Identifying Principles for an Anti-Racism Strategy

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Good morning and bonjour everyone.

I begin by expressing profound gratitude to the xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam) people who, for thousands of years, have cherished, tended and protected their traditional territories of the Fraser River Estuary. The Musqueam's great teacher taught them empathy, charity, forgiveness, compassion, and the importance of sharing the land (Musqueam, 2022). They hold Respect, Pride, Inclusiveness, Honour, and Shared Responsibility as their communal values.

I thank the Community Media Advocacy Centre for inviting me to deliver this keynote address. CMAC's progressive, intelligent and forward-thinking activism bears the seriousness and substance appropriate to the task at hand. Building a robust and effective Anti-Racism Strategy for Canadian Broadcasting is a major challenge. Decades of effort by Canadian civil society in this direction have produced some advances in policy, regulation, and law. CMAC's bold and systematic approach promises to achieve a major step in orienting Canadian broadcasting towards a non-discriminatory ethos.

I also acknowledge Canadian Heritage's Anti-Racism Action Program as the funding source of this initiative to hold consultations and to present a report to the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission. Prompted by demands for social justice by civil society groups, the Government of Canada has long struggled to come to terms with a white supremacist and colonial legacy. This insidious heritage has shown itself to be resilient. It is embedded deeply in the habitual ways of doing things and manifests itself, from time to time, in the discriminatory behaviour not only of broadcasters but also of politicians and public servants. I speak as a university-based academic and former journalist but also as someone with a decade-long experience of working in the federal government.

It is vital that the attempt to eliminate discrimination be grounded in principles; otherwise it risks being a facile bureaucratic exercise that does not address the root problem. The principles that I propose for Canadian broadcasting's anti-racist strategy are Social Justice, Mutual Respect, and Cultural Understanding. They were diminished when white supremacy and white privilege became the basis of human relations. My talk deals specifically with the marginalization of racialized people, but justice, respect and understanding are also essential in dismantling other structures of discrimination. The proposed principles need to be restored as integral elements of pluralist co-existence.

Competing Discourses

Society seems to operate in a cycle of forwards and backwards movement. There is constant competition between the discourses of the various interests vying for dominance. The consensus of hegemonic classes on the major issues of the day are mirrored by dominant discourses. They provide the definitions, agendas, and frames with which a society gives meaning to subjects of importance. These reference points form the bases for public discussions about topics such as justice, democracy, science, culture, violence, and peace. The same would apply to the subjects of race, racial discrimination and anti-racism. Dominant discourses' specific uses of language, visual imagery, and formats tend to reinforce the *status quo*.

Alternative discourses (Karim, 1993; 2003), such as those of anti-racism, challenge hegemonic structures. Dominant narratives in the public sphere, including the mainstream media, usually manage to overwhelm or subvert messages that do not conform to their particular ideological frameworks. One of the primary features of a hegemonic discourse is its power to comment on and interpret major events; it maintains superiority by being dynamic, continually co-opting and transmuting the words, images, and symbols of other discursive modes that threaten the *status quo*. Preferred networks of terminology and preferred meanings of terms prevail in important discussions, while alternative words and meanings are either disregarded or disparaged. A common technique for dismissing terms that promote respect for racialized people is to label them as "political correctness." In this way, dominant discourses correspond to the manoeuvring of elites by whom they are produced and whose positions they reinforce. Their ability to reframe alternative discourses is at the heart of their power to sustain hegemony and to skew justice against the marginalized.

The process in which hegemonic forces continually regroup to reinstate their dominance is perhaps most clearly illustrated in US history. One of the primary reasons for the Civil War, fought in the 1860s, was an effort to limit the expansion of slavery in the growing country. We know that the Confederate states, where this form of inhumanity was practiced, were defeated militarily by the Union and the legal system supporting slavery and racial discrimination was supposedly dismantled. Indeed, a few African Americans in southern states did succeed in making better lives. However, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and the passing of Jim Crow laws reasserted white supremacy (Tischauser, 2012). African Americans then conducted sustained activism through the Civil Rights Movement and the US government passed legislation in the 1960s to diminish racial discrimination. But since then various states have enacted laws aimed at increasing restrictions against the rights of African Americans, particularly their access to the polls (Tensley, 2021). The alternative discourses of critical race theory, which seek to deconstruct and challenge dominant racist discourses, are seen as a threat by those who would uphold race-based societal structures. A number of US states have responded by seeking to ban the teaching of critical race theory in schools (Ray and Gibbons, 2021). Conceptual frameworks that would enable better understanding of race relations and promote mutual respect among diverse peoples are undercut by those who benefit from the injustice of white supremacist structures.

My intention in talking about the competition of discourses is to underline that one cannot rest on one's laurels once the proposed anti-racism strategy has been established. Influenced and manipulated by the privileged, dominant narratives continually divert public attention from the structural discrimination, violence, and racial injustice of societal systems. As the cultural studies scholar Stuart Hall (2000) and others have shown, the mainstream media have been key instruments of these processes. An anti-racism media strategy must account for the inevitable response from those who benefit from white supremacist structures to maintain their hegemony.

White Supremacy's Resilience

White supremacy has been one of the most powerful, determined, and resilient forces of the last few centuries (Beliso-De Jesús and Pierre, 2020). It pervades society far beyond the ambit of

extreme right wing groups. It is global in scope. It has underwritten the systems of colonialism. It informs domestic and foreign policies. It influences mainstream media discourses. And it undermines social justice, mutual respect, and understanding among cultures. Apart from marginalizing dark-skinned peoples, including non-European Christians (Karim, 2003), white supremacy also racializes European adherents of non-Christian religions (Casey, 2021) and European working classes (Virdee, 2014).

Although usually invisible, racial hierarchization is embedded in societal infrastructure and profoundly influences minds, policies, and laws (Razack, 2002). Historian Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz (2018) has demonstrated how key parts of the American Constitution support white supremacist purposes. And, in studying incongruencies between indigenous world views and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, UBC law professor Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond (1989-1990) has shown how even the foundational concept of rights is based on parochial Eurocentric ideas that benefit the inner circles of socio-economic elites. This basic law is therefore flawed in the justice that it is supposed to provide to all Canadians.

Whereas mainstream media's narratives promote modernity, development, progress, democracy etc. for all, these ideas implicitly remain markers of Eurocentric civilization and its vaunted superiority. On the other hand, "the third world" connotes the lack of human advancement, in effect acting as a synonym for barbarism and savagery. For example, mainstream Canadian media frequently refer to the lack of clean water in many indigenous locales as "third world conditions" (e.g. Taniguchi, 2022). The actual reality here is that bad water and, indeed, maldevelopment and broken democracy, are permanently part of "the first world." Dangerous living conditions of First Nations have been generationally present in a country that is viewed as modern, developed, progressive, and democratic. This has arisen from long-standing lack of respect for indigenous communities and has produced a perpetual situation of environmental and health injustice against them.

White supremacy has grown deep roots in the course of a long period. From the early 16th century, European colonization took a worldwide form that made one continent's inhabitants ascendant over all others. It produced planetary structuration on racial basis. European theorization about pigmentary hierarchy helped justify the systemic exploitation of others' lands and the enslavement of Africans on a massive scale (Gilroy, 1993). Colonizers assigned themselves the mission of civilizing other "races" – characterized as barbarous by scholars like the 17th century Hugo Grotius (1925 [1646]), who helped lay the foundations of a Eurocentric international law. Philosophers such as J.S. Mill excluded non-Europeans from their supposedly universalist schemes of human rights (Klausen, 2016). The Enlightenment was presented to western and other societies as uniformly beneficial to all peoples, even as its ruminations enabled Europeans to repress others. The path of disrespect, disdain for cultural understanding, and systematic, worldwide injustice can be traced to such historical and philosophical developments.

Globally dominant discourses underlying a naturalized and omnipresent belief in white supremacy enabled those who saw themselves as good and moral people to perpetuate unspeakable cruelty and rapacious robbery in the name of civilization. Notions about "the white man's burden" justified the colonial structuring of governance, communications, and

transportation to rob and stunt indigenous economic systems around the world. Economist Utsa Patnaik (2006) has calculated that the British Raj, often portrayed in western discourses as bringing the rule of law to India, stole $45 trillion between 1765 and 1938. Rebellions in colonies were crushed with genocide and other forms of mass killings, rape, physical and psychological torture, mutilation, detention in concentration camps, destruction of communities, relocation of people, separation of family members, and cultural and linguistic erasure.

And in our times people protesting in the streets and governments characterized as "rogue regimes" have to be put in their place. A British newspaper column written in anticipation of the 1991 invasion of Iraq, the precursor to the 2003 war, is quite telling. Sir Peregrine Worsthorne wrote:

> The riches of the First World provoke passionate envy in the Third World, and so do all the appurtenances of civilization.… The aim must be for America to win an overwhelming victory; for Western technology to prove devastatingly, chasteningly superior. (1991, 10)

Speaking openly and unabashedly from a white supremacist pedestal, this author expresses the naked desire to maintain complete dominance over the "third world." There is no interest here in promoting justice. The piece was duly republished in the Toronto *Financial Post*'s "Insight" section.

Colonialism's general approach towards subjugated peoples is to eliminate their opposition and to incorporate them into worldwide capitalist society controlled by western hegemony. Education is wielded not only as a tool but a weapon. One particularly heart-rending manifestation was Canada's residential school system. The very place where indigenous children were ostensibly to be civilized became sites for physical and mental torture, rape, humiliation, murder, and suicide. Yet, there is reluctance even in critical discourses to call this savagery (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012). That word and its media depictions are reserved for the Other.

The perceived superiority of one's "race" enables one to stay assured about maintaining goodness even while brutalizing darker-skinned peoples. That the Self becomes savage in pursuing the mission to civilize others is rendered irrelevant. The financial and social benefits of *la mission civilisatrice* appear to erase doubts about its moral rectitude. This is the very purpose for which European ideas of racial hierarchy were developed: the white Self remains pure even as it is drenched in others' blood. The self-assured and self-righteous expression on Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin's face, as he stared at a camera while deliberately and proficiently draining George Floyd's life (Moshtaghian, 2020), is an iconic symbol of this deep conviction that has been nurtured over centuries. Justice, respect, or the inclination for cultural understanding of the Other are completely devoid in this societal attitude. There is a through line from the emergence of white supremacist thinking to slavery to colonialism to the systemic discrimination and violence against racialized people in our times. The justice system and the mainstream media (Jiwani, 2011) as well as the behaviour of elites manifest it on a regular basis.

Whiteness and the True Canadian

White supremacy's societal pervasiveness explains why the young Justin Trudeau felt completely comfortable wearing blackface (CBC News, 2019), among other places at West Point Grey Academy, which is in the vicinity of this campus. Whereas such depictions can be found as far back as Shakespeare's *Othello*, they reached their apogee after the US Civil War to mock African Americans who sought more rights.

> "It's an assertion of power and control," says David Leonard , a professor of comparative ethnic studies and American studies at Washington State University. "It allows a society to routinely and historically imagine African Americans as not fully human. It serves to rationalize violence and Jim Crow segregation." (Clark, 2021)

The minstrel shows, in which the invented African American character Jim Crow was a standard caricature, prefigured stereotypical depictions on film, radio, television, and the Internet. Blackface is transferable to other ethnicities, as Trudeau aptly showed in appearing as the Disney version of Aladdin, who happily sang about his country: "it's barbaric, but hey it's home" (Menken, 1992).

Other Canadian political leaders have reproduced white supremacist tropes on live TV. During a party leaders' debate in 2015, Stephen Harper argued for the interests of what he called "old stock Canadians" (Gollom, 2015) – an outmoded term denoting descendants of early European settlers. The French equivalent is "Canadiens de Vieille Souche" and in Quebec specifically – "*les Quebecois pure laine*" – pure wool Quebecers. In these terms, which have racist underpinnings, are embedded the ideas of who is the core Canadian Self distinct from the resident Other. Upon losing the 1995 referendum, which asked Quebecers whether their province should become a separate country, Premier Jacques Parizeau blamed the defeat on "*L'argent, puis des* votes ethniques" (money and the ethnic vote). He asserted that 60% of "*nous*" voted for sovereignty. The *nous* here, referring to the imagined core Quebecois Self, is "*pure laine*." It did not matter that the "ethnics" had learned and spoke French and it probably does not matter whether they remove their hijabs, turbans, and kippahs, as required for public service jobs by the current Quebec government (Quebec, 2019). They will remain the Other, for whom respect is set aside and for whose cultures and religions understanding is not necessary.

Pierre Poilievre, a candidate for the federal Conservative Party known for his provocative, populist rhetoric, stated that he speaks "Anglo-Saxon words" (YouTube, 2022) to get through to people. In recent times, "Anglo-Saxon" has become a code term used by right-wing US demagogues "when 'whites only' is too inclusive" (Serwer, 2021). Broadcasters briefly dwell on such high profile racist incidents when they occur and then move on to the next story, leaving racialized people to bear the discriminatory behaviour of the racists, emboldened by the exclusionary discourses of the country's leaders, in offices and the streets.

It is in the shifting meanings of words that are used to describe Canada and its population in the media, where we can see how symbolic constructions, deconstructions, and reconstructions in competing discourses serve to include or exclude specific types of people (Karim, 1993).

Witness some of the terms that have depicted Canada, its parts, and its inhabitants over the last three centuries: Turtle Island, Iroquois Confederacy, *Nouvelle France*, Lower Canada, Upper Canada, British North America, dominion, confederation, federal state, nation, provinces, territories, Great White North, White Man's Country, Denedeh, Nunavut, the Arctic, the Pacific region, the West, Central Canada, Atlantic Canada, the Maritimes, Native Canada, English Canada, French Canada, White Man's Province (i.e. British Columbia), distinct society (i.e. Quebec), the Quebec nation, ROC (Rest of Canada. i.e. Canada other than Quebec), bilingual, bicultural, multicultural, multiracial, mosaic, charter groups, founding nations, First Nations, aboriginal peoples, indigenous peoples, natives, status Indians, non-status Indians, reserve Indians, Eskimos, Inuit, Metis, *Canadiens français*, *Franco-Québécois*, *Québécois de souche*, *pure laine*, Whites, Caucasians, old stock Canadians, Anglo-Saxons, aboriginal language speakers, Indigenous language speakers, heritage language speakers, *allophones*, audible minorities, official language minorities, anglophones, francophones, English-language speakers, French-language speakers, *Francophones hors Québec*, *Francophone de Colombie-Britanique*, *Franco-Albertains*, *Franco-Manitobans*, *Fransaskois*, *Franco-Ontariens*, *les Acadiens*, Anglo Quebecers, *communautés culturelles*, ethnics, ethnocultural minorities, ethnoracial minorities, visible minorities, persons of colour, racialized Canadians, BIPOC, BIWOC, first-generation Canadians, new Canadians, immigrants, permanent residents, citizens, DPs (Displaced Persons), convention refugees, economic refugees, boat people, yacht people, etc. This long but partial list of designations reflecting varying perceptions of Canada and its human residents is illustrative of how terminology can become a veritable arena of competition between dominant, alternative, oppositional, and populist discourses.

Speaking about the image of "a true Canadian" in dominant discourses, former CBC radio journalist Dwight Whylie, who grew up in Jamaica, noted:

> You are white. You are Christian, either Protestant or Roman Catholic. You are anglophone or you are francophone. And you can trace your ancestry to Britain or France. If you belong to that definition, you're 100 per cent Canadian." (Boras, 1990, B3)

The imagined core national Self overshadows the resident Others, rendering unnecessary the need for inter-cultural respect and understanding, and leading to the denial of social justice.

The white Self is a flexible category that can be expanded or shrunk (Karim, 1996). There was a time when francophones in Montreal used to be told to "speak white!" i.e. English (Ruschiensky, 2018). That, of course, is no longer true. The Irish in North America were not considered white in the 19th century (Ignatiev, 1995). Now they are. In the early 20th century, Ukrainians in Canada were "called filthy, ignorant, lazy, immoral drunkards, a threat to the racial character and social stability of Canada" (Gray, 2017). Now, 100 years later, Russian President Vladimir Putin's invasion of Ukraine has produced a strong sense of fellowship in western countries with people in that country. Television channels have fallen over each other to make budgetary allocations to send journalists to that war zone. The underlying reason for this may have been articulated by Charlie D'Agata, CBS News Senior Foreign Correspondent, who, when reporting from Kiev, declared that Ukraine "isn't a place, with all due respect, like Iraq or Afghanistan, that has seen conflict raging for decades. This is a relatively civilized, relatively

European—I have to choose those words carefully, too—city, one where you wouldn't expect that, or hope that it's going to happen" (Butler, 2022).

Such statements, for which apologies are subsequently issued, reveal what causes some of the key decisions about media coverage of specific kinds of people. One can argue that D'Agata's comment does not reflect Canadian media organizations' views. But the fact remains that no broadcaster in this country has spent similar amounts of money, time, or care in covering the recent wars in Yemen, Ethiopia, Cameroon, Burkina Faso and Mali combined. The darker-skinned peoples of those countries do not seem to be considered "worthy victims," to use Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky's term (1988, p. 58). They are not viewed as "civilized" people like Ukrainians, whose pain and suffering matters and who deserve our respect. Racialized peoples are stereotyped as savage, among whom violence is common occurrence. Therefore, their conflicts are not worth covering in serious, sustained, and detailed manners. Canadian audiences supposedly do not need to understand them in depth and so our journalists do not have to waste much time on them. Of course, exceptions have to be made when oil, geopolitics, or terrorism against western targets are concerned.

The topos of Muslim violence that has existed in European literature for over a thousand years has enabled western media frequently to imply that all Islamic adherents are prone to terrorism (Karim, 2003). As violence by some Muslim actors came to the foreground, the phenomenon of terrorism came to be linked solely to the followers of Islam (e.g. Wilner, 2019), who are racialized in dominant western discourses (Thobani, 2020). The parts of Canadian history that have included terrorism by Irish, Doukhobor, and Quebecois groups (Azzi, 2017) are forgotten. Despite holding extreme right wing views, Alexandre Bissonnette was not charged with terrorism for killing six worshippers at a Quebec City mosque in 2017; his sentence for murder was later ameliorated by appeal courts (Banerjee, 2022). A media analysis of his attack and its aftermath's coverage showed that journalists were also reluctant to call him a terrorist. Instead he was depicted as an individual with severe mental health problems, as often happens when a non-racialized person commits such an atrocity. The study compared the coverage with that of the 2014 attack on Parliament by Michael Zehaf-Bibeau, which mainstream media routinely described as a "terrorist" attack by a "lone wolf" connected to "radical Islamic ideology" (Hassoun, 2022, p. 89). Terms like "Islam," "Islamic," and "Muslim" have been corrupted by politicians and journalists to demonize an entire community, which itself uses such words to describe its identity, piety, ethics, and moral conduct (Karim, 2014). Mainstream media have frequently failed to show respect towards Muslims or the desire to understand them. These attitudes appear to have dovetailed with the targeting and unjust treatment of Islam's adherents by the state (Zine, 2022).

Absence and Distortion in the Media

The two primary problems in the representation of racialized communities have been absence and distortion (Mahtani, 2008; Hirji, Jiwani, and McAllister, 2020). Indigenous peoples have long been invisible in the media. Even as the diversity of Canadians grew, only Euro-Canadians generally appeared on the screen until the 1980s. When racialized individuals were shown, it was largely in stereotypical portrayals. Representations of dark-skinned people were mostly restricted

to contexts such as crime. Broadcasters have come some distance in addressing this problem and there has been more inclusion since that time. Efforts have also been made to normalize their presence in portrayals of daily life (Karim, 2005). However, the overall effect of media depictions on the minds of Canadian audiences leaves much to be desired. The town of Hérouxville, Quebec, which had no racialized inhabitants, but whose councillors – influenced by journalistic portrayals of large cities – instituted racist codes of conduct for immigrants in 2007 (Stasiulis, 2013). Media workers need to recognize the impact that their alarmist representations have on people. Given their prominence in the public sphere, they share a significant part of the responsibility to enhance mutual respect and cultural understanding.

The older discourses are constantly awakened in the minds of audience members because they have been exposed to racist forms of representation over their lifetimes. We live in a world filled with multiple forms of media, from which audiences consume sounds and images in an inter-textual manner. Even though some mainstream broadcasters may disseminate fair representations, their material is received simultaneously with racist content from other sources. Disinformation and hate propaganda are ubiquitous in numerous traditional and new media sources (Reddi, 2021). The rise of populism has also fostered an elevated acceptability of racist discourse (Adam Sengul, 2022). Whereas it is important to establish specific policies to counter racism in broadcasting, there also must be a serious and active endeavour to account for the relentless waves of racist discourses that constantly erode the gains.

We should be vigilant that the improvements made in representation not disappear due to revanchist re-assertions of racial hegemony. There exists a constant possibility of regression, of sandcastles being washed away. In any case, the current practices of the mainstream broadcasters are far from being perfect. Despite their efforts, it seems that media workers continue unconsciously to reproduce racist hierarchies and portrayals that slip into the stereotypical (Jiwani, 2011; Al-Hassoun, 2022). They can prevent such depictions by seeking consciously to show respect and sincerely striving to understand racialized peoples in their professional practices.

Addressing the Root Problem

After studying the problem of media depictions for four decades, during which I have worked with broadcasters, advertisers and other media organizations as well as with academia, civil society associations and governments, I would like to take a step back and look at the larger and longer-term picture. There have been some achievements in moving towards fair and just depiction of racialized peoples in Canadian broadcasting. However, the structures of white supremacy remain deeply entrenched in society and they tend to manifest themselves in racist coverage. *The challenge is to address the problem at its roots by repairing the damage wreaked on human relationships by centuries of white supremacy*. A significant part of this task can be achieved by identifying and valorizing the core principles that can stand as effective defences against the continuing assaults of racism.

My conviction is that a viable anti-racism strategy in broadcasting should stand on purposive, progressive principles of a humanism that resonates broadly in society, thus ensuring wide

acceptance and the support of strategic allies. Universalist principles, which squarely address the continual reassertion of discriminatory media practices, should frame the overall plan's details. The specific measures in the proposed anti-racism strategy run the risk of collapse without the support of strong pillars. Having a basis in principles will provide coherence and resilience to the strategy.

The likelihood for gaining audiences', broadcasters', civil society's, and government's support for the strategy will grow if the principles speak to ideas that have widespread consensus in Canadian society. As mentioned earlier, my suggestions for the principles are Social Justice, Mutual Respect and Cultural Understanding. These are not new ideas, but they have broad-based acceptability in society and can counter the hegemony, endurance, and power of white supremacy at the source. They speak to an elevated and reparative sense of humanity. They also bear the potency of societal ethics. I will take the next few minutes to elaborate upon my proposed principles for Canadian broadcasting's anti-racism strategy.

Justice is the cornerstone of a well-functioning society. On it rests the obligations of the state and the hopes of citizens. Social justice is democracy's ultimate goal. A situation in which people feel that there is a lack of justice is the cause for social distress and turbulence. The benevolent state cares for all its citizens. White supremacy has, however, produced structures and systems of injustice that deny racialized peoples participation in critical aspects of social, cultural, and economic life. Their voices have been muted and their images distorted. Working towards social justice is part of the shared responsibility of all individuals and institutions.

The media, which are primary vehicles for public engagement, have had complicity in diminishing and distorting the societal presence of racialized peoples. Whereas broadcasters must abide by the professionalism proper to their sector, it is incumbent upon them to foster social justice. Their relationship with all citizens regarding employment in and depiction by their organizations has to be guided by the ethics of fairness, inclusiveness, non-discrimination, and equity. Given the central role of media in society, they have the obligation to be leaders in demonstrating their commitment to the principle of justice as it relates to administration and operation. A sincere adherence to this principle will facilitate media organizations' understanding of how the racist structures of white supremacy in their own practices are denying just treatment to racialized peoples. It will also make them more amenable to the proposed anti-racism strategy for broadcasters and to monitor themselves vigilantly to prevent backsliding.

Respect is an essential element for the societal harmony that benefits everyone. It opens the door to good relations and helps shut out hate. It enables the Self to welcome the stranger, the immigrant, the Other, or in the words of the poet William Butler Yeats, "friends you haven't yet met." Holding respect as a primary principal and social value assists organizations defend against the insidiousness of stereotypes. It helps us guard against the relentless discourses that would disparage people. It fosters the mindfulness not to attach the bad behaviour of an individual to an entire group. Respect leads to the desire to understand what we may hold to be alien ways of life. It also makes us think introspectively about our own likes and dislikes, our cultural traditions, and our religions in relation to those of others. Respect leads to inclusion and helps to dismantle structures of hierarchy as it facilitates an equitable relationship with all peoples.

Respecting diverse ways of life is a primary requirement for the media of a democratic society. Presenting certain cultures as exotic, strange, or bizarre produces a distance that often leads to alienation, marginalization, and discrimination. Depictions of others' clothing and customs should not become a way to produce disharmony between people. The media's practices in recognizing and honouring difference can help to reinforce the ethic of respect in society. Modes of journalistic reporting that normalize the existence of diversity can serve as models and incentives for good public behaviour. We can all learn from Musqueam people's aspirations to strive for empathy and compassion towards others.

Misinformation and disinformation exacerbate societal divisions. The norm of respect for all peoples can help act as a check against the proliferation of fake news that seeks to slander cultures. It serves as a defence against mindlessly forwarding media items that deliberately or unintentionally disparage others. Journalists who make respect a primary operational value will tend to engage in more rigorous fact checking than is usually the case when reporting on racialized individuals and groups. In adopting respect for all peoples as a formal, normative aspect of their work, the media will substantially strengthen their professional and institutional positions against racism.

Understanding is facilitated by respect. Diversity is an integral feature of Canada and difference is not a threat to the Self but a source of its enhancement. We are interconnected and interdependent in ways that we do not always understand. Being open to the sincere endeavour of knowing the historical and cultural contexts in which various groups operate is essential for a healthy, diverse country. Aspects of others' cultures and religions may sometimes seem repugnant. One should ask:

- why do I feel that way?
- how do I come to dislike and even hate others?
- what frameworks of thought promote such feelings in me?

Colonial structures of knowing others have usually been driven by white privilege and the motivation to exploit rather than to promote fellowship (Said, 1978). It is important to understand the sources that produce one's biases, prejudices, and what Walter Lippmann, called "the pictures in our heads" (1922, p. 1).

The racist frameworks of thought that are at the root of society's primary discourses often shape representations in the news, documentaries, and entertainment shows. Mainstream media subscribe to society's hegemonic discourses in interpreting events and peoples' actions. The normative tendency, as a result, is to produce biased portrayals and to deny the existence of racism when it occurs.

Journalists and other media workers of all cultural backgrounds who are committed to anti-racist portrayals of people must be literate about racist discursive structures' pervasiveness, persistence, and power. An anti-racism strategy can only be effective when white supremacy's ubiquitous presence is comprehended and is accounted for in the long term. Since media workers bear a unique responsibility in society, they must disengage personally from singular allegiances to any one culture, group, institution, ideology etc. The views of all those appearing in a news

report or entertainment program should be foregrounded, as much is possible, not just those of certain socio-economic echelons. Understanding the critical value of such approaches to their work will help broadcasters to overcome racist depictions and to uphold the professionalism and integrity that their audiences deserve.

RECOMMENDATION

CMAC should construct a principial framework to serve as a basis for a robust and long-term anti-racism strategy for Canadian broadcasting. Such an approach will assist in accounting for the resistance that the strategy will face from positions that explicitly or implicitly support the continuation of a racial hierarchy in Canada. It is important that a framework of widely-accepted, appropriate, and coherent principles enable the strategy's detailed recommendations to counter the ongoing onslaught of white supremacy. I propose that the principles of Social Justice, Mutual Respect, and Cultural Understanding serve as the basis for the Anti-Racism Strategy for Canadian Broadcasting. They have the potency to be touchstones of integrity in the media's representation of people.

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