

**SILENT ON THE SET:
CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND RACE
IN ENGLISH CANADIAN TV DRAMA**

A STUDY DIRECTED BY

Dr. Catherine Murray
School of Communication
Simon Fraser University

Prepared for the
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Department of Canadian Heritage

25 Eddy Street, 12th Floor
Hull, Québec
CANADA K1A 0M5

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For copies of this report contact us at:
sradoc_docras@pch.gc.ca
or Fax: (819) 997-6765

** The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Silent on the Set presents the findings of a pilot content analysis of racial diversity in English Canadian television drama. The study grows out of the Canadian *Eurofiction 2000* project which traced the supply and viewing of Canadian drama on conventional television networks for the Council of Europe's annual review. It is central to the teaching program on audience research, TV, globalization and cultural identity at Simon Fraser University's School of Communication. This study would not be possible without seed money from the Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate of the Department of Canadian Heritage, and the contributions of over a dozen students of varying ethno-cultural backgrounds.

An important element of the Council of Europe's audio-visual observatory's mandate for trend watching, the *Eurofiction* design employs about half a dozen key cultural indicators in the analysis of a sample week of drama in more than eight European countries. These cultural indicators were significantly extended to include race in this study. About 40 additional hours collected at random airing between January and April 2002 were added to the base sample week of original English Canadian fiction for *Eurofiction 2000* (<http://www.sfu.ca/communication/ecf>). More than 50 variables were developed in a content analysis protocol to monitor the presence, role and relative contribution of visible minorities to the dramatic narrative in English Canadian television fiction. The protocol was then peer reviewed by four scholars and researchers prominent in the study of race and representation in Canada. The qualitative coding team of audience members was drawn from the undergraduate population of SFU with a mix of South Asian, White and Middle Eastern backgrounds. A total of 9 indepth interviews were also conducted with leaders of NGOs and academic and policy communities, to identify major trends in race and representation in Canadian television. Principal comparisons (in UK, Australia and US) of recent social movements to enhance cultural diversity in television were sought. The design of the protocol is explicitly qualitative: it relies on subjective audience jury review of racial plots for several key summative variables (to do with tone, context and effect of the dramatic representation).

The objectives of this study are to:

- amend the Euro-Canadian fiction protocol to cover ethnic affiliation and code at least 50 hours of tapes on the English language market;
- cover traditional content analysis as well as 'qualitative' reviews of narratives;
- conduct 8-12 individual interviews with critics/academics on ethno-cultural portrayal in Canadian drama;
- endeavour, where possible, to trace the top 10 television shows for their record of employment of ethno-cultural minorities in lead creative positions; and
- provide recommendations, where relevant, to enhance ethno-cultural portrayal.

Paralleling the international observation that the scope for regulation and control is declining, this study is intended to contribute to original research in Canada on media performance. The dialogue it begins—based on the implicit values, design of appropriate indicators of outcomes, and methods—has the potential to contribute to a process of accountability by way of informed public debate, instead of by way of rules, regulations or controls. This study plans to contribute to central questions: are our Canadian television casts from culturally diverse backgrounds? Are roles specific or non-specific to cultural background? Do English Canadian television stories dramatize the creative tensions (positive and negative) arising from cultural diversity?

2. CULTURAL DIVERSITY, MEDIA AND GLOBALIZATION

In a speech to an international seminar coordinated by UNESCO and the European Community, Gareth Grainger, Deputy Chairman of the Australian Broadcasting Authority, remarked that:

The globalization of audiovisual industries raises real questions about the impacts on the construction of identity at the level of the individual and societies. We only have to look around us – or food, clothes, music, books and language to see how trade in film and television has contributed to cultural changes. (Grainger, 2000)

Noting the challenges faced by a nation's broadcasters when finding themselves in competition for their own domestic market, Grainger suggests that, "audience demand is not always sufficient to guarantee the provision of local programs. For nations to enhance their cultural resilience and contribute to global diversity they must recognize the strategic importance of creating their own film and television and fostering strong local production industries" (Grainger, 2000). The denial of local production opportunities diminishes diversity initiatives, as Andrew Jakubowicz recognized in *Race, Ethnicity and the Media* (1994):

Immigrants often try to understand Australian society by consuming commodities presented to them as appropriate by the media. Globalization does not necessarily lead to a homogenization of content, but it will spread consumerism as a cultural form. This spread of consumerism is ... identified by Aboriginal groups as one of the leading dangers facing traditional Aboriginal peoples with the coming of television to remote parts of Australia. (Jakubowicz 1994)

Technological innovations have introduced services such as cable television, video-on demand and direct satellite broadcasts (one must remember that in Asian-Pacific countries such as Malaysia or South Korea these services are indeed new) which constantly rely on imported content to fill airtime. According to a paper commissioned by the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union, government tax incentives and subsidies along with content regulations "can ensure that locally made films and programs, which most audiences prefer, are accessible on television and in cinemas. They also indirectly support the local production sector" (Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Unit, 1999, p.14). Such cultural safeguards created to advance national and local production industries, are considered by the U.S. to be serious barriers to the open market principles of the WTO. The U.S. is "strongly opposed to the notion that there should be special recognition of the cultural character of audiovisual products" (Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Unit, 1999, p.4). Further, in a 1993 Uruguay Round of negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the USA argued that:

Movies and television programs were commercial products just like any other. The USA contended that the EC's local content rules for television, which provide that a majority of transmission time is reserved for European works, unfairly imposed a market access barrier to US audiovisual products and cost US producers potential export income. (Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Unit, 1999, p.10)

The United States is pushing the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), administered by the WTO, to liberalize trade in service sectors. Such liberalization would allow transnational corporations to challenge government spending in television production as being an unfair subsidy. Contrary to this characterization of cultural products as commercial goods, UNESCO insists that "cultural production measures are based on an assumption that local industries foster local creativity and indigenous talent which may otherwise have no expression. Such expression enriches the cultural life of the nation as a whole reflecting and contributing to people's perceptions of their identity, character and culture" (Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Unit, 1999, p2). Following the UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies for Development, a group of culture ministers met in Ottawa to discuss the impact of globalization on cultural expressions and

social cohesion in 1999. The International Network on Cultural Policy (INCP) is a coalition of countries (Canada, Croatia, France, Greece, Mexico, Morocco, Senegal, South Africa, Sweden, and Switzerland, among others) who have forwarded a set of cultural principles that acknowledge the relationship between government policy protections of “production and distribution of local content” and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—the right for citizens to develop and promote a cultural heritage that celebrates linguistic and ethno-cultural diversity (Murray, 2002, p.9). For the INCP, that cultural products are different from commercial merchandise is undeniable. Effective policy support recognizes and privileges this distinction when entering into global trading agreements.

a. United States Support for Cultural Diversity in the Media

After two decades of aggressive deregulation in the United States broadcast content is treated like any other commercial product. Social policy concerns to do with race or cultural diversity are resisted if they interfere with the bottom line. While several fiscal policies (e.g. the distress sale and the tax certificate policies) approved in the 1970s by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) sought to increase minority access to broadcast media, the purposes of granting more radio and television licenses to minority groups was less a gesture to multiculturalism than it was an opportunity to increase advertisers’ access to minority audiences (Zolf, 1996).

In 1999, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) convened hearings to address what it argued were serious systemic patterns of discriminatory treatment by the television industry against African Americans, Native Americans, and other racial and ethnic minorities. At the time, NAACP President, Kwesisi Mfume warned major network representatives and industry insiders that “in the absence of any real, measurable effort on the part of the networks to try to develop a way out of this problem, they run the risk of a sustained, focused and continuous consumer action in the form of repetitive boycotts, picketing, and large scale demonstrations in front of their network headquarters” (NAACP, 1990). Mfume called on the four main television networks to introduce practical goals to increase minority representation on screen, as well as in industry hiring, investment, and other business practices:

In keeping with the NAACP’s Fair Share concept of economic reciprocity, information was sought on executive employment utilization, recruitment, training programs, and promotion as well as procurement of (film) production and distribution, development, talent employment, utilization of professional services, advertising and marketing (media utilization) and procurement. (NAACP Report on the Television and Motion Picture Industry, 2001)

As a result of the NAACP’s hearings, network executives promised to adopt a range of initiatives to increase opportunities for minority talent, including:

- working with the NAACP educational institutions and community organizations, to develop minority recruitment and training programs designed to increased minority hiring, promotion and representation in management and non-management positions;
- establishing associate programs rotating throughout network news, entertainment and sports divisions;
- creating minority fellowships for graduate students;
- the inclusion of diversity goals as a key measurement of employee evaluation reviews (NAACP Report on the Television and Motion Picture Industry 2001).

Also promised were contracts with minority vendors and professional services (such as casting agencies and trade guilds). All of the major networks agreed to offer grants to fund writing, di-

recting and acting talent as well as to increase internship/mentoring positions and fund scholarships for minority students in universities and acting schools.

Three years after these network pledges, the faces on American networks have changed very little. As recently as May of 2002, the Multi-ethnic Coalition (comprised of organizations such as the National Latino Media Council, the Asian Pacific American Media Coalition and the American Indians in Film and Television) graded the four major networks based on their efforts to create jobs for minority actors, writers and directors. The highest score awarded was a grade of 'C' earned by NBC. Fox received a C-minus, CBS a D-plus, and ABC (the Disney Channel) a D-minus. As Toronto Star television critic, Antonias Zerbisias, remarked in her column, "CBS actually put out a release boasting about how it had 'nearly doubled' its on-air representation of minorities in leading or recurring roles. Yeah, well, two times nothing is still nothing" (Toronto Star, 2002).

The NAACP's President has threatened the networks with massive and sustained boycotts of one of the major networks or advertisers. Possible class action lawsuits against networks may be brought forward for denial of hiring and promotional opportunities to minorities. Additionally, the NAACP has considered urging the Federal Communications Commission to limit the percentage of prime-time programming owned by a network. Argued Mfume, "such restrictions would allow more minority-owned and developed programming to reach the American public without being bottlenecked by the old boy business network that is punitive, restrictive, and Draconian" (NAACP, 2001). Mfume suggests that the FCC and Congress invoke the precedent of the Children's Television Act as a model to increase minority programming. The precedent, which requires that there be three hours of children's programming a week on a network, might be duplicated by requiring that network and cable broadcasters set aside a minimum of air time for productions utilizing minority talent.

b. United States Case Study

The third annual study, *Fall Colors 2001-2002*, commissioned by the *Children Now* organization, concluded that network television remains too racially homogenous (Children Now, 2002). Based in California, *Children Now* is a nonpartisan independent research and action group concerned with public policy and issues affecting children (such as health coverage, media environments, early education). The study's sample frame were the first two episodes of each primetime entertainment series airing in Fall 2001 on six broadcast networks – ABC, NBC, CBS, FOX, UPN, and WB. Content analysis indicated that 51 per cent of primary casts were either all White or all Black and only 25 per cent of programs featured racially mixed primary casts. All series with all Black opening cast credits were situation comedies. While the number of Latino characters had doubled from the previous broadcast year, these characters were usually in secondary or non-recurring roles, and typical depictions were of Latinos in low-status occupations, such as unskilled labourers. Additionally, African American and Latino characters were less likely to be shown interacting with their families, "family structures being more evident for White youth than youth of colour" (Children Now, 2002). Significantly, 40 per cent of the total representation of Middle Easterners was realized in manhunt stories in the first two episodes of FOX's *America's Most Wanted* following September 11. Another finding observed that American television offers a world with "few Native Americans and a world where Native American women do not exist" (Children Now, 2002). This fact was first made clear in the *Fall Colors 2000-2001 Diversity Report* which found that out of a total of 2,251 characters in the prime time population, only five were Native American (typically depicted as 'spiritual advisors'). In their conclusions, the authors of the study remarked, "the networks have yet to produce a primetime season that is representative of the diversity that young people experience and will undoubtedly continue to experience as maturing adults" (Children Now, 2002).

c. Australia Support for Cultural Diversity

In his 1990 study, *The Greater Perspective: A Guideline for the Production of Film and Television on Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders*, Australian media consultant, Lester Bostock, offered the term 'media colonization' to refer to "the seizure and use of information and images to the detriment of the subjects depicted in that material ... media colonists believe they have unlimited right of access to any information, data or images belonging to the subject people" (Australian Broadcast Corporation, 2002). This critical opinion of mainstream (Australian) broadcasting was reinforced in 1990's *National Inquiry into Racist Violence* which argued, "television is perceived by aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (and other minority groups) to be influential in maintaining racism against them" (Australian Broadcast Corporation, 2002). According to Bostock, then, one key to undoing this is to foster the introduction of cultural diversity policies by broadcasters and to give indigenous peoples the ability to control their own representation. Policy initiatives specific to indigenous talent have included the creation of the Indigenous Broadcasting Unit of the Australian Broadcasting Authority which supports the establishment of media organizations by indigenous and ethnic minority communities as well as the development of guidelines (specifically the Australian Journalists Association Code of Ethics and the ABA Editorial & Program Policies) for media watchdogs such as the Australian Broadcast Authority and the Australian Press Council.

Following research in the early 1990s which documented the poor representation of non-English speaking people in Australian television drama, as well numerous studies on multiculturalism and broadcast media (e.g. Jakubowicz), the *Broadcasting Services Act* was established in 1992. Administered by the Australian Broadcasting Authority, its objectives were "to promote the role of broadcasting services in developing and reflecting a sense of Australian identity, character and cultural diversity" (May, 2000, p.9). According to Harvey May's 2000 report, *Cultural Diversity and Australian Commercial Television Drama: Policy, Industry and Recent Research Contexts*, 1992 Code of Practice for commercial T.V. operators, drafted by the Federation of Australian Commercial Television Stations, as well as 1999 Australian Content Standard, both "express the desire that broadcasters facilitate the development and representation of cultural diversity in the community, through their programming" (May, 2000). In spite of this, the Code of Practice (which comes up for review in 2002) still does not have an official section on cultural diversity. As May concludes, "such a measure may be deemed unpopular in industry and policy environments where regulatory intervention and the portrayal of cultural diversity is considered unworkable. But the question needs to be asked whether we should continually wait a generation before more recent member groups of the community finally make it on to the television screen" (May, 2000).

d. Australia Case Study

Harvey May presents a content analysis of Australian commercial drama series produced in the 1999 broadcast year, juxtaposed to a survey of all casts of 9 shows in production. The study aims to "determine if actors from culturally diverse backgrounds were playing roles that were specific to their cultural backgrounds or non-specific" and to "monitor for story lines which were concerned with Australia's cultural diversity" (May, 2000). Among the findings, it observed "a total lack of reference to sustaining actors' ethnicity or cultural background" (May, 2000). When cultural elements indicating a character's ethnicity were present, it was usually amongst actors in guest roles—where storylines are specifically 'ethnically-based' (ex. a story about immigration and racism). The study also found that the presence of Aboriginal actors in recurring roles was three per cent, up from 1992/1993 figures of none. Recurring roles for actors from a non-English speaking background were 20 per cent, up from two per cent. Significantly, the research also

found that there were no recurring roles for actors from Asian backgrounds. One of the recommendations May makes emphasizes the television industry's ability to pool talent from culturally diverse backgrounds. While May urges casting directors to increase recruitment from drama schools that train both first and second generation migrants, he also acknowledges cultural barriers that exist for many non-Europeans with aspirations for careers in the entertainment industry. For example, "in some Asian communities, acting and creative careers in general are not highly valued" (May, 2000). Often the most significant impediments to getting on screen, May argues, are usually determined by network marketing departments who subjectively determine who has the right "looks" or "essence" for a certain role.

e. Great Britain Support for Cultural Diversity

Because every household in Britain switching on to the BBC is required to pay a license fee, which goes towards employees' wages and assists in funding all programs, the BBC's Director General, Greg Dyke, has remarked that it is somewhat of a "moral duty" for the BBC to be accountable to and articulate of its audience, which is undoubtedly multi-cultural (Dyke, 2000). Ethnic minorities make up 7 per cent of the U.K. population. In the Midlands it is 12 per cent and in London, 30 per cent. Additionally, 80 per cent of the ethnic minority audience consists of a demographic (16-35) that advertisers are keen on targeting (Guardian, 2002). Estimating that in less than 15 years, Afro-Caribbean and Asians will make up at least 40 per cent of the youth population, Greg Dyke at the 2000 U.K. *Race and Media Awards*, stated:

I fear, we, the media, don't understand the implications of that. We must recognize diversity as a central business objective – not just an HR component. It must be as much a part of core managerial accountability and competence as financial leadership. And performance in this area will be judged through appraisal targets which will be linked to financial bonuses to make real achievements. (Dyke, 2000)

In 1999, the BBC set staff targets of fair representation. In 2000, those targets were to have 8 per cent of its staff ethnic minority, with 2 per cent in upper management. By 2002, 8.7 per cent of the BBC's workforce is from ethnic minority backgrounds and the upper management figure has topped at 3.4 per cent. Importantly, the BBC is increasing its targets every year, as the most recent targets aim to have 10 per cent staff and 4 per cent of upper management coming from ethnic minority backgrounds. In order to maintain these numbers, the BBC has initiated several mentoring and training programs. *Ascend* is a training course for minorities already working at the BBC. There are also joint schemes between universities and divisions of the corporations, such as *BBC Sport*. The new *BBC Talent* is another attempt to recruit any Britons, though particularly minorities, who have an interest in working in media. Industry jobs that *BBC Talent* aims to attract include production trainees, writers, filmmakers, presenters and reporters from all over the country so that the BBC can upset the notion that it only serves "a culture that is rooted in another, earlier Britain" (Dyke, 2001). *BBC Talent* is recognized as being an important step in promoting cultural diversity, and is clearly a departure from the time of BBC's immigration department which sought, in the 1960s, to produce films and television that would "teach English to Indians" (Guardian, 2002).

f. Great Britain Case Study

Despite efforts by the BBC to work towards fairer representation of its audience, a survey of television broadcasting performances as a whole does not indicate that the industry recognizes cultural diversity as a priority, let alone a 'moral duty.' Broadcasters launched a cultural diversity network at the end of 2000 to increase the number of ethnic minority faces on screen and behind the camera. A 2001 study by the Commission for Racial Equality (Cumberbatch, 2001) found that in one week of television—between November 20th and December 17th 2000—the

only visible minorities in BBC2's top ten rated shows (attracting audiences of 33 million) were on the imported American cartoon show *The Simpsons* and an Asian shopkeeper on *Coronation Street*. In total, of the 204 programs included in the sample (and this includes lifestyle, drama, comedy, and news programs), visible minorities comprised roughly 8.4 per cent of all persons featured on television (not including foreign programs or foreign visitors). According to the study, the presence of Asian faces (who are 4.3 per cent of the U.K. population) was "pitifully sparse" at 0.9 per cent (Cumberbatch, 2001). In fictional programs reviewed, 15 per cent of ethnic minority participants were in major roles, 29 per cent in minor roles, and 56 per cent were in incidental roles.

3. CANADIAN POLICY BACKGROUND

Canada is the first nation to stand by its claim of multicultural status by expressing it through formal policy initiatives (Roth, 1998, p.492), a fact in which many Canadians take pride (Fleras, 1995, p.409).

a. Multiculturalism Policy

The notion that no one is to be discriminated against and is therefore equal before the law, regardless of race or ethnicity, is clearly stated in Section 15(1) of *The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (1982).

Canada's commitment to affirming the democratic values of multiculturalism and ethnic diversity was first recognized in Section 27 of the Charter, which states that the Charter itself shall be used to reflect, conserve and promote our nation's multicultural status (Canadian Heritage, 2001).

This effort to embrace multiculturalism was further consolidated in 1988 when the Canadian Government introduced *The Canadian Multiculturalism Act*. No other document so clearly states the freedom that our citizens have been given in preserving their culture. This act ensures each Canadian citizen the right to maintain his or her culture and language (Department of Justice Canada, 2001). It also states that all citizens, communities, organizations and government agencies are expected to help ethnic citizens work toward these goals by recognizing, encouraging and being understanding of our nation's unique cultural make up (Department of Justice Canada, 2001, s.3.1.).

Section 3(2)(a) of *The Canadian Multiculturalism Act* states that the Government of Canada expects all federal institutions to "ensure that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to employment and advancement." Section 2 of *The Employment Equity Act* (1995) clearly states that its purpose is to:

achieve equality in the workplace so that no person shall be denied employment opportunities or benefits for reasons unrelated to ability and, in the fulfillment (sic) of that goal, to correct the conditions of disadvantage in employment experienced by women, aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and members of visible minorities by giving effect to the principle that employment equity means more than treating persons in the same way but also requires special measures and the accommodation of differences.

Both of these acts are intended to ensure that Canadians of all ethnic backgrounds and origins receive employment in all aspects and positions of broadcasting whether on screen, behind the camera, or on the air in Canada's conventional networks.

Most recently, the CRTC's decisions on two private network renewals required each to set out firm targets: CTV and Global were required to produce a plan which would address the pres-

ence of people from diverse backgrounds, in programming both produced and licensed. As well, the plan was to address the way that cultural minority groups including Aboriginal peoples are portrayed. Explicit requirements are set out for news. But in particular, the portrayal and presence of cultural minorities in all stages of the production and acquisition of non-news programming is to be fostered. Development officers responsible for casting must make a concerted effort to hire visible minority actors in leading and recurring roles, and scripts should avoid stereotypical representation. Programming from independent producers should reflect the presence and accurate portrayal of visible minorities. (CRTC 2001c and CRTC, 2001d).

b. Absence of an Industry Code or Standard on Race Portrayal

At present, the Canadian Broadcast Standards Council (CBSC) has four codes that they administer: the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) Code of Ethics, the CAB Code Regarding Violence in Television Programming, CAB Sex-Role Portrayal for Radio and Television Programming and the Radio and Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) of Canada Code of Ethics. However, they have no code on race.

Ronald Cohen, National Chair of the CBSC, states that to date there has been no need for a code on race since, as of yet, no situation or complaint has arisen that the CBSC has not been able to handle (Cohen, 2002). Similar efforts in Australia have not yet produced a cultural diversity code specific to race. Cohen feels that clause 2 of the RTNDA Code of Ethics is effective. It reads, "Broadcast journalists will report factors such as race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sexual orientation, marital status or physical or mental disability only when they are relevant" (CBSC, 2000). Similar sections of *The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and *The Canadian Human Rights Act* have general provisions that cover a great deal of territory, dependent on the interpretation of these provisions (Cohen, 2002).

This is not to say that Cohen does not support the implementation of new initiatives to help broaden Canadian ethnic portrayals and diversity in the mass media. Rather, he feels that even though the CBSC has had no need to establish a race on code as of yet, it would be beneficial to have a mutual set of goals for broadcasters, something he feels is about to be created (Cohen, 2002).

c. Ethnic Portrayal Task Force

According to census data from the Department of Canadian Heritage's *13th Annual Report on the Operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (2000-2001):

The number of those counting themselves among Canada's racial minorities has doubled in ten years... [and] by the year 2006, roughly one in six Canadians will be a member of a visible minority group. Ethnic and racial minorities and Aboriginal groups, taken together, now account for at least 30% of the population in each of Vancouver and Montreal. In Toronto these groups compose more than 50% of the population.

Recognizing this, a 2001 public notice prepared by the CRTC called on the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) to assemble industry representatives and community groups in a task force committed to developing and promoting cultural diversity initiatives throughout the Canadian broadcasting industry. Proposals aim to research portrayals of ethnic and racial minorities and Aboriginals on screen and to promote practical activities encouraging broad media industry involvement by minority groups. The task force is also expected to identify 'best practices' -- industry strategies that encourage cultural diversity. Such initiatives are tacit recognition of the increasingly contentious politics around race and the lag in representation in the past decade.

In an April 2001 editorial for the *Toronto Star*, Haroon Siddiqui called on media organizations (and the CRTC) to recognize the gap between diverse populations and their lack of representation on network television, most of which he characterized as “too anachronistic, clichéd and crude to be of much relevance to contemporary Canada” (*Toronto Star*, 2001). Faulting increased convergence and concentration of ownership for the lag in media diversity, Siddiqui wrote:

Canada has become increasingly multi-racial and multi-coloured, yet our media haven't. ... These Canadians are not reflected on media payrolls. This is not to say that hiring should duplicate the population mix, but rather that it run in rough proportion to the available talent, as in our quest for gender parity (*Toronto Star*, 2001)¹

The issue raised in a recent Vancouver license was to promote local indigenous ethnic ownership consortia over potential for national network exchanges and concentration in the conventional television sector. On May 9, 2002, the Government of Canada announced that an appeal of the Vancouver ethnic licensing decision would be set aside and the original decision would be upheld (Edmonds, 2000).

The Vancouver ethnic licensing controversy raises the issue of media ownership and concentration, a topic that Dr. J. David Black of Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, addressed in a recent interview:

... diversity of ownership and ideology encourages diversity with respect to gender, race, and ethnicity. In other words, diversity creates diversity. The more media concentration there is, and the more conformist those outlets' messages are, the less the opportunity to reflect the actual diversity of Canadian society or the world at large. (2002)

Dr. Black goes on to state that, “While increasing representation is vital... it won't be substantially addressed unless the structural problem of concentrated ownership... is solved.” (Black, 2002)

d. Ethnic Broadcasting Policy

Parliament has placed a great deal of responsibility on all Canadian broadcasters, no matter what their format may be, as shown in Section 3(1)(d)(iii) of the 1991 *Broadcasting Act*, which states that the Canadian broadcasting system should:

through its programming and the employment opportunities arising out of its operations, serve the needs and interests, and reflect the circumstances and aspirations, of Canadian men, women and children, including equal rights, the linguistic duality and the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society and the special place of aboriginal people within that society...

The CRTC first introduced an *Ethnic Broadcasting Policy* in 1985. The CRTC defines ethnic broadcasting as “programming directed to any culturally or racially distinct group other than one that is aboriginal Canadian, or from France or the British Isles... [and] may be in any language or combination of languages” (CRTC, 1999).

¹ The figures not shown by this quotation are different from those listed by Statistics Canada. According to Statistics Canada's 1996 census data, these numbers are actually 42 per cent immigrant, 31 per cent non-White for Toronto, 31 per cent for Vancouver and 13 per cent for Montreal. More information is available at <http://www.statcan.ca>.

In addition to this general responsibility placed on private conventional broadcasters, the Commission has developed a targeted policy for broadcasting to ethnic audiences either through language broadcasting over the air or subscription-based or pay TV.

The basic structure and outline of the initial ethnic broadcasting policy was maintained when it was revised in 1999 (CRTC, 1999). Some of the main points are as follows.

According to the *Ethnic Broadcasting Policy*, ethnic radio and television stations are required to assign at least 60 per cent of their schedule to ethnic programming and at least half of their time to what is referred to as third languages, those other than French, English or ones of Aboriginal origin. Ethnic channels are also required to reflect and serve their local communities (CRTC, 1999).

In order to protect multicultural broadcasters, non-ethnic stations are to devote no more than 15 per cent of their programming to ethnic content, however, the Commission does not limit the amount of French and English ethnic programming that non-ethnic stations may air (CRTC, 1999).

The CRTC holds the right to limit the minimum number of ethnic groups that are served, those groups being determined by the actual number of people of each ethnic origin within that market (CRTC, 1999, s.24). The CRTC has further required each over-the-air ethnic station to serve a number of ethnic communities rather than any one in particular. This has been done to limit the number of licenses and therefore help minimize the problem of frequency scarcity (CRTC, 1999).

e. Competitive Entry for Ethnic Broadcasters and Producers

A serious constraint on the entry of ethnic broadcasters is frequency scarcity and the CRTC's decision not to award licenses to stations that propose to broadcast in one language only (Roth, 1998, p.498). Licensed in 1979, CFMT-TV, which was acquired by Rogers Broadcasting in 1986, was our nation's first free over-the-air multilingual/multicultural television network (CFMT-TV, 2002). There are now two over-the air (that is, exclusively advertising supported) ethnic television stations in Canada (in Toronto and Montreal), with a third network to commence service in Vancouver (MultiVan). In addition, there are currently five Canadian ethnic specialty channels on analogue delivery with a total of 44 new digital licenses authorized for potential launch over the coming years (*CRTC Broadcasting Policy Monitoring Report*, 2001, p.56-57).

Social value of cultural diversity in television programming is immeasurable, but there is also economic value in ethnic broadcasting that should be explored (Loh, 2002). Monetary gains achieved through ethnic broadcasting could be filtered back into the communities to help educate others about racism, multiculturalism and diversity, to help set up funding programs to generate more ethnic content, or to support new producers in various ethnic communities, as well as benefiting the economy as a whole.

Figure A: System Review of Ethnic Broadcasting in Canada

Over-the-Air Ethnic Television Stations:

Station/Network	Owner	Province
CFMT-TV-1	Rogers Broadcasting Ltd.	Ontario
CFMT-TV-2	Rogers Broadcasting Ltd.	Ontario
MultiVan	MultiVan Broadcasting Corp.	British Columbia
CJNT-TV	CanWest Global Communications	Quebec

Ethnic Specialty Services:

Station/Network	Communities/Languages Served
Fairchild TV	Cantonese (with some Mandarin)
Talentvision	Mandarin (with some Vietnamese and Korean)
SATV	South Asian (particularly Hindu)
Odyssey	Greek
Teletatino	Italian and Hispanic/Spanish

Note: All license information courtesy of the CRTC Website at <http://www.crtc.gc.ca> and Broadcast Monitoring Report 2001. See bibliography for citations and specific website links.

The Commission argues in its Strategy and Plans review (CRTC, 2000b) that programming in a variety of different languages helps to sustain Canada's unique cultural mosaic. There are at least 50 different language groups served, ranging from Afghan to Yiddish.

While all of these policy initiatives have helped entry to the broadcast sector for various ethnic ownership groups, creators and producers, with potential for cross over industry synergy for the conventional television sector, there are still unresolved barriers.

f. Barriers to Access

Lack of public funding available to help in the production of original multilingual content, especially in the higher cost genres such as drama, has meant that ethnic stations have begun the practice of brokerage which refers to the "purchase of blocks of radio and television time by independent ethnic producers" (Roth, 1998, p. 497).

The Canadian Television Fund has an envelope earmarked for Aboriginal productions, but nothing for ethnic productions (Canadian Television Fund, 2002). There is no special promotion of applications for funding for either ethnic or Aboriginal productions through Telefilm Canada (Telefilm Canada, 2002). The only funding that seems directed specifically towards ethnic broadcasting or to people of colour is the *Reel Diversity Competition* through the National Film Board that is awarded to emerging filmmakers of colour (National Film Board, 2002).

Many see the bias in the point system as the biggest obstacle to increasing visible minority representation in Canadian drama. As Ian Edwards writes:

... if your star is a marquee actor, your production will earn valuable points in the complicated Equity Investment Program grid that determines who among the applicants gets... Telefilm Canada production funding. If, on the other hand, your lead actor is unknown and a visible minority, your production gets nada, nichts, niente. (2002, p. 1)

Edwards reports that, after the successful production of CBC movie of the week, *Jinnah on Crime: Pizza 911*, production of the follow-up, *Jinnah: Securities*, is hinging on the procurement of the \$1 million that producer Hugh Beard hoped to get from Telefilm, but was denied.

g. Review of Recent Industry Initiatives

In order to help ensure that visible minorities are represented fairly on Canadian television, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) has set out the initial principles for voluntary cultural diversity guidelines. These guidelines state that private broadcasters shall make an effort: to reflect, through their programming and employment opportunities...the needs, interests, circumstances and aspirations of the Canadians whom they serve, including the... multicultural and multiracial nature of those Canadians, and the special place of aboriginal peoples within Canadian society. (CAB,2002)

The document goes on to say that broadcasters will not broadcast representations or comments that incite hatred due to ethno-cultural differences. Also, broadcasters are to be sensitive to language or material that may be offensive or stereotypical, "*with the understanding that such use may be relevant to the context, integral to the theme... and/or have educational or social value*" (emphasis added) (CAB, 2002).

Each broadcaster has responded to challenges to improve equity in a different way. CBC's *2000 Annual Report for Human Resources Development Canada* on employment equity partially maps out network employees who belong to marginalized groups, including visible minorities. According to the report, of all permanent employees of CBC in 2000, 1.4 per cent were Aboriginal and 4.8 per cent were visible minorities. This document does address the issues of recruitment and retention, and provides some brief case studies of various CBC's employees of colour. For instance:

TV Sports added a visible minority person as a sideline reporter in their coverage of CFL football. They also continued using a former visible minority football player and decathlete in their track and field coverage. (CBC, 2000, p. 5)

In 1996, the new Federal Employment Equity Act took over responsibility for the regulation and supervision of matters concerning employment equity for large broadcast undertakings with more than 100 employees (CRTC, 1997). While the Commission no longer reviews the employment equity practices of their licensees, there is a general expectation that the on-air presence of members of the four designated groups (those being women, Aboriginal peoples, disabled persons and members of visible minority groups) be reflective of Canadian society (CRTC, 1997).

In November 2000, CHUM Television produced a document titled, *Cultural Diversity—Best Practices*. This document basically reaffirms that CHUM attempts to follow the voluntary set of guidelines laid out by the CAB, outlining the measures taken by the network to promote ethno-cultural diversity. A separate CHUM event collected various industry insiders, academics and members of NGOs who monitor race relations in Canada, and was moderated by Fil Fraser. Global TV's *2001 Annual Report* speaks much about demographics and audience share, but nothing regarding initiatives to include visible minorities on and off the screen.

While Rogers lost the approval of the CRTC to establish a multicultural/ multilingual television station in Vancouver, this was by no means the end of their efforts to help promote diversity.

Rogers was successful in their application for a new television station in Toronto, CFMT-2. Within this application, Rogers makes certain commitments through what are called significant

public benefits attached to license transactions, one of which is related to the Canadian Broadcast Standards Council (CBSC) (Cohen, 2002 and Loh, 2002). Rogers has committed to provide the CSBC with \$1 million over seven years to help the CBSC, “reach out to other linguistic communities across Canada to ensure that they are aware of what... [the CBSC]... is doing, [and] what their rights are, as far as registering complaints....”(Cohen, 2002).

A second attempt to foster emerging ethno-cultural talent was made at the May 2002’s *Innoversity Creative Summit*, where 14 emerging and established creators of diverse backgrounds won development money through the *Open Door Pitch Contest*. In addition to prizes for television and radio documentary, teen and performing arts pitches, a \$7000 Drama Award was awarded to Andrew Moodie for the pitch *Age of Day* by the Directors Guild of Canada and CBC Television (Innoversity, 2002b). Other sponsors included The National Film Board of Canada, CHUM Television, the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network, Telefilm Canada, Scotiabank, as well as numerous community organizations with interests in broadcast media and cultural diversity. According to the current *Innoversity* newsletter (Innoversity, 2002c), the CAB will heed a call from the CRTC for leadership in the area of cultural diversity on television by collecting quantitative and qualitative data on the subject, focusing primarily on programming. Industry critics, however, have their doubts as to the effectiveness of this plan in achieving the aforementioned “leadership.” Says John Miller of Ryerson University’s School of Journalism:

If this is the voice of the industry... it really needs to address recruitment, hiring, how people are evaluated and mentored when they get into jobs, and what’s the retention rate. They don’t seem to want to look at that at all. (Innoversity, 2002a)

At the 2002 Banff Television and Film Festival, a panel discussion entitled *Fiction: Drama and Diversity* addressed the dearth of cultural diversity on Canadian television. One issue singled out by the panel was Telefilm Canada’s points system that awards more money to productions featuring well-recognizable actors. Minority actors, who typically have not had the benefit of mainstream exposure, are further impeded by casting directors who must favour celebrity talent. Sponsored by CTV Inc., the discussion also highlighted the economic incentives of reflecting diversity, noting the many business and marketing opportunities that are missed by ignoring the changing demographics of the Canadian audience.

Another topic addressed at the *Innoversity Creative Summit* was the role of diversity in advertising, and the strong spending power of visible minority groups. An article entitled *The Color of Your Money*, written by the Race Relations Advisory Council on Advertising, similarly points out the market potential of visible minority groups, appealing to the fiscal sense of broadcasting executives. This line of industry reasoning represents what the executive vice president of Alliance Atlantis Broadcasting, Norm Bolan, calls “the business case for reflecting the diversity of Canadian society” (Innoversity 2002d). The Banff Television & Film Festival session was moderated by CBC reporter/anchor, Hamlin Grange, and Head of CBC News and Current Affairs, Cynthia Reyes, with speakers including Fil Fraser and Ian Hanomansing. The fact that both of these sessions featured so many news personalities, suggests that this area of the television industry may be more advanced than other areas.

To aid in casting visible minorities, the Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA) has produced *Into the Mainstream*, which catalogues performers who self-identify as either a visible minority, having a noticeable accent, or some form of disability. Such self identification is a brave act: many resist such typing because of its risk in being sidelined for later employment (May, 2000). In 1996/1997, ACTRA phased out the last print version of *Into the Mainstream*, instead moving to an electronic version which is only available via a password on their industry website.

The topic of racial and cultural diversity is the basis for a special Gemini Award called *The Canada Award*. In order to be nominated for *The Canada Award*, programs must "increase interracial and intercultural understanding and communication among the general public,...present a sensitive and authentic portrayal of particular ethno-cultural group(s)...avoid depiction of racial stereotypes," and include visible minorities in lead roles as well as in positions of creative control behind the scenes (Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television, 2002). Previous recipients of this award include *Made in China*, *Unwanted Soldiers*, and *The Rez*.

Another industry event which celebrates cultural difference is the National Film Board's *Reel Diversity Competition*. In this competition, five filmmakers of colour from various regions of Canada are given the opportunity to produce a documentary film. Each winning project is given a maximum budget of \$150,000. This contest began as an NFB/VisionTV joint initiative, and has turned out documentaries such as *Western Eyes* by Ann Shin and *Film Club* by Cyrus Sundar Singh (National Film Board of Canada, 2002).

h. Non-government Organizations (NGOs)

Following the revision to the *Broadcast Act* in 1991, ethnic communities still were not seeing themselves properly represented in the mass media. So began the decade long battle for the "right to receive and transmit an ethnically balanced depiction of Canadian society within all public and private broadcasting channels" (Roth, 1998, p.495) at a time of similar frustrated lobbying by equity-seeking groups in Australia (May, 2000). A number of cabinet appeals of CRTC decisions on ethnic licenses (in Toronto and Montreal) indicated a growing interest in the ethnic advertising market, and in the entry of new ethnic ownership entities to the Canadian broadcasting system.

Canadian NGOs and racial equality-seeking groups have been working hard to help change the images of minorities and the lack of ethnically diverse representation in all forms of media. Some of the notable leaders in this field include the Center for Research-Action on Race Relations (CRARR), the Urban Alliance on Race Relations (UARR), the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF), and the Media Awareness Network (MAN). Organizations such as Media Watch, Ad Busters, the Canadian Advertising Foundation (CAF) and the Diversity Watch webpage at Ryerson's School of Journalism have also been cited as important forces in the fight for media diversity extending further than just ethnic diversity and entering into areas such as gender portrayal and so on (Fleras, 2002, Black, 2002 and Duncan, 2002).

Yet such NGOs have not fully mobilized on race in television issues on the United States' model of NAACP. A look through some of their websites can leave a user uncertain of their main grievances. This may be due to the fact that these groups find themselves disadvantaged in access to the existing system of co-regulation, or find it strategically difficult to mobilize against the existing policy instruments to effect change on systemic problems, or find they have a lack of capacity to monitor and develop an effective procedure for handling complaints about content, or the possibility that some NGOs have chosen to leave the handling of specific complaints to the CBSC and CRTC (www.mediawatch.ca/watchers/).

Most of these NGOs are non-profit and rely on the help of volunteers to achieve their goals, due to a lack of core organizational funding (Goossen, 2002). For instance, the UARR has had great success with their public service announcements, story competitions and their biannual journal, *Currents: Readings in Race Relations* (Goossen, 2002). However, NGO leaders agree there should be a system in place for these organizations to closely monitor media content and track how the system deals with public and ethnic community complaints, on the scope and continuity

of Britain's *Commission for Racial Equality* or *Broadcast Standards Council*, which regularly monitors the media.

The recent licensing of such multicultural and multilingual television stations such as Multivan in Vancouver and CFMT-2 in Toronto, the coming introduction of a community and broadcast industry task force for representation of cultural diversity in television, as well as CBSC funding for ethnic community outreach programs, are certainly all positive steps towards a more balanced and fair portrayal of Canada's multicultural population. The hope among racial equity seeking groups is that these events will mark the beginning of a shift in media practice and mentality that will help strengthen Canadian identity and cultural diversity.

Specific policy initiatives to fund the creation and broadcasting of ethnic programming in English can also be explored to help strengthen the bond between second and third generation Canadians and their ethnic communities.

Finally, broadcasters need to do more to nurture and mentor new talent in ethnic communities (Goossen, 2002).

i. Media Access and Representation of Visible Minorities

How ethnic minorities are actually depicted by the mass media (and especially television) is best characterized by Dr. Augie Fleras as falling under the following four treatments:

- (1) invisible and irrelevant,
- (2) models for race-role stereotyping,
- (3) social problems, and
- (4) tokens for entertainment and decoration (Fleras, 1995, p.410).

Fleras is not alone. Carol Tator, when speaking out against racism in the media, has cited similar systemic biases.

Lack of representation has always been one of the main points of contention. By not seeing themselves shown in the media, visible minorities feel they are being told that they are not full members of Canadian society (Tator, 1995, p.3). On the rare cases when they are featured, it is usually in the context of conflict (Fleras, 1995, p.410).

While no government or industry organization (not even the CRTC or Multiculturalism Canada) regularly monitors the media for ethnic portrayals or diversity, it has sometimes been conjectured that over the past few years, people of colour have been given more screen time in Canadian television. Such observations are usually drawn based on the news genre. Unfortunately, outside of news narration, roles for visible minorities on screen are usually defined as stereotypical in academic literature in Canada. As Fleras points out, "the net effect of this stereotyping is that minorities are slotted or labeled as unusual or negative, and this 'foreignness' precludes their full acceptance as normal and fully contributing members of society" (Fleras, 1995, p.413). Minorities are also concerned about being shown as threatening the political, social or moral arrangement of society (Tator, 1995, p.4).

For some analysts, there is a basic dichotomy between trying to achieve social policy goals and the profit motive in television. The unfortunate truth is that money is what counts to the media outlets:

Human difference is exciting, challenging, and sometimes terrifying. Privately owned media, outside the CBC, are largely concerned to create a comfortable environment in which advertisers can talk to potential customers. The "buying mood" they seek to estab-

lish is not compatible with messages that ask tough questions about white privilege, systemic racism, or more profoundly, about human difference and how we can co-exist on a crowded, complex planet (Black, 2002).

Two challenges still remain in this battle to have mainstream private broadcasters help change the current state of ethnic portrayals. The first is to prove that good portrayal means good business: money can be made through working diversity into television programming. The second is to find a way to increase the amount and array of minority portrayals without ruffling the feathers of advertisers or audiences (Fleras, 2002).

4. QUALITATIVE CRITICS REVIEW

A number of interviews were conducted for this study. Interviewees were asked whom they thought was doing the best job in monitoring equitable representation and ethnic diversity within Canadian television. The CRTC, Canadian Advertising Foundation, Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF), the Media Awareness Network, Media Watch, Ad Busters and the Diversity Watch webpage at Ryerson's School of Journalism were all mentioned (Fleras 2002, Black 2002 and Duncan 2002).

Some of our interviewees did not limit themselves to organizations. Many also mentioned academics that they felt were leaders in the cultural study of media and minority representation such as Carol Tator, Frances Henry, Augie Fleras and Jean Locke Kunz (Black, 2000 and Goossen, 2002). Among journalists, the Toronto Star's Royson James and TVO's commentator Irshad Manji were specifically acknowledged (Black, 2002).

When asked what their favorite Canadian dramas for positive portrayals of racial and cultural diversity were, the responses were rather surprising. While *Da Vinci's Inquest*, *Cold Squad*, *De-grassi* and *North of 60°* all made the list, the majority of interviewees stated that they rarely watch any television drama, Canadian or foreign, other than news (Black 2000, Cohen 2002, Fleras 2002, Goossen 2002, Loh 2002, Vogel 2002). Notably weak were specific citations of visible minority actors, directors or writers—suggesting a large awareness problem for Canadian content in general, but specifically for content reflecting Canada's racial diversity. In fact, commentators suggested much third language drama consumed by ethnic audiences is via satellite from Asian or other markets. The CBC was given credit as presenting much more open-minded and balanced coverage on race in the broadcasting of news coverage (Loh, 2002).

Our interviewees were also asked if they felt there was value in research and monitoring the media for racial diversity and if such studies would help shape policy in the future and/or enhance ethnic diversity. It is not surprising that almost all of the interviewees responded with a resounding 'yes' to the first half of this question. However, each person presented different views and recommendations on how to proceed for the second half, suggesting much research and development is needed. The following is a brief summary of some highlights of these interviews.

Dr. David Black, Assistant Professor of Communications at Wilfrid Laurier University, agreed that there is value in monitoring the media for racial diversity. His views on how these policies will effect practices in the future, are best explained in his own words:

Such studies help regulatory bodies, public interest groups, and the media themselves stay in touch with the rapidly changing racial and ethnic composition of Canadian society. In addition, they assist the never-ending work of cross-cultural dialogue – of under-

standing the “Other.” Such studies thus help to ensure that our most powerful institutions with respect to cultural and consciousness – the media – assist in the project.

That is the “bottom line” as far as I am concerned: helping all Canadians, of whatever ethnic and racial origin, become comfortable with each other in a world that is only going to become more complex. I don’t mean here a simple liberal model of mutual tolerance. I mean a more profound enterprise in living with human difference that respects how difference is often tied to social inequality and power. (2002)

Augie Fleras, a Canadian leader in the study of media and minority representation and Professor of Sociology at the University of Waterloo, asks what do we truly mean when we speak of “enhancing” media representation? In his words, “one person’s inclusion is another person’s tokenism. One person’s stereotype is another person’s telling it like it is” (2002). Such value differences are particularly acute in trying to develop methodology based on content analysis of television programs, suggesting more education around critical and qualitative cultural analysis is needed.

Fleras also raised the issues of minority differences and multiculturalism:

Should minority differences be ignored to ensure the normalization of minorities in Canadian society, or, should ethnic differences be highlighted to ensure identity – even at the risk of marginalizing or othering minority women and men?... Should minority differences be taken seriously and be taken into account as part of Canada’s multicultural commitment to institutional inclusion? Or is true equality achieved when minorities are treated equally regardless of their differences (thus minimizing the salience of diversity)? (2002)

This problem of normalization and what it means turns out to be central to this study’s findings.

Fleras is also critical of what should classify as fair representation. For instance, he questions whether positive and negative portrayals should both be shown, even if some of these may create or perpetuate stereotypical images of minorities (2002). After all, broadcasters (and several creators surveyed for this study) emphasize how negative portrayals may, if relevant to the context, or integral to the theme, and/or with educational or social value, be acceptable. The question is, what is the test, and under what creative circumstances may this be said to challenge, rather than stimulate, racial pre-conceptions (www.mediawatch.ca/watchers/)? Evidence presented in a study by the CRE in the UK suggests satiric intent is often not recognized by racist viewers, suggesting nuances of dramatic intent may not be either (Cumberbatch, 2001). Arguably, diversity, that is, the range and scope of representation, should be balanced. Even if the media did take steps to bring ethnic diversity to the public by “mainstreaming it,” would it happen “at a pace or magnitude that will please critics” (Fleras, 2002). Finally, Fleras points to the way in which different forms of media handle representation of diversity:

I think we need to appreciate that different media have responded differently to diversity. Advertising, for example, appears to have improved the quantity and quality of representations. News casting continues to show everyone in a negative light, but with different impacts on vulnerable minorities. TV and film have their ups and downs, often exchanging one set of stereotypes for another (sometimes more demanding expectations) set of stereotypes (2002).

Rae Hull, Regional Director of Television, CBC TV British Columbia, and Senior Director of Network Programming, commented that while it is beneficial to track progress over time (particularly off-screen employment of visible minority writers, producers, and directors), it would be impractical for any one funding or monitoring agency to agree as to what the ultimate “end

impractical for any one funding or monitoring agency to agree as to what the ultimate “end state” of such progress should be (2002).

Additionally, Hull suggested that the outcomes of a race protocol might suggest a “skewed reality” of representation (2002). For example, there is a difference between a production’s last-minute casting of a visible minority actor or actress compared to the presence of a character who from the inception embodies the nuances and sensitivities which might be representative of their culture.

Nevertheless, Hull emphasized that it is in the best interests of private and public broadcasters to be aware of the need for race and ethnic diversity (2002). For private broadcasters, this might be prioritized as it ensures broader audience appeal. For the CBC, quality race representation is, for Hull, essential to the integrity of its public service to the country. As an example of this, Hull cites CBC Television’s assemblage of community-based advisory boards that monitored post September 11th coverage and diverse audience concerns.

The only interviewee who made a statement of qualification against monitoring was Dr. Anu Bose, Executive Director of the National Organization of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women in Canada. Dr. Bose stated that:

I am against self-monitoring because I do not trust industry. We need monitoring by a well-resourced independent or ‘arms length’ body as in the British case. I should like to see more portrayal of immigrants’ home situations, the conflict between cultures. More ‘ethnic comedy’--again I hearken back to the UK and the kind of incisive humour that Meena Syal has been known to do. I would like to see a more level playing field for the technical end of things.

Most of all, I would like to see more than token representation of the minority community on the CRTC. The CRTC is a ‘captive’ of industry through to many ‘cross-overs’ among its employees (2002).

5. CONTENT ANALYSIS FINDINGS

a. Background to Sample

Our sample population for this pilot study was prime-time Canadian drama programming, produced for the English market in 1999 or later. A total of 69 hours were coded in total, drawn from the following networks: CBC (26 per cent); CTV (42 per cent); Global (6 per cent); CHUM (6 per cent); Showcase (20 per cent). While relatively small, the sample size is equivalent to that used by the Annenberg School in their annual rolling studies of violence in television in the 70s and 80s, and surpasses similar recent precedents in Australia and the UK.

In order to increase our sample size, Canadian-produced dramas in syndication at the time of taping that were run outside of the prime-time slot (7:00 pm-11:00 pm) were included in the sample if they were originally produced for one of the conventional networks for the prime-time market in English Canada. As a result, some reruns that may have been produced for one network (such as Global) may have been taped from another (such as Showcase). We attempted to sample shows from the major English Canadian networks that were easily accessible by most cable television packages and consistent with the frame of reference for the Council of Europe’s *Eurofiction 2000* project. Most series associated with the main English Canadian networks are represented in this sample. However, CanWest Global is under-represented (*Blue Murder*, etc.) since these series were not accessible in the study period (January to April 2002).

Despite requests from experts to broaden or diversify our sample frame to include other specialty or ethnic broadcasting networks, such as the Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN), we were unable to do so within this pilot. We do, however, strongly urge those who may undertake similar studies in the future to help legitimize these voices by including them, and to consider studies of genres other than drama.

Our sample of series titles included: *The Associates*, *Mysterious Ways*, *Cold Squad*, *Da Vinci's Inquest*, *Trailer Park Boys*, *Tom Stone*, *Traders*, *Power Play*, *Degrassi: The Next Generation*, *Drop the Beat*, *Nikita*, *PSI Factor*, *Blue Murder*, *Wind at my Back*, and *Emily of New Moon*. Our sample also included mini-series and movies-of-the-week: *Random Passage*, *The Last Chapter*, *Jinnah on Crime: Pizza 911*, *Trudeau*, *Tagged: The Jonathan Wamback Story*, and *The Joanne Kilbourn Mysteries: Verdict in Blood*.

b. Content Protocol

The coding protocol that was used in this study was developed in an upper levels research methodology class, building on the protocol previously developed for the *EuroCanadian Fiction Project* (<http://www.sfu.ca/communication/ecf>). The aim of the protocol was to measure diversity in drama by paying particular attention to the ratio of visible minority characters to White, and the quality of their representation. We were also looking to find if visible minorities had equal chance at leading or supporting roles, in which contexts their characters were portrayed (as a proxy for the rounded development of a character), and what indicators, if any, of cultural difference were present in the portrayal—be they clothing, music, food, or other signs. Attention was paid to the dramatic role in the story, as well as other qualitative indicators of positive or negative portrayal. Finally, coders were asked to provide a brief summary of the depiction of racial diversity, or the racial subplot, in their own words, to facilitate further analysis of dramatic treatment.

There are some important differences from the usual types of content analyses. First, we move beyond simple industrial indicators (of relative employment of visible minority actors) and introduce the idea of centrality to the narrative by exploring how much voice (defined as speaking part) is given to visible minorities, incidence in plot lines, and material implication in the plot. Inter-racial interaction (a staple of recent content analyses in the UK and Australia) is also explored. Interesting dimensions in terms of measuring implicit assimilation by coding the implied responsibility for inter-racial conflict were suggested by peer reviewers and incorporated here. What role do media play in a just and peaceful multicultural society? This pilot project begins to explore measures of such mutual understanding or tolerance for difference. Innovations in incorporating industry surveys of creative staff (May), or multi-genre studies of race (CRE), or more intensive work on inter-racial comparison of White and non-White character development (Children Now), are unfortunately beyond the scope of this pilot.

Finally, the innovation in *Silent on the Set* is to utilize the idea of peer juries aggressively, both in the development of the indicators and in deciding the normative judgements on quality of portrayal. To begin the protocol, we invited three prominent reviewers who were academics and policy analysts on issues to do with media, policy and representations of ethno-cultural diversity. The fourth reviewer was an expert on content analysis as method. Overall, the pilot protocol underwent adaptation to about 20 per cent of the variables as a consequence of their remarks, and these are presented in the Appendices. In addition, we used a team of coders drawn from the undergraduate honours population at Simon Fraser University with a mix of South Asian, White, and Middle Eastern backgrounds and all under the age of 30. We did a test of 20 per cent of the sample coding for inter-coder reliability, and obtained a correspondence rate of 82 per cent, fairly reliable for a pilot study of this type. Ironically, inter-coder variability was most

vexatious on the actual ‘hard’ quantitative indicators: variance on coding non-speaking parts if neither principal or supporting, speaking time, or other such counts. These were fixed in the edit cleaning stage. Persistent qualitative differences on judgement of degree of stereotyping then reverted to the plot or narrative line for greater depth of analysis. Our argument is that differences are minimal (a minute or two, or a character or two) and will not affect the overall proportions presented. Knowledge gained in applying such protocols will enhance definitions and comparability to other international studies. As several commentators in this area have noted, such studies rarely replicate measures and are generally very difficult to compare. Aside from the annual tracking of racial diversity done by the Broadcast Standards Council in Britain, there are few longitudinal precedents. Content analysis is an exercise in continuous learning. It is difficult to foresee all the problems in execution without the benefit of repeated testing. As Stuart Hall, a noted observer on the cultural analysis of race and representation in the UK, has noted,

We had to develop a methodology that taught us to attend not only to what people said about race, but in England, the great society of understatement, to what people could not say about race. It was the silences that told us something: it was what wasn’t there. It was what was invisible, what couldn’t be put into a form, what was apparently unsayable that we needed to attend to. If you want to ask, “what can content analysis teach you?”, well, one of the questions you have to ask is “what about the people who appear to have no content at all—who are just pure form, just pure, invisible form?” You can count lexical items if they are there; but you need a different approach if you really want, as it were, to read a society and its culture symptomatically. (Hall, 1992, p. 14-15)

c. Structure of the Data

Our study includes two databases: by title file and by character universe. A total of 66 titles were coded. The first database (title file) includes information that describes the episode being studied—one of our central units of analysis. The title database includes variables such as total number of principal characters in episode, total number of visible minority principal characters, number of story lines, and number of story lines featuring visible minority characters. Such practice is similar both to *Eurofiction 2001* and *Fall Colours 2001*. What is distinctive about this pilot is that this base also contains data concerning the quality of the narrative elements of the episode, such as whether or not there was a presence of racial conflict, and whether, overall, the visible minority characters played a constructive or obstructive role in its resolution. Such judgements were invited among a series of young coders and then intersubjectively verified.

The character universe database houses our second unit of analysis: all visible minority characters. Individual character attributes such as ethnic background, presence of distinguishable accent, and presence of other cultural indicators such as clothing, music, custom, etc. were recorded for (up to) the five most central visible minority characters. Unlike other studies (CRE), time and costs prevented comparative coding of White characters for inter-racial comparison.

d. Presence on the Set

We tried to measure how much visible minority presence there was in the series/movie-of-the-week titles that were coded. Our coders identified a total of 197 story lines in the sample, with a mean number of 2.97 or about three subplots in the course of the average dramatic hour. There were 85 story lines in which at least one visible minority character, either principal or supporting, appeared. Put another way, 43 per cent of all story lines or subplots featured at least one visible minority character. The mean number of story lines featuring visible minorities was 1.29.

However, our findings also indicate that one in five titles (20 per cent) had no story lines featuring visible minorities. Most (50 per cent) dramatic programs featured minorities in only one story

line. Furthermore, race, cultural difference, or ethnicity did not appear to be an explicit issue in most dramatic plots. Only 20 per cent of titles presented ethnicity or colour as playing any narrative role in the episode.

This suggests a shallow level of inclusion—while visible minorities would appear to walk on the set in story lines in rough approximation to their incidence in the urban Canadian population, their contribution to the story is minimal.

e. Share of Depiction

A large number of characters were counted in our sample (n=1200), of which 139 (12 per cent) were visible minorities. Characters may be further broken down as follows: 570 were coded as principal and 630 were counted as supporting. Visible minorities were featured in 13 per cent of principal roles, and 18 per cent in supporting roles. Of all visible minority characters (139) who were central enough to the plot to be coded in the character universe, 48 per cent were principal and 52 per cent were supporting.

The average length of speaking parts (defined as the actual length of the conversational unit of which the character is a part) and time of presence on screen for visible minority characters, was between 3 and 4 minutes, out of an industry average of about 48 dramatic minutes of content. Visible minorities stay on screen a very short proportion of the time.

f. Profile of Social Interaction

We measured with whom visible minority characters interacted within the story narrative. As expected, the main axis of interaction is between minority and majority cultures in Canadian drama. Roughly 58 per cent of characters interacted with White/mainstream characters. The plurality (42 per cent) were shown interacting with a racially mixed group (comprised of both White and minority characters). This profile is significantly different than that found in other countries. In the United States, there tend to be segmented casts with more limited inter-racial mixing. In Britain, the incidence of mixed race interactions, while measured somewhat differently, is not as high.

g. Quality of Narrative Interaction

We wanted to measure what kind of treatment, if any, race received in our sample of Canadian dramatic scripts. A total of 12 titles (or 18 per cent) showed race had a direct influence on the plot. Of those, nine (or 17 per cent) dramatized racial conflict (defined as misunderstanding, tension, or verbal and physical violence between majorities and minorities). When there was a presence of racial conflict reported, visible minority characters were presented as playing constructive roles in the resolution of conflict in eight of the titles. We also wanted to see if the visible minorities were depicted as disproportionately carrying the responsibility for resolving cultural differences (reflecting an implicit or explicit ideological frame of assimilation, to quote one peer reviewer of the protocol). Just one in five (21 per cent of the time) visible minority characters assumed the full burden to reconcile this conflict, while 43 per cent of the time, the burden was shared. The balance (35 per cent) did not involve visible minorities in the resolution. No simple assimilationist frame was found. We also asked whether or not the central visible minority characters were portrayed as struggling to come to grips with their cultural identities. The answer to this question was that there was no portrayal of identity struggle at all in three in four dramas featuring race as a narrative plot device. Date or cultural circumstance of immigration to this country is not often a dramatic story line for visible minorities explored in this sample.

h. Ethnic Background

The majority of characters coded were Black (nearly six per cent or roughly half of visible minorities), perhaps reflecting the Toronto milieu of most television production. Less likely to be seen were South Asians and Pan Asians (two per cent, and two per cent, respectively). Latinos made up one per cent of all coded visible minority characters. Aboriginals were virtually non-existent on the Canadian television landscape (less than one per cent of the total, even fewer than the incidents found in Australia).

i. Ethno-cultural Characteristics

Of the 139 visible minority characters that comprise our character universe, 70 per cent spoke with no distinguishable accent. Almost 90 per cent of the characters spoke only English in the episode, while eight per cent spoke English and another language other than French, and just two per cent spoke only a language other than French or English. Latinos or South Asian characters were more likely than others to speak with an accent. Cultural indicators of difference for the characters in this sample were avoided in dramatic portrayal: clothing or music markers were present 12 per cent of the time; food indicators three per cent; articles four per cent; and other cultural indicators such as religious custom were present roughly seven per cent of the time. Cultural indicators (especially exotic food) are also strongly related to stereotypical or negative portrayal in dramatic treatment.

j. Gender

Of the characters included in the character universe (n=139), roughly half were male and half were female. Gender equality was only addressed either explicitly or implicitly in the narrative structure 19 per cent of the time.

k. Narrative Context of Character Portrayal: Setting

Race is a metropolitan cultural phenomenon in Canada, according to our television creators. Thirty eight percent of the visible minority characters are shown in upscale urban settings, and 35 per cent in inner city urban environs. About one in four (272) show minorities in suburban, rural or remote settings about equally.

The workplace would also seem to be a safer sphere for creative depiction. Visible minority characters were much more likely to be shown in a work context (71 per cent) than they were to be shown in either a home context (15 per cent) or a social context (27 per cent). This suggests that there are limited social spheres for character development or interaction with visible minority characters. That is, we are permitted to get to know the psychologist of colour at the office, but we are not invited into the other spheres of her life. Visible minorities were more likely to be portrayed as professionals (28 per cent), than they were to be portrayed as upper class (four per cent) or blue collar (seven per cent). Others are also students (12 per cent) or criminals (four per cent).

l. Role Portrayed

Thirty-four per cent of all visible minority characters (n=139) were coded as being heroes (protagonists), while only nine per cent were coded as villains (antagonists), nine per cent as victims, and one per cent as survivors. Others are sidekicks (six per cent), witnesses (four per cent) or walk-ons (four per cent). Of those who were coded as heroes (n=47), 40 per cent were depicted as champions of social justice and 23 per cent were described as public service ori-

ented. Of those coded as villains (n=12), one third were involved in criminal activity. Of those coded as victims (n=12), 55 per cent were victimized by members of their own ethnic or racial group while 45 per cent were victimized by Whites.

m. Quality of Portrayal

The jury is hung—quality of racial portrayal is a 50-50 proposition. One in five (21 per cent) visible minority characters were perceived by coders as being portrayed in a negative manner, and 23 per cent were deemed stereotypical. Although these categories are closely related, it is possible for a portrayal to be negative without emphasizing or exploiting racial or cultural attributes. Just over 50 per cent of the portrayals of visible minority characters were perceived as being relatively positive or neutral by coders.

To further explore the different creative models of dramatizing cultural diversity, all titles featuring either race as an explicit plot device, some degree of racial conflict, or some identity issues were examined. Together, these account for some 18 titles or 27 per cent of the drama titles sampled. Qualitative analysis is inevitably limited by the ‘snapshot’ nature of a content analysis designed by episode. Arguably, the character development over time for recurring characters is important in a series, for representing important nuance in cultural context and racial diversity.

Two episodes in this study dealt with race as fully developed, complex, and dramatic story influences, and may be said to be progressive in their representation of cultural diversity over the past season. They turn tables on White majorities. Both are aired on CBC. *Drop the Beat’s* episode called *Image is Nothing* has a cast that is almost all Black, and the series is set in a radio station. In this episode, the female lead wants more creative control over her on-air image and there is debate over sexism and racist stereotyping in media manipulation, which is resolved in her favour. All characters are complex, and the male Black lead is portrayed as a resourceful, ambitious and principled radio producer.

The second show, *Jinnah on Crime: Pizza 911*, presents diverse representations of South Asian people. Although the main character, Hakeem Jinnah, is based on Indo-Canadian Vancouver Province writer Salim Jiwa, none of the writers, producers or directors are people of colour. There are plenty of cultural markers of difference retained in the show, and Jinnah’s Muslim influence is a central, but not dominant, narrative context for the show. The cause of death in a murder is a subject of dramatic conflict over interpretation. Initially framed by the White cop as a hate crime or family crime, these cultural blinders are gradually set aside as the murder investigation unfolds, with the assistance of Jinnah. In both these examples, Whites play a minority role.

Two episodes of *Random Passage*, the CBC TV mini series which tells a compelling story of survival and love set in 19th century Newfoundland, present a romantic, colonialist vision of the relation between a White woman and a ‘noble savage’ albeit somewhat updated with a plot focus on sexual mores. In the third episode, Fanny, the White woman, falls in love and has voluntary sex with an Aboriginal man who is never shown in his tribe. The community reacts hysterically and Fanny’s lover is eventually murdered by Whites. Fanny is protected from revealing who the father is. In part 4, Fanny dies soon after giving birth. The tragedy is not particularly contextualized, nor does social prejudice meet with retribution although Fanny’s indiscretions meet with death, like Hawthorne the *Scarlet Letter*. But the historical narrative frame may be interpreted as exposing racial prejudice and interracial sex as taboo and typical of the past, and presumably, through its negative depiction, challenging some audience reflection.

In plot treatment, a total of eight episodes (or about half of those where race is explicitly shown in character or plot) may be considered to have rather superficial racial representation—what we are loosely terming ‘token’ in their portrayal of racial diversity without cultural context. In *Nikita*, episode *Man in the Middle*, there is no conflict that is racially based. Visible minorities appear in shots of Helmut’s heroin party: chic, hip ‘furniture’ on the set. One minority character (a Latino priest) speaks in an exaggerated accent, but plays no part in furthering the plot. Such representation is typical of a kind of urban upper middle class or professional chic (an exotic ‘other’) or an aesthetic exploitation or normalization of racial appearance of visible minorities on the set.

In another episode, race is also presented in this oddly neutral, rootless (or perhaps politically correct) territory. While not a matter of explicit plot development, the visible minority character plays a supporting role which propels the story line to some degree, but clearly is marginal to the overall plot lines. *Cold Squad’s* episode *Dead Letters* presents a person of colour as a linguistic expert who is insightful, intelligent and independent in her views, but just another expert cited, and the only person of colour appearing in the show. The *Cold Squad* episode *The Nanny* presents a range of Hispanic characters as gang members, witnesses, or friends of the Hispanic suspect—but in the context of a countervailing minority figure in the character of Steve, who is a visible minority occasionally speaking Spanish and in a position of power and authority in the episode. A third episode, *Enough’s Enough*, has a very peripheral visible minority character of some authority whose role is undeveloped or a visible minority as rape victim.

The series, *Mysterious Ways*, aired on CTV, has a main regular character who is a Black woman, and occasional characters (such as an Indo Canadian reporter) who make a brief appearance in the episode *Listen*, but these are few.

Da Vinci’s Inquest, aired on CBC, also presents visible minorities in each of the three plot lines in the episode *Act of God*. All are on the side of authority: a cop, or a medical pathologist (Sunny) who plays a recurring supporting role which is a multi-faceted and authoritative portrayal. The *Act of God* normalizes these characters, that is, presents them as ‘just another character’ with no physical, cultural or other indicators present. Another episode, *All Tricked Up*, also presents a number of visible minorities as supporting or minor portrayals. There is a conflict in a subplot which is explicit about tension between the father of a dead sibling and his Mexican “family”—the sibling dies because of this tension and is unable to enter Canada.

Finally, in a *Trailer Park Boys* episode, two characters of colour (Levi and Desiree) intervene to help the boys after one has been shot while trying to repossess their lawn tractor.

All these episodes either fail to develop the main character who is a visible minority, or do not embed race (in either its similarities or differences) within a diverse cultural context outside of the workplace, or fail to operationalize a diversity in settings or roles, which elevate the visible minority character above the either superficial, the marginal, or the stereotypical. Such shallow representation may reflect the absence of people of colour in positions of creative control. They are indicative of a failure to take creative chances in depicting cultural diversity or race as a context for character development, or they show a lack of confidence in script writing. There are five dramas where racial depiction has been found by the audience-jury to be negative and the techniques of dramatization poor:

Mysterious Ways: Pure of Heart (CTV): This episode is set in India. Declan (White), Peggy (Black) and Miranda (White) trek through the wilderness to find a holy man who possesses remarkable healing power. But an incompetent guide (exotically dressed and a South Asian stereotype) is a bumbling character, and naively spiritual. A series of strange accidents seems

to put the major characters' lives in jeopardy. The non-Asian characters are puzzled by the guide's home, name and habits. The White characters do achieve some cross-cultural insight after the guide reveals himself to be a holy man, helping the North Americans to find self awareness before vanishing. All other visible minorities provide exotic atmosphere. The episode is clearly problematic. The dominant frame is "pagan" ritual (found to be problematic in CRE 2001). Is the context of the exotic as a thematic element in *Mysterious Ways* sufficient to excuse such stereotyping of the 'other' and cliché presentation of spiritual custom? The episode seems to perpetuate shallow White exploitation of native customs.

Mysterious Ways: When Peggy's friend, Johanna, miraculously survives a motorcycle accident in Uganda, she is accused of being a witch. Peggy, Declan and Miranda must go to Africa to help prove her innocence. African voodoo customs are presented in a very exotic or stereotypical way, as fodder for paganism. Pro-social dramatic devices, such as the acknowledgement of local knowledge systems (where the cure for a serious illness plaguing the village is found in an indigenous tree's sap), are neutralized by stereotypes when it is Declan who enlightens the locals as to the sap's potential to cure.

Associates: Go Heart or Go Home (CTV): This episode presents a racist immigration clerk. Ben (a Black) plays a peripheral role but helps one of the main associates in an organ donation case. Sandra, a maid from Antigua, is detained by Customs and Immigration for violating her work permit rules. Her employer, a partner at the firm, is abusive and calls Sandra an idiot, reducing her to tears. Another sympathetic White female lawyer rescues the situation. Here, the role of the Black immigrant is merely to relieve White guilt: her character is not developed.

Associates: The Hitler Paradox (CTV): In this episode a principal associate's good conscience is tested when he researches a diplomatic immunity argument on behalf of an alleged rapist. The main racial conflict comes in a story about Sanjeet and her parents who have forced her into an arranged marriage and prohibited her from seeing Trevor. Trevor "hires" Mitch to sue the family at which time Sanjeet rejects her parents traditions, presses for annulment before a White judge and chooses Trevor, a White man. The ethnic customs are annulled by the judge, and the context to Sanjeet's dilemma, the history and tradition of her family's attitudes towards marriage, are never presented. Sanjeet is a passive spectator in this fundamental decision. The unlikelihood that a South Asian woman would tolerate such a fundamental decision being delegated to a White judge is never broached. Here, dramatic plausibility or authenticity is in question, but the bravery of the screenwriters in taking on such a conflict creatively is to be congratulated.

Tagged: The Jonathan Wamback Story (CTV): The major frame of this story is a teen gang beating. The story never makes White supremacists and their role clear with respect to the main character. In the rival gang to Jonathan Wamback, Whites assume Black hip-hop identities. Black racial cues—clothing, slang, music—are associated with danger and menace. These Black members were not the major assailants responsible for Wamback's terrible injury. But Wamback's apparent best friend, a South Asian boy, is never dramatically developed and their relationship, which is important to establish some claim for Jon's racial tolerance or denial of supremacist orientation in light of later accusations, is never explained. The promotional literature does not refer to the racial identity of the gang members. The defence lawyers start to portray Jon as a racist vigilante who provoked the gang by writing racists slurs (such as wigger—a White guy who 'acts Black'). Victory for Jon is hollow—the media still imply he wrote the graffiti, provoking the attack. This movie-of-the-week has race as a central frame, but downplays it, despite its centrality in the case. Male teen gang violence is played up for universal story appeal. A creative opportunity is lost for understanding race-based nuance in conflict.

6. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- This study presents a content analysis of 69 hours of English Canadian television drama, which explores racial representation and ethno-cultural diversity on the screen.
- A total of 12 per cent of 1200 characters were visible minorities—an incidence roughly comparable to their incidence (13.6 per cent) in the general population (<http://www.statcan.ca>).
- This 12 per cent incidence is twice that found in the UK for indigenous drama, but significantly behind Australian popular drama (May, 2001).
- Six per cent of all characters in this sample are Black, and two per cent each are either South Asians or Pan Asians. Despite the fact there are more Canadians of Asian origin or descent in Canada than Blacks, Canada's screens reflect the urban Toronto-centric milieu of television productions. Latinos made up 1 per cent of all characters.
- Aboriginal characters were almost totally absent. The retirement of *North of 60°* and *The Rez* have struck out dramatic opportunities for Aboriginal people, according to this sample. Under-representation of Aboriginal people is also found in Australian TV, but the record there is just marginally better.
- When broken down by role, 13 per cent of major characters are visible minorities and 18 per cent of the supporting roles in this sample of English Canadian television drama. Incidence in lead or supporting roles is higher than that found in UK but not as high in the United States where segregation of television shows is more prevalent, ie., in Black dramedy (drama+comedy).
- The picture improves when the unit of analysis is the plot line.
- Visible minorities appear in 43 per cent of the story lines (or in one in three subplots in an average network hour). Just 20 per cent of stories showed no non-Whites.
- In this respect, Canada may be at least equal or marginally ahead of representation of visible minorities compared to Australian, American or UK precedents.
- Visible minorities are no more or less likely to walk on the set as principal or supporting actors than their White counterparts, unlike other countries.
- Share of voice is small. The average visible minority speaking part is between three and four minutes in 48. Most visible minorities are silent on Canadian sets—a finding consistent with numerous international studies.
- Racial diversity is almost exclusively an urban phenomenon.
- Representation is shallow. Visible minorities are shown principally in work settings. Continuing characters in series are rarely shown in their home or ethno-cultural contexts, and race-based character development is the exception rather than the rule in creative presentation. Origins, time of immigration, or arrival to this country are not explicitly developed for any visible minority in this sample.
- Cultural indicators of difference are mostly avoided in dramatic portrayal. Nine in ten visible minority characters identified speak English without an accent. Cross-tabulation with Chi test for significance suggests such indicators, where present, are correlated to negative or stereotypical portrayal in dramatic treatment. Food is a particularly important indicator of 'alien' difference, while music is less so.
- Of 68 dramatic titles, a total of 18 (or 27 per cent) show visible minorities centrally related a subplot or plot in some way. Student viewing juries choose CBC's *Drop the Beat* and *Jinnah*

on *Crime* as the best depiction of racial diversity on English drama in 2001-2002 season, and both turn the tables on White majorities.

- Most shows (eight or about half of those with visible minorities involved in the plot) are token in their dramatic representation. These portray race in an oddly neutral, placeless, rootless (or perhaps politically correct) territory. Characters are shown to be racially diverse, but cultural diversity almost appears to be too contentious a plot element in the current television climate for creators, and an aestheticization or normalization of urban racial minorities is apparent.
- Normalization as a strategy for creative presentation uses people of colour for a kind of walk-on legitimacy, without presenting their cultural context. The frequency of this type of dramatic approach in our pilot sample represents the perverse and unanticipated outcome of social pressure for responsibility in industry self-regulation. Compliance with the letter is not compliance with the spirit of responsibility to represent Canada's multi racial and multicultural realities.
- Like a study of Australian television (May, 2000), most plots involving visible minorities show a total lack of reference to sustaining actor's ethnicity or cultural background. Race is just a superficial matter of skin or features. There is no sensitivity to the challenge of portraying the hybridization of identity struggle (of blending country of origin customs and country of adoption customs) in more than three in four dramas featuring race as a dramatic element.
- *Silent on the Set*, like *Fall Colours 2001* (Children Now, 2002), shows visible minorities in little interaction with their families or friends.
- Conflict (defined as misunderstanding, tension, verbal or physical violence between majorities or minorities) is the dominant frame where race is central to the plot of these dramas, but the surprise is how majority and minorities share the narrative burden for resolving it. No simple assimilationist framework can be said to apply. Indeed, most measures did not reveal overt kinds of prejudice, as the UK studies were also surprised to find. However, some patterns are troublesome and draw attention to the more persistent and subtle forms of 'flattering' racial representation and portrayal.
- According to the audience jury, just 5 of 66 dramas (or 8 per cent) overall were the worst offenders of racial depiction flagged in this qualitative review, either confusing race-based origin of conflict, failing to make values explicit, or exoticizing or stereotyping the other (especially 'pagan' health or religious rituals).
- Like the recent survey of UK drama by the Commission for Racial Equality, these findings may seem to suggest that broadcasters are at fault for stereotyping, but equally damned for counterstereotyping with unconvincing, rootless portrayals (Cumberbatch, 2001, p.9). This is a controversial argument that needs some development for its implications for policy and creative initiatives. The student audience jury suggests authenticity of dramatic execution is an important element in the test for deciding if overall narrative context may excuse racist portrayals, or otherwise rationalize weak or negative portrayal. There is no substitute for good writing, and this observation speaks to a need for more diversity in representation in positions of creative control on conventional television production sets.
- More debate over these and other standards of fair portrayal is required. Training seminars for majority and minority screen writers, producers, directors, actors and equity-seeking groups are critically needed to debate and clarify standards in ethnic portrayal, and boundaries to creative liberty. Standards are not inimical to creative freedom. Understanding them may even advance the quality of creative depiction of diversity. More scripts taking creative

risks are needed in increasing the share of voice for minorities and presenting them as rich contributors to Canada's cultural diversity.

- Regular monitoring of the portrayal of racial diversity on Canadian television is needed by an independent organization, involving multiple stakeholders.
- Policy focus has to shift to marketing and promotion of creative opportunities for visible minority actors, writers and producers. Inventive ways to enhance other marketing infrastructure are needed, including entertainment criticism in print and other venues to overcome some of the barriers identified by participants in this study.
- Innovations such as *Innoversity* and *Reel Diversity* in fostering new talent are to be encouraged and further enhanced. The Canada Award for the Gemini should be explored for conversion into a solid asset for later raising of equity for the next venture.
- The point system for Telefilm or The Canadian Production Fund has to be reassessed for its bias against the lesser known, lesser established minorities in casting.

7. APPENDIX 1: INDEX OF TERMS USED

All unmarked terms are taken directly from:

Fleras, A., Kunz, J.L. (2001) *Media and Minorities: Representing Diversity in a Multicultural Canada*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc.

Terms marked with (*) are taken directly from:

Fink, A.. (1998). *Conducting Research Literature Reviews: From Paper to the Internet*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.

Term marked with (**) is taken directly from:

Hehner, B. and Sheffer, A. eds. (1995). *Making it: The Business of Film & Television Production in Canada*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited.

Term marked with (***) is taken directly from:

Gorman, G.E. and Clayton, P. (1997). *Qualitative Research for the Information Professional: A Practical Handbook*. London: Library Association Publishing.

Content analysis.*** This is sometimes used as a qualitative technique but is more commonly associated with quantitative research and complex statistical analysis.

Discrimination. Discrimination refers to any action that has the intent or effect of denying or excluding someone from equitable treatment because of membership in a particular racial or ethnic group. See also *Racism*.

Diversity. For many, diversity is widely seen as a mixture of items characterized by differences and similarities. Diversity evokes images of fixed and distinct cultures that persist in states of separate being. Individuals, in turn, are slotted into these pre-existing cultural categories without much option or choice and outside of any historical or power context. However, diversity goes beyond hermetically sealed classifications. Instead, it entails relations between groups in contexts of unequal power, reflecting the signification of individuals into categories that are both contested and evolving. Any reading of diversity must go beyond the cultural and discursive to embrace political economy at the level of hierarchically constructive relationships.

Ethnicity. Ethnicity can be defined as a shared awareness of inherited commonalities as a basis for recognition, reward, and relationships. This shared awareness provides a rationale for organizing ethnically related people into activity to protect, preserve, or advance social and cultural interests.

Ideology. Ideology can be defined as a set of ideas and ideals that provide an explanation for a particular community. Ideology can also be defined in more political terms as a set of ideas and ideals that justify the prevailing distribution of power, resources, and privilege in society. Media are ideological in two ways: they are loaded with ideas and ideals that reflect and reinforce unequal power relations in society, and they convey ideas and ideals that legitimize the patterns of inequality that empower some and disempower others.

Interrater reliability.* The extent to which two or more individuals agree on their measurement of an item. It is enhanced by training data collectors, providing them with a guide for recording their observations, and monitoring the quality of the data collection over time.

Mass communication. This process involves a predominantly one-way flow of standardized information from a center to a largely undifferentiated audience, with limited feedback. In recent years, technology has taken the mass out of mass communications, with the result that media communication tends to be customized and two-way.

Media. The concept of media (pl.) has proven difficult to define, given that definitions of media may focus on the structure, functions, or process of both new media and mass media. Generally speaking, media may be defined as those institutions of persuasion involving the rapid transmission of “standardized” information to a relatively large audience through some mechanized channel (“medium”). See also *Ideology*.

Minority. Sociologically speaking, the concept of minority refers to any socially defined category of persons who are defined as different and treated in a discriminatory or exclusionary manner. Minority does not necessarily mean numerically inferior but encompasses those individuals whose disproportionate access to resources stems from lack of power or opportunity.

Multiculturalism. Multiculturalism can be broadly defined as a constructive engagement with diversity as different yet equal. Other definitions will vary with the level of meaning that is employed; that is, multiculturalism as fact, as ideology, as policy, as practice, and as critique.

“Points”.** Percentage participation in the profits of a production. Points may be defined in many ways, and must therefore be clearly specified when they are being negotiated.

Policy. Policy can be defined as a formal set of specific initiatives (including laws, rules, and practices) designed to solve an acknowledged problem. Policy can also be defined as an ideological framework that justifies the creation and implementation of specific initiatives to solve problems.

People of colour. See *Visible minorities*.

Qualitative research.* Research that is naturalistic and interpretive, involving the studies use of a variety of empirical methods such as case studies, personal experience, life stories, interviews, observations, and historical and visual texts. Oriented primarily toward exploration, discovery, and induction, this type of research often results in individuals' own (rather than the investigators') accounts of their attitudes, motivations, and behavior.

Racial minorities. See *Visible minorities*

Race. Race encompasses the belief that people's behaviour is determined by biology. It also reflects the belief that humanity can be classified into categories on the basis of fixed attributes, arranged in an ascending and descending order of superiority or inferiority, and treated accordingly. Most social scientists deny the existence of races as discrete and determinative classes of people. The lack of scientific validity has not precluded race from exerting significant social importance as a social construction.

Racism. Racism can be approached in different ways, in part because of different dimensions (racism as biology, as culture, as power), and in part because of different types (interpersonal racism, institutional racism, societal racism). For our purposes, racism is defined as that constellation of ideas and ideals that asserts the superiority or assumes the normalcy of one group over another on the basis of biological or cultural characteristics, together with the power to put these racialized beliefs into practice in way that has the intent or effect of denying or excluding those who are perceived as different or disadvantaged.

Representations. Representations are the construction of mental images of some aspect of reality. These images often say more about those producing them than about the objects that are being projected through symbols, codes, and meanings.

Stereotyping. Stereotyping refers to a process of information processing. Reality is codified in a simple and often simplistic manner for making generalizations about groups of people on the basis of limited information. As a conceptual shorthand, stereotyping tend to attribute similar properties to everyone within that particular category. To the extent that media are heavily dependent on stereotyping as a basis for codifying reality for audiences, the concept of systemic stereotyping captures the often unconscious process of slotting individuals into pre-existing categories as a basis for thought or action.

Systemic racism. Systemic racism can be defined as a largely inadvertent bias that is built into the institutional framework of society. In contrast to deliberate and conscious expressions of denial or exclusion, systemic racism refers to the subtle yet powerful form of discrimination that is entrenched within institutional structures, cultures, processes, and outcomes. Institutional standards, rules, and rewards may appear to be universally applicable and colour-blind, yet they have the unintended effect of excluding those who fall outside the mainstream while consolidating the pattern of power and privilege of a racialized social order.

Visible minorities. Visible minorities is a popular term used to describe people of colour or racial minorities. The term itself refers to an official government category of persons who are native or foreign-born, non-White, and non-Caucasoid, including Chinese, African, and so on. In the 1996 Census, 11.2 percent of Canada's population identified themselves as or were identified as visible minorities.

8. APPENDIX 2: SCHEDULE ANALYSIS OF DRAMA SHOWS BY NETWORK

Sample Week for Showcase (channel 39)-- July 15-21, 2002							
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
7:00pm	North of 60					Movie: A Family of Cops	Movie: The Sleep Room
7:30pm							
8:00pm	Queen of Swords	Made in Canada	Amazon	Night Man	Nikita	Da Vinci's Inquest	Trailer Park Boys
8:30pm		The Newsroom					
9:00pm	Paradise falls	Largo Winch	Doc	Code Name Eternity	The Hunger Kink		This Hour Has 22 Minutes
9:30pm	Paradise falls						
10:00pm	Queer as Folk	Tinsel Town	Movie: Scream	Movie: Scream 2	Oz	Movie: Caddyshack	Bob and Rose
10:30pm							

Sample Week for BCTV (channel 11) -- July 15-21, 2002							
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
7:00pm	Entertainment Tonight					Psi Factor	Bob and Margaret
7:30pm	Psi Factor: Chronicles of the Paranormal						The Simpsons
8:00pm	Fear Factor	That 70's Show	Dawson's Creek	Friends	Smallville	Andromeda	The Simpsons
8:30pm		That 70's Show		Friends			The Simpsons
9:00pm	Dog Eat Dog	Frasier	Gilmore Girls	Will & Grace	The X-Files	Hiroshima Pt. 1 of 2	Malcolm in the Middle
9:30pm		Frasier		Just Shoot Me			That 70's Show
10:00pm	Spin City	Judging Amy	Age Quake	Frasier	20/20		Will & Grace
10:30pm	Spin City			Reba			Just Shoot Me

Sample Week for Global (channel 13) -- July 15-21, 2002							
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
7:00pm	Blind Date					Fashion TV	Fasion TV
7:30pm	The 5th Wheel					Star TV	Movie Television
8:00pm	Dead Man's Gun	Relic Hunter	Enterprise	Movie: The Phantom	Movie: Outbreak	Movie Television	Dead Man's Gun
8:30pm							
9:00pm	Movie: Just Cause	Movie: Two if by Sea	Movie: Double Cross	Highlander: The Raven	Move: Working Girl		Movie: Emma's Wish
9:30pm							
10:00pm				Scanning...			
10:30pm							

Sample Week for CTV (channel 9) July 15-21, 2002							
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
7:00pm	Friends					eTalk	W-FIVE
7:30pm	Whose Line is it Anyway?					Just for Laughs	
8:00pm	Felicity	According to Jim	My Wife and Kids	Whose Line is it...	Maybe it's Me	Mysterious Ways	Alias
8:30pm		Sausage Factory	My Wife and Kids	Scrubs	Degrassi: TNG		
9:00pm	Weakest Link	Mole II: The Next Betrayal	The West Wing	CSI: Crime Scene Investigation	The Associates	Cold Squad	Law and Order: Criminal Intent
9:30pm							
10:00pm	The Sopranos	The Sopranos	Law and Order	ER	Law and Order: SVU	Open Mike with Mike Bullard	Crime and Punishment
10:30pm							

Appendix 2: Schedule Analysis of Drama Shows by Network – continued

Sample Week for CHEK/CHUM (channel 6) July 15-21, 2002							
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
7:00pm	Wheel of Fortune					Higher Ground	60 Minutes
7:30pm	Jeopardy!						
8:00pm	The King of...	JAG	JAG	Big Brother 3	Dateline NBC	Big Brother 3	Touched by an Angel
8:30pm	Yes, Dear						
9:00pm	Everybody loves...	The Guardian	Big Brother 3	No Boundaries	Stargate: SG1	The District	Movie: National Lampoon's Golf Punks
9:30pm	Becker						
10:00pm	Crossing Jordan	Dateline NBC	Stargate SG-1	Nikita	Family Law	The Agency	
10:30pm							

Sample Week for CBC (channel 3) -- July 15-21, 2002							
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
7:00pm	Just for Laughs					Trans Canada Comedy Trail	The Red Green Show
7:30pm	It's a Living	Stratford Gold	Marketplace	Opening Night	Red Green		Making of: Last Chapter
8:00pm	Movie: Happy Gilmore	The Nature of Things	Too Colourful for the League		Trans Canada Comedy Trail	Movie: Ruggles of Red Gap	The Last Chapter
8:30pm							
9:00pm		Life and Times	The Fifth Estate				
9:30pm					This Hour...		
10:00pm	The National					Alfie	Sunday Report
10:30pm					Venture		

9. APPENDIX 3: SAMPLE SHOWS

<u>Tape #</u>	<u>Network</u>	<u>Airtime</u>	<u>Series Title</u>	<u>Episode Title</u>	<u>Duration</u>	<u>Date Aired</u>	<u>Status</u>
ECF 011	CBC	7:00pm	Wind at my Back	Remembrance Day	60 minutes	12/03/00	First Run
ECF 014	CHK	7:00pm	Emily of New Moon	Return of Maida Flynn	60 minutes	13/03/00	Repeat
ECF 021	CBC	8:30pm	Drop the Beat	Image is Nothing	60 minutes	13/03/00	First Run
ECF 034	CHK	10:00pm	Nikita	Man in the Middle	60 minutes	15/03/00	Repeat
ECF 037	CTV	8:00pm	Power Play	Evasion	60 minutes	16/03/00	Repeat
ECF 038	GLB	10:00pm	Traders	Nice Guys Finish Last	60 minutes	16/03/00	First Run
ECF 058	GLB	9:00pm	Psi Factor	School of Thought	60 minutes	18/03/00	Repeat
ECF 065	CTV	10:00pm	Cold Squad	Death, Lies, and Videotape	60 minutes	18/03/00	First Run
RDA 1	CTV	9:00pm	The Associates	Take This Job...	60 minutes	01/02/02	First Run
RDA 1	CTV	9:00pm	The Associates	The Hitler Paradox	60 minutes	08/02/02	First Run
RDA 2	CTV	9:00pm	The Associates	Walking the Line	60 minutes	15/02/02	First Run
RDA 2	CTV	9:00pm	The Associates	Soulmates	60 minutes	22/02/02	First Run
RDA 3	CTV	9:00pm	The Associates	Revelations	60 minutes	01/03/02	First Run
RDA 3	CBC	8:00pm	Tom Stone	Good Cop, Bad Cop	60 minutes	11/03/02	First Run
RDA 4	CBC	8:00pm	Tom Stone	For the Money Pt. 1	60 minutes	25/02/02	First Run
RDA 4	CBC	9:00pm	Tom Stone	For the Money Pt. 2	60 minutes	25/02/02	First Run
RDA 6	CBC	8:00pm	The Last Chapter	Part 1 of 3	120 minutes	03/03/02	First Run
RDA 7	CBC	8:00pm	The Last Chapter	Part 2 of 3	120 minutes	10/03/02	First Run
RDA 8	CBC	8:00pm	Tagged: J. Wamback Story		120 minutes	11/03/01	First Run
RDA 9	CBC	8:00pm	The Last Chapter	Part 3 of 3	120 minutes	17/03/02	First Run
RDA 10	GLB	7:00pm	Psi Factor	Nocturnal Cabal	60 minutes	15/06/02	Repeat
RDA 10	SHWCSE	12:00pm	Traders	The Last Good Deal	60 minutes	20/06/02	Repeat
RDA 10	SHWCSE	12:00pm	Traders	Eat the Loss	60 minutes	21/06/02	Repeat
RDA 10	CTV	8:30pm	Degrassi: The Next Generation	Secrets and Lies	30 minutes	21/06/02	Repeat
RDA 10	CTV	9:00pm	The Associates	Go Heart or Go Home	60 minutes	21/06/02	Repeat
RDA 11	SHWCSE	9:00pm	Trailer Park Boys	(unable to locate title)	30 minutes	14/04/02	Repeat
RDA 11	SHWCSE	9:00pm	Trailer Park Boys	I'm not gay, I love Lucy...	30 minutes	21/04/02	Repeat
RDA 11	SHWCSE	9:00pm	Trailer Park Boys	Who the hell invited...	30 minutes	28/04/02	Repeat
RDA 11	SHWCSE	9:00pm	Trailer Park Boys	Jim Lahey is a drunk bastard.	30 minutes	12/05/02	First Run
RDA 11	SHWCSE	9:00pm	Trailer Park Boys	I've met cats and dogs smarter...	30 minutes	19/05/02	First Run
RDA 11	SHWCSE	9:00pm	Trailer Park Boys	A dope trailer's no place for a...	30 minutes	26/05/02	First Run
RDA 11	SHWCSE	9:00pm	Trailer Park Boys	The Bible Pimp	30 minutes	02/06/02	First Run
RDA 11	SHWCSE	9:00pm	Trailer Park Boys	The Bare Pimp Project	30 minutes	16/06/02	First Run
363 B	CTV	8:00pm	Mysterious Ways	Muti	60 minutes	30/04/02	First Run
363 B	CTV	9:00pm	Cold Squad	The Shed	60 minutes	02/02/02	First Run
363 B	CTV	7:30pm	Degrassi: The Next Generation	Wannabe	30 minutes	03/02/02	First Run
363 B	CBC	8:00pm	Random Passage	Part 3 of 4	120 minutes	03/02/02	First Run
363 C	CBC	8:00pm	Random Passage	Part 4 of 4	120 minutes	04/02/02	First Run
363 C	CTV	8:00pm	Mysterious Ways	Something Fishy	60 minutes	14/02/02	First Run
363 C	CTV	9:00pm	Cold Squad	Dead Letters	60 minutes	????	????
363 C	CTV	9:00pm	Cold Squad	The Nanny	60 minutes	04/05/02	????
363 D	CTV	9:00pm	Cold Squad	Enough's Enough	60 minutes	????	????
363 D	CTV	8:00pm	Mysterious Ways	Pure of Heart	60 minutes	27/05/02	Repeat
363 D	CBC	8:00pm	Tom Stone	Solidarity Forever	60 minutes	04/03/02	First Run
363 D	CTV	9:00pm	The Associates	Winner Take All	60 minutes	03/05/02	First Run
363 E	CTV	8:00pm	Mysterious Ways	A Man of God	60 minutes	11/05/02	Repeat
363 E	CTV	9:00pm	Cold Squad	Bottom Feeders	60 minutes	11/05/02	Repeat
363 E	CTV	7:00pm	Mysterious Ways	Spark of Life	60 minutes	12/05/02	Repeat
363 F	CTV	8:30pm	Degrassi: The Next Generation	Family Politics	30 minutes	24/05/02	Repeat
363 F	CTV	9:30pm	Degrassi: The Next Generation	Parents Day	30 minutes	07/06/02	Repeat

10. APPENDIX 4: RACIAL DIVERSITY PROTOCOL

Racial Diversity Protocol

Canadian Fiction Project
SFU School of Communication 2002-2

Name of Coder	Tape Number	Show ID	Episode Number
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Indicators for measuring diverse content on Canadian television drama.

A. Program Information

<p>FORMAT</p> <p>1. Is the show you are watching a</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> drama series?</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> "dramedy" series?</p> <p>03 <input type="radio"/> made-for-television movie?</p> <p>04 <input type="radio"/> mini-series?</p> <p>NETWORK AIRED</p> <p>2. On which network did this program appear?</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> CBC</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> CTV</p> <p>03 <input type="radio"/> Global</p> <p>04 <input type="radio"/> CHUM/CHEK</p> <p>05 <input type="radio"/> Showcase (syndicated)</p> <p>09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 80px; height: 20px; margin-left: 20px;"></div>	<p>SERIES TITLE</p> <p>3. Series Title:</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> The Associates</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> Mysterious Ways</p> <p>03 <input type="radio"/> Tom Stone</p> <p>04 <input type="radio"/> Random Passage</p> <p>05 <input type="radio"/> Powerplay</p> <p>06 <input type="radio"/> Cold Squad</p> <p>07 <input type="radio"/> Da Vinci's Inquest</p> <p>08 <input type="radio"/> Traders</p> <p>09 <input type="radio"/> The Last Chapter</p> <p>10 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px; margin-left: 20px;"></div>	<p>EPISODE TITLE</p> <p>4. Episode Title - Write in</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 180px; height: 25px; margin-left: 20px;"></div> <p>EXHIBITION STATUS</p> <p>5. 01 <input type="radio"/> First Run</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> Repeat Status</p> <p>6. Length of Episode:</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> 30 minutes</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> 60 minutes</p> <p>03 <input type="radio"/> 90 minutes</p> <p>04 <input type="radio"/> 2 hours or more</p> <p>7. Date Aired</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> </table>																				

B. Character or Ensemble Representation Information

<p>STORY LINES</p> <p>Story line (definition): <i>A literary or dramatic plot. Dialogue or action essential to the development of a plot in a drama.</i></p> <p>8. What is the total number of story lines in this plot?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin-left: 20px;"></div> <p>9. In how many story lines do visible minorities appear?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin-left: 20px;"></div> <p>Visible minority (definition): <i>The concept of visible minority applies to persons who are identified according to the Employment Equity Act as being non-Caucasian in race, or non-white in colour. Although, under the Act, Aboriginal persons are not considered to be members of minority groups, for the purposes of this study they will be considered visible minorities.</i></p>	<p>SHARE OF DEPICTION</p> <p>10. How many characters in total?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin-left: 20px;"></div> <p>11. How many principal characters in total?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin-left: 20px;"></div> <p>Principal character (definition): <i>A character who is a lead character in the episode. The character has a major speaking part (at least 10 lines) and is involved in the primary plot or story line of the show. May also recur in series or mini-series.</i></p> <p>12. How many principal characters in the show are visible minorities?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin-left: 20px;"></div>	<p>Supporting character (definition): <i>A character that appears but has minimal or non-speaking role. The character is not principally involved in the plot, sub-plot or story line.</i></p> <p>13. How many supporting characters in total?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin-left: 20px;"></div> <p>14. How many supporting characters in the show are visible minorities?</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 20px; height: 20px; margin-left: 20px;"></div> <p>Note: If non-speaking, please specify circumstances.</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 180px; height: 25px; margin-left: 20px;"></div>
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Questions 15-45 are to be answered for up to five main visible minority characters.

B. Character or Ensemble Representation Information (con't)					
SHARE OF VOICE	CHARACTER 1	CHARACTER 2	CHARACTER 3	CHARACTER 4	CHARACTER 5
15. Length in minutes of speaking parts (all primary and secondary visible minority characters)	<input type="text" value="mins"/>	<input type="text" value="mins"/>	<input type="text" value="mins"/>	<input type="text" value="mins"/>	<input type="text" value="mins"/>
16. Total length on screen	<input type="text" value="mins"/>	<input type="text" value="mins"/>	<input type="text" value="mins"/>	<input type="text" value="mins"/>	<input type="text" value="mins"/>
<i>(Time with a stop watch. Round up in minutes if 30 seconds or more.)</i>					

C. Qualitative Narrative Depiction					
SETTING	CHARACTER 1	CHARACTER 2	CHARACTER 3	CHARACTER 4	CHARACTER 5
17. Is this a principal or supporting character?	01 <input type="radio"/> Principal 02 <input type="radio"/> Supporting	01 <input type="radio"/> Principal 02 <input type="radio"/> Supporting	01 <input type="radio"/> Principal 02 <input type="radio"/> Supporting	01 <input type="radio"/> Principal 02 <input type="radio"/> Supporting	01 <input type="radio"/> Principal 02 <input type="radio"/> Supporting
18. In what setting is this character shown?	01 <input type="radio"/> Upscale urban 02 <input type="radio"/> Innercity urban 03 <input type="radio"/> Suburban 04 <input type="radio"/> Rural 05 <input type="radio"/> Remote	01 <input type="radio"/> Upscale urban 02 <input type="radio"/> Innercity urban 03 <input type="radio"/> Suburban 04 <input type="radio"/> Rural 05 <input type="radio"/> Remote	01 <input type="radio"/> Upscale urban 02 <input type="radio"/> Innercity urban 03 <input type="radio"/> Suburban 04 <input type="radio"/> Rural 05 <input type="radio"/> Remote	01 <input type="radio"/> Upscale urban 02 <input type="radio"/> Innercity urban 03 <input type="radio"/> Suburban 04 <input type="radio"/> Rural 05 <input type="radio"/> Remote	01 <input type="radio"/> Upscale urban 02 <input type="radio"/> Innercity urban 03 <input type="radio"/> Suburban 04 <input type="radio"/> Rural 05 <input type="radio"/> Remote
Is the character shown in different contexts?					
19. Office/work environment	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No
20. Home environment	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No
21. Social environment with friends	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No
OCCUPATION	CHARACTER 1	CHARACTER 2	CHARACTER 3	CHARACTER 4	CHARACTER 5
22. What occupation does the character portray? <small>(For example: Upper class: owner, employer, rich person Professional/upper middle class White collar/middle class Blue collar/working class)</small>	01 <input type="radio"/> Upper class 02 <input type="radio"/> Professional 03 <input type="radio"/> White collar 04 <input type="radio"/> Blue collar 05 <input type="radio"/> Unknown 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Upper class 02 <input type="radio"/> Professional 03 <input type="radio"/> White collar 04 <input type="radio"/> Blue collar 05 <input type="radio"/> Unknown 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Upper class 02 <input type="radio"/> Professional 03 <input type="radio"/> White collar 04 <input type="radio"/> Blue collar 05 <input type="radio"/> Unknown 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Upper class 02 <input type="radio"/> Professional 03 <input type="radio"/> White collar 04 <input type="radio"/> Blue collar 05 <input type="radio"/> Unknown 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Upper class 02 <input type="radio"/> Professional 03 <input type="radio"/> White collar 04 <input type="radio"/> Blue collar 05 <input type="radio"/> Unknown 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify <input type="text"/>
23. Is this character in an occupational position of power or authority in the episode stories? <small>(For example: Police officer, judge, elected official, community political leader, etc.)</small>	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No

Questions 15-45 are to be answered for up to five main visible minority characters.

C. Qualitative Narrative Depiction (con't)					
RACIAL ORIGIN / LINGUISTIC PRACTICE	CHARACTER 1	CHARACTER 2	CHARACTER 3	CHARACTER 4	CHARACTER 5
<p>24. What is the ethnic background of the character?</p> <p>(For example: South Asian: Indo-Canadian Pan-Asian: Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Southeast Asian, etc. Middle-Eastern/Arab)</p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> South Asian 02 <input type="radio"/> Black 03 <input type="radio"/> Pan-Asian 04 <input type="radio"/> Latino 05 <input type="radio"/> Aboriginal 06 <input type="radio"/> Middle-Eastern 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> South Asian 02 <input type="radio"/> Black 03 <input type="radio"/> Pan-Asian 04 <input type="radio"/> Latino 05 <input type="radio"/> Aboriginal 06 <input type="radio"/> Middle-Eastern 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> South Asian 02 <input type="radio"/> Black 03 <input type="radio"/> Pan-Asian 04 <input type="radio"/> Latino 05 <input type="radio"/> Aboriginal 06 <input type="radio"/> Middle-Eastern 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> South Asian 02 <input type="radio"/> Black 03 <input type="radio"/> Pan-Asian 04 <input type="radio"/> Latino 05 <input type="radio"/> Aboriginal 06 <input type="radio"/> Middle-Eastern 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> South Asian 02 <input type="radio"/> Black 03 <input type="radio"/> Pan-Asian 04 <input type="radio"/> Latino 05 <input type="radio"/> Aboriginal 06 <input type="radio"/> Middle-Eastern 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>
<p>25. Are they portrayed as coming to Canada as:</p> <p>(For example: Recent immigrant: new to Canada in past five years Naturalized immigrant: immigrated to Canada more than five years ago First generation: child born to immigrant parents in Canada No reference to immigrant status.)</p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> Recent immigrant 02 <input type="radio"/> Naturalized immigrant 03 <input type="radio"/> First generation 04 <input type="radio"/> Second generation 08 <input type="radio"/> No reference to immigrant status 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> Recent immigrant 02 <input type="radio"/> Naturalized immigrant 03 <input type="radio"/> First generation 04 <input type="radio"/> Second generation 08 <input type="radio"/> No reference to immigrant status 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> Recent immigrant 02 <input type="radio"/> Naturalized immigrant 03 <input type="radio"/> First generation 04 <input type="radio"/> Second generation 08 <input type="radio"/> No reference to immigrant status 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> Recent immigrant 02 <input type="radio"/> Naturalized immigrant 03 <input type="radio"/> First generation 04 <input type="radio"/> Second generation 08 <input type="radio"/> No reference to immigrant status 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> Recent immigrant 02 <input type="radio"/> Naturalized immigrant 03 <input type="radio"/> First generation 04 <input type="radio"/> Second generation 08 <input type="radio"/> No reference to immigrant status 09 <input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>
<p>26. Does the character speak English with an accent that is different from that typical in Canada (a recognizable Canadian accent)?</p> <p>(For example: No variation Some variation Significant variation Substantial variation Very high variation)</p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> None 02 <input type="radio"/> Some 03 <input type="radio"/> Significant 04 <input type="radio"/> Substantial 05 <input type="radio"/> Very high</p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> None 02 <input type="radio"/> Some 03 <input type="radio"/> Significant 04 <input type="radio"/> Substantial 05 <input type="radio"/> Very high</p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> None 02 <input type="radio"/> Some 03 <input type="radio"/> Significant 04 <input type="radio"/> Substantial 05 <input type="radio"/> Very high</p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> None 02 <input type="radio"/> Some 03 <input type="radio"/> Significant 04 <input type="radio"/> Substantial 05 <input type="radio"/> Very high</p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> None 02 <input type="radio"/> Some 03 <input type="radio"/> Significant 04 <input type="radio"/> Substantial 05 <input type="radio"/> Very high</p>
<p>27. In this program (episode), does the character speak a language other than English or French?</p> <p>Specify third language(s) - if applicable</p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> English only 02 <input type="radio"/> French only 03 <input type="radio"/> Fren. & Eng. 04 <input type="radio"/> 3rd lang. only 05 <input type="radio"/> Eng. & 3rd lang. 06 <input type="radio"/> Fren. & 3rd lang. 07 <input type="radio"/> Tri-/multi-lingual</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> English only 02 <input type="radio"/> French only 03 <input type="radio"/> Fren. & Eng. 04 <input type="radio"/> 3rd lang. only 05 <input type="radio"/> Eng. & 3rd lang. 06 <input type="radio"/> Fren. & 3rd lang. 07 <input type="radio"/> Tri-/multi-lingual</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> English only 02 <input type="radio"/> French only 03 <input type="radio"/> Fren. & Eng. 04 <input type="radio"/> 3rd lang. only 05 <input type="radio"/> Eng. & 3rd lang. 06 <input type="radio"/> Fren. & 3rd lang. 07 <input type="radio"/> Tri-/multi-lingual</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> English only 02 <input type="radio"/> French only 03 <input type="radio"/> Fren. & Eng. 04 <input type="radio"/> 3rd lang. only 05 <input type="radio"/> Eng. & 3rd lang. 06 <input type="radio"/> Fren. & 3rd lang. 07 <input type="radio"/> Tri-/multi-lingual</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>	<p>01 <input type="radio"/> English only 02 <input type="radio"/> French only 03 <input type="radio"/> Fren. & Eng. 04 <input type="radio"/> 3rd lang. only 05 <input type="radio"/> Eng. & 3rd lang. 06 <input type="radio"/> Fren. & 3rd lang. 07 <input type="radio"/> Tri-/multi-lingual</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>

Appendix 4: Racial Diversity Protocol -- continued

Questions 15-45 are to be answered for up to five main visible minority characters.

C. Qualitative Narrative Depiction (con't)					
ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY	CHARACTER 1	CHARACTER 2	CHARACTER 3	CHARACTER 4	CHARACTER 5
Is there a presence of physical, cultural indicators of difference?					
28. Clothing	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No
29. Food	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No
30. Articles	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No
31. Music	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No
32. Other – Specify	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Are any non-tangible, cultural elements of visible minority culture represented?					
33. Cultural custom (e.g., Fengshui, Japanese tea ceremony, etc.)	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No
34. Other – Specify (e.g., religion, etc.)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
RACE AND GENDER					
35. What is the gender of the character?	01 <input type="radio"/> Male 02 <input type="radio"/> Female 03 <input type="radio"/> Other	01 <input type="radio"/> Male 02 <input type="radio"/> Female 03 <input type="radio"/> Other	01 <input type="radio"/> Male 02 <input type="radio"/> Female 03 <input type="radio"/> Other	01 <input type="radio"/> Male 02 <input type="radio"/> Female 03 <input type="radio"/> Other	01 <input type="radio"/> Male 02 <input type="radio"/> Female 03 <input type="radio"/> Other
36. Is gender equality explicitly addressed?	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No	01 <input type="radio"/> Yes 02 <input type="radio"/> No
37. In the story line in which this character appears, are women treated equitably – that is, with equal access, status or power – or inequitably, as subordinate due to gender?	01 <input type="radio"/> Equitable male/female treatment 02 <input type="radio"/> Inequitable male/female treatment	01 <input type="radio"/> Equitable male/female treatment 02 <input type="radio"/> Inequitable male/female treatment	01 <input type="radio"/> Equitable male/female treatment 02 <input type="radio"/> Inequitable male/female treatment	01 <input type="radio"/> Equitable male/female treatment 02 <input type="radio"/> Inequitable male/female treatment	01 <input type="radio"/> Equitable male/female treatment 02 <input type="radio"/> Inequitable male/female treatment

Questions 15-45 are to be answered for up to five main visible minority characters.

C. Qualitative Narrative Depiction (con't)					
CHARACTER PORTRAYAL	CHARACTER 1	CHARACTER 2	CHARACTER 3	CHARACTER 4	CHARACTER 5
38. Which of the following terms best describes this character?	01 <input type="radio"/> Protagonist/hero 02 <input type="radio"/> Antagonist/villain 03 <input type="radio"/> Victim 04 <input type="radio"/> Survivor 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Protagonist/hero 02 <input type="radio"/> Antagonist/villain 03 <input type="radio"/> Victim 04 <input type="radio"/> Survivor 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Protagonist/hero 02 <input type="radio"/> Antagonist/villain 03 <input type="radio"/> Victim 04 <input type="radio"/> Survivor 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Protagonist/hero 02 <input type="radio"/> Antagonist/villain 03 <input type="radio"/> Victim 04 <input type="radio"/> Survivor 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Protagonist/hero 02 <input type="radio"/> Antagonist/villain 03 <input type="radio"/> Victim 04 <input type="radio"/> Survivor 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>
39. If protagonist, what narrative elements are present?	01 <input type="radio"/> Saves lives 02 <input type="radio"/> Champions social justice 03 <input type="radio"/> Exemplifies bravery 04 <input type="radio"/> Idol or mentor 05 <input type="radio"/> Public service oriented 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Saves lives 02 <input type="radio"/> Champions social justice 03 <input type="radio"/> Exemplifies bravery 04 <input type="radio"/> Idol or mentor 05 <input type="radio"/> Public service oriented 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Saves lives 02 <input type="radio"/> Champions social justice 03 <input type="radio"/> Exemplifies bravery 04 <input type="radio"/> Idol or mentor 05 <input type="radio"/> Public service oriented 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Saves lives 02 <input type="radio"/> Champions social justice 03 <input type="radio"/> Exemplifies bravery 04 <input type="radio"/> Idol or mentor 05 <input type="radio"/> Public service oriented 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Saves lives 02 <input type="radio"/> Champions social justice 03 <input type="radio"/> Exemplifies bravery 04 <input type="radio"/> Idol or mentor 05 <input type="radio"/> Public service oriented 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>
40. If antagonist/villain, what elements are present? <small>(For example: Physically abusive; profanity; engage in criminal activity; cheater; liar; and overly aggressive (yelling))</small>	01 <input type="radio"/> Phys. abusive 02 <input type="radio"/> Profanity 03 <input type="radio"/> Criminal activity 04 <input type="radio"/> Cheater 05 <input type="radio"/> Liar 06 <input type="radio"/> Overly aggressive (yelling) 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Phys. abusive 02 <input type="radio"/> Profanity 03 <input type="radio"/> Criminal activity 04 <input type="radio"/> Cheater 05 <input type="radio"/> Liar 06 <input type="radio"/> Overly aggressive (yelling) 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Phys. abusive 02 <input type="radio"/> Profanity 03 <input type="radio"/> Criminal activity 04 <input type="radio"/> Cheater 05 <input type="radio"/> Liar 06 <input type="radio"/> Overly aggressive (yelling) 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Phys. abusive 02 <input type="radio"/> Profanity 03 <input type="radio"/> Criminal activity 04 <input type="radio"/> Cheater 05 <input type="radio"/> Liar 06 <input type="radio"/> Overly aggressive (yelling) 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Phys. abusive 02 <input type="radio"/> Profanity 03 <input type="radio"/> Criminal activity 04 <input type="radio"/> Cheater 05 <input type="radio"/> Liar 06 <input type="radio"/> Overly aggressive (yelling) 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>
41. If victim or survivor, what narrative elements are present?	01 <input type="radio"/> Physical abuse 02 <input type="radio"/> Mental/verbal abuse 03 <input type="radio"/> Subj. to robbery 04 <input type="radio"/> Theft 05 <input type="radio"/> Break in 06 <input type="radio"/> Sexual abuse 07 <input type="radio"/> Murder 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Physical abuse 02 <input type="radio"/> Mental/verbal abuse 03 <input type="radio"/> Subj. to robbery 04 <input type="radio"/> Theft 05 <input type="radio"/> Break in 06 <input type="radio"/> Sexual abuse 07 <input type="radio"/> Murder 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Physical abuse 02 <input type="radio"/> Mental/verbal abuse 03 <input type="radio"/> Subj. to robbery 04 <input type="radio"/> Theft 05 <input type="radio"/> Break in 06 <input type="radio"/> Sexual abuse 07 <input type="radio"/> Murder 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Physical abuse 02 <input type="radio"/> Mental/verbal abuse 03 <input type="radio"/> Subj. to robbery 04 <input type="radio"/> Theft 05 <input type="radio"/> Break in 06 <input type="radio"/> Sexual abuse 07 <input type="radio"/> Murder 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Physical abuse 02 <input type="radio"/> Mental/verbal abuse 03 <input type="radio"/> Subj. to robbery 04 <input type="radio"/> Theft 05 <input type="radio"/> Break in 06 <input type="radio"/> Sexual abuse 07 <input type="radio"/> Murder 09 <input type="radio"/> Other – Specify <input type="text"/>
42. If victim, is victimization by: <small>(For example: Whites; members of own ethnic-racial group; members of other ethnic-racial group; a multi-ethnic group (all minorities); and a multi-ethnic group (mix of whites & people of colour))</small>	01 <input type="radio"/> Whites 02 <input type="radio"/> Own group 03 <input type="radio"/> Other group 04 <input type="radio"/> Multi-ethnic (min) 09 <input type="radio"/> Multi-ethnic (mix) <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Whites 02 <input type="radio"/> Own group 03 <input type="radio"/> Other group 04 <input type="radio"/> Multi-ethnic (min) 09 <input type="radio"/> Multi-ethnic (mix) <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Whites 02 <input type="radio"/> Own group 03 <input type="radio"/> Other group 04 <input type="radio"/> Multi-ethnic (min) 09 <input type="radio"/> Multi-ethnic (mix) <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Whites 02 <input type="radio"/> Own group 03 <input type="radio"/> Other group 04 <input type="radio"/> Multi-ethnic (min) 09 <input type="radio"/> Multi-ethnic (mix) <input type="text"/>	01 <input type="radio"/> Whites 02 <input type="radio"/> Own group 03 <input type="radio"/> Other group 04 <input type="radio"/> Multi-ethnic (min) 09 <input type="radio"/> Multi-ethnic (mix) <input type="text"/>

Questions 15-45 are to be answered for up to five main visible minority characters.

C. Qualitative Narrative Depiction (con't)					
INDIVIDUAL MORAL JUDGEMENT OF NARRATIVE ELEMENTS	CHARACTER 1	CHARACTER 2	CHARACTER 3	CHARACTER 4	CHARACTER 5
Based on overall impression of whole show:					
43. Overall, this character was portrayed in a demeaning, negative manner.	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree
43.1. Top 2 reasons. <i>(Write in)</i>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>
Stereotype (definition): "...vivid but simple representations which reduce persons to a set of exaggerated, usually negative, character traits." (Barker 1999:75)"					
44. This character is portrayed in a stereotypical manner.	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree
44.1. Top 2 reasons. <i>(Write in)</i>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>
45. This character is portrayed in a positive manner.	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree	01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree 02 <input type="radio"/> Agree 03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral 04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree 05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree
45.1. Top 2 reasons. <i>(Write in)</i>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 60px;"></div>

C. Qualitative Narrative Depiction (con't)	
INDIVIDUAL MORAL JUDGMENT OF NARRATIVE ELEMENTS	
<p>46. With whom do visible minority characters interact?</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> White/mainstream characters</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> Members of another ethnic group</p> <p>03 <input type="radio"/> Members of his/her own ethnic group</p> <p>04 <input type="radio"/> A multi-ethnic group (all minorities)</p> <p>05 <input type="radio"/> A multi-ethnic group (mix of whites and people of colour)</p>	<p>48. The white or mainstream characters achieve some cross-cultural understanding or insight.</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> Agree</p> <p>03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral</p> <p>04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree</p> <p>05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree</p>
<p>47. The central characters are involved in cultural or racial conflict (defined as misunderstanding, tension, or verbal or physical violence between majorities and minorities) which is precipitated mainly by ethnic or racial difference from whites.</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> Agree</p> <p>03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral</p> <p>04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree</p> <p>05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree</p>	<p>49. Do minority characters assume full burden to reconcile conflict or is this shared?</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> Full burden</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> Shared responsibility</p> <p>03 <input type="radio"/> None of burden</p>
<p>47.1. Top 2 reasons. <i>(Write in)</i></p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>	<p>50. Do minority characters play constructive or destructive roles in resolution of conflict?</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> Constructive</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> Obstructive</p>
	<p>51. Does colour matter or not to the story line?</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> Yes</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> No</p>
	<p>52. The central visible minority characters are portrayed as struggling or coming to grips with their own cultural identities.</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> Yes, strongly struggling</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> Some struggle</p> <p>03 <input type="radio"/> Not much identity struggle</p> <p>04 <input type="radio"/> No identity struggle: pretty confident</p>
	<p>53. The visible minority characters seem to be "cosmetic additions" to the cast (i.e., "token minorities").</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> Agree</p> <p>03 <input type="radio"/> Neutral</p> <p>04 <input type="radio"/> Disagree</p> <p>05 <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree</p>
QUALITATIVE DESCRIPTION OF EPISODE	
<p>54. Corporate summary of episode (from show's website or other source):</p>	<p>Are the people in positions of creative control visible minorities (if known)?</p>
	<p>56. The director?</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> Yes</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> No</p>
	<p>57. The writer?</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> Yes</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> No</p>
<p>55. Short summary of racial diversity in story (to be filled in by coder):</p>	<p>58. The producer?</p> <p>01 <input type="radio"/> Yes</p> <p>02 <input type="radio"/> No</p>

11. APPENDIX 5: ANNOTATED PROTOCOL

a. Program Information

Format/Network Aired/Series Title/Episode Title/Exhibition Status
Questions 1-7

b. Character or Representational Information

Storylines/Share of Depiction/Share of Voice
Questions 8-16

Measuring all cast representation, this variable might indicate invisibility/marginalisation of minority characters or whether their presence appears to function as a peripheral, 'cosmetic addition'. A token character is often included as an attempt to appease obligations to racial diversity (network quotas for example), or merely to 'colour' up the cast or storyline. "Tokenism circumvents substantive change. It is the most commonly used organizational method to resist pressures for change and is an essential element in the ideological hegemony of the institutional process of racism" (Tator et al., 2000, p.370). Additional qualitative analysis would evidence the complexity of the character.

c. Qualitative Narrative Depiction

Setting
Questions 17-21

The range of settings in which a visible minority character appears. This variable recognizes that stereotypical characters are typically depicted in one context (e.g. Asian shopkeeper). If the main setting of a dramatic show is at a law office, for example, and the White primary characters are shown in social and familial environments, is this equally true for visible minority characters? This variable might be correlated with Questions 28-33.

Occupation
Questions 22-23

Recognizes the racism that is manifested in institutional policies and politics as well as stereotypical representations associating race and class/occupation (for example, unskilled Hispanic labourer, Black sportsperson). Yet, even if a character is shown in a position of authority or wealth, this might be problematic as well. According to H. Gray (1996), ostensibly 'positive' portrayals of African American on television programs (e.g. *The Cosby Show*) may be misleading in that they function to "shift blame away from the structural and systematic character of racial inequality in the USA and redirect blame on to alleged individual weakness and moral deficiencies of poor Black people" (Barker, 1999, p.80). Thus, the depiction of a visible minority character in a power position might ignore/negate genuine institutional barriers that often exist for minorities (particularly immigrants and women of colour).

Racial Origin/Linguistic Practice
Questions 24-27

These variables will measure character development, as it is associated with ethnic origin, indicating degrees of assimilation or difference. With regard to ethnic origin, reference to a character's immigrant status might be a significant. "Immigrants are stereotypically represented as breaking the norms and the law, as being different, deviant, and a threat to us" (Cottle, 2000, p.48). Is a recent immigrant character depicted in a storyline associating them with criminality (Questions 38-42) or are they shown as a making a positive contribution to their new country, "to describe British Asians as full human beings and citizens with equal social rights and obliga-

tions is quite a different matter from regarding them as a sub-human pool of colonial labour (...) the language of citizenship legitimizes the place of {British Asians} in business and politics while the language of the 'alien presence' denies this place and seeks to exclude them from the public affairs of the nation" (Barker, 1999, p.142). Additionally, if the character is an immigrant who has been in Canada for some time, have they retained any cultural indicators and customs (Questions 28-33).

Ethnocultural Diversity

Questions 28-33

Measuring indicators of difference, food, clothes, or articles (such as religious symbols) as well as cultural customs (e.g. in a wedding ceremony or greeting). "Ethnicity is not best understood in terms of cultural characteristics *per se*, but as a process" (Barker, 1999, p.63). The coder might consider if the presence of cultural indicators in a character or storyline are merely decorative (reducing ethnicity to colourful costumes and music) or if they aid in the layering of a character that has already been allowed to develop in different contexts (Questions 17-21) as well as in having a substantial share of depiction/share of voice (Questions 8-16).

Race and Gender

Questions 35-37

These variables recognize the relationship between gender and racial inequality. "Women have subject positions constructed for them which place them in the patriarchal world of domesticity and beautification" (Cottle, 2000, p.107). These variables also acknowledge that male and female minorities may be stereotyped differently. Visible minority men (particularly those of African or Asian descent) are often associated with criminal behavior (see Questions 38-42).

Character Portrayal

Questions 38-42

These variables recognize stereotypes that construct racial 'others' as problems. A 2001 study of U.K. television conducted on behalf of the British Commission for Racial Equality found that visible minority characters were "twice as likely to be involved in criminal behavior as their base counterparts" (Cumberbatch et al., 2001, p.32). Conversely, the depiction of a visible minority in a particular protagonist/hero role might also perpetuate stereotypes, for example Asians as kung-fu heroes (See also Questions 24-27).

Individual or Moral Judgement of Narrative Elements

Questions 43- 52

Cross-cultural understanding between mainstream culture and ethnic groups would include plot-lines in which racial/cultural ignorance or misperceptions are explicitly addressed though, importantly, resolutions of such conflicts might in themselves not imply that genuine cross-cultural understanding has taken place. It might be important for later analysis to note whether these understandings are depicted as being meaningful to both groups (i.e. is there shared knowledge or is one group (typically the White or mainstream characters) merely reinforcing liberal discourses in which racism is ultimately "confined to the actions of a lunatic fringe and not part and parcel of mainstream liberal culture and that liberal Whites alone are capable of resolving conflicts and finding solutions?" (Cottle, 2000, p.74). Similarly, multicultural awareness may also perpetuate a 'New Orientalism' (Meyer, 2002) in which "the mainstream diffusion of the necessity for multicultural awareness (...) gives rise to an anxiety of ignorance and (...) the search for 'authentic' knowledge of {for example} Asian cultures" (Meyer, 2002, p.92-3). The result is a purported awareness of difference that reifies and even re-mythologizes it (this might be evidenced in plot-lines which feature indigenous persons or Asians as being naturally more spiritually aware than mainstream characters). In contrast, the concept of *solidarity*, rather than mere 'awareness' might be preferable. This would suggest cross-cultural understandings as forms of "sharing and

cooperation which are genuine and not enforced (...) implying supportive tolerance and solidarity and not control. In this context, television *could* act as a cultural and social interpreter and promote an arena of solidarity in which to present diverse values” (Barker, 1999, p.154). In determining cultural identity struggles, one would consider whether the cultural identity has been absolutely defined, thus limiting the character to a stock portrayal. This variable might be measured with those of Questions 17-21 or 28-33, which would indicate whether a character has had the privilege of being shown to move amongst a variety of social worlds and expectations. “The plasticity of identity (...) has political significance, for the shifting and changing character of identities, and their theorizations, have intimate connections with social and political practices” (Barker, 1999, p.2). A complex cultural identity, perhaps one which is a hybrid of a character’s ethnic origin and various other mainstream or subcultural discourses would indicate a more fluid and realistic reflection of a character representative of a multicultural society.

Qualitative Description of Episode Questions 53-57

These final variables acknowledge the relationship between the invisibility of minorities in media with industry access and hiring practices. Stereotypical portrayals of minorities, or their exclusion altogether, is very much related to creative control and influence. In the example of news, “the broadcaster, reporter, camera person, and editor have a context that affects the way in which they interpret images, events, and situations. This context influences what they choose to film or air, what they select, and what eventually becomes part of the story (...) they are influenced by their own connections to groups and institutions that have power and influence” (Tator et al., 2000, p.300). This description is also proper as it applies to the content of narrative television. Writers, producers, and directors from culturally diverse backgrounds are more likely to conceive of visible minority characters (and subsequently cast actors or actresses) in ethnic-specific or non-specific roles that are nuanced and defiant of stereotype. A lack of exposure/access to different cultural groups (and indeed the myriad of subcultures which inevitably exist within any one minority culture) will typically result in the creation and perpetuation of stock ethnic characters or wholly assimilated ones.

12. APPENDIX 6: PEER REVIEWS OF RACIAL DIVERSITY PROTOCOL [verbatim]

a. Peer Review 1

1. General Comments:

The protocol reflects considerable thought on the difficult task of analyzing minority portrayal on TV drama. I am assuming that the French-language television content is being addressed in the study by the Quebec researchers.

The issue of "voice" is important; however, it should not be equated strictly with the opportunities to speak lines physically -- since there are other ways to communicate. Some sophisticated TV productions are beginning to reflect the understanding of hybridity that exists in real life and that the presence of non-mainstream languages and customs are not to be viewed in a negative manner.

2. Specific Comments:

a. Program Information

A1. The addition of another category to account for hybrid comedy- dramas ("dramedy") may be useful in addressing programs like *Black Fly* (Global).

Very popular comedy programs, such as CBC's *The Royal Air Farce* has regular skits that dramatize interactions between minority and majority characters.

A2. Since Showcase is included in the list, should other similarly popular specialty channels such as Bravo, the Space channel, and the History channel also be cited in the list; alternatively, category 5 could just be "Specialty channels"?

b. Character or Ensemble Representation Information

B12. Is a definition of visible minority appropriate at this point (apart from the list of racial origins listed in C23)?

According to the stated definition of principal character, would a character that appears in only two or three or four episodes of a 13- part series be considered a principal character?

Whereas the issue of the "voice" of minorities is important in the study, the definition as it stands presently will not account for a key character that has a speech impediment but communicates in other ways.

B13. Should a character that appears in two episodes of a 13-part series and is involved somewhat in the story line not fit into the supporting character category?

The obverse of the above comment on voice and speech would apply here. A character may have a few speaking lines or have a very distinct mode of speech, but may appear in only one or two scenes in the entire series. Should she be eliminated from this category?

B15. As above, the issue of "share of voice" is problematic. The findings of length in minutes of specific characters' speech may have to be co-related to qualitative analysis in terms of the effect of the speech.

On the other hand, as mentioned above, this approach eliminates from consideration characters that have a speech impediment or choose silence as a mode of communication.

c. Setting

The categories of settings does not include the street, which is often a prime location for marginalized persons in TV drama narratives, e.g. the (Black) police informer, the prostitute.

C24. The reference to one's ancestors' (as opposed to oneself) having arrived as an immigrant also has narrative value; e.g. in the 2002 movie "A Passage to Ottawa", a key Black char-

acter who is presumed to have arrived from abroad, states that his ancestor (five generations back) helped build the Rideau Canal.

C25. The notion of accent is often problematic. The question assumes that there is such a thing as accentless English. Even the term "Canadian accent" would pose problems, since it would assume that all established Anglophone Canadians speak with the same accent (e.g. Newfoundlanders would be major exceptions). Perhaps some wording such as "a recognizable Canadian accent" would add to the precision of the question, with the option for doing being: no variation; some variation; significant variation; substantial variation; very high variation.

C26. It is not clear if the character speaks another language in addition to ("perfectly accented") English or instead of English. The difference is between a character that may appear to be bi/multilingual and cosmopolitan and one who is having substantial difficulty establishing herself in Canada. The relevance of speaking French comes into play if the drama is set in Quebec or another francophone location in Canada.

d. Ethnocultural Diversity

(Background) music is often used as an indicator of difference in TV narratives, and could be added as another category.

A sensitive portrayal of a lead character who is equally comfortable in his own and mainstream cultures will manifest cases in which indicators of difference are not presented in negative terms e.g. the 2002 CBC drama, "Jinnah on Crime".

e. Character Portrayal

Whereas the triad of hero-villain-victim can be a very useful way to analyze TV depictions, there are cases when the minority character is the protagonist who is portrayed in a stereotypical manner (e.g. "Charlie Chan" as one of the worst cases). Findings will have to corroborated with other qualitative evidence.

A key category for minority portrayal is that of sidekick to a white male. It would be useful to find out the frequency of this specific category.

C37. Does "physical abuse" include murder?

f. Individual Moral Judgment

A question addressing the minority characters coming to terms with the expectations of mainstream society on them, i.e. the integration factor would be useful here.

b. Peer Review 2

I read the protocol and the paper on the EuroCanadian Fiction 2000 project with interest. Overall, the protocol seems to cover the cultural diversity territory quite well. However, I am concerned that the framework itself is missing some key elements of recognition around issues of racial diversity. I will respond to the actual protocol first point by point where I see need for changes, followed by a few general comments on what I think are the central challenges you are facing in order to make this protocol even more inclusive.

1. Program Information

2. If you are using similar terms to that of the European studies, i.e. if you are looking exclusively at the major networks, then this is fine, but if you wish to Canadianize the project and actually reflect the emergent initiatives in Canada that address some of the absentee problems around racial diversity, then I think you should at least include the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network, given that it is mandated as a national, non-specialty service and it does carry dramatic programming. Even if it is not "popular" yet with non-aboriginal viewers, being there on the list would give it a legitimate status/a presence in the overall framework of the protocol, making IT more inclusive.

Also for these reasons, you might consider adding a Regional multicultural Service such as CH 47 in Ontario or another one elsewhere.

2. Qualitative Narrative Depiction

01/02 Setting: You might consider adding the term "remote" as a third category, especially if you decide to include APTN as a channel source. "Remote" implies a region less developed than an urban or rural setting, but recognizes that people/viewers living there have satellite access to television and in most cases are more dependent on it for entertainment purposes than any other media sources. Canada is a country with many remote regions.

22. Occupation: What about adding a category for community political leader--this would cover occupations like Band Chief, or someone who carries a lot of traditional authority in a native community.

25. The question of accent is always so difficult. I have a friend from Tennessee who was delighted when Jimmy Carter became President because he said that he was the first President he had known whom "didn't have an accent." Given that we ALL have accents, what about re-framing the question to read something like: Does the character speak English with an accent different from your own...or from one that is typical of English or French spoken in Canada? I know this is assumed in your question, but making it explicit carries recognition that we all have accents and the way you ask it doesn't. It's subtle, but important, I think.

3. Race and Gender

Why is this section called race and gender when there are two questions about gender here, but none focusing on race?

35. "Are women treated like men or would you say there is inequitable treatment?" implies that women want to be treated as if they are men. I don't believe this is the case and I suspect you agree, but the terms in which you frame this idea are important. I want to be treated equitably and with total fairness, but does this have to be in the exact same form as men's treatment? I want to be treated like a woman--not a man! But one which has equal status, equal power, and equal access to all aspects of life, including justice and dignity and in no way hierarchically positioned on the basis of gender. Leaving the question as it is can make some women uncomfortable, as it has with me. I would try to change the question to make it more sensitive to women's own perspectives, as opposed to the assumption that being equal involves the single strategy--of adopting men's ways of doing things.

4. Character Portrayal

36. 01, 02, 03, 09 -- What about adding survivor as a category--it's totally different from that of a victim and these days is a very relevant category.

Individual Moral Judgment – shouldn't it be spelled judgement? I guess you can do it both ways - it just looks more right to me with the "e."

43. Why not have it read "cultural or racial conflict" or "precipitated by ethnic or racial difference" -- there are differences between the two categories based on skin colour. We are all ethnic and we all have different shades of skin colour, based on our genetic heritage, but ethnicity and race should not be collapsed into one term. It is not specific enough.

5. General Comments about Protocol

This leads me to the term 'cultural diversity' which seems, these days, to subsume racial issues, thereby making it unnecessary to be explicit about race. I'm concerned that doing this might transmit an embedded assumption of inferential racism which reads like: it's alright – we've covered "diversity;" issues of race are being taken care of by the label "cultural diversity." Beware that you might fall slightly into this trap by NOT including channels dedicated explicitly to minority programming, or by not taking into public account the few attempts to balance out the Canadian system around issues of cultural and racial diversity. After all, your protocol will be a representative public snapshot of Canadian fictional programming that will be widely and internationally circulated. Being one of the only countries in the world which has such a large amount of minority services intended to balance the system, we should be using it as a model to show the Europeans and others of how important it is to our sense of (inter) national distinctiveness and to the building of new qualities of the "popular" -- those which are more inclusive.

Finally, I think that the underlying assumptions of a protocol framework such as this should be shown to be non-discriminatory by taking the risk of placing some early, but racially positive initiatives on the list of categories. I say this because inevitably your protocol outline will be recognized as THE legitimate categories and limitations of what constitutes channels worthy of your recognition.

In closing, I find the following comment by Stuart Hall to be very useful in my thinking about methodology for projects like this one, so I'll pass it on:

We had to develop a methodology that taught us to attend, not only to what people said about race but, in England the great society of the understatement, to what people could not say about race. It was the silences that told us something; it was what wasn't there. It was what was invisible, what couldn't be put into frame, what was apparently unsayable that we needed to attend to. If you want to ask, "what can content analysis teach you?" well, one of the questions you have to ask is, "what about the people who appear to have no content at all - who are just pure form, just pure, invisible form?" You can count lexical items if they're there; but you need a different approach if you really want, as it were, to read a society and its culture symptomatically (Hall 1992, 14-15).

(Hall, Stuart. 1992. "Race, Culture, and Communications: Looking Backward and Forward at Cultural Studies." *Rethinking MARXISM* 5, no. 1 (Spring): 10-18.)

c. Peer Review 3

This is an excellent protocol – clear, systemic, and very rigorous overall. I can tell from this protocol that your project is both very interesting and very important. Instead of saying more praises, however, I will offer one main suggestion and raise some specific questions with regard to the existing list of questions in the protocol.

1. Main Suggestion

I wonder whether it makes sense to pay a little more attention to dimensions of interaction between/among different ethnic groups in the formulation of questions. There can be two categories of questions along this:

The first category of questions may be formulated along the following lines (add to Section B?). When a visible minority character appears in an episode, does he/she interact with: White and mainstream characters? Members of another ethnic group? Members of his/her own ethnic

group? A multi-ethnic group that includes both Whites and a mix of people of color? The length of each type of interaction?

The second category of questions has an exclusive qualitative dimension and can perhaps be asked in conjunction with questions 37-39 in section C. For example, following question 37, one may ask: if victim, is he/she a victim of a white person, a person from another ethnic group, or a person from his or her own ethnic group? The same can be asked with regard to protagonist and antagonist roles. Thus, when a protagonist saves lives or serves as a mentor or a champion – what are the ethnic identities of the ones being saved, mentored or championed? When an ethnic villain inflicts pain, what is the color of the victim? I am suggesting these questions on the basis of my own real world personal experience – when it comes to a mentor relationship, for example, it is often assumed that the mentor is a white, the beneficiary is a person of color, not the other way around – I have been in a situation when a white graduate student was assumed to be the professor, and I, the student.

These questions may be a bit off the focus of the research and end up adding more work to the coding process, but since you are interested in “encounters and resolution of racial conflict” and you do have questions 43 and 45, which address the issues of cultural conflict and cross-cultural understanding, these questions, which foreground racial encounters and the question of power among various ethnic groups, may add further depth to the current project. While the portrayal of ethnic characters as individual units is important, it is equally important to study their portrayals in relation to other groups, i.e., in interactive settings. Imagine the following dramatic hypothesis: there is ethnic diversity and there are people of color in positions of power, but ethnic characters either predominantly interact among themselves (thus an image of society as a series of ethnic enclaves) and/or champion for members of their own group, and they are the ones who victimize the white people.

2. More specific questions/suggestions:

Question 17: in addition to the categories of urban/rural settings, is it useful to consider a pair of categories that suggest class divisions in an urban setting? I don't know how exactly to articulate these categories, but something along the lines of an upscale urban/inner city-poor neighborhood divide may be as relevant as the urban/rural divide, as I suspect that most of the shows are set in the urban areas – of course, I can be wrong.

Question 21: There seems to be a conflation between class and occupational categories in the four substantive categories. To be sure, they are related, but the existing categories may create difficulty when code, for example, a housewife, a retiree, or a student (who belongs to a certain class background, but does not belong to any of the three occupational groups – professional, white collar, blue collar). Change the categories either to consistently class based ones (upper, upper middle, middle, working classes) or add an “other” in the current categories?

Question 23: are these standard designations for various ethnic groups in Canada?

Questions 32-33: I wonder whether it makes sense to ask more specific questions regarding the representation of ethnically specific cultural practices (Fengshui, Chinese weddings, Japanese tea ceremonies, etc.) and ethnically specific cultural ideas (i.e., Confucian values, Hindu beliefs, Islam, etc.).

Question 35: This won't be an easy question to answer – it is rather broad and general. Will it make sense to ask a separate question about whether the issue of gender equality is explicitly addressed in the story line?

Question 38: Reconsidering the categories? Saves lives and exemplifies bravery may overlap; “champion” of what, social justice? Related to this, what about virtues such as public service, social responsibility, and civic engagement? (I have a suspicion, perhaps ill informed, that the “good citizen” virtues that are typically attributed to members of the white middle class are rarely ascribed to ethnic groups).

Questions 43, 45: I wonder whether a related question can be formulated along the following line: when there are cultural conflicts between white or mainstream characters and minority characters, the minority characters are the ones who in the end overcome ignorance/misperceptions about the mainstream culture and assume the burden of taking the initiative to learn, reconcile, and to be integrated.

Question 46: “token minorities:” does it include main characters whose color “does not matter” as far as the story line is concerned?

d. Peer Review 4

Thank you for the coding protocol for the Canadian Fiction Project. Examining the profile of race on Canadian-produced dramatic television programming is a worthwhile albeit highly challenging project to tackle, particularly using content analysis techniques. A few general comments at the outset. It is not clear what is the research problem on which you are trying to reach conclusions. The protocol largely appears to be an exercise in cataloguing the portrayal of race within a snapshot in time, despite your larger objectives about the qualitative indicators about the centrality of race to narrative, as well as racial conflict resolution. As a word of caution, four types of conclusions that this type of study, from what I can see, would not be supported are:

- 1) Programming bias: I confess my own ‘bias’ against the use of content analysis techniques to prove media bias for two reasons: the technique can rarely bring in all the necessary variables to make such a claim, and there can rarely be a consensus on where the line of “fair” programming exists. I’m assuming that this is not the intent or direction of the study.
- 2) Programming trends: Given that you will (I assume) be looking at this programming as a snapshot in time, it would be invalid to conclude from this study whether there are any changes over time in the portrayal of certain races on dramatic television programming. Hopefully, you can conduct this type of study again to see if there are changes over programming seasons.
- 3) Impact on viewers: what is being produced and aired is somewhat different than what is reaching Canadians. You may want to add into your study as a weighting variable the audience reach for each episode (you should be able to get these figures from Nielsens). This will allow you to give weight to shows that have larger audiences, multiple channels (Showcase + CBC) and more aired episodes during a season. This will allow you to at least make some inferences in your presentation to the Heritage Committee as to what Canadians are being exposed to in terms of race and dramatic programming. Currently, this inference cannot be made from the way in which the study is currently designed (again, from what I can see).
- 4) Inferences about producer and product: Separate from the coding protocol, it would be worthwhile to examine more closely questions 49 through 51 about the backgrounds of the director, writers and producer. This would provide some interesting information about possible correlations between the racial background and history of the senior production staff and the finished product. More research (separate from the coding protocol, I would expect) would need to be done, however. Also, below are listed a number of comments based on what I don’t see in the protocol that should be examined.

I should say that first and foremost, the protocol is generally fine as far as it goes, but an outline for a media content analysis study should have other elements. These include:

a) Coding instructions: While you provide a few definitions in your protocol in areas such as “character”, there is no or too little documentation as to definitions for coders in a number of areas that I suspect you will run into coder confusion. The most notable include: B8 – story line; C21 occupation (mistitled – appears to define class more so than occupation); C22 power authority (what would a coder view the character of Roseanne Barr on “Roseanne” I wonder); C25 accent; C35 gender equality and (the biggie) C40 “demeaning”. In some of these cases, a high intercoder reliability (see below) achieved without much instruction may be acceptable. However, if there is low reliability, then the question (all of them legitimate) should be fine-tuned, with more documentation and clearer definitions.

b) Intercoder reliability: Normally, it is preferred that at least two coders are selected to code for at least several of the more qualitative/interpretative questions to see if the responses can be viewed as replicable and reliable. There is no indication in the document that more than one coder would view the same episode of a program. This should be considered for several of your more important (and subjective) variables. There are a number of good texts on how to conduct reliability testing, and generally acceptable scores – let me know if you need bibliographic references.

c) Units of analysis: From your cover letter I’m assuming that you intend to use two different ‘units of analysis’ – character and program. Program may be too broad, and I would not necessarily reject ‘story line’ as another possible unit. Also, you may want to weight character based on airtime duration and even audience reach (see below). If you use story line, then coders should be provided with a workable definition. Another unit of strong potential for this study is simply “racial/cultural conflicts” (see below).

Regarding your objective of determining how Canadian dramatic programming approaches resolutions to racial conflict, I don’t actually see where the questions would provide data to inform you on this area. In my view, Question 43 should be changed so that it simply identifies whether racial and/or cultural conflict is believed to be present (you may need to rework your definition). At that point, you would have a subset of questions addressed only to programs with a defined racial/cultural conflict that would first identify the scenario of racial conflict (possible textbox fill-in limited to 50 words from which either questions/categories could be designed, or those identified could then be pre-screened by the researcher and a set of categories developed before a coder reviews those particular programs. Following this, other questions would have to be developed regarding type of resolution (if any), and what role characters played (constructive, obstructive) towards the resolution. This may make Question 46 (weakest question in the survey) redundant.

Moreover, remember that in a dramatic program there will be the primary conflict, and then a series of minor conflicts between characters. It is likely that in many programs it is the minor conflicts that will contain the most interesting evidence of how programs settle racial/cultural conflict (it may only be the central conflict to the episode in a few cases). Given this likelihood, you may want to add a third unit of examination simply entitled “racial/cultural conflicts” similar to characters 1-5 in which you identify a type of racial/cultural conflict, the elements in the conflict, and the method of resolution and role of the characters in resolving it.

That is all the main comments I have. To reiterate, the coding protocol is fine as far as it goes, but the research question is unclear and the conclusions that you could draw from this data is limited largely to that of a catalogue. Also, there should be documented the study’s approach to intercoder reliability, definition of key subjective variables, and a defined unit of analysis.

e. Summary of Changes Resulting from Peer Review Comments

Following is a summary of changes that were made to the coding protocol subsequent to receiving the comments from our four peer reviewers, to whom we are eternally grateful:

- Addition of new program format: "dramedy".
- Reworked definitions for principal and supporting characters.
- Addition of following values for setting (Question 17): upscale urban, innercity urban, suburban, remote.
- Addition of "other" to Question 21.
- Reworked labels for different ethnocultural groups to match more closely those used by Statistics Canada.
- Reworked Question 25 (Does the character speak English with an accent?) to acknowledge that we all have accents and adjusted value labels accordingly.
- Changed question from above to "Does the character speak English with an accent that is different from that typical in Canada (a recognizable Canadian accent?)".
- Added categories to Question 26 (does the character speak a language other than French or English) to accommodate whether the character spoke only a third language (i.e. spoke no English at all), or whether the character was bi/tri-lingual.
- Added new variable to measure whether or not music was used as an indicator of cultural difference.
- Added question to ascertain whether or not gender equality was explicitly addressed in the episode.
- Reworked question regarding equitable gender treatment to acknowledge that women may not want to be treated "like men," but still want equitable access, status and power.
- Added value to character type (Question 38) for survivor, as distinct from victim.
- Added value to question regarding what type of victimization to also include murder.
- Added question to see whether victimization was at the hands of visible minorities or Whites.
- Added values to type of protagonistic elements to include "champions social justice" and "public service oriented".
- Reworked question regarding, taking into account the distinction between ethnicity and race.
- Added question to measure whom visible minority characters interact with (white or visible minorities).
- Added question to ascertain whether or not colour mattered to the story line.
- Added question to see, if there was a presence of ethnic or racial conflict reported, whether visible minorities assumed the full burden of reconciling and also a question to see if visible minorities played a constructive or obstructive role in its reconciliation.

13. APPENDIX 7: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES FOR RACIAL DIVERSITY AUDIT

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|-----|--------------------|---|--|
| (1) | Tam Goossen | President | Urban Alliance on
Race Relations |
| (2) | Marguerite Vogel | Vancouver
Regional Office | CRTC |
| (3) | Mason Loh, Q.C. | Local Advisory
Board Chair | LMTV |
| (4) | Ronald Cohen | National Chair | CBSC |
| (5) | Dr. J. David Black | Professor Of
Communications | Wilfrid Laurier
University |
| (6) | Dr. Augie Fleras | Professor of Sociology | University
of Waterloo |
| (7) | Dr. Carol Duncan | Professor of Religion
and Culture | Wilfrid Laurier
University |
| (8) | Dr. Anu Bose | Executive Director | National Organization
of Immigrant and
Visible Minority Women
of Canada |
| (9) | Rae Hull | Regional Director of
Television / Senior
Director of Network
Programming | CBC
Television BC |

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15. RELATED WEBSITES

a. Organizations

Children Now

<http://www.childrennow.org>

Commission for Racial Equality

<http://www.crc.gov.uk>

Innoversity

<http://www.innoversity.com>

Media Awareness Network

<http://www.media-awareness.ca>

Media Watch

<http://www.mediawatch.ca>

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

<http://www.naacp.org>

Pearson-Shoyama Institute

<http://www.pearson-shoyama.ca>

Public Service Alliance of Canada

<http://www.psac.com>

Urban Alliance on Race Relations

<http://www.interlog.com/~uarr>

b. Broadcasting

Academy of Canadian Cinema and Television

<http://www.academy.ca>

Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB)

<http://www.cab-acr.ca>

Canadian Broadcast Standards Council (CBSC)

<http://www.cbsc.ca>

Canadian Television Fund

<http://www.canadiantelevisionfund.ca>

CFMT International

<http://www.cfmt.com>

Diversity Watch at Ryerson

<http://www.diversitywatch.ryerson.ca/watch/media/>

Friends of Canadian Broadcasting

<http://www.friendscb.org/>

Multivan Broadcast Corporation
<http://www.mvbctv.com>

National Film Board of Canada
<http://www.nfb.ca>

Telefilm Canada
<http://www.telefilm.gc.ca>

c. Government

Canadian Heritage
<http://www.pch.gc.ca>

Canadian Radio Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)
<http://www.crtc.gc.ca>

Canada's Parliament
<http://www.parl.gc.ca>

Department of Justice Canada
<http://canada.justice.gc.ca>

Canadian Heritage, Multiculturalism Program
<http://www.pch.gc.ca/multi>

Statistics Canada
<http://www.statcan.ca>