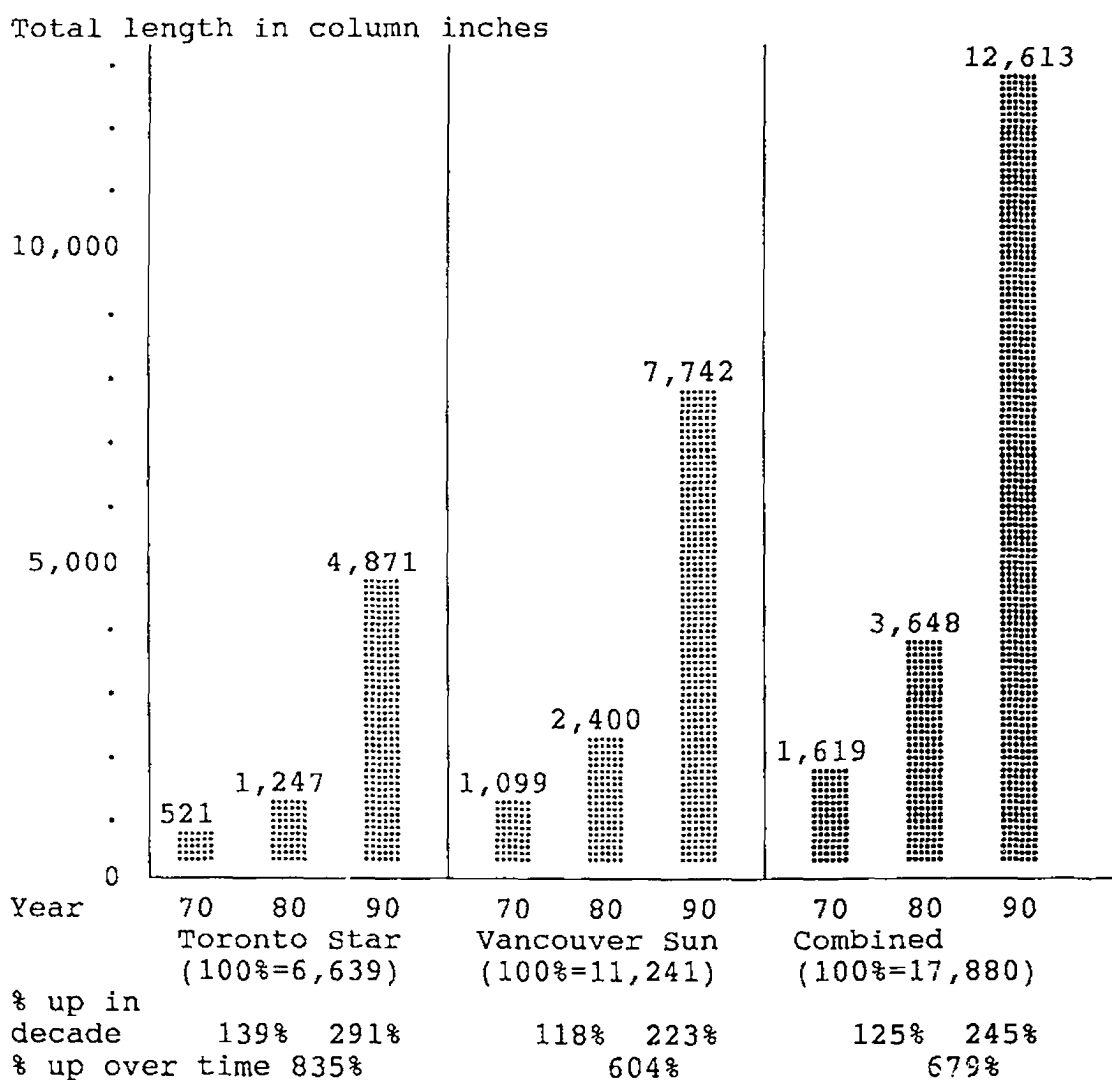
Figure 4.2: Growth of total story length

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Again, let us compare coverage length figures with ethnic Chinese population growth. During 1970 to 1980, the annual column-inch total escalated 139% in The Toronto Star and 118% in The Vancouver Sun. These rates more than doubled the growth of story numbers for each paper, but still fell behind the rate of Chinese population growth. From 1980 to 1990, however, story length grew 223% in the Star and 245% in the Sun, and each rate was higher than Chinese population growth in the corresponding city. Overall, from 1970 to 1990, annual story length increased 835% in the Star and 604% in the Sun, exceeding the rate of Chinese population growth in Toronto and Vancouver.

Speaking for the whole time span under study, total newspaper space allocated to covering ethnic Chinese grew at a rate higher than the community's population. Hence the second sub-hypothesis, H1.2, is supported.

The increase of total story length was not simply an accumulation of more stories. In other words, individual stories also became longer. Either in terms of mode, mean or median, the average length of ethnic Chinese stories had more column inches with each decade under study (see Figure 4.3). To offset possible disturbance by outliers, we may use median as the main indicator.

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Figure 4.3 chart:

```
Median 25 | Toronto Star  | Vancouver      | Combined
length  . |               | Sun            |
in      . |               |                |
column  . |               |                |
inches  . |               |                |
       20 |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        . |               |                |
       15 |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        . |               |                |
       10 |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        5 |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        . |               |                |
        0 |               |                |
```

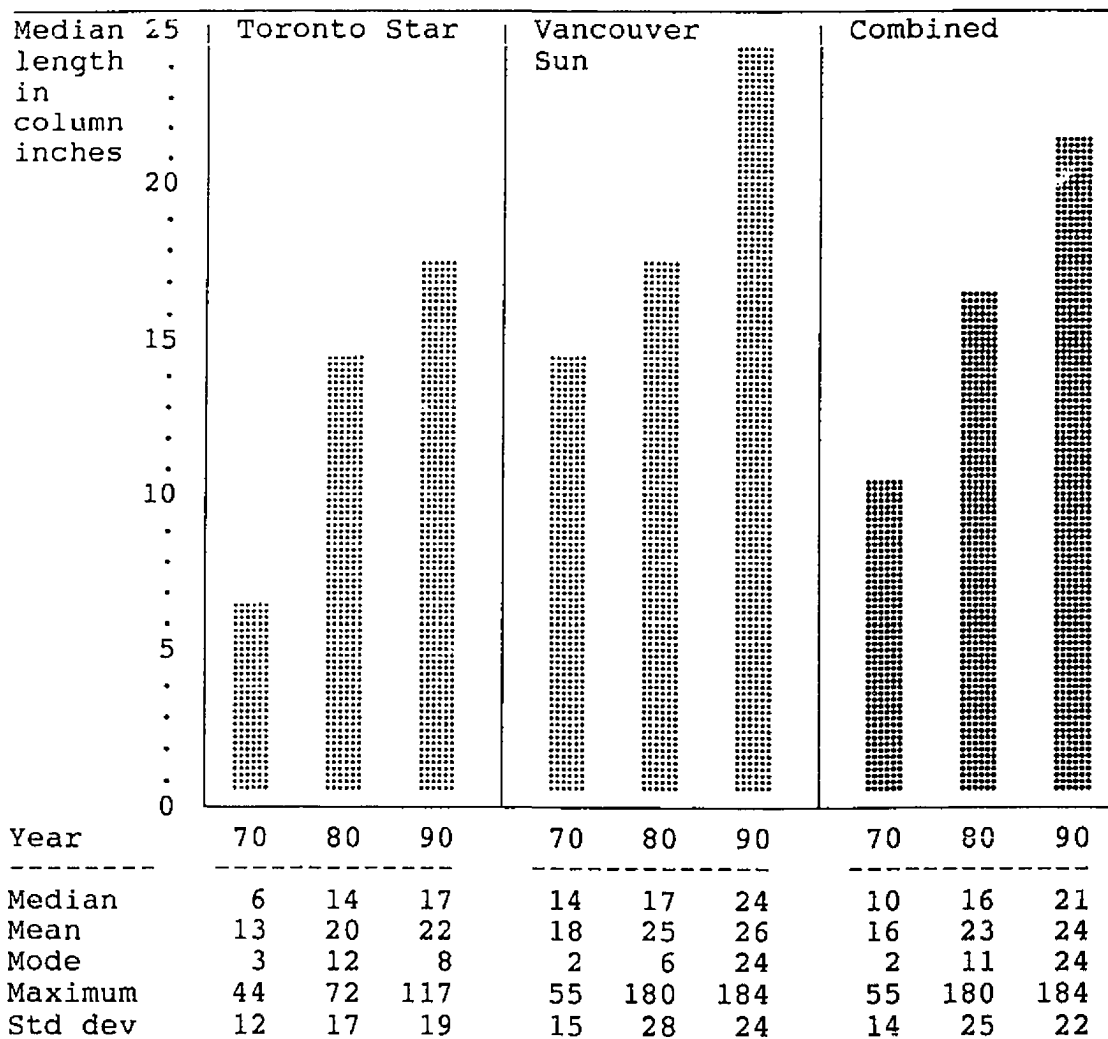| Year	70	80	90	70	80	90	70	80	90
Median	6	14	17	14	17	24	10	16	21
Mean	13	20	22	18	25	26	16	23	24
Mode	3	12	8	2	6	24	2	11	24
Maximum	44	72	117	55	180	184	55	180	184
Std dev	12	17	19	15	28	24	14	25	22

Figure 4.3: Growth of median story length

Apparently, there would not be much to read in a 1970
Toronto Star story about ethnic Chinese, as the median length
of such a story was just 6 column inches, or visually about
the size of a cigarette package. It grew much longer to 14
column inches in 1980 and 17 column inches in 1990. The
Vancouver Sun seemed more generous with space for Chinese
stories, starting from a median allocation of 14 column inches

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in 1970 to reach 17 column inches in 1980 and 24 column inches in 1990. Judging purely in terms of space, it led the Star by exactly ten years.

The maximum length kept increasing with each decade as well. In 1970, the longest story sampled from the Star had 44 column inches, while the Sun's had 55. In 1980, they grew to 72 column inches, or more than half a page, and 180 column inches, one and a quarter pages, respectively. In 1990 the longest stories increased to 117 and 184 column inches.

To get a more vivid idea of the length of all stories, we recoded column inches into several categories. For the sake of convenience, we grouped various story lengths into five categories (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Categorized story lengths for both papers

Length	The Star % (n)	The Sun % (n)	Combined % (n)
Less than 20'	60.5%(195)	46.8%(215)	52.5%(411)
20'-39'	28.2% (91)	39.9%(184)	35.1%(27⁵)
40' to half page	8.8% (28)	9.4% (43)	9.2% (72)
Half to full page	2.6% (8)	3.3% (15)	3.0% (23)
Over one page	nil	0.5% (3)	0.3% (3)
Column Total	100.1%(323)	99.9%(460)	100.1%(783)

* Significant at p<.01

Overall, 52.5%, or more than half of all stories, fell into the shortest category, while 35.1%, or over one-third of all stories, belonged to the next higher category of 20-39 column inches. Stories longer than that made up altogether only 12.5% of total news items.

In the comparison between papers, The Toronto Star stories were collectively shorter, since over 60% of them fell into the lowest group, compared to 47% for The Vancouver Sun.

In conclusion, we find that (1) as the two newspapers carried larger number of stories about the Chinese community, they also lengthened individual stories; (2) The Vancouver Sun tended to have both more and longer Chinese stories than The Toronto Star.

4.1.3 Layout

If story number reflects the physical existence of news items and story length indicates their physical size, then layout contributes to the importance of each story with either appealing or mediocre choices of headlines, pictures, positions on page, page locations in issues, and attribution to authors. How the editors highlight or downplay the layout of a story affects not only the story's priority in the reader's eye, but sometimes also whether it catches the eye of the reader at all.

As operationalized in the previous chapter, we deem the

layout of a story to be composed of five aspects: the size of its headline, the usage or non-usage of pictures, its position on the page, its location in a newspaper issue, and the attribution to its author.

Table 4.4: Correlations of layout components

	Headline	Picture	Position	Location	Source
Layout	.68 $p<.01$	.66 $p<.01$	.63 $p<.01$	.23 $p<.01$	.62 $p<.01$
Headline		.34 $p<.01$	.48 $p<.01$	-.15 $p<.01$	.18 $P<.01$
Picture			.28 $p<.01$	.13 $p<.01$	.13 $p<.01$
Position				-.17 $p<.01$	.16 $p<.01$
Location					.14 $p<.01$

* Pearson R coefficients; p is two-tailed significance.

A correlation test (see Table 4.4) showed that the above-mentioned five layout components are closely related to the aggregate construct of story layout. Categories for each component were coded by priority to simple ordinals. The bigger the number, the higher priority for a certain category. For example, a story with no headline was coded as 0, a small headline was coded as 1, a medium headline as 2, and the biggest as 3. Thus, all layout components had 3 as their highest value and 1 or 0 as their lowest value.

Four of the components showed a coefficient to layout

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abcve .60. Only one, page location, had a rate of .23 because the composition of headlines, pictures, story positions and source attributions has a looser relationship between different pages than on the same page. However, all five layout components were related to one another to significant but smaller degrees.

In H1.3, we expected that as the press carried more and longer stories about ethnic Chinese, it would also highlight the stories more through layout features.

To be specific, we started the analysis of layout changes with headline size (see Table 4.5). Trends with The Toronto Star and the two newspapers combined showed statistically significant growth of headline size for Chinese stories.

In 1970, approximately 70%, or more than two-thirds, of Star Chinese stories had small or no headlines. By 1990, the portion had shrunk to some 38%, or more than one-third, with the majority of stories displaying medium and large headlines. The Vancouver Sun started off on a higher basis, with 56% of its stories having medium or largest headlines in 1970. This share grew to 69% in 1980, but fell back to 62.5% in 1990, with the reduction occurring only in the biggest headline group. At each point of our time series, the Sun had a higher proportion of medium or large headlines, although in 1990 The Toronto Star practically caught up to the same level.

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Table 4.5: Changes of headline size

Paper/Year	None % (n)	Smaller % (n)	Medium % (n)	Biggest % (n)
Star*1970	4.2% (2)	66.7%(27)	12.5% (5)	16.7% (7)
1980	nil	43.2%(27)	18.9%(12)	37.8%(62)
1990	nil	37.7%(83)	21.5%(48)	40.8%(90) -
Sun* 1970	22.2%(13)	22.2%(13)	11.1% (7)	44.4%(27)
1980	8.6% (8)	22.4%(22)	22.4%(22)	46.6%(45)
1990	3.0% (9)	34.4%(104)	28.4%(86)	34.2%(104)
Both*1970	15.0%(15)	40.0%(40)	11.7%(12)	33.3%(33)
1980	5.3% (8)	30.5%(48)	21.1%(33)	43.2%(68)
1990	1.8% (9)	35.8%(188)	25.5%(134)	36.9%(194)

* Change significant at p<.01

With the two papers combined, stories about the Chinese community had almost 20% more medium or large headlines in 1980 than in 1970 and they stayed at roughly the same level in 1990. With over 60% of the 1990 Chinese stories having medium or large headlines, the over time increase in visibility was obvious and may have reached a plateau in 1990: after all, there must be a limit to allocating big headlines to various articles. In summary, overall changes in headline size support H1.3 (a).

Another layout component, picture/cartoon usage, also exhibited noticeable change (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Changes of picture usage

Paper/Year	Story alone	Picture alone	Story w picture
Star*1970	70.8% (28)	8.3% (3)	20.8% (8)
1980	32.4% (20)	10.8% (7)	56.8% (35)
1990	45.7%(101)	9.1% (20)	45.3%(100)
Sun* 1970	38.9% (23)	25.0% (15)	36.1% (22)
1980	36.2% (35)	17.2% (17)	46.6% (45)
1990	33.9%(103)	9.1% (28)	57.0%(173)
Both*1970	51.7% (52)	18.3% (18)	30.3% (30)
1980	34.7% (55)	14.7% (23)	50.5% (80)
1990	38.9%(204)	9.1% (48)	52.1%(273)

* Change significant at p<.01

On the whole, 52% of all Chinese reportage in 1970 had no pictures. In 1990, over 60% of all news items about ethnic Chinese were either free-standing pictures or came with attached pictures. Stories with pictures enjoyed the greatest increase during these years, from 30% to 52%. The share of free-standing pictures and cartoons declined by half from 18% to 9%, but this decline was entirely due to The Vancouver Sun.

The Sun seemed to be more conscious of its visual effect, starting out with 36% of its Chinese stories having pictures attached and boosting the share to 57% two decades later. However, the increase came almost exclusively at the expense of "picture alone"--over time the Sun attached the pictures to

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stories, while the number of stories without pictures remained stable. In comparison, The Toronto Star had fewer pictures from the very beginning and showed some fluctuations in its development. Nevertheless, the trend of Star pictures becomes clear if one combines free-standing and attached pictures: from 1970 to 1990, reportage with pictures grew from 29% to 54% in the Star, although the proportion had been over two-thirds in 1980.

In summary, over time, both newspapers used more pictures for their stories about the Chinese community, supporting H1.3 (b).

Table 4.7: Changes of story position on page

Paper/Year	Lower page % (n)	Above fold % (n)	Main story % (n)
Star 1970	25.0% (10)	41.7% (17)	33.3% (13)
1980	27.0% (17)	24.3% (15)	48.6% (30)
1990	23.4% (52)	25.7% (57)	50.9%(113)
Sun* 1970	27.8% (17)	16.7% (10)	55.6% (33)
1980	24.1% (23)	19.0% (18)	56.9% (55)
1990	35.3%(107)	26.2% (79)	38.6%(117)
Both 1970	26.7% (27)	26.7% (27)	46.7% (47)
1980	25.3% (40)	21.1% (33)	53.7% (85)
1990	30.3%(159)	26.0%(136)	43.8%(230)

* Significant at p<.01; others not significant.

However, we found no significant growth in visibility in the third layout component, stories' positions on the page (see Table 4.7). In fact, the combined results showed no significant changes over time at all.

In The Toronto Star main-position stories increased at the expense of above-the-fold stories, while lower-page percentage stagnated. Moreover, overall changes for the Star were not statistically significant. In contrast, The Vancouver Sun trend was statistically significant, but here visibility declined. In short, we do not have enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis to H1.3 (c) that no over time changes occurred in the page positions of Chinese stories.

Table 4.8: Changes of page location in issue

Paper/Year	Inside page % (n)	Section front % (n)	Front page % (n)
Star 1970	87.5% (35)	8.3% (3)	4.2% (2)
1980	75.7% (47)	18.9% (12)	5.4% (3)
1990	69.4% (154)	23.8% (53)	6.8% (15)
Sun* 1970	86.1% (52)	11.1% (7)	2.8% (2)
1980	74.1% (72)	19.0% (18)	6.9% (7)
1990	52.6% (159)	41.6% (126)	5.8% (18)
Both*1970	86.7% (87)	10.0% (10)	3.3% (3)
1980	74.7% (119)	18.9% (30)	6.3% (10)
1990	59.7% (313)	34.1% (179)	6.2% (33)

* Change significant at $p < .01$

The fourth layout component is the location in the paper. We hypothesized that stories about ethnic Chinese would advance from inside pages to the front pages of sections or of the paper as a whole. Data analysis findings generally support H1.3 (d) (see Table 4.8).

Both The Toronto Star and The Vancouver Sun had an overwhelming majority of their Chinese stories--87.5% and 86.1% respectively--located in inside pages at the beginning. Gradually each paper relocated over 20% of these stories to more prominent pages. Although only the Sun achieved a statistically significant change, their combined results showed evident advance. From 1970 to 1990, inside stories went down from nearly 87% to less than 60%, front-page stories almost doubled from 3.3% to 6.2%, and, in particular, section-front-page stories more than tripled from 10% to more than one-third.

In the last aspect of layout, author attribution, changes in each paper as well as the combined results support H1.3 (e) (see Table 4.9).

In 1970, over 40% of stories about ethnic Chinese appeared in the two papers without any by-line, and fewer than 12% of all Chinese stories bore the name of staff writers. By 1990, attribution to staff writers had increased two-fold to 34%, while anonymous stories were cut in half to 13%.

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Table 4.9: Changes of story sources

Paper/Year	Anonymous % (n)	By-lined % (n)	Wire % (n)	Staff % (n)
Star*1970	37.5%(15)	20.8% (8)	20.8% (8)	20.8% (8)
1980	21.6%(13)	32.4%(20)	8.1% (5)	37.8%(23)
1990	14.3%(32)	22.6%(50)	5.3%(12)	57.7%(128)
Sun* 1970	44.4%(27)	47.2%(28)	2.8% (2)	5.6% (3)
1980	29.3%(28)	58.6%(57)	3.4% (3)	8.6% (8)
1990	12.7%(38)	65.0%(197)	5.5%(17)	16.8%(51)
Both*1970	41.7%(42)	36.7%(37)	10.0% (3)	11.7%(12)
1980	26.3%(42)	48.4%(77)	5.3% (8)	20.0%(32)
1990	13.4%(70)	47.1%(247)	5.4%(28)	34.1%(179)

* Change significant at p<.01

By-lined stories rose from an already high 37% in 1970 to become the leading category with a share of 48% ten years later and 47% in 1990. Wire service sources declined by almost a half, from 10% to 5.4%, as staff writers did more stories on the local Chinese community; in the competition for exclusive reports, many newspaper editors take wire services as the biggest threat and would, therefore, use them only as a supplement to staff writer and contributor sources. In addition, many by-lined stories were actually written by staff writers--though for some reason, the author's names did not come with the "staff" label. In all, stories about the Chinese community acquired more prominent source attributions over time.

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The growth of attributed articles also revealed the increasing use of ethnic Chinese writers. In the coverage of ethnic Chinese by mainstream media, employing ethnic Chinese writers may give the media a fairer and more committed image.

In the 1970 and 1980 news items, names of possible Chinese authors rarely appeared in either newspaper. In 1990, they increased to 128, or up to a quarter of all Chinese stories (see Table 4.10). About half of these stories came from a weekly financial column in the Sun and a less regular real estate column in the Star. Both columns carried each time a picture as well as the by-line of the probable Chinese writers. This, no doubt, added to the visibility of the Chinese community in the Canadian papers.

Table 4.10: Writers with possible Chinese names

Year	Toronto Star Yes % (n)	No	Vancouver Sun Yes % (n)	No	Combined Yes % (n)	No
1970	4.2% (2)	95.8% (38)	2.8% (2)	97.2% (58)	3.3% (3)	96.7% (97)
1980	10.8% (7)	89.2% (55)	5.2% (5)	94.8% (92)	7.4% (12)	92.6% (147)
1990	20.0% (44)	80.0% (177)	27.5% (83)	72.5% (220)	24.4% (128)	75.6% (397)
Sig.(p<)	.02		.01		.01	

The Vancouver Sun started out with a slightly lower percentage of ethnic writers, but eventually surpassed The

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Toronto Star. In 1990, the Sun had 27.5% of its identifiable ethnic Chinese items written by putative Chinese authors while the Star had 20%. In total, nearly 20% of the Sun's ethnic Chinese items came from Oriental authors, 3.3% more than the Star. This might be representative of the larger presence of the Chinese community in Vancouver.

To summarize the analysis of how much attention Chinese stories received through layout over time, we can test the integrated variable of "layout" by adding the values of all components together. The value summation of all five components can be called the "layout index" for a story. The mean index for all stories of each year can thus tell us if any over time changes occurred in visibility through layout in general.

Table 4.11: Growth of mean layout index
(including headline, picture,
position on page, page location
in issue, and source of author)

Year	Toronto Star Mean	Dev	Vancouver Sun Mean	Dev	Combined Mean	Dev
1970	7.42	2.74	7.89	2.51	7.70	2.60
1980	9.32	2.63	8.74	2.65	8.97	2.65
1990	9.74	2.77	9.00	2.89	9.31	2.53
	p<.01; Eta=.27		p<.01; Eta =.15		p<.00; Eta=.20	

Table 4.11 displays a consistent layout enhancement for both newspapers. At the outset, The Toronto Star seemed to

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have a lower level than The Vancouver Sun, indicated by an index of 7.42 as opposed to 7.89. It outscored the Sun, however, successively in the later two decades, with indices of 9.32 and 9.74 as compared with those at 8.74 and 9.00 for its counterpart. One possible explanation for the layout lag of The Vancouver Sun might be its larger base of stories. With over one-third more items than the Star's count of 323, it would be more difficult to boost the visibility of all stories, even though in most cases the Sun exceeded the Star in absolute numbers. A possible alternative explanation might be a difference in attitude towards ethnic Chinese by the Star and Sun staffs, an issue to which I will return in Section 4.3.

This sub-section examined five components of layout for stories about ethnic Chinese, including headline size, picture usage, story's position on page, location in an issue, and attribution of story source. Four of these indicators showed changes over time toward higher visibility, while only position on page showed little over time differences. The overall results support H1.3.

4.1.4 Summary of quantity growth

This section discussed three aspects of increases in press coverage of ethnic Chinese community. First, we found that the increase in the number of stories exceeded the population growth of the Chinese community in the latter half

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of the time frame for both Toronto and Vancouver. Therefore, sub-hypothesis H1.1 is partly supported.

Next, we found that for both newspapers annual total story length increased at a higher rate than both ethnic Chinese population growth and annual story number growth. This rot only supports the corresponding H1.2, but also reveals that individual stories about ethnic Chinese grew in mean, mode and median lengths. In all years within the time span, The Vancouver Sun stories had much greater average length than those in the Star.

Thirdly, we observed in support of H1.3 an extensive increase in the visibility of Chinese stories in the layout of both papers, with The Toronto Star edging out the Sun slightly.

With one sub-hypothesis partly and two others completely supported, Main Hypothesis One is supported.

4.2 Growth in Content Variety

Main Hypothesis Two

Coverage of ethnic Chinese (1970-1990) also increased in the variety of content so as to have greater presentation in media opinion, wider areas of interest, and more economic issues.

H2.1: significant proportional changes occurred in five formats of writing, including
(a) more hard news;
(b) less feature stories;
(c) more letters to the editor;
(d) more editorials/commentaries.

H2.2: significant percentage changes occurred in five areas of interest, including
(a) less local interest;
(b) more provincial interest;
(c) more interest of other provinces;
(d) more national interest;
(e) more international interest.

H2.3: significant percentage changes occurred in five themes of reporting, including
(a) more political;
(b) less cultural;
(c) more about immigration;
(d) more about crimes;
(e) more economic.

H2.4: significant percentage increase occurred, too, in other content approaches, including
(a) more references to history (happenings of the year before or earlier;
(b) more personal profiles.

It was expected that corresponding to the increase in volume, press coverage of Chinese community would also increase in content variety. This section will attempt to not only confirm such a relationship, but also determine more specifically the direction of such content diversification.

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4.2.1 Format changes

As explained in Chapter Two, formats are important to reportage content because they exert a strong influence on the orientations and ranges of material selection and provide the crucial demarcation between factual reporting and opinion.

In H2.1 we expected a decline of features over times and an increase of hard news and--most important--of explicitly opinionated pieces such as letters to the editor, editorials and commentaries. It was argued that this would reflect a bigger economic and social role by ethnic Chinese.

Considering the relatively small numbers of letters to the editor, editorials and commentaries, we grouped them together under one category, labelled "opinion," as opposed to the basically factual reporting of the other formats.

Analysis shows (see Table 4.12) a statistically significant level of format changes for the Sun and the two newspapers combined. Changes in two formats came out in direct, though weak, support of H2.1: hard news and opinion pieces each grew by approximately 5% over the 20-year span, although the 1980 results deviate from the trend. This suggests that ethnic Chinese indeed obtained more influential participation in mass media and public opinion. With respect to feature stories, the evidence is unclear; there was a slight overall increase from 31.7% to 33.8%, rather than evident decrease as predicted by H2.1. The overall stability hid off-setting trends in the two papers. The Toronto Star did

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have a 9% drop of features, but in The Vancouver Sun feature increased by the same percentage. In each case the proportion was higher in 1980.

Table 4.12: Changes in reporting format

Paper/Year	Hard news % (n)	Picture % (n)	Feature % (n)	Opinion % (n)
Star 1970	50.0%(20)	8.3% (3)	37.5%(15)	4.2% (2)
1980	32.4%(20)	10.8% (7)	43.2%(27)	13.5% (8)
1990	54.3%(120)	8.3%(18)	29.4%(65)	7.9%(18)
Sun* 1970	41.7%(25)	27.8%(17)	27.8%(17)	2.8% (2)
1980	31.0%(30)	17.2%(17)	44.8%(43)	6.9% (7)
1990	46.0%(139)	8.8%(27)	36.9%(112)	8.3%(25)
Both*1970	45.0%(45)	20.0%(20)	31.7%(32)	3.3% (3)
1980	31.6%(50)	14.7%(23)	44.2%(70)	9.5%(15)
1990	49.5%(260)	8.6%(45)	33.8%(177)	8.1%(43)

* Change significant at p<0.1

However, we do have evidence for changes in feature content. In 1990, for instance, the Sun ran a weekly column named "Your Money"[25] on personal financial management, each time with a picture of its writer, financial analyst Jenny Lee. The cumulative story number in this column alone accounted for half of the Sun's features in 1990. The Star did the same by carrying a less regular real estate column hosted by putative ethnic Chinese housing analyst Peter Leung. If these two columns were taken out of the calculation, we would

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have seen the expected decline of traditional features such as food and cultural reviews.

Another format aspect, the use of stand-alone pictures and cartoons, was discussed under H1.3 above. Overall, the use of unaccompanied pictures decreased, but this was at least in part due to the trend toward more stories with attached pictures; hence, the overall use of pictures in Chinese stories increased (see Table 4.6).

Therefore, two format changes comply with our anticipation, while the trend with two others is ambiguous: H2.1 is partly supported.

4.2.2 Wider areas of interest

H2.2 suggested that coverage of ethnic Chinese by The Toronto Star and The Vancouver Sun used to be overwhelmingly local in its areas of interest, based on the nature of these two papers. As the leading local newspapers of Greater Toronto and Vancouver, the Star and Sun have succeeded mainly by catering to local interests. Another reason for largely local focus of Chinese coverage might be that the Chinese community of the 1970s was rarely a national newsmaker. As the continuous influx of immigrants kept injecting new economic and social power into the community in the 1980s and 1990s, Chinese-Canadians were expected to become more and more a topic of regional, national and international interests. Of course, local interests remained imperative to these

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newspapers, but local dominance would decline.

Since multiple areas of interest could be coded for each story, we checked the degree of overlapping before analyzing specific areas of interest. In total, over half the news items involved more than one area of interest. The two newspapers looked quite the same in this respect. On average, each story in both the *Star* and the *Sun* covered 1.5 areas of interest successively in 1970 and 1980. In 1990, the level rose to about two areas of interest, clearly hinting an increase of variety (see Table 4.13).

Table 4.13: Mean areas of interest per story[26]

Year	Toronto Star Mean	Multi areas(n)	Vancouver Sun Mean	Multi areas(n)	Combined Mean	Multi areas(n)
1970	1.42	29.2% (12)	1.56	33.3% (20)	1.50	31.7% (32)
1980	1.54	37.8% (23)	1.48	32.8% (32)	1.51	34.7% (55)
1990	1.97	61.1% (135)	1.97	61.4% (186)	1.97	61.3% (321)
Total	1.82	52.7% (170)	1.81	51.7% (238)	1.81	52.1% (408)
	Eta=.23*		Eta=.22*		Eta=.23*	

* Significant at p<.01

Next, in Table 4.14, we conducted an analysis of the rises and falls for each area of interest. Findings in the two newspapers strongly support H2.2.

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Table 4.14: Changes in areas of interest

Paper/Year	Local (n)	Provincial (n)	Other provincial(n)	National (n)	International (n)
Star 1970	83%(33)	none*	13% (5)	13% (5)*	33%(13)*
1980	86%(53)	16%(10)	14% (8)	27%(17)	11% (7)
1990	79%(174)	21%(47)	17%(43)	36%(79)	42%(92)
Sun 1970	89%(53)*	17%(10)*	3% (2)	22%(13)*	25%(15)*
1980	85%(82)	7% (7)	7% (7)	21%(20)	29%(28)
1990	74%(224)	26%(80)	14%(43)	40%(121)	42%(128)
Both 1970	87%(87)*	10%(10)*	7% (7)*	18%(18)*	28%(28)*
1980	85%(135)	11%(17)	10%(15)	23%(37)	22%(35)
1990	76%(398)	24%(127)	17%(87)	38%(200)	42%(220)

* Change significant at p<.01

Note: Percentages sum across rows to >100%, because a story could touch more than one area of interest.

In 1970, a high percentage of stories in both papers catered to local interests, 83% for The Toronto Star and 89% for The Vancouver Sun. In both papers, the second most prominent area was international, reflecting the number of stories in which connections were drawn between the Chinese community in Canada and its Asian origins. In sharp contrast, the lowest representation for other areas of interest was the provincial level in the Star (no stories) and in the Sun (3%). In 1990, local interest kept its dominance yet declined to less than 80% in both papers. The decrease was statistically

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insignificant for The Toronto Star, but reductions in local references in The Vancouver Sun and in the total for both papers confirmed the trend.

Meanwhile, other areas of interest in each paper grew; in 1990, international interests reached 42%, national interests went up to 40%, provincial interests went over 20%, and interests in other provinces hit 14% or more in both papers. The high representation of international and national interests in the most recent coverage indicated firstly a greater role played by the Chinese community in general society and secondly an increased "newsworthiness" of new Chinese immigrants to Canada.

Wider areas of interest, reflecting enriched press content, not only mirrored changes in the Chinese community per se, but also its increasing influence in the larger Canadian society. H2.2 is strongly supported.

4.2.3 Richer themes

Themes are the most important indicator of coverage content, because they provide the most straightforward glimpse of what the press staffs perceive as the nature of certain reporting subjects. H2.3 postulated that at the beginning of our period the press devoted much attention to the cultural characteristics of the Chinese community. Chinese stories, therefore, tended to dwell upon things like restaurants, food, cultural arts, and life styles. We hypothesized that 1980 and

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1990 stories would deal more with politics, immigration, crime and especially business, corresponding to relevant developments in the Chinese community and its interrelationship with the general society. Cultural themes might still be popular, but would no longer be as predominant in the Chinese image.

As with the "areas of interest" variables, the coding of themes also allowed multiple entries. Nearly 60% of all stories had more than one theme: on the average, each story had 1.84 themes and there were no significant trends over time (see Table 4.15).

Table 4.15: Mean cumulative themes per story

Year	Toronto Star Mean	Multi theme(n)	Vancouver Sun Mean	Multi theme(n)	Combined Mean	Multi theme(n)
1970	1.71	54.2% (22)	1.75	52.8% (32)	1.73	53.3% (53)
1980	1.65	54.1% (33)	1.90	62.1% (60)	1.80	58.9% (93)
1990	1.92	61.9% (137)	1.84	55.6% (169)	1.87	58.3% (306)
Total	1.84	59.4% (192)	1.84	56.6% (260)	1.84	5'.8% (452)

None of the over time differences is significant.

Since the proportion of multi-theme stories grew very little, changes over time in thematic emphasis, if any, should be more drastic than was true for "areas of interest," because the rise of some themes would necessarily result in the

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decline of others.

An analysis by theme supports the above predictions (see Table 4.16). In the combined inspection, all five themes followed exactly the patterns outlined by H2.3 and by bigger margins than "areas of interest". Cultural themes dropped by a substantial 30%, from 73% in 1970 to the second place in 1990 (43%). Economic themes took over the lead, climbing from 35% to 53%.

Table 4.16: Changes in reportage themes

Paper/Year	Political (n)	Cultural (n)	Immigra -tion (n)	Crime (n)	Economic (n)
Star 1970	25%(10)**	63%(25)	33%(13)	8% (3)*	33%(13)
1980	24%(15)	60%(25)	16%(10)	11% (7)	32%(20)
1990	39%(87)	49%(109)	28%(61)	30%(66)	45%(100)
Sun 1970	36%(22)**	81%(48)*	17%(10)	6% (3)**	36%(22)*
1980	24%(23)	85%(82)	19%(18)	19%(18)	43%(42)
1990	38%(116)	39%(118)	28%(85)	19%(57)	59%(179)
Both 1970	32%(32)*	73%(73)*	23%(23)**	7% (7)*	35%(35)*
1980	24%(38)	75%(119)	18%(28)	16%(25)	39%(62)
1990	39%(203)	43%(227)	28%(146)	23%(123)	53%(280)

* Change significant at p<.01; **: p<.05

Note: percentages sum across rows to >100%, because a story could touch more than one theme.

This reversal of cultural and economic themes may reflect the greatest image update for the Canadian Chinese community

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both in recent decades and throughout its history. For the first time in well over a century, ethnic Chinese seemed to have won wide public attention for their increasingly influential economic power--rather than allegedly exchanging cheap coolie labour for a share of Canadian wealth. The above finding supports our earlier speculation in Chapter One and Two that soaring press coverage in recent years might be largely propelled by the dramatic escalation in ethnic Chinese wealth as well as population size.

Such enhanced economic representation may help explain the simultaneous but slower growth of the political theme. Fewer than one-third of all stories about the Chinese in 1970 contained references to political issues or politicians. The political content diminished to 24% in 1980, but then increased again to 39% in 1990. This may indicate the Chinese community's habitual sensitivity to alterations in the national political and social atmosphere. The time frame of this study began in the wake of the 1967 immigration regulations, when fundamental government policy improvements initiated the revival of the Vancouver and Toronto Chinatowns as well as that of other traditionally discriminated-against minorities. Such a crucial upsurge was bound to have an impact on media reporting. From 1970 to 1980, however, the development of the Chinese community did not get central attention, since the biggest immigrant group of the decade were Indochinese--mainly Vietnamese--refugees (Logan,

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1991:12). Press coverage of ethnic Chinese in 1980 remained preoccupied with culture and contained even fewer political issues. Yet the 1980s, particularly their latter half, saw the Chinese community climbing to the top in immigration size and upward economic mobility. Increasing financial power plus an expanding population and guaranteed legislative equality led to greater political influence.

Immigration as a theme had a parallel trend to political issues, as many discussions of these themes involved both aspects. Despite mostly identical thematic changes, the two papers had some variations on the immigration theme. While the Star's coverage of immigration fluctuated widely, the Sun showed constant growth in immigration stories from 17% in 1970 to 28% (equal to The Toronto Star's share) in 1990.

Over the time analyzed the bulk of Chinese immigrants shifted their landing place from the west coast to Ontario. It seemed that at the outset, Torontonians felt more intensively the impact of such alternation. However, in the years that followed, it seemed to be Vancouver's turn to become more sensitive to Asian immigration. After all, the Chinese community in Toronto constituted a smaller portion of the metro population (5.3% in 1990), owing to Toronto's larger size. In Vancouver, the Chinese formed a larger part (6.6% in 1980 and 9% in 1990) of the relatively smaller local population. Moreover, Vancouver, with its geographical location on the Pacific rim and its traditionally developed

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Asian market, seemed to attract a stronger influx of immigrating wealth.

The last theme to be discussed is crime, the fastest growing theme among those examined. Crime reportage was at first rarely found about ethnic Chinese. Only 6% and 8% of stories were concerned with crime in the 1970 _Sun_ and _Star_'s Chinese coverage. By 1980, crime themes rose to 19% and 11%, and by 1990, it reached 19% in the _Sun_ and fully 30% in the _Star_. The _Star_ ended up with a bigger margin chiefly by carrying a several-month-long series report in 1990 about the slaying of a Chinese violinist by her former boyfriend, but the over-three-fold rise was common to both papers.

We have no available source for checking ethnic crime rates, but common sense suggests that such high growth rates in crime reporting probably outpaced the growth in real crimes. Moreover, it is also possible that non-ethnic Chinese crime reporting grew at similar rates, as society became more concerned with crime issues. If the common saying were true that newspapers always have a sensitive nose for sensational news like crimes, it would apply not only to the reporting of the Chinese community, but also to all other social groups. Therefore, the higher percentage of the crime theme did not necessarily mean that the Chinese were stereotyped as a particularly violent group. If the latest big increase of crime stories seemed out of proportion, unfair and presumptive, it may reflect more of an overall problem than an

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injustice directed specifically toward the Chinese community.

Another explanation might be that recent Chinese immigrants did bring more violence to the community. The increased number of crimes may have been a natural result of the community's fast population growth: with more people came more crimes. Second, Canada's more "lenient" immigration policy in the past two decades enabled some "bad elements"-- such as criminals wanted by police in mainland China, Hong Kong or Taiwan--to slip into North America. Third, the still somewhat enclave-like Chinatowns provided relatively safer and more profitable milieus for immigrant criminals. Therefore, the increase of crime reports in the newspaper may well have resulted from more crimes in the community. For instance, the Star reported more crimes perhaps because Toronto's Chinatown witnessed more crimes than the Vancouver Chinese community.

The third explanation admits what seems reasonable in both the above arguments. It may be true that newspapers often exaggerate crime rates and that the Chinese community suffered from more frequent and serious crimes in recent years. Nevertheless, a deeper factor underlying the intensified crime reportage might be attitude changes towards ethnic Chinese among the press staff and in public opinion. This point will be tested and further discussed in the next section, which scrutinizes reportage slant.

To further understand the reasons behind thematic change, we conducted an over time correlation test of all themes

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(Table not shown).

First, we found that in 1970 the economic theme had a significant coefficient of .33 with the political theme. This is understandable, since at that time, there were few purely economic stories about ethnic Chinese. At that time, when the economic interest of the Chinese community attracted public attention, it was often linked with political issues, such as in the plea to save Chinatowns. For example:

<u>They want Chinatown saved</u>

> Preserving Toronto's Chinatown involves more than just maintaining the well-known restaurants north of the new City Hall..., it also means preserving the many Chinese groceries, with their 100-pound sacks of rice, their boxes full of distinctive vegetables, their cans and jars of bean curd and green cucumber, their bushel baskets of fish and dried duck's feet... (The <u>Star</u>, May 19, 1970:25).

With the increase of normal economic stories, the association between economic and political themes disappeared from 1980 on.

Another theme involved with politics was immigration, which kept a significant coefficient with the political theme at around .23 from the beginning to the end of our time span. This is consistent with the previous discussions about the important role of state intervention throughout the history of Chinese immigration. An example of an immigration and political story:

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<u>Immigration: a sad tale of discrimination</u>

> On Greek Day in Vancouver people jam West
> Broadway to enjoy folk dances and to taste suvlaki.
> Over the past three or four years the event has
> become so popular that attending it is getting to
> be a hazard.
> At the Chinese New Year, both side of Pender
> Street are crowded with enthusiastic sightseers,
> craning their necks for a look at the brightly
> coloured dancing dragons....
> And in less public corners of the city, where
> multiculturalism abruptly loses its charm for a
> moment or two, incidents of ugly and sometimes
> violent racism are too frequent for comfort... (The
> <u>Sun</u>, Sept. 19, 1990:A5).

However, the immigration theme was not only linked to

politics. In 1990, immigration also became a crime issue and

an economic issue, as indicated by its significant

coefficients of .16 and .10 respectively with the crime and

economic themes. This further confirms our arguments about the

direction of thematic change. On the one hand, the Chinese

community of recent years drew more public attention, partly

because of its new economic role boosted by immigrating

wealth:

<u>Pacific immigrants top buyers, survey says</u>

> A recent survey has shown that more than half
> of the new immigrants who bought homes in B.C.
> through a major real estate company last year came
> from a Pacific Rim country....
> The survey said Hong Kong investors now
> represent the largest group of offshore customers
> who buy B.C. homes for investment purposes... (The
> <u>Sun</u>, Sept.26, 1990:B9).

On the other hand, massive Chinese immigration has also

aroused more public concern about ethnic crimes. Many lengthy

1990 stories interwove crime issues with immigration.

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<u>Crime major concern, community leaders say</u>

Crime in Metro's Asian community is a major
concern, community leaders say.
"I think many people are becoming alarmed
about the increase in violent crime," said Dr.
Joseph Wong, a spokesman for the Toronto Chinese
community.
"But there is a lot of pressure as new groups
come into Metro and the community grows so
quickly," he said... (The <u>Star</u>, Feb.4, 1990:A10).

Summing up the thematic analysis, we see that overall

changes generally conform to our expectations: the economic

theme replaced the cultural as the centre of media attention;

as the Chinese community became more influential, and perhaps

also more controversial, it also stirred up more attention to

political, immigration and especially crime issues. H2.3 is

strongly supported.

4.2.4 <u>Other approaches</u>

H2.4 anticipated an increase in two more content

treatments, historical references and human interest

approaches.

The historical approach was coded whenever the reporting

mentioned events that happened the year before or earlier.

More occurrences of such references would supposedly set the

coverage of the Chinese community against a richer background.

We found that both papers reached quite high levels in this

respect, 54% for <u>The Toronto Star</u> and almost 45% for <u>The</u>

<u>Vancouver Sun</u> in 1990. The <u>Sun</u> reached this level from a 1970

figure of 27.8%, while the <u>Star</u> experienced only small changes

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over the years (see Table 4.17). Therefore, changes in historical references weakly support H2.4.

Table 4.17: References to history

Year	Toronto Star Yes (n)	No (n)	Vancouver Sun* Yes (n)	No (n)	Combined Yes (n)	No (n)
1970	50.0% (20)	50.0% (20)	27.8% (17)	72.2% (43)	36.7% (37)	63.3% (63)
1980	51.4% (32)	48.6% (30)	46.6% (45)	53.4% (52)	48.4% (77)	51.6% (82)
1990	54.0% (119)	46.0% (102)	44.9% (136)	55.1% (167)	48.7% (255)	51.3% (269)

* Change significant at $p < .05$

"Human interest" stories in this study included those that contained personal profiles, entire stories focusing on events and characteristics related to one or several persons. This way of reporting is intended to better capture the reader's attention; it is effective if it covers persons of popular interest among targeted audience. The more personal profiles a newspapers carries about a certain group of people, the more concerned about the issues they represent the editorial staff is thought to be.

The two newspapers developed in opposite directions in using personal profiles (see Table 4.18). At the outset, the Sun led the Star with 30.6% of its 1970 stories treated in human interest approach, while the Star had 25%. Ten years

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later, the Sun had half as many personal profiles, whereas the percentage doubled in the Star. At the end of the time span, in 1990, the difference declined as the Star had personal profiles in 38% of its Chinese stories, compared to 19% in the Sun; the Toronto paper still had twice the human interest coverage of The Vancouver Sun.

Table 4.18: Human interest
           (personal profile) stories 1970-1990

Year	Toronto Star* Yes (n)	No (n)	Vancouver Sun Yes (n)	No (n)	Combined Yes (n)	No (n)
1970	25.0% (10)	75.0% (30)	30.6% (18)	69.4% (42)	28.3% (28)	71.7% (72)
1980	51.4% (32)	48.6% (30)	15.5% (15)	84.5% (82)	29.5% (47)	70.5% (112)
1990	36.6% (81)	63.4% (140)	19.0% (58)	81.0% (245)	26.4% (139)	73.6% (386)

* Change significant at p<.01

Two reasons might underlie this discrepancy. One was the fact The Toronto Star kept a relatively stronger interest in cultural and social issues, while The Vancouver Sun shifted more to economic issues as we have seen above. The greater economic reporting of the Sun would normally allow less room for a human interest focus. The other possibility--to be examined in the test of Main Hypothesis Three below--could be different trends in the slants of the two papers. Since the Sun seemed more business-oriented, it could have conducted its

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reporting on the Chinese community in a more neutral tone, while a more socially-oriented paper with more of a human interest approach might use a less neutral tone.

With changes in opposite directions in the two papers, the combined trends of personal profile showed no statistical significance. Accordingly, H2.4 is only weakly supported in the historical and human interest approaches.

4.2.5 Summary of content variety

In the section above, we have examined changes in content variety along four dimensions: reportage format, areas of interest, themes, and historical and human interest approaches.

For format, H2.1 presumed a decline of slow-paced features and an upward trend of faster-paced hard news and pictures as well as crucially important opinion formats such as letters to the editor, editorials and commentaries. The main part of our expectations was confirmed by growth of hard news and opinion formats, while the remaining high proportion of features and decline of free-standing pictures ran counter to expectations. Hence H2.1 is partly supported.

Changes in areas of interest met our expectations. Local interest dominated to a less overwhelming degree, while provincial, other provincial, national and international interest all increased, perhaps as a result of the greater influence of the Chinese community and massive Chinese

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immigration. H2.2 is strongly supported.

Changes in reportage themes, too, support our hypothesis. The traditionally dominant cultural theme declined. In its place came the economic theme, corresponding to the Chinese community's growing role in business and investment of recent years. Political, immigration and crime themes all displayed considerable growth. The soaring percentage of crime reportage, in particular, deserves deeper analysis in a later section about the slant of coverage.

The developments in historical and human interest approaches showed divergences between the two papers. The Star had more references to history and many more personal profiles than the Sun. This could not only be attributed to their differences in other content aspects, but also to potential slant differences, which will be examined in the following section. H2.4 is only weakly supported.

With some reservations, most factors listed in Main Hypothesis Two apparently moved in the expected direction. Therefore, Main Hypothesis Two is largely supported.

4.3 Alterations in Reportage Slant

Main Hypothesis Three

The coverage of ethnic Chinese used to be generally neutral but slanted a little to the negative side. However, it generally moved toward more neutral and slightly positive evaluations.

H3.1 There was a possible move toward more positive slant, a possible decrease in negative slant, and a significant increase in neutral slant.

H3.2 There was a significantly bigger percentage difference between positive and negative slants in which the positive exceeded the negative at the end of the time span.

H3.3 Over time, less percentage of stories had reference to mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, or Orient in general.

In the previous sections, we reviewed a great deal of information about the development and content of the press coverage of ethnic Chinese since 1970. To some extent, such growth had to happen: the rapid expansion in population, financial power and social capacity of the Chinese community was too visible a change in Vancouver and Toronto to be neglected by newspapers like the Sun and Star which catered to a general local readership.

For similar reasons, the third main hypothesis of this study expected that reportage slant about ethnic Chinese would move from a more negative to a more positive evaluation. The central impetus for Main Hypothesis Three was an educated guess about public opinion: if the country replaced its

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restrictions with legislated equal rights for Asian immigration, it must have had some public support; if the government offered special encouragements to wealthy newcomers and if, as a result, the Chinese community, boosted by immigration, became more frequently recognized for its economic contribution, there must have been more respect and appreciation for ethnic Chinese in public opinion, or at least such appreciation would develop. If all these were true, then The Toronto Star and The Vancouver Sun would be expected to generally conform to the public attitudes.

4.3.1 Directional slant

As defined earlier, directional slant refers in this study to the stories' literal meanings. A "Positive" slant was usually represented by references to cooperation, conformation and adaptation, or catering to the values and views of North American society. "Negative" was represented by strangeness, disconfirmation of North-American values, difficulty of understanding, isolation or alienation. And "Neutral" applied to any story that did not show an obviously positive or negative slant, or to a story that manifested a general balance of positive and negative accounts.

The analysis of slant over time revealed that actual press coverage slant developed in the opposite direction of what was expected. The slant of the Chinese coverage in both newspapers showed a trend from more positive to less positive.

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At the same time, positive stories outnumbered negative stories at each time point and in each paper, with negative stories reaching a high of 25% in the end (see Table 4.19).

Table 4.19: Summary of reportage slant

Paper/Year	Positive (n)	Neutral (n)	Negative (n)	Total (n)
Star* 1970	45.8%(18)	29.2%(12)	25.0%(10)	12.4%(40)
1980	48.5%(30)	45.9%(28)	5.4% (3)	19.1%(62)
1990	35.1%(78)	38.5%(85)	26.4%(58)	68.5%(221)
Sun* 1970	50.0%(30)	44.4%(27)	5.6% (3)	13.1%(60)
1980	32.8%(32)	50.0%(48)	17.2%(17)	21.1%(97)
1990	26.2%(79)	50.1%(152)	23.7%(72)	65.9%(303)
Both* 1970	48.3%(48)	38.3%(38)	13.3%(13)	12.8%(100)
1980	38.9%(62)	48.4%(77)	12.6%(20)	20.3%(159)
1990	29.9%(157)	45.2%(237)	24.8%(130)	67.0%(524)

* Change significant at $p<.01$

In <u>The Toronto Star</u> in 1970, 45.8% of the stories were positive compared with 25% negative. It had a negative percentage four times higher than that of its Vancouver counterpart, probably as a reflection of Toronto's difficulties in absorbing the first waves of massive Chinese immigration flow that had shifted eastward. In 1980, Toronto coverage seemed more at ease, with 48.6% of Chinese stories reported positive and merely 5.4% negative. By 1990, however,

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the perception of ethnic Chinese once again seemed to have become controversial, as positive reportage declined to 35.1% and negative stories bounced back to 26.4%, the latter mainly focused on Chinatown crimes.[27]

The Vancouver Sun demonstrated a more steady trend. In 1970, half of its stories were positive and only 5.6% were negative. In 1980, positive stories declined to 32.8% while the proportion of stories with negative slant went up to 17.2%. In 1990, the percentages were nearly even, as 26.2% of the stories had positive slant, only 2.5% higher than the negative proportion of 23.7%.

Three trends can be observed from the combined slant changes. The most dramatic was a successive, 10%-a-decade decline of positive reporting disproportionately due to The Vancouver Sun. On the average, with each year in the past two decades the Chinese in Toronto and Vancouver lost 1% of the sympathy previously expressed by the local press. I am justified in using the emotional term "sympathy" here, because slant is the variable most closely linked to personal attitudes in this study. It is clear that the possible upturn of positive slant predicted by H3.1 did not happen. We will elaborate on possible reasons for this change later in this chapter, as we look at more information.

The second trend was an increase over time in neutral stories, which replaced the positive slant to become the main trend of press coverage, in line with the canons of journalism

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in the West. Although this partly supports H3.1 which stated that neutral reporting would increase, in connection with the increase in negative slant, it signified a shift away from positive evaluations.

The third trend was an increase of negatively slanted reporting particularly in the Vancouver paper. Small numbers of negative stories in the 1970 Sun (3) and the 1980 Star (3) rendered some percentages less trustworthy, but joined with the more potent neutral slant, the result was a reduced, rather than larger, difference between positive and negative reports, and a gene al trend toward negative evaluation. H3.2 is not supported.

4.3.2 PDI--extent of change

Since the general tendency of the story evaluation was found to run counter to Main Hypothesis Three, we seek to know why. The analysis will explore whether the trend was a general one, or whether it was associated with specific themes, formats, etc.

To summarize the slant categories more easily and to allow for a better weighing of the two opposite slants, we will use the percentage difference index (PDI). To calculate the PDI for a subgroup, the neutral slant category is excluded from inspection, and the percentage of negative slant is subtracted from the positive. Slant difference, the PDI, will thus represent the net gap between the two, with positive

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numbers signifying a more positive than negative slant, and negative PDI numbers indicating a negative balance (see Table 4.20).

As noted above, the overall balance between positive and negative slant remained positive at all time points for both papers, but the positive PDI declined over time. For example, for the 1970 Vancouver Sun and the 1980 Toronto Star, PDIs were tremendously high, +44 and +43 respectively. By 1990, they slumped to +9 and +3, leading to an overall PDI of only +5.

Table 4.20: PDI of positive and negative slants

Year	Star	Sun	Combined
1970	+ 21	+ 44	+ 35
1980	+ 43	+ 16	+ 26
1990	+ 9	+ 3	+ 5
Change	- 12	- 41	- 30

"+" means positive slant % excels the negative.

In the aggregate calculation for the two newspapers combined, the PDI went down by 30 points; while the decline was steeper for the Sun, the Star experienced an almost equal drop between 1980 and 1990.

We need to ask why the reporting slant turned so much less positive just when "multiculturalism" was being widely promoted. Before making any speculations, we need to find out

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specifically what stories were getting more negative reporting and, in contrast, what stories tended to be neutrally or more positively written. In the following we will check the slant of all aspects of reporting which were previously inspected. For nominal variables, categories will be listed in order of PDI size, with the largest positive PDI coming first. The data will be shown for the total dataset, rather than separately by year, but in the interpretation the relative growth or decline of categories over time needs to be kept in mind.

Table 4.21: Reporting slants of different formats

Format	Positive	Neutral	Negative	PDI
Picture alone	42.5%(38)	52.8%(47)	4.7% (4)	+ 37.8
Feature	45.8%(128)	44.6%(124)	9.6%(27)	+ 36.2
Opinion	24.7%(15)	50.7%(31)	24.7%(15)	0.0
Hard news	24.5%(87)	42.4%(150)	33.2%(118)	− 8.7

  Sig: p<.01

Table 4.21 shows that of all formats, free-standing picture and feature were most often used for positive reporting, with their PDIs respectively at +37.8 and +36.2. In contrast, hard news had a negative PDI of -8.7. Interestingly, opinion stories achieved the journalistic ideal, absolute balance of positive and negative reporting with a PDI of zero. In other words, the press often told "bad news" through the account-by-account and straightforward format of hard news,

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played up appreciative stories with formats like features and pictures, and, when it came to opinion, tried the safest of way of heeding to both sides equally. It is important to recall that the number of "soft" (and more positive) formats changed little over time, while (more negative) "hard news" and opinion stories grew in numbers; this helps account for the overall decline in the PDI.

Table 4.22: Reporting slants of
different areas of interest

Area	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Sig	PDI
Local	36.5%(226)	44.5%(276)	19.0%(118)	<.01	+17.5
Provincial	31.0%(48)	40.2%(62)	28.8%(44)	<.05	+ 2.2
Other prov.	32.3%(35)	35.4%(38)	32.3%(35)	<.01	0.0
National	28.1%(72)	49.0%(125)	22.9%(58)	<.05	+ 5.2
Internation.	33.0%(93)	36.6%(104)	30.4%(86)	<.01	- 0.4

A test of slant by areas of interest provides another angle to the above point (see Table 4.22). Local news, with a PDI of +17.5, boasted the highest proportion of good news. Other areas of interest had lower PDIs, ranging from +5.2 for national interests to -0.4 for international interests. Newspapers seemed more sensitive to local ethnic relations by reporting the positive sides of local Chinese stories and carrying more "bad news" from areas of less geographical proximity. Again, we recall that local stories declined in

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percentage over time, while less positive domains like national and international grew.

Table 4.23: Reporting slants of different themes

Theme	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Sig	PDI
Cultural	49.8%(209)	39.4%(165)	10.8%(45)	<.01	+39.0
Economic	30.8%(116)	47.5%(179)	21.7%(82)	<.18	+ 9.1
Political	26.6%(73)	45.9%(125)	27.5%(75)	<.01	- 0.9
Immigration	30.4%(60)	32.5%(64)	37.1%(73)	<.01	- 6.7
Crime	13.5%(21)	23.2%(36)	63.2%(98)	<.01	-49.7

The slant of different themes added to the above explanation (see Table 4.23). Cultural topics and crime were at two opposite extremes with respect to reporting slant: the former was highly positive with a PDI of +39.0, while the latter was the most negative with a PDI of -49.7. As will be seen, these were the highest and lowest PDI among all variables. This should not be surprising, as we have earlier described the cultural theme as a traditional reporting focus on ethnic Chinese, while the crime theme as customarily negative. Other themes varied to lesser degree: in part due to their subject matters. Economic stories had a moderately positive PDI of +9.1; politics had a basically neutral PDI of -0.9; and immigration a mildly negative PDI of -6.7. Once again the changes in the distribution of themes helped account for the overall trend toward less positive coverage of the

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Chinese community: while the positive cultural features declined, negative crime stories more than tripled from 1970 to 1990 (see Table 4.16).

Table 4.24: Slant and historical reference

Reference	Positive	Neutral	Negative	PDI
No (n=414)	32.9%(136)	52.2%(216)	14.9%(62)	+18.0
Yes (n=369)	35.5%(131)	36.9%(136)	27.5%(102)	+ 7.9
Sig: p<.01				

Other content treatments also made a difference in slants. Stories without reference to history had a PDI twice as high as stories with historical references (+18.0 versus +7.9; see Table 4.24). This conformed to the PDI decline of positive coverage, since over time more stories provided historical background. The phenomenon, too, can be explained by thematic changes, since economic stories (usually without historical references) turned into the mainstream of coverage from 1980 to 1990.

Table 4.25: Relationship of slant and personal profile

Profile	Positive	Neutral	Negative	PDI
Yes (n=214)	54.3%(116)	29.3%(63)	16.4%(35)	+37.9
No (n=569)	26.5%(151)	50.9%(290)	22.6%(129)	+ 3.9
Sig: p<.01				

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Again not surprisingly, personal profiles (PDI=+37.9) seemed far more positive compared with merely +3.9 for non-human-interest stories (see Table 4.25). This helps account for why The Toronto Star exceeded the Sun in positive slant, for it had twice as many personal profiles overall, and a particularly big share of such stories in 1980, when its PDI reached its highest level.

Summing up our information so far, an important point can be developed. We have learned from coverage content that traditional positive stories such as food and life-style features, local news and stories on cultural themes declined in importance over time, giving more time and space to hard news and opinions, wider areas of interest and other themes, economics and crime in particular. It was mainly these changes that brought down the positive level of ethnic Chinese coverage.

This is not to say slant alterations had nothing to do with changes of attitudes towards ethnic Chinese; it did, in my opinion, as I will argue in the ensuing discussion. But before moving on, we need to make the present point clearer: considering the high degree of positiveness in the coverage of the ethnic Chinese in the 1970s, the trend toward more neutral reporting resulted in part from the enlarged volume of coverage and the greater content variety. Meanwhile, the press did seem sensitive enough to avoid an overall negative bias and, in many cases, to play up positive reportage.

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Table 4.26: Slant and layout

Layout	Positive	Neutral	Negative	PDI
Headline size*				
Big headline	42.4%(125)	40.1%(119)	17.5%(52)	+24.9
Medium headline	29.0%(52)	49.5%(88)	21.5%(38)	+ 7.5
Small headline	28.1%(78)	45.6%(126)	26.3%(73)	+ 1.8
Use of Picture*				
Picture alone	41.1%(37)	52.3%(47)	6.5% (6)	+34.6
Story & picture	42.9%(164)	44.7%(171)	12.4%(48)	+30.5
Story alone	21.2%(66)	43.3%(134)	35.5%(110)	-14.3
Position on page*				
Main position	43.2%(156)	40.0%(144)	16.9%(61)	+26.3
Lower page	28.9%(65)	50.4%(114)	20.7%(47)	+ 8.2
Upper page	23.4%(46)	48.1%(94)	28.5%(56)	- 5.1
Location in paper*				
Section front	33.6%(73)	51.9%(114)	14.5%(32)	+19.1
Inside page	33.7%(174)	43.8%(227)	22.5%(117)	+11.2
Front page	41.8%(19)	25.5%(12)	32.7%(15)	+ 9.1
Source attribution*				
By-lined	33.3%(120)	53.0%(191)	13.7%(49)	+19.6
Staff writer	40.6%(90)	31.6%(70)	27.8%(62)	+12.8
Anonymous	31.0%(48)	45.1%(69)	23.9%(37)	+ 7.1
Wire Service	19.6% (9)	46.4%(22)	33.9%(16)	-14.3

* Significant at p<.01

The following analysis of the relationship between slant

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and layout further supports this assertion. Starting with headline size, we found that big headlines were most often used for positive stories and, thus, had a PDI of +24.9, more than twice as high as the +7.5 PDI level of medium headlines and over ten times higher than the PDI of small headlines (see Table 4.26).

Similarly, free-standing pictures and stories with pictures both had PDIs above +30, more than double that of stories without pictures.

In regard to position on the page, main stories had a PDI as high as +26.3, compared to -5.1 for minor upper page stories and +8.2 for lower page stories. Lower page positions scored higher than above-fold-not-main positions because many longer stories which did not fit the main position were instead put at the bottom of page.

Section front pages had the biggest PDI, +19.1, probably because these pages hosted a large proportion of positively-slanted features stories. For example, it was very common that cultural reviews and personal profiles appeared on the front page of "Food," "Life," "Family" and "People" sections. Inside pages ranked the second, with a PDI of +11.2. Front page stories had the lowest PDI of +9.1, perhaps because they were more likely to cover hard news and international stories. Since hard news had a general negative PDI of -8.7 and international stories a PDI of -0.4 (see Table 4.21), it follows that front page stories could not achieve a more

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positive score.

Among the sources of stories, by-lined writers ended up with the highest percentage of neutral stories and with the highest PDI (+19.6). Staff writers wrote the biggest percentage of positive stories, but ranked second in PDI with +12.8, because they also wrote more negative stories than by-lined writers. The lowest PDI, -14.3, went to wire service. This confirms a previous statement that the newspaper staff were reluctant to give much credit to wire service competitors. Perhaps they used wire service stories more often for negative rather than positive reporting so that, in case of controversy, others could share the blame.

Table 4.27: Relationship of slant and ethnic writer

| Slant | Toronto Star | | Vancouver Sun* | | Combined* | |
	Yes n=53	No n=270	Yes n=90	No n=370	Yes n=143	No n=640
Posi tive	39.7% (21)	38.9% (105)	13.0% (12)	35.0% (129)	22.8% (33)	36.6% (235)
Neu tral	42.9% (23)	38.0% (103)	82.4% (74)	41.3% (153)	67.8% (97)	39.9% (255)
Nega tive	17.5% (9)	23.1% (63)	4.6% (4)	23.7% (88)	9.4% (13)	23.5% (150)
PDI	+22.2	+15.8	+ 8.4	+11.3	+13.4	+13.1

* Differences significant at p<.01

Curiously, ethnic Chinese authors were not more likely to write positive stories about the Chinese community: they

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displayed basically the same PDI as other Canadian writers (see Table 4.27).

In The Toronto Star, the writer's ethnicity had no statistical significance; in The Vancouver Sun, the difference was significant, but it was due to the fact that ethnic Chinese authors were twice as likely to produce neutral stories as were non-Chinese writers.

As above, this was a logical result of the two papers' characteristics. This perhaps indicated an effort on two parts. On the one hand, authors of Chinese origin might have, in general, tried to be especially fair and neutral so as to avoid suspicions of bias linked to their ethnic identity. On the other hand, by employing these authors, newspapers may also have tried to make their coverage about ethnic Chinese appear to be fairer and more neutral. The use of ethnic authors clearly had political symbolism, but perhaps it also served the interests of the particular ethnic group.

However, reportage development may be only one reason for changes in slant. The press can be neither absolutely objective nor remain static in its inclinations. Instead, it keeps adjusting and has to adjust its conscious and unconscious attitudes towards reporting subjects in the changing political, economic, social and cultural climates. For instance, some historians noted that The Vancouver Sun used to have an unveiled racist colour in the 1920s, as exemplified by its publication of a once widely-known anti-

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Chinese novel, The Writing on the Wall, which it published in support of excluding Chinese immigrants. Yet, twenty years later it participated in a joint plea to the federal parliament to repeal the Chinese exclusion act (Wickberg, 1982:205). However, the paper may not have remained pro-Chinese ever since. Despite its observed sensitivity towards Chinese reportage since the 1970s, complaints continue to be heard in recent years. A 1989 book, in writing about Hong Kong immigrants to Vancouver, reported that:

> the local media, particularly Vancouver's newspapers, refuse to let the Asian question rest. Every morning, the editors find some new angle on the problem, headlining everything from families disenfranchised by Hong Kong money to triads, the Chinese crime gangs by which are said to have agents in every overseas Chinese community. The press coverage has so angered the Hong Kong newcomers that several have even discussed buying Pacific Press Ltd., which prints both the Sun and the Province, to silence the critics (DeMont & Fennel, 1989: 150).

To specify possible press attitude changes during the period under this study, analysis of slant controls for different themes and, thus, attempts to reduce effects of thematic increase on slant trends.

We find that all themes, except possibly crime, exhibited an obvious and steady decline in positive slant (see Table 4.28). Culture, the most positively treated theme, had an extremely high PDI of +52.3 in 1970. The level dropped to +39.5 ten years later and to +34.8 in 1990, accumulating an decrease over time of 17.5 points.

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Table 4.28: Slant changes by theme (Both papers combined)

Theme	Year	Positive	Neutral	Negative	PDI
Cultural**1970	1970	56.8%(42)	38.6%(28)	4.5%(3)	+52.3
	1980	46.5%(55)	46.5%(55)	7.0%(8)	+39.5
	1990	49.3%(112)	36.0%(82)	14.7%(33)	+34.8
Economic*	1970	52.4%(18)	33.3%(12)	14.3% (5)	+38.1
	1980	40.5%(25)	43.2%(27)	16.2%(10)	+24.3
	1990	26.0%(73)	50.1%(140)	23.9%(67)	+ 2.1
Political*1970	1970	42.1%(13)	42.1%(13)	15.8% (5)	+26.3
	1980	26.1%(10)	65.2%(25)	8.7% (3)	+17.4
	1990	24.3%(49)	42.8%(87)	32.9%(67)	- 8.6
Immigra-tion*	1970	57.1%(13)	21.4% (5)	21.4% (5)	+35.7
	1980	41.2%(12)	52.9%(15)	5.9% (2)	+35.3
	1990	24.0%(35)	30.3%(44)	45.7%(67)	-21.7
Crime	1970	none	25.0% (2)	75.0% (5)	(-50)
	1980	26.7% (7)	20.0% (5)	53.3%(13)	-26.6
	1990	11.6%(14)	23.8%(29)	64.6%(79)	-53.0

* Difference significant at p<.01; ** p<.05

Economic stories used to be quite positive, with a PDI of +38.1 in 1970. By 1990, however, they had become more "business-like," with an almost neutral PDI of +2.1. Political themes declined from quite positive points of +26.3 in 1970 and +17.4 in 1980 to a negative PDI of -8.6 in 1990. But all others faded in comparison with immigration, which plummeted from very positive PDI levels of +35 in both 1970 and 1980 to

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-21.7 in 1990.

Of course, we should be aware that effects of thematic changes have not been totally eliminated in the above analysis, since more than half of all stories included more than one theme. An effective way to further cut down thematic compositional interruptions is to exclude the crime theme. As shown through PDI analysis above, crime may be an "inherently" negative theme. Generally speaking, all other themes can be reported with one slant or another, while crimes are difficult to set in more positive than negative treatments. Both the _Sun_ and the _Star_ had very negative PDIs for crime stories at all times; eliminating the crime variable promises a clearer picture of slant changes in other themes.

It is possible that other stories would still have considerable thematic overlap, so that PDI differences among the rest of the themes could have an effect. For example, stories with both cultural and economic themes are likely to result in a lower PDI than purely cultural stories. However, since we already know that each of the themes excluding crime had positive levels for most of our time frame, a negative attitude on part of the press is likely at fault if a theme should drop so much in PDI as to approach or go below zero.

As shown by Table 4.29, with the absence of crime all other themes increased in PDI to varied degrees. The cultural theme seemed to be the least affected, with its PDI only 1 point more positive for 1970 and about 4 points higher for

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Table 4.29: Slant changes by theme without crime

Theme	Year	Positive	Neutral	Negative	PDI
Cultural**	1970	58.1%(42)	37.2%(27)	4.7% (3)	+53.4
	1980	47.7%(52)	47.7%(52)	4.6% (5)	+43.1
	1990	51.4%(108)	36.7%(77)	12.0%(25)	+39.4
Economic*	1970	55.0%(18)	35.0%(12)	10.0% (3)	+45.0
	1980	42.3%(18)	53.8%(23)	3.8% (2)	+38.5
	1990	29.0%(68)	57.3%(134)	13.6%(32)	+15.4
Political*	1970	44.4%(13)	44.4%(13)	11.1% (3)	+33.3
	1980	19.0% (7)	71.4%(25)	9.5% (3)	+ 9.5
	1990	25.4%(40)	50.8%(80)	23.8%(38)	+ 1.6
Immigra-tion*	1970	57.1%(13)	21.4% (5)	21.4% (5)	+35.7
	1980	42.9%(10)	57.1%(13)	none	+42.9
	1990	29.6%(28)	39.1%(38)	31.3%(30)	- 1.7

* Difference significant at p<.01; ** p<.05

1980 and 1990 each. Its general over-time trend toward less positive coverage remained intact. The economic theme picked up 7 PDI points for 1970 and roughly 14 points for both 1980 and 1990. Political themes showed some interesting changes with the exclusion of crime. Its PDI became larger for 1970 and 1990, but smaller for 1980. The big decline in the PDI from +33.3 in 1970 to +9.5 in 1980 in political themes resulted not from negative reporting but from a switch from positive to neutral stories. By 1990, the PDI was reduced to

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+1.6, as neutral stories declined and both positive and negative reporting increased.

The underlying attitudinal change was further revealed by the treatment of the immigration theme. Stories about immigration had very positive PDIs in 1970 and 1980, at +35.7 and +42.9 respectively. This happened while in 1970 almost 60% of the coverage had a positive slant and while in 1980 the identical proportion of stories was neutral. It perhaps reflected the newly-promoted "multicultural" atmosphere in the wake of 1967 immigration regulations and Canada's generous intake of Asian immigrants such as the Vietnamese "boat people." By 1990, however, the PDI of the immigration theme abruptly reversed to -1.7, even with crime reports removed. But in light of the shift to neutral stories it may also have simply reflected the more "normal" and professional treatment of topics related to the Chinese community.

Comparing Table 4.28 and 4.29, we find that the immigration theme had similar PDIs for 1970 and 1980. However for 1990, the removal of crime stories raised the immigration PDI from originally -21.7 to -1.7, less negative by 20 points. Apparently, the issue of Chinese immigrant crimes played a big role in 1990 while there had been few negative (crime) stories earlier. But even disregarding the crime issue, the press treatment of immigration had changed from largely positive to neutral and even negative tones, as shown by the PDI of -1.7 in 1990. It is beyond the scope of this study to determine

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whether the negative treatment of immigration topics was limited to Chinese immigration or followed a more general turn against (especially non-white) immigration.

To further pursue the above point, we narrowed down our analysis by eliminating both crime and immigration themes. Since the numbers of remaining stories became small for some categories and years, these results were only suggestive (Table not shown). They indicated that much of the decline in PDI, namely, the decline of positive and the increase of negative reporting, was due to the excluded themes of crime and immigration. In cultural and political stories the change in slant became small and not statistically significant. In the third theme, economics, the barely significant change was due to a decrease in positive stories which was parallelled by an increase in neutral stories; only 6.8% of the 1990 economic stories had a negative slant! Aside from the negatively loaded issues of crime and (recently) immigration, the apparent change in slant was in part due to a more critical attitude on the part of the press, and in part due to a tendency to report more neutrally (and professionally) about Chinese topics.

4.3.3 Ethnic labels

Supple.enting predictions about changes in slant, H3.3 stipulated that proportionally fewer stories would mention the origins of ethnic Chinese, such as China's mainland, Hong Kong, Taiwan, or Asia or the Orient in general. The decrease

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of such references would symbolize the enhanced assimilation of ethnic Chinese and their participation in the larger Canadian society. In other words, it would mean that the press treated the Chinese in Canada more frequently as Canadians rather than as aliens.

Table 4.30: References to Asia

Year	Toronto Star* Yes	No	Vancouver Sun Yes	No	Combined* Yes	No
1970	33.3%	66.7%	44.4%	55.6%	40.0%	60.0%
	(13)	(27)	(27)	(33)	(40)	(60)
1980	24.3%	75.7%	58.6%	41.4%	45.3%	54.7%
	(15)	(47)	(57)	(40)	(72)	(87)
1990	56.2%	43.8%	58.4%	41.6%	57.5%	42.5%
	(124)	(97)	(177)	(126)	(301)	(223)

* Differences significant at p<.01

Data findings contrasted with H3.3. Instead of gradually decreasing, stories with ethnic references increased from exactly one-third of 1970 to 56.2% of 1990 in The Toronto Star, and in The Vancouver Sun, they constituted 44.4% in 1970 and more than 58% in 1980 and 1990 (see Table 4.30).

The increase of Asian references could perhaps firstly be attributed to the more conspicuous immigrant characteristics of the recent Chinese community, represented by an accelerating immigrant proportion in its population from 62% in 1971 to 75% in 1981 (see Table 1.1 in Chapter One). In addition, the share of the immigration theme (28% in 1990) and

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of international stories (42% in 1990) grew over time, so that more references to Asian/Oriental places were less surprising.

Table 4.31: Slant and Asian references

Year	With Asian Reference PDI	Neutral %(n)	No Asian Reference PDI	Neutral %(n)
1970	+29.2	20.8% (8)	+38.8	50.0%(30)
1980	+34.8	37.2%(27)	+19.3	57.7%(50)
1990	- 0.3	32.1%(97)	+12.3	62.9%(140)
Total*	+ 8.7	31.9%(132)	+18.2	59.6%(220)

* Differences significant at p<.01

Nevertheless, attitude changes on part of the press might also be a reason for the more frequent use of ethnic references. Stories with references to mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, or Asia and Orient in general were less than half as positive in their slant as non-associated stories, as shown by PDIs ratio of +8.7 and +18.2 respectively for the two categories (see Table 4.31). Moreover, material with Asian references was only half as likely to be neutral.

Notwithstanding previous contrary findings to H3.3, the slant difference confirms our theory based on the ideas about ethnicity flux from Lieberson that deletion of references to ethnic origin worked to an advantageous image of ethnic Chinese in press coverage. Since unlabelled stories tended to report ethnic Chinese more positively, we have now one more

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piece of evidence to support our statement on the decline of positive evaluation about ethnic Chinese among the press and the public. We also have more evidence to explain why the Sun turned less positive than the Star, for it used more references to Asiatic places, probably owing to Vancouver's greater exposure to Asia Pacific influences.

4.3.4 Summary of coverage slant

In this section about reportage slant, we found that stories about ethnic Chinese in the earlier part of our period were generally very positive and, to a smaller degree, neutral. Along with the additional fact of only sporadic coverage Chinese stories in both papers, this might indicate, on the one hand, a lack of understanding and attention by the press and public and, on the other, a lack of influence by the Chinese community. Since an overwhelming part of earlier coverage focused on cultural aspects to the neglect of many other issues, the seemingly appreciative tone could be interpreted as "positive stereotyping" of a harmless minority.

With the progress of time, the mainstream of coverage turned neutral; and at the same time, the positive slant declined and the negative slant increased, although at a slower rate. By the end of our period, 30% of the coverage was positive, 25% was negative, and 45% was neutral. This change in slant could be firstly considered a result of the growth in volume and content enrichment of the press coverage of the

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Chinese community. With "positive cultural stereotyping" being replaced by a greater variety of themes, reporting formats and areas of interests, coverage naturally became more neutral as well as more balanced.

However, a simultaneous tendency could be a decline in good will toward the Chinese among the press and the public. In support of this view, we observed a gradual slide in the slant of all themes; however, when the "inherently negative" theme of crime and the newly negative theme of immigration were removed, trends for the other themes were not significant or were much less pronounced. An abruptly reversed slant from very positive to negative in the immigration theme was probably due to the unprecedented numbers of immigrant Chinese as well as the juncture with the crime issue which had disturbed the way the Chinese were viewed. This was echoed by a supplementary observation that stories with Asian references significantly increased in annual percentages, with the result of a less positive and slightly more disadvantageous image of ethnic Chinese.

Regardless of the specific reasons, it has to be reported that Main Hypothesis Three cannot be supported by this study: the treatment of the Chinese community has become less positive, more neutral, and marginally more negative.

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4.4 Comparison between Papers

Main Hypothesis Four

The tendencies reflected in Main Hypotheses One to
Three were stronger in The Vancouver Sun than in
The Toronto Star, mainly because the province of
British Columbia has a longer history of Chinese
immigration, a bigger proportional presence of
ethnic Chinese, and is part of the Pacific Rim.
This could be tested by sub-hypotheses H1.1-H3.3.

As explained in the methodology chapter, The Toronto Star
and The Vancouver Sun have been paired for this study because
of strong similarities between the cities they have been
covering as well as between the papers themselves. Both
Greater Toronto and Greater Vancouver have had massive inflows
of Chinese immigrants after World War Two. The two areas
combined have hosted approximately 80% of the Chinese in
Canada in the past few decades. Accordingly, they not only
have some of the largest Chinatowns in North America, but
also, particularly in recent years, an increasingly visible
Oriental influence that can be sensed by visitors from other
parts of the country immediately upon or even well before
their arrival. In addition the two papers share many technical
similarities as well as the same status as leading dailies
oriented to local readership.

Differences and similarities between the Star and the Sun
could at least in part be due to differences and similarities
between the two cities. Therefore, it is important to pinpoint

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their differences as well as to locate their resemblances. Understanding the differences between the two cities facilitates better understanding about the differences in press coverage.

4.4.1 Different settings

Vancouver has both a longer history of Chinese immigration and a longer record of anti-Orientalism. For at least a century, it was the number one destination for an overwhelming majority of Chinese immigrants, firstly because of the opportunities it offered with the 19th century gold rush and construction of the CPR railway and later, partly for its geographical proximity to other Pacific nations and partly for an expediency found by newcomers in its relatively developed local Chinese community. As a result, Vancouver has maintained the highest percentage of local population made up by ethnic Chinese among all Canadian cities. In 1990, the portion was 9% (by census) of the Vancouver population.

From the 1970s on, Vancouver fell behind Toronto in attracting the bulk of the Chinese immigrant flow. Meanwhile, there has been an upgrading of immigrant composition in Vancouver. Over the past two decades, Vancouver may have become a less ideal place for traditional immigrants to start from scratch, but it has become more and more noted for big money entrants. The mountain-locked, space-limited city appreciated time and again in business value, especially in

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real estate, trade and finance around the Pacific Rim. It appealed, in particular, to better-off Hong Kong immigrants seeking to protect their money and life style prior to China's recovery of the British colony in 1997. For them, Vancouver has the greatest proximity to the Asia-Pacific environment to which they have been accustomed, by far the most mature ethnic market, the least risky possibility of investment return in real estate, and, to some, perhaps the easiest access to retreat to Asia if future situations should make it necessary. Racist pressure in British Columbia would perhaps be less bothersome to wealthier immigrants, who have the means to better control and adjust their milieu.

The Chinese community in Toronto began with the resettlement of CPR railway labourers (Lai, 1989: 98-9; 147-9). After the end of World War Two, Toronto's Chinatown became the second largest in Canada next to Vancouver. In the 1970s, Toronto replaced Vancouver in having both the biggest ethnic Chinese population and the largest Asian immigration inflow. In 1990, the Chinese accounted for 5.3% of the city's census total. What made Toronto more attractive than Vancouver to the bulk of Chinese immigrants might be the variety of opportunities it had to offer. In comparison to Vancouver, Toronto accommodated a more varied composition of immigrants, with probably much larger proportion of the less well-off and unestablished, as the ethnic mosaic in Toronto itself has been in a more complicated changing and adjusting process. In the

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past two decades, moneyed Chinese immigrants have also established themselves rapidly in Toronto, but have achieved less eminent positions in this more populous city than in Vancouver.

Different background settings would have different impacts on press coverage. My impression before systematic study was that the mainstream society of Vancouver paid more attention to ethnic Chinese because of their proportionately greater presence in the local population and particularly because of the surge of immigrant wealth. Negative responses toward the Chinese in Vancouver dwelt mainly on things like "monster houses" because these were related to Chinese "upstart affluence." Such complaints are different from racist curses during earlier Chinese immigration to B.C., because now it seemed to be jealousy mixed with some hidden respect. In contrast, I expected Toronto on the one hand to accord less attention to the Chinese because of the comparatively smaller presence of its Chinese community, and, further on, to display a more negative response to the ethnic crime problems of the city.

4.4.2 Paper differences

Data analyses in the previous sections have revealed differences between the two papers. What remains is to fit them together into a comprehensive picture.

With regard to quantitative growth of coverage, our

expectations were supported. Despite their similar size, <u>The Vancouver Sun</u> exceeded <u>The Toronto Star</u> throughout the observed period. It started off with 60 news items in 1970, 50% more than the <u>Star</u> had at the outset. By 1990, its increase in number of stories surpassed the growth of the local population by 134%, whereas the <u>Star</u> failed to keep up with the growth in Toronto's Chinese population. In total story length, both papers outran the growth of ethnic population. The <u>Sun</u> did so by 333%, but the <u>Star</u> by only 186%. At each point, the median length for individual stories in the <u>Sun</u> was greater; its 1970 level (14 column inches) was equal to the <u>Star</u>'s 1980 level and its 1980 median of 17 column inches equalled the <u>Star</u>'s 1990 level.

Of the three sub-hypothesis under Main Hypothesis One, the <u>Sun</u> took the lead in two (see Table 4.32). Its performance in quantitative growth supports Main Hypothesis Four.

Table 4.32: Comparison of papers re quantity growth

Hypothesis descriptions	Change of Star	Change of Sun
Story number outran popu	-196%	+134%
Story length outran popu	+186%	+333%
Story layout upgraded	Yes	Yes

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Table 4.33: Comparison of papers re content changes

Hypothesis descriptions	Change of Star	Change of Sun
Format changes	No sig.	No sig.
Area of interest		
Less local interest	No sig.	-15.1%
More provincial interest	+21.1%	+ 9.7%
More other provincial	No sig.	+11.5%
More national interest	+23.3%	+17.7%
More international	+ 8.2%	+17.1%
Story theme		
Less cultural theme	No sig.	-41.8%
More political theme	+14.2%	+ 2.2%
More immigration theme	No sig.	No sig.
More crime theme	+21.5%	+13.1%
More economic theme	No sig.	+23.1%
More reference to history	+ 4.0%	+17.1%
More personal profiles	+11.6%	No sig.

The Sun also had the upper hand in content variety changes. Among all the presumed changes in categories of reporting format, area of interest, reporting theme, and other approaches, it led in six categories while the Star did in five. In the Sun's content, there was no significant change in three categories, while the Star had no significant change in five (see Table 4.33). The development of content variety went faster in the Sun and, thus, supports Main Hypothesis Four.

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Overall, my expectations about changes in the slant of coverage were contradicted by the results. In this regard, the Sun again led the trend--this time, against what was expected. At the beginning of the time span, it had a PDI of +44, or more than twice as high as the Star. But, over time, it had a bigger decline both in PDI and positive slant, and had a generally less positive tone than the Star. Contrary to my expectations, it also showed an increase rather than a decrease in Asian references, although less pronounced than the Star.

Table 4.34: Comparison of papers re slant changes

Hypothesis descriptions	Change of Star	Change of Sun
Change in positive slant	-10.7%	-23.8%
Change in neutral slant	+ 9.3%	+ 5.7%
Change in negative slant	+ 1.4%	+18.1%
Change of PDI	- 11	- 41
Less use of ethnic label	+22.9%	+14.0%

In general, the Sun ran at least as much against the expected changes as the Star (see Table 4.34), which was not support Main Hypothesis Four.

Summing up the differences between the two newspapers, we can say that Main Hypothesis Four is conditionally supported, but given that the directions of expectations in Hypothesis Three are reversed.

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4.4.3 Summary of paper comparison

The comparison between papers aims at matching and differentiating characteristics not only of two newspapers, but also their social settings. The Vancouver Sun gave more coverage to the Chinese community; its growth outran the growth of the local Chinese population, reflecting a more rapidly enhanced social status for ethnic Chinese in the city. The greater role of the Chinese community in Vancouver was also suggested by the finding that economics became the leading theme about the Chinese in Vancouver. In comparison, the Chinese community in Toronto made fewer advances in social status, as indicated by coverage increase that lagged behind Chinese population growth in Toronto, and by the continuing dominance of the traditional cultural theme in Chinese reportage.

Coverage slant became less positive and more neutral in the Sun rather than in the Star. However, besides possible negative attitudes among the press, the more dramatic theme re-orientation in the Sun could be a chief reason for its greater slant changes than in the Star. Judging by the fact that crime and immigration stories had the most negative slant and that the Star had more in both, we have reasons to speculate that downward attitude change actually went faster in the Star or equally fast in both papers. Main Hypothesis Four is conditionally supported.

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4.5 Summary of Data Analysis

In this chapter, we inspected coverage changes on four main dimensions: increase of quantity, enrichment of content, alterations of slant, and differences between papers.

For quantity change, we found that the increase of annual story numbers for both papers first lagged behind local Chinese population growth during the 1970s but, after the 1980s, adopted growth rates considerably higher than those of the Chinese community. Measure by the entire period, The Vancouver Sun increased faster than the city's Chinese population. The Toronto Star did not keep pace. In terms of aggregate story length, both papers grew at a faster pace than the local Chinese community's census total. Each paper also demonstrated remarkable advances in layout effect. These changes showed an enhanced social status for ethnic Chinese. For most part, Main Hypothesis One is supported.

Progress in various categories of press content occurred mostly as expected. In reporting format, hard news and opinion stories increased, while traditional cultural feature stories declined. In areas of interest, local news had less domination, while involvement in all other areas grew, especially in national and international interest. Yet the most representative of the trends might be thematic changes, where the economic theme replaced the cultural theme as the reportage mainstream. This verified Chinese community's more important economic role in general society. Another notable

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thematic increase was in crime reportage, which might indicate accelerating social tensions with the continuous and more complicated immigration inflow since the 1980s or a general preoccupation with crimes in modern industrialized society. Other aspects of content, such as historical treatments and human interest approaches, also reached higher degrees, echoing previous signs of greater commitment by press staff. In sum, Main Hypothesis Two is strongly supported.

Changes in reportage slant ran counter to expectations. Instead of starting off from a generally neutral basis, early coverage of ethnic Chinese seemed very positive, mainly because of its narrow focus on cultural reporting. The erratic but appreciative coverage of the 1970s probably implied a lack of attention and understanding about the Chinese community on the part of the press. With the growth of coverage volume and variety, the slant turned less and less positive and in 1990 reached a nearly neutral but slightly positive balance. On the one hand, this resulted from the diversification of content. On the other, it suggested a less positive attitude by the press and possibly by the public, too. This was inferred from the more frequent references to ethnic country of origin that tended to occur in less positive stories. Main Hypothesis Three is not supported.

In comparing the two papers, The Vancouver Sun developed faster in quantitative growth and content enrichment and, therefore, displayed a stronger trend in accordance with Main

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Hypothesis One and Two. However, it became less positive than the _Star_, mainly owning to its bigger proportion of neutral economic stories. The _Star_ might not be necessarily more positive, since it had a bigger collection of crime stories and negative immigration reportage. Its lead in positive slant over the _Sun_ is probably due to the fact that it maintained a greater focus on traditional cultural themes. Main Hypothesis Four is supported on condition that Main Hypothesis Three is reversed in direction.

Chapter Five: <u>Conclusion</u>

5.1 <u>What We Have Found Out</u>

Once again the Chinese community is receiving rapidly increasing attention from the press. The only period bearing some resemblance to this previously was the years after the early wave of Chinese immigration in the late 1880s. For nearly a century after that, the Chinese community kept and was kept in a low public profile. What press coverage there was about ethnic Chinese most likely appeared in cultural sections, such as restaurant and food reviews or life and family columns.

Despite the fast population growth activated by the non-discriminatory immigration law promulgated in 1967, ethnic Chinese had the image of a cultural enclave until the beginning of the 1980s. In Vancouver and Toronto where most of them lived, they were infrequently, though regularly given attention by the leading local newspapers. This reportage was highly (over 70%) cultural-oriented. In general, the Chinese community appeared in the press as a self-sufficient community whose persistent existence in Canada could be tolerated, whose culture was mostly appreciated, and whose influence on other parts of society was very limited.

However, this long-standing tranquillity has been

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shattered since the 1980s. Within just ten years, the always silent, docile and mysterious faces of ethnic Chinese have loomed so much larger and turned so much more aggressive that, from 1980 to 1990, reportage about the Chinese community in The Toronto Star almost tripled the city's Chinese population growth rate and that in The Vancouver Sun more than quadrupled the Chinese population growth rate in Vancouver. Such an immense change in image, no doubt, suggested not only a greater demographic presence, but also more importantly the upgraded social status of ethnic Chinese.

The Chinese of 1990s are no longer only part of Chinatowns or certain neighbourhoods. They are part of the two cities' everyday life. Walking down the streets of Toronto and Vancouver during daytime, you do not need to look for the presence of ethnic Chinese people or Chinese businesses. They are just there.

Just as they are changing the physical appearance of Vancouver and Toronto, ethnic Chinese of 1990s are also reaching out from the newspapers' cultural pages into all sections except those of sports and travel. While their presence in the cultural sections has gone down by 30%, the Chinese are much more frequently seen in the faster-paced news, business and crime columns. They also have a louder, though still low, voice in the opinion pages with more letters to the editor and commentaries and editorials.

In addition to the extraordinary growth in population

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stimulated by immigration, the economic role of the Chinese seems to be the foremost factor in changing their image. Hong Kong immigrants, who make up the bulk of Chinese immigration in the past decade, have been noticed more for their wealth than most other recent immigrants. These moneyed newcomers form the first group in Canada's immigration history, which can be financially established right after arrival.

In addition to this, the Business Immigration Program introduced by the Canadian government in 1978--which requires a minimum investment of $250,000 for qualified applicants to British Columbia and Ontario--considerably encourages the immigrant investmental spree. As a result, instead of the usual "cultural shock" to newcomers, the wealthy immigrants have given an "economic shock" to the host community. As is usually the case in capitalist society, bigger economic power plus political guarantees lead to greater newsworthiness.

While gaining a much greater volume of publicity during our period, the Chinese community became less positively and more neutrally portrayed in the press. Coverage of ethnic Chinese has over time moved from a very favourable slant to a generally neutral and slightly positive slant. In 1990, the difference between the proportion of positive and negative Chinese stories was only 5%. This small difference, considered against the backdrop of a 10%-per-decade decline of positive coverage in the past two decades, may lead to speculation that the slightly positive nature of Chinese coverage may not last

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much longer.

The lessening degree of media's favour was a compound phenomenon. In the first place, it ended years of "positive stereotyping" in the coverage of the Chinese community, whose sporadically portrayed alien cultural image seemed to be mainly of some ornamental value. We may call such coverage as "patronizingly positive," which suggests it approached the Chinese subject with a partially appreciative but generally narrow perspective. With so many themes other than the cultural bypassed, such coverage could hardly be thought of as normal. In this context, the lessening degree of positiveness was structurally the natural and encouraging result of an enormous increase in coverage quantity and content variety. Among other things it reflected a larger economic role played by ethnic Chinese in Canadian society, which inevitably resulted in a much increased number of economic stories.

On the other hand, negative attitudes towards the Chinese community (and perhaps other non-white immigrant groups, too) did seem to be on the rise. The most evident sign was the soaring numbers of crime stories and the reverse of slant from the very positive to the negative in immigration stories.

My conclusion on the slant change in ethnic Chinese coverage--in part, and only in part--coincides with that by some researchers using other methods, and I agree with them in attributing this phenomenon largely to the economic factor. In a recent investigative book entitled <u>Hong Kong Money: how</u>

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<u>Chinese families and fortunes are changing Canada</u>, Demont and
Fennel highlight an impressive anecdote: "'I am reminded of
that line by Kurt Vonnegut,' said one Vancouver advertising
executive, referring to the rape of North American Indian land
by white settlers. 'We are the Indians now'" (DeMont & Fennel,
1989: 148).

The authors go on to observe that "there is no missing
the resentment" and envy among white Torontonians and
Vancourites in view of the recent tide of alien opulence
(Ibid). Exaggerated or not, the feeling is understandable for
residents in these large cities, where competition for such
resources as housing and business is especially keen. The
sudden affluence of many of the Asian newcon ¬s forms a
particularly sharp contrast to the Chinese community's
century-old image as an economically distressed, hardworking
and frugally-living group. Although the coming of these
nouveau riche may benefit the national as well as the
municipal economy as a whole, to ˙hose who feel direct or
impending competition from the newcomers, the potential
general good may never loom as large as personal
inconveniences.

With this, we come to a still deeper reason behind the
traditional racial attitude, i.e., the culturally-related
racial and psychological feelings, the complex white-superior
psyche asserted by some theorists to be lingering even without
obvious economic conflicts--such as Ward's description of

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British Columbian public (1978:1-22). And this may seem to have been reconfirmed by our finding that The Vancouver Sun stories became less positive than The Toronto Star.

As known to many, British Columbia has a more deeply rooted "Asiaphobia" than other Canadian provinces (Ibid). After all, B.C. was the province to have the earliest surge of Chinese immigration into this country. Until the 1970s, it had the second largest Chinese population in North America and until the 1970s, it had always been the first destination of most Chinese newcomers to Canada. To this day, Greater Vancouver still has the highest percentage of ethnic Chinese within its population than any other city in Canada.

Because of its geographical location on the Pacific Rim, and a long history of Chinese settlement accompanied by limited provisions for transportation and livelihood, Vancouver experienced wave after wave of Chinese immigrants. Since they came for many of the same reasons which propelled European immigrants to North America, there was bound to be competitions for material resources between the earlier and later arrivals. This competition was bound to be fierce since space and resources were limited and social mobility was slow. Before arriving in North America, the European immigrants had already acquired a white-superiority psychology based on the West's colonial experience; such feelings were reinforced through decades of racial antagonism in British Columbia.

Taking into account Vancouver's special socio-economic

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dynamics, I would speculate that if Torontonians were transferred to Vancouver, their relationship with Asian immigrants would likely be no different. As a matter of fact, they treated the earlier Chinese immigrants to Toronto in a similar manner, but on a smaller scale because of the smaller Chinese population at the time (DeMont & Fennel, 1989: 113-116). Therefore, B.C.'s notoriety should not be considered an isolated and accidental happening. The same thing would be and has been seen in similar situations, e.g., the west-coast American cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Therefore, the difference in coverage slant between The Toronto Star and The Vancouver Sun, though statistically significant, should not be overstated. We have no exact measure in this study to decide if the slant difference between the two papers was caused by the different situations in each city or by potentially different attitudes among each paper's staff.

Neither should we overgeneralize the attitude change toward ethnic Chinese merely based on the finding of a lessening positive degree of coverage. Our main evidence suggests that the nature of Chinese coverage has largely become "neutral," that is, toward a more balanced and professionalised coverage.

Of course, the traditional social-psychological forces against ethnic minorities may last longer than changes in public policy, economic elements, and socio-cultural

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structure. However, this should by no means serve as evidence to negate the fundamental power of the political and economic factors. In the long run, political and economic developments may eventually change the socio-psychologic tradition since such developments originally generated this tradition.

5.2 Contributions of This Study

In a 1980 review on multiculturalism studies in Canada, some researchers found that one of the "blank areas" (Ujimoto, 1980: 6-7) in the field was quantitative research about ethnic relations portrayed by the media:

> We have very little knowledge about what the media convey to all of us... Thus, work on how host and immigrant perceive themselves and each other through the media is urgently needed.

More than a decade has elapsed in which many new developments have taken place; yet there is still not much progress in this area.

This thesis, together with the efforts of some other researchers, contributes to filling this gap. It may be one of the first pieces of quantitative research on the relationship between the media and the ethnic Chinese community in Canada.

The dataset promises richer results than those which have been presented in this analysis and can serve as the basis for further studies both on media and ethnic relations and on more widely applied ethnicity studies. The dataset, in my opinion, has considerable significance and usefulness in locating many news items about ethnic Chinese in recent decades; no other

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comparable source on such a scale exists. I hope that it will not only facilitate future statistical research, but will also help qualitative researchers to add depth and insight to their work.

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Endnotes

1. See Singer (1982:350) and Ujimoto (1980:6-7). A More specific review of previous studies will be given in Section 2.2.

2. 1881-1981 part cited from Li, p.61. 1991 part based on report of new Census data by Fraser, <u>The Globe and Mail</u>, Sept. 16, 1992.

3. See Census of Canada, 1986, <u>Ethnic Groups, Immigrant Population</u>, Table 1-2, pp.1-31.

4. See 'Rt. Hon. Joe Clark's Address' in Joint Center, Fall, 1990, p.3. In his official address in honour of Hong Kong governor, Sir David Wilson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Joe Clark, said that:

> Canada's commitment to, and our faith in, the future of Hong Kong is unwavering.... Your Excellency, if you take back one message to the people of Hong Kong, let it be a clear and simple one: that Canada is committed to your success, and that we will stand by you faithfully in the critical years which lies ahead.

5. Ibid. Dr. David Chuenyan Lai, who took part in an extensive research project commissioned by the Canadian government on the history of ethnic Chinese in Canada, gives a detailed account:

> After the Chinese merchants in San Francisco heard rumours of the gold discovery in the lower Fraser River, they sent a scout to the Fraser region to ascertain the truth. He returned in May 1858 and assured them of the

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'marvellous richness of the gold mines of that
region,' starting the Chinese migration from
California to British Columbia.

6. Canada, House of Commons, Debates, May 12, 1882, 1476. As
quoted from Lai, (1982), Chinatowns, p.33:

> On 12 May 1882, Amor De Cosmos, then an MP for
> Victoria, repeated his request in the House of
> Commons that the employment of Chinese labour
> should be prohibited. He argues that because
> so many Chinese workers were entering Canada,
> they would soon outnumber white people in
> British Columbia. In reply to his complaint,
> Prime Minister Macdonald said: 'if you wish to
> have the railway finished within any
> reasonable time, there must be no such step
> against Chinese labour. At present it is
> simply a question of alternatives -- either
> you must have this labour or you cannot have
> the railway.'

7. Dempsey (Ed.), (1984), The CPR West, pp.15-16. In a
historical account of the Chinese and the Construction of
the Canadian Pacific Railway in British Columbia,'
Patricia E. Roy says:

> ... the deaths of many Chinese are fact. A
> week after the driving of the last spike, the
> Victoria Daily British Colonist calculated
> that of the approximately eight thousand
> Chinese employed on the Onderdond contract
> about fifteen hundred had succumbed to
> sickness. This was a modest estimate. Chinese
> merchants in Victoria claimed that 2200 died
> in 1882 alone. The folklore belief that "for
> every foot of railroad through the Fraser
> Canyon, a Chinese worker died" is an
> arithmetical impossibility, but it is equally
> impossible to find precisely how many did
> perish of disease or in accidents and crimes.

Also see Canada, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of
Canada, Program of the Unveiling Ceremony of the Plaque
at Yale, September 25, 1982, p.1, cited in Lai, (1988),

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> I have confidence in the death toll of
> hundreds, also because, on September 25, 1982,
> the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of
> Canada installed a bronze plaque at Yale,
> British Columbia, to commemorate the Chinese
> construction workers on the CP Railway. The
> dedication, written in English, French, and
> Chinese, briefly describes the history of the
> railway construction, during which "hundreds
> of Chinese died from accidents or illness, for
> the work was dangerous and living conditions
> poor."

8. As calculated from Canada Year Book, 1921, p.650 by Li,
   (1988), p.137, the weekly cost to an average family in
   British Columbia at that time was:

	1900	1905	1910	1920
Staple foods	$6.90	$7.74	$9.06	$15.93
Fuel and lighting	1.86	1.73	2.20	3.75
Rent	3.26	3.78	4.64	6.38
Total	12.02	13.25	15.90	26.06

9. An average Chinese labourer earned $225 annually,
   according to Royal Commission Report, (1885), p.366.

10. Cited from Li, (1988), p.20. Calculations based on a 10%
    random sample selected from all Chinese recorded in the
    General Registers of Chinese Immigrations, 1885-1903,
    (Public Archives of Canada, RG 76, volumes 694-703).

11. Summarized from Wickberg, pp.106-115, 221-241; Li, pp.71-
    82; Joint Center, Fall 1991, pp.14-19.

12. Compiled from 1971, 1981, 1991 Census of Canada, Ethnic
    Groups, Immigration Population, excluding persons under
    15 years of age. The individual file for 1971 is a 1%

probability sample of the total population, excluding Prince Edward Island, Yukon, and the Northwest Territories. The individual file for 1981 is a 2% probability sample of the total population. The individual file for 1986 is a 20% probability sample of the total population. Numbers in the table have been weighted to population size.

13. Compiled from 1981, 1986 Census of Canada, Ethnic Groups, Immigrant Population, excluding those under 15 years of age. The individual files for 1981 and 1986 are respectively 2% and 20% probability samples of the total population. Numbers in the table have been weighted to population size.

14. Erickson & Nosanchuk, p.2, quoted from Ashmore, pp.1-35.

15. Quoted from the summarization made by Singer.

16. Ibid.

17. Ujimoto, in compiling the book Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Asian in Canada, made the following observation (1980:6-7):

> Two other "blank areas"... indicate a particularly neglected area in current research efforts.
> ...there lies a much vaster field in need of study; namely, the role that the press and television have in conveying more subtle messages about Canada's host society. It would seem reasonable that many recently arrived immigrants (especially woman) receive a great proportion of their earlier ideas about their Canadian hosts from these sources. The simple absence of most ethnically and culturally distinctive sub-sections of the population in roles of media leadership provides a very

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unreal picture of the homogeneity of Canadian society. At the same time, this phenomena may provide a rather realistic image of the kinds of people who actually wield power.

18. Murphy and Avery (1982:43-44) gave the following explanation to the increased volume and favourability of Native coverage by the mainstream Alaskan press in the early 1980s:

> Finding that very few stories portraying Natives in an unfavourable light need not imply that the establishment press of the state is ethnically enlightened or aware of social equality. It is equally likely that Natives are now perceived as having financial clout.
> The $1 billion in lands compensation spread among fewer than 100,000 people has not necessarily bought them more favourable coverage, but the money has made them a constituency with money/power.
> As Michael Semanski, director of the Cook Inlet Regional Corp. in Anchorage put it, "The dailies are now covering Native news more than ever in the past. Why they are covering it is another question. Are they more sensitive, or is there more news and Native money? It's probably both."

19. See editorial "An Apology with a Lesson" (The Vancouver Sun, April 18, 1990, p.A8), which writes:

> There's a lesson for all of us in the apology to the Chinese-Canadian community made this week by CTV President Murray Chercover....
> Chercover admitted that a television program broadcast last September was distorted and racist. The program, which deeply offended all minorities, but particularly Chinese-Canadians, contended that foreign students were crowding Canadians out of universities. It failed to distinguish between students from other countries in Canada on student visas and landed immigrants or Canadian students of non-white parentage.
> Much of the film footage in the program

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was of students of Chinese origin....

20. See Tan, "Controversy over 'Dim Sum Diaries'" (Joint Centre, Fall 1991, p.5), which tells what happened after the CBC program was aired in early 1991:

> "Dim Sum Diaries" is a radio series produced by the CBC Vancouver Station.... The series is about local attitudes towards recent Hong Kong immigrants and was meant to expose racist views and stereotypes. The most controversial part, "The Sequoias," was based on an actual incident which took place on Vancouver's Westside when a Chinese-Canadian cut down two one-hundred-year old sequoia trees....
> SUCCESS (United Chinese Community Enrichment Services Society) president, Maggie Ip, wrote a letter to CBC's director of radio, Robert Sunter, arguing that the play had promoted ethnic stereotyping and reinforced racial hatred. She quoted abstracts from "Dim Sum Diaries" to support her view. Such comments as "this Hong Kong voodoo thing," which refers to Fengshui, is an attack on some aspects of Chinese culture and tradition. She maintains that...-- "at that moment I just wanted to take that chain saw and go up to Chang's white Jaguar and cut the car in two, and it would have been better still if I had done it when Chang was inside" -- is an incitement to violence and racial hatred. Finally, "he likes Chinese women so much; he says we know how to please a man" is a comparison of Chinese immigrant women to stereotypes like Suzy Wong....
> The issue was also brought to the National Congress of Chinese Canadians held in Toronto in mid-May. A resolution on the matter was passed: 1) CBC should not repeat such a mistake in the future; 2) CBC should apologize openly in major newspapers and in CBC radio broadcasting; 3) CBC should report and explain the whole event to CRTC; and 4) CBC should produce another series emphasizing the positive images of Chinese-Canadians...

21. See descriptions about the experience of Canadian immigration officials, in Hawkins, pp.280-2.

22. Referring to the article, "A 'Superminority' Tops Out," in Newsweek, issue 48, 1978.

23. In a letter responding to the researcher's inquiry (November 11, 1992), Scott Honeyman, Managing Editor of The Vancouver Sun, writes:

> We do not have a written policy about ethnic issues. We do have a multicultural advisory panel that meets with us six or more times a year to discuss our coverage and to bring to our attention where we are considered to be insensitive or lacking.
> Partly as a result of consultations with the panel, we have decided that multicultural coverage should not be separated from other coverage, that the various ethnic communities should be covered as mainstream news. We are developing contact lists that give us experts in all areas from ethnic communities, so that the faces and names in our newspaper won't be so predominantly male and caucasian.
> We have a column called Cultural Seen, in which one of our artists uses drawings and words to explain cultures to those outside of the cultures, and we are making efforts to celebrate our new cultural mix as well as to outline some of the problems and suggest some solutions.

24. In a letter responding to the researcher's inquiry (December 2, 1992), Mike Pieri, The Toronto Star's Assistant Manager of Special Projects, writes:

> The ethics of The Star are printed in a special policy booklet which is "must" reading for all reporters, editors, columnists and photographers. The same strictures set out in the booklet apply to freelancers, academics and all others who may write for us.
> Very simply put, we insist that no reference should be made to a person's race, colour or religion unless it is pertinent to

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the story. In crime stories, particularly, we insist that great care must be exercised....

Our watchwords are: truthfulness, accuracy, sensitivity and fairness.

We do not single out any community for specific coverage, but we do cover interesting and important events with the community and also important to Toronto as a whole.

Asian gang warfare is a subject that requires special vigilance. Youths from Southeast Asia do, occasionally, cause trouble in Toronto's four Chinatowns. Ethnic Chinese are invariably victims. Unfortunately, less responsible media often unwittingly fail to make the distinction, with the result that the wrong impression can be given to the public.

We meet with community leaders to discuss matter of importance....

Yes, The Star does still take pride in reporting the news but we also take pride in listening to our readers, too.... Responsible journalism is a two-way street.

25. The column was first carried twice a week and then reduced to once a week.

26. In the analysis of area of interest overlapping, the mean represents the average number of areas of interest coded for each story. The higher the mean, the more areas of interest the stories had in a given year.

27. The reported Chinatown crimes were actually mixed products of several Asian communities but possibly more often blamed on Chinese immigrants. This has also been pointed out by the media staff (see Endnote 24).

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Appendix: Coding Sheet

Case Number:		

Date of issue	m- d- y	Date of coding m- d- y
Story title		

1	Day of week	Monday to Sunday=1-7	
2	Publication	1.The Toronto Star; 2.The Vancouver Sun	
3	Format	1.News; 2.Letter to the editor; 3.Cartoon or picture alone; 4.Feature; 5.Editorial	
4	Picture	1.Story alone; 2.Picture/cartoon alone; 3.Story with picture/cartoon	
5	Headline	1.Biggest; 2.Medium; 3.Smaller	
6	Position	1.Main story; 2.Above fold, not main; 3.Lower page	
7	Location	1.Inside; 2.Section front; 3.Front page	
8	Story Length	(column inches, including everything)	
9	Source	1.Anonymous; 2.By-lined; 3.Wire; 4.Staff	
10	Writer with possible ethnic name	(such as Wang, Wong, Chang, Li, Lee, Yong, Sun, Leung, Chen, Chung, etc.) 1.Yes; 2.No	
11	Area of interest	(code one)	
a.	local	1.Yes; 2.No	
b.	provincial	1.Yes; 2.No	
c.	other provincial	1.Yes; 2.No	
d.	national	1.Yes; 2.No	
e.	international	1.Yes; 2.No	
12	Themes	(Code two)	
a.	political	1.Yes; 2.No	
b.	cultural	1.Yes; 2.No	
c.	immigration	1.Yes; 2.No	
d.	crime	1.Yes; 2.No	
e.	economic	1.Yes; 2.No	
f.	other	1.Yes; 2.No	
13	personal profile	1.Yes; 2.No	
14	Same page as other ethnic stories	1.Yes; 2.No	
15	Same page as scandal stories	1.Yes; 2.No	
16	Reference to		
a.	P.R. China	1.Yes; 2.No	
b.	Hong Kong	1.Yes; 2.No	
c.	Taiwan	1.Yes; 2.No	
d.	two or more	1.Yes; 2.No	
17	Reference to history	1.Yes; 2.No	
18	Slant	1.Negative; 2.Balanced; 3.Positive	

Vita Auctoris

Jianming Ma was born on January 31, 1963 in Beijing, China. He had much of his early education at the Beijing Foreign Languages School of the Beijing Foreign Languages Institute, an academically renowned boarding school. He went on to the Institute of International Relations and graduated in 1984 with a Bachelor of Arts degree and a double major in English and International Affairs. Then he enrolled at the School of Journalism of China's Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and graduated in 1987 with his first Master of Arts degree and his first M.A. thesis, "On Feature Structure," selected into A Compilation of Best Theses of CASS, 1979-1989 (China Social Sciences Publishing House, 1990).

From 1987 to 1990, Jianming Ma worked as a staff writer of English with the Overseas Service Department of China's national Xinhua News Agency and received Xinhua's 1989 Annual Top Class Award for Excellent Reporting (Feature Category).

From September, 1990 to December, 1992, Jianming Ma attended the Graduate Program in Communication Studies at the University of Windsor. During that time he was awarded Graduate assistantships and a Postgraduate Scholarship.

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