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**LOST IN TRANSLATION? COVERAGE OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN
IN SELECTED ETHNIC PRESS IN THE GREATER TORONTO AREA**

by

Aldith Dahlia Phillips, Honors BA, York University, 2004

A Major Research Paper
presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in the Program of
Immigration and Settlement Studies

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2007

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Acknowledgement

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Most of all, thank you, God.

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Master of Arts
Immigration and Settlement Studies
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Abstract

This paper seeks to determine what ethnic press reveals about immigrant political behaviour and/or participation during the federal election campaign, and if any linkages between ethnic press and immigrant political behaviour can be established. The federal election campaign of between November 2005 and January 2006 presents a cross sectional panel of time during which a content analysis of three papers targeting the Italian, Portuguese and Jewish communities will be analyzed. The research also applies theories of media effects and influence and Media of Diaspora framework in an attempt to assess the coverage of the federal election campaign in the ethnic press selected for this study. The research suggests that ethnic press will continue to play an important role and may be an essential tool to motivate or promote immigrant and ethnic political participation.

Keywords: ethnic press, immigrant political participation, transnationalism

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1. Introduction

The political behavior and political integration of ethnic minorities and immigrant communities into the Canadian society continues to be a subject worthy of scholarly research, because one of the major ideals of multiculturalism is the recognition of the culture of ethnic or racial minorities, and the facilitation of full and equitable participation at all levels of society (Fleras, 1992; Tolley and Biles, 2005). Therefore, studies seek to forge a greater understanding of the political behaviour and/or political integration of immigrant communities and ethnic minorities, and gauge the inclusiveness of political institutions in terms of how they reflect Canada's diversity.

Beyond a mere understanding of the form of government and/or the electoral process, researchers investigate the level of political inclusion in terms of civic engagement. Thus, studies focus on the question of representation of ethnic minorities across the various levels of government and in the political parties. With specific reference to participation in federal elections, research analyzes empirical data to determine the percentage of immigrant voter turn out compared with that of the general population, and the overall success of ethnic minority candidates (Black, 2001; 2000; Black and Hicks, 2006; Black and Lakani, 1997; Henderson, 2005; Jedwab, 2005; Siemiatycki and Matheson, 2005; Siemiatycki and Saloojee, 2003). As a result of this genre of inquiry, Hamdani, Bhatti and Munawar (2005), for example, highlight the political participation and empowerment of Muslims in the 2004 federal election campaign. A record number of ten candidates ran in the election. Three were successful, one of the three, Yasmin Ratansi, became the first Muslim woman ever to be elected. This unprecedented event has signalled the political empowerment of this community.

Notwithstanding the relevance of these studies, there appears to be a paucity of research of other forms of political participation aimed at demonstrating how immigrants and ethnic communities are engaged in the political process, and mobilized to civic responsibility. This type of political participation may be observed in ethnic press. I propose that ethnic press presents a window or lens through which political engagement and mobilization may be observed. Mainstream press has been recognized for its impact on the political behaviour of the society at large. However, it appears that the social influence of ethnic media in general is not well understood, and is a subject that is relatively neglected. Hence, this paper attempts to explore what ethnic press reveals about the political behavior of immigrant communities and ethnic minorities.

The Italian, Portuguese and Jewish communities have been chosen as case studies because they are considered to be among the more established ones in Toronto, and are served by publications which have been in circulation for decades. The publications are available in an official language (English) and non official languages (Italian and Portuguese). The federal election campaign that took place between November, 2005 and January, 2006 provides the cross-sectional panel of time in which political involvement may be observed.

The research question of this paper seeks to determine what ethnic press reveals about ethnic minority and immigrant political behaviour and/or participation during the federal election campaign, or if there are any linkages between ethnic press and political behaviour. In answering this question, I will examine two points. First, to what extent ethnic press promotes or encourages political engagement or mobilizes community members - promoting civic responsibility- and informing readers on the voting process. Secondly, I will seek to discover how, or to what extent do political parties campaign in ethnic press. It is widely known that for their electoral success, the Liberal Party, “depends on multicultural ridings of Canada’s major

metropolitan areas” (Gerber, 2006, p. 106). Therefore, I suggest that campaigning in ethnic press may be a means of tapping into this electoral resource.

Before attempting to answer these questions, key terms and concepts will be defined. The concept of “immigrant political integration,” refers to the expressed interest, involvement and inclusion of immigrants in the political process. Immigrant political behaviour or attitudes may be determined by the degree or level of political integration. Black (1986) provides a more comprehensive definition of immigrant political involvement:

“...concrete participation acts, i.e., activity designed to influence government decision-making and policy application. It can also include forms of psychological political engagement such as exhibiting interest in Canadian politics. Political involvement is important insofar as it plays a vital role in relationship to the expression of preferences and demands; however, it is also necessary to recognize that in and of itself political involvement is a critical indicator of the extent to which immigrants may feel fully part of Canadian society (Black, 1986, p. 4).

From the definition above, there are two main expressions of immigrant political participation: one is the psychological or the demonstration of an interest in politics, the other is that of making specific demands. Immigrant political behaviour may be considered to be the political attitudes and preferences that immigrants have especially where the demands for government services are impacted, and where there is a demand for government action or, perhaps, inaction. My definition of coverage of the federal election campaign in ethnic press places emphasis on articles that highlight immigrant political engagement and or participation. The articles may reflect a bird’s eye view of immigrant political participation. This top-down approach may present general perspectives on the political engagement in the communities. However, it is

possible that the coverage may reveal attempts to mobilize the communities from the bottom up or through grassroots activities.

Another key concept used in this paper is “ethnic press”. This has been defined as: “[A] conglomerate of periodicals published in Canada, in both official and non-official languages, by and for ethnocultural groups to: assist immigrants during the transitional period of their adaptation to the host country; and to help these groups in maintaining and further developing their cultural heritage in the Canadian milieu (Zybala, 1982, p. 15). This definition alludes to the solidification or internal cohesion of the group within Canadian society. I suggest that the term “adaptation” can also refer to political participation.

The terms ‘ethnic groups/communities’ and ‘immigrant communities’ are frequently used in this paper. Early definitions of ‘ethnic’ by political strategists referred to the minority groups of voters that were not British or French (Champion, 2006). The communities I have chosen for this study comprise immigrants to Canada as well as succeeding generations who may be considered as being part of the ethnic community because of their linguistic, religious and cultural heritage, and, together, they have banded together to form an entity or polity.

In his article “Your Vote Needn’t be Lost in Translation” (*Toronto Star*, 2006, January 20 p. B2) Nicolas Keung, reports that Elections Canada sought to clarify the voting process by publishing a series of ads in some 26 languages in order to promote political awareness in 50 minority-heavy ridings, 24 of which are in the Greater Toronto Area. The concept of ‘lost in translation’ is often applied to the challenges that are inherent in translating concepts from one language to another. Jonathan Rée (2001) affirms that “complete faithfulness in translation is an obvious impossibility. As everyone knows, any text can be interpreted in innumerable ways.” He states further that “[t]here is no translation without interpretation” (p. 224). The scope of this

paper seeks to examine the question of immigrant political participation and advances beyond the translation of the mechanics of voting. It will not permit an in depth study of the art of translation of campaign messages. In the context of this research, the concept “lost in translation” is redefined or expanded to include cultural misunderstandings and misgivings. This dissonance is evident where there are attempts made to understand the political acculturation and adaptation of ethnic groups or immigrant communities in the Canadian society. As a result, I suggest that information on this subject may be lost in translation. These themes are explored further in the literature review.

2. Review of pertinent literature

A survey of a number of texts on Canadian democracy and politics and Canadian mass media reveals that space is devoted to discussion on the role of mass media – specifically newspapers- and their power to set the political agenda through the influence of political columnists and editorial writers. There is, however, virtually no reference to ethnic press as a component of mass media. These texts also point out that diversity is a core value of Canadian politics, yet no connections are made between the diverse ethnic and immigrant communities and the significance of their newspapers (see, for example, Brooks, 2004; Dyck, 2006; Fletcher and Everett, 1991, 2005; Jackson and Jackson, 2006a, 2006b; Seigel, 1996). Black and Leithner have argued that “the interactions between mainstream media and political behaviour have not been logically extended to encompass the relationship between non-official...media consumption and the political behaviour of immigrants” (1997, p.208). It appears that these interactions remain unaccounted for.

Research on ethnic media and immigrant or ethnic communities often lead to the publications on the portrayal of these constellations in mainstream media. Mainstream media are hardly the best sources for research on ethnic and immigrant political integration. A study of major papers such as the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail* reveals that the images in the newspapers fail to match the images of the people seen in the streets (Miller, 1994). Mainstream media are the primary source of values and beliefs from which provide people construct an image of their world. Fleras and Leonard Elliot (1992) suggest that mainstream media have not fully implemented the principles of multiculturalism into their operational philosophy and procedures. Studies point out the racial, stereotypical narratives and coded messages that are transmitted which present ethnic minorities as social problems or as being socially undesirable (Fleras, 1995; Fleras

and Leonard Elliot, 1992; Fleras and Lock Kunz , 2001; Riggins, 1992 ; Wilson II and Gutiérrez, 1995). Ethnic and immigrant communities have expressed frustration at how the main stream media portrays their involvement in the social, economic and political spheres in Canada (Davie, 2002, Henry, 2002; Miller, 1994). For this reason, I suggest that coverage of issues affecting immigrant communities and ethnic groups are frequently lost in translation in mainstream media.

During the election campaign, the *Toronto Star* included articles on the demographic profiles and the major election issues of the various ridings in the Greater Toronto Area. The *Star* also published an article entitled “Cracks in Liberal Bedrock Liberals Lose Ethnic Support” which featured several ethnic publications and their circulation data as well as sound bites from their editors highlighting the key issues affecting their respective communities. The article presents issues such as the Portuguese being dissatisfied with the high cable costs to access specialty channels from Portugal, credential recognition of internationally trained immigrants, and Canadian involvement in the war in Afghanistan. The aim of the report was to point out the disaffection with the Liberal Party (*Toronto Star*. 2006, January19, p. A1, A9). To its credit, the article acknowledges the various ethnic press and the communities they serve, however, it emphasizes the litany of complaints in contrast to information on immigrant political participation.

There have been attempts made to understand the role of ethnic media as a means of integrating the communities into the Canadian society. Searches executed using scholarly research databases with descriptors such as “immigrant political participation” “ethnic/minority community” “ethnic press” “ethnic media” often produce a plethora of studies in this area relevant to the United States. With respect to the Canadian context, I find that studies tend to either underscore the ethnocentricity of ethnic press (Anderson and Frideres, 1981; Lam, 1997), or point out that ethnic press facilitates the assimilation or acculturation of ethnic groups in the Canadian

society (Kirshbaum, 1985; Surlin and Romanow, 1985; Black and Leithner, 1997). The works of Lam (1997) and Black and Leithner (1997), for example, illustrate the divergence in conclusions drawn on the role attributed to ethnic press.

Lam's (1997) research seeks to determine if ethnic press presents information to new arrivals that facilitate their acculturation into a new society. Questions were posed to readers of two Chinese newspapers *Shing Wah* (China Awake) and *The Chinese Express* designed to reflect the respondent's level of acculturation or knowledge of Canadiana- defined more specifically as knowledge of Canadian characters, personalities, symbols and institutions. The study found news items from Hong Kong were more abundant than Canadian content and "homeland news predominate[d] Canadian news" (Lam, 1997, p. 238, 239). Respondents appeared not to be well acculturated in terms of their knowledge of Canadiana. The study concluded that for the Chinese, ethnic media were not important sources of information and acculturation was not directly related to levels of consumption of ethnic media.

Conversely, Black and Leithner's (1997) study is based on probability sampling methods and face to face interview techniques of immigrants from four main geographical regions; Southern Europeans, Northern Europeans, East Europeans and British West Indians. Participants responded to questions about their consumption of media, the amount of coverage on Canadian politics and the relevance of the material covered. The study found it challenging to correlate the consumption of the media and immigrant political adaptation in terms of political behaviour and attitudes, and suggests that further research is required in this area. However, Black and Leithner discover that politicization was impacted largely by print media in comparison to electronic media. They explain this finding by suggesting that electronic media such as television are "insufficiently rigorous to play an informative role" (1997, p. 222). The researchers suggest

that although more research was needed to qualify the positive role that ethnic media play with respect to political integration, they conclude that , “ethnic media do not in any systematic way shield individuals from the kinds of message and stimuli that bear upon the nature of political life in Canada” (1997, p. 223).

These studies represent significant attempts to understand the role of ethnic media as facilitators of (political) integration. However, Simard et. al. (1991) suggest that very few authors have broached the subject of the effectiveness of media in mobilizing for political action. It seems, therefore, that specific questions regarding the role of ethnic media and its potential to facilitate the political participation/integration of immigrant and ethnic communities appear to be limited to a few key studies, and seems, for the most part, to remain in the blindspot of scholarly research. My exploratory study seeks to build on, or advance the knowledge of this theme.

An essential premise underlying the research undertaken on the impact of media on political behaviour is that a democratic society depends on the decisions of voters to elect representatives, and the society also depends on mass communication – media- to inform the electorate. I have pointed out the paucity of research on political participation and ethnic press, nevertheless, the (political) integration of immigrant communities and ethnic minorities has at times made an appearance on the radar screens of the Canadian government and the academic community when this subject became the dominant discourse. This point will be illustrated in the following sections in which I also introduce models and theoretical frameworks for analysis of the effect of mass communication- media- on political behaviour.

My research draws on works by Kraus and Davis (1976), Williams (2003) and Berger, (2005) which conceptualize the impact that media have on their audience. These works propose models of analysis of how political information is communicated in mass communication,

and how their effect or influence on political behavior may be explained. I refer to research by Karim (2003), which points out the relationship between ethnic communities and their media with respect to fostering political activism on issues pertaining to the country of origin. These models will be explored in the following sections.

The Hypodermic Needle Model

This model presupposes that information is transmitted directly to the public by the media, and is the direct cause of political action. Developed during the time of World War I, this model explained the use of propaganda to manipulate national audiences. It was believed that media could inject the population with information – propaganda- that would provoke a particular response or behaviour. In other words, the assumption was that media effects were simple and direct, and that there was a causal relationship between what individuals see, hear and read in the media and their attitudes, behaviour and knowledge. This model was also applied to attitudes towards ethnic press, which served as a loyalty litmus test in its expression of the political views of a particular group on political issues in the adopted homeland and in the country of origin.

This model may be used to explain the distrust of ethnic press- particularly foreign language press- which peaked especially following the World Wars, and during the era of the Cold War in Canada. During this period, foreign language press was considered to be a tool for manipulating immigrant opinion and inciting discord within the group and/or becoming a potential “fifth column of opinion” should the country of immigration be at odds with the groups’ original homeland (Harney 1982, p.3). Foreign- language press was considered to be a sign of unwelcomed diversity, and the source of subversion. Foreign-born editors were considered to be agents of fostering disloyalty. Ethnic press was routinely monitored by the Ethnic Press Analysis Section of the Citizenship Branch during the 1950s. Provincial ministries also prepared and

submitted summaries of editorials and news items in ethnic press for the information of Cabinet. Editors of ethnic press often came under scrutiny to determine their ideological leanings and the persuasive power they were deemed to hold over their readers. However, scholarly interest in ethnic press waned when it was no longer perceived to be a threat to the Canadian society (Harney, 1982).

Between 1950s and 1970s, there was a marked change in attitude towards immigrant groups and their press. Politicians in urban areas, recognized the strength of immigrant groups and “fierce battles emerged...to capture the “ethnic vote”[sic]” (Palmer, 1991 p. 25). Champion’s (2006) historiographical research of this time period entitled “Courting our Ethnic Friends”, confirms that ethnic press was one of the tools employed to influence ethnic votes. The political suitors who were chiefly the Conservative and Liberal parties, engaged in a campaign of building contacts within ethnic communities to include editors of ethnic press and radio. Strategists were positive that advertising in ethnic press was instrumental in getting ethnic votes. I posit that this assertion is no less relevant to twenty-first century election campaigning.

The hypodermic needle model emphasizes the power of the message and the passivity of the audience. It has been superseded by other models and theories that consider social and/or psychological, and other variables. It has been useful to describe earlier attitudes to ethnic press, namely those published in non-official languages, but it will not be the model of choice for the case studies I will present.

The Social Influence or Two-Step Model

The hypodermic needle model emphasizes the media as the major stimuli to political action. This suggests that the audience is directly influenced by media and does not take into consideration other social variables. The Social Influence or Two-Step model (Kaus and Davis , 1976; Williams, 2003) points out there may be members of society who have distinguished themselves for their political knowledge and who relay political messages to others, and in so doing, they may be able to impact the political decisions of their community members. These persons are referred to as opinion leaders. Opinion leaders are characterized as having strong political beliefs and as paying closer attention to the media.

The analysis of the coverage of the federal election campaign in selected ethnic press has the potential of revealing the viewpoints articulated by opinion leaders who play an important role in promulgating political information to the ethnic community. My research has the potential to identify the extent to which opinion leaders influence, guide or steer the community towards making certain political choices, and how these messages are channeled through ethnic press. If this is the case, then this may be an acknowledgement that there is an ethnic vote which can be swayed or persuaded through ethnic press.

The Social Influence mode appears to emphasize the role of individuals, however, I suggest that the definition of opinion leaders may be extended to include institutions or organizations within ethnic polities. Ethnic polities are highly integrated entities, that is, they may exhibit a high degree of internal cohesion. As a political organization, ethnic polities are compared to the state, but without legal resources to enforce decisions made. Instead, polities rely on voluntary compliance, and a sense of duty and loyalty by its members. In general, polities consist

of a variety of voluntary organizations, and provide a range of services such as social, cultural or political. At times, there is a noted community organization or leadership that articulates the interests and/or concerns of the community at large (Weinfeld, 1986). The opinion leaders may express views that are respected by the voters and exert an influence because of their knowledge and/or expertise on a particular matter, and “play a critical role in the dissemination of ideas and attitudes from the media to less active or involved sections of the population” (Williams, 2003, p. 175). I suggest that apart from individuals, ethnic institutions may also be instrumental in issuing statements of strong political beliefs and may relay these messages in an attempt to mobilize political participation on issues salient in the community.

The uses and gratification approach

The two-step model emphasizes the role of opinion leaders, and this may imply that there is some degree of passivity on the part of the audience in making political decisions. The uses and gratification approach, however, assumes that the audience’s needs and desires inform the process of making sense of media messages. There are three assumptions; first, the audience is active or engaged and use the media for their own purposes. Secondly, the audience is self-aware to be able to articulate their needs. Thirdly, media compete with other sources -older or conventional-of need satisfaction.

Research adopting the uses and gratification approach to assess the reasons for the consumption of certain kinds of media found that, generally, the media of choice promote a sense of belonging, acquire insight into self and others, provide an opportunity for wishful thinking and experiencing emotional release (Surlin and Romanow, 1985; Williams, 2003). Ethnic media may also take the form of “symbolic reordering of prestige or the actual pursuit of political...power” This reordering of prestige aims to empower the community and, according to Riggins, the

coverage may “concentrate on topics flattering to the minority group” (Riggins, 1992, p.278). Riggins infers that at its basic level, empowerment of the minority group proceeds through content that “stresses the differences between minority and majority populations” (1992, p. 278). However, I suggest that empowerment may also proceed through coverage that emphasizes the achievements of members of the group. I further suggest that this coverage may either complement or add value to information available in mainstream media; it may also present, with some degree of prominence, coverage of the achievements of community members that may not be captured by mainstream media. With respect to the elections campaign, coverage in ethnic press may enhance the image of ethnic candidates or the community as a whole by including positive and inspirational stories that may be biographical in nature and emphasize accomplishments. These points explain why ethnic press resonates well with its audience.

Research applying the uses and gratification approach discovered that ethnic press presents information on the country of settlement, world events, news from the country of origin, community news and editorial features. It is important to bear in mind that consumers of ethnic press are by no means a homogenous group, and there are structural, content and functional differences among the various ethnic newspapers. Nevertheless, Surlin and Romanow suggest that the content of heritage language press should present favourable self images of the immigrant and ethnic community. These favourable images not only improve the communities’ self esteem, but, they should present a message of acceptance for Canada’s cultural mosaic while assisting the group to retain its cultural rights (1997, p. 262-268).

I hypothesize that the application of the uses and gratifications approach to the coverage of the federal election campaign in ethnic press may reveal a brand of coverage that responds to the needs of the audience that may not be available in mainstream press. This not only

includes a translation or summary of the voting process and the campaign platforms in the heritage language, but also profiles of ethnic candidates and other information that may enhance the self image of the community and promote political activism.

Media of Diaspora

Ethnic media can be a vital means by which information on events occurring in the homeland is transmitted, and such information and images may also be the catalyst to mobilize the community to political activism (Karim, 2003). To describe the relationship between an ethnic group or immigrant community and the country of origin, the terms ‘diaspora’ and ‘transnationalism’ have often been used interchangeably. The term diaspora has its origins in the Greek word *diaspeirein* which is associated with the scattering of seeds. Diaspora has often been the term of choice to characterize the existence of Jewish communities across the world. Frequently, the term is referred to non-white ethnic communities who preserve their cultural heritage and remain distinct in their countries of residence. This characterization eclipses other European migrants who may assimilate relatively easily within other ‘white’ host countries, but who preserve their cultural identity (Karim, 2003).

Karim (2003) observes that diasporas experience strong emotional ties to the ancestral territory, which creates a demand for cultural products that maintain and/or fortify ties binding the diaspora to the homeland. Technological advances have facilitated the acquisition of cultural products from other parts of the world, hence, “governments are finding it increasingly difficult to assimilate minorities into the dominant national culture in the face of globalization—from-below”(p. 285). With reference to ethnic media in Canada, Karim advances that most third language media in Canada have substantial diasporic content and points out that

there are hundreds of publications that are becoming increasingly sophisticated with respect to their operation and content that they may compete with mainstream newspapers. This observation underscores the relevance of ethnic media as a respectable source of information and its significance to its audience.

Wong and Satzewich (2006) define diaspora as a “concomitant of transnationalism” so that transnationalism may “encompass diaspora, but suggest that not all transnational communities are diasporas (p.5, 6). Transnationalism is defined as “the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlements” and those immigrants who build these social fields are “transmigrants.” As such, transmigrants “develop and maintain multiple linkages which include, but are not limited to familial, economic social, organizational, religious and political relations that span borders (Schiller, Basch and Blanc Szanton, 1992, p.1).

Multiculturalism is a means of managing diversity within the nation-state, however, immigrants engage in “transnational practices” which would suggest that they form bonds that extend beyond the Canadian border (Wong and Satzewich, 2006, p.1). Examples of this are dual citizenship and involvement in politics in their countries of origin. I hypothesize that the concept of Media of Diaspora will be relevant to an assessment of political activism exhibited by transmigrants to impact policies affecting the community at the local level, and foreign policy of the adopted homeland towards the homeland, and vice versa. An analysis of the case studies will point out the significance of diaspora and/or transnationalism in the coverage of the federal elections. The role that ethnic press plays in providing information on the federal election campaign as well as issues occurring on the home front will be crucial to gaining further

understanding of the political engagement of immigrant communities. The question of primacy given to events occurring in the country of origin in ethnic media raises the debate regarding evidence of immigrant communities and ethnic groups becoming full fledged citizens in the adopted homeland. The demands or claims made by these groups, in terms of foreign policy of the adopted homeland towards the country of origin and vice versa, may beg the question as to where loyalties lie.

3. The Election Campaign 2006: A Climate for Political Participation?

The Context

At this juncture, I present the context of the federal election campaign which took place between November 2005 and December 2006. The Chief Electoral Officer, Jean-Pierre Kingsley (2006) reports that this was the first winter election in a quarter of a century, and there was the potential that adverse weather could impact political participation. The potential for inclement weather together with steadily declining levels of voter turn out since 1988, were a combination of circumstances that did not appear to contribute to an ideal climate for voter participation. However, in the final analysis of the Election Campaign 2006, Kingsley's report indicates the voter turn out rate registers a 6.9 per cent increase over the last federal elections held in 2004, and this marks the first increase in voter turn out in almost 20 years (see http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=p4&dir=rep/re2/sta_2006&lang=e&textonly=false). The unique circumstances- political climate- surrounding the call for the elections may have prompted voters to be more politically engaged, and to take political action.

It is said of Paul Martin Jr. that he sought to avenge the failings of his father, who was unsuccessful in his bid for the Liberal party leadership and to secure the position of Prime Minister in the eras of Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau. Within the Liberal party, it became clear that there were rifts between supporters of the leader and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, and those who supported Martin. By November 2003, following the retirement of Chrétien, a convention validated Martin as the leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister. Martin made significant attempts to create a new brand of leadership such as restructuring the government, and tabling the 2004 budget to follow through on spending commitments (Clarkson, 2005).

However, there were rumblings of a brewing scandal. The Auditor General tabled a report that uncovered the mishandling of public funds with respect to the federal advertising and the sponsorship of initiatives in Québec to increase the visibility of federalism and the Liberal Party (see, for example, *Toronto Star*. 2006, February 6; *Toronto Star*. 2006, February 10). The Liberals were rocked by what was dubbed the “sponsorship scandal” as more information came to light about the extent of the public funds mismanagement. Italian Canadian Liberal politician Alfonso Gagliano, an ambassador to Denmark, was recalled to answer questions concerning the scandal, since he was Minister of Public Works in Québec under whose watch the scheme, to some extent, had occurred. Gagliano was also alleged to have ties to the Mafia- a soldier in a powerful crime family in Montreal (*Toronto Star*. 2004, November 19), which he vehemently denied (*Toronto Star*. 2004, November 22).

Clarkson (2005) infers that the scandal could have been handled by suggesting that the matter needed further investigation and there would be an eventual discipline by a commission of inquiry. This approach would have buried the issue at least until the 2004 elections were over. Instead, Martin tried to utilize the issue to prove that he “represented a different kind of politics” and made televised speeches that demonstrated his “indignation” and his determination to punish those responsible (p. 241-244). The Liberal party won a minority government in 2004. Martin had called for an investigation into the scandals- a move that may later be regarded as the recipe for disaster. Mr. Justice Gomery’s investigative report on the scandals placed the blame squarely on the Prime Minister’s Office, and suggested that Canadian’s trust in the system of government was “subverted and betrayed” (*Globe and Mail*. 2005, November 1). Towards the end of November 2005, the Liberals were unable to defeat a no-confidence motion, and Canadians prepared to go to the polls on January 23, 2006. The call for election not only threatened Martin’s dream of being

Prime Minister, it also threatened the hegemony of the Liberal party, which had been undefeated since 1993.

To be able to retain its dominance in Canadian politics, the Liberal party would have to perform substantial damage control with respect to the scandals. I have pointed out that the Liberal party depends on votes from multicultural ridings in major metropolitan areas. Ethnic press is a means of reaching the multicultural audiences. Therefore, for the Liberal party, coverage of the federal election campaign should prove to be crucial to woo multicultural voters and convince Liberal supporters to remain faithful in spite of the scandals. For other major political parties such as the Conservatives and the New Democratic Party, this could be the opportunity to make significant political gains. It would be of interest to observe the extent to which ethnic press reveals how its audience is mobilized and motivated to political action.

The Communities

I have selected the Italian, Portuguese and Jewish communities for this study because they share a number of similarities. One of the major characteristics shared by these communities is that they immigrated to Canada from Europe, and were at some time considered to be the least desirable candidates for admission into the country. Canadian immigration policy of the late nineteenth century favoured immigrants from Europe who were Scandinavian, German, northern Europeans and Americans (see Kelley and Trebilcock, 2000, p. 99, 107). One of the widely held assumptions was that the “assimilability and desirability of various European ethnic groups declined as one moved through Europe from north to south” (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2000 p. 134). Immigration policies also systematically discriminated against Jewish immigration. This population grew “modestly” during the nineteenth century (Siemiatycki et al, 2003, p. 377).

Hundreds of Jews and other refugees took advantage of group settlement opportunities to settle in the Canadian West between 1881 and 1882. Russian Jews were accepted provided that they had farming experience and possessed capital and expertise to develop the Canadian economy. However, upon arrival, they faced hardship and discrimination. Notwithstanding, by the turn of the twentieth century, the Jewish population of Canada increased almost ten fold reaching approximately 17, 000 (Kelley and Trebilcock 2000, p. 74-75).

The first half of the twentieth century saw large waves of immigrants from these ethnic groups to Toronto. Factors contributing to this tap-on immigration flow include the postwar economic boom and the shortage of labour in the 1950s, as well as pressure from allies to assist in the resettlement of refugees and displaced persons resulting from the World Wars. Large waves of Italian, Portuguese and Jewish immigrants settled in major urban centres across Canada, and especially Toronto (Kelley and Treblecock, 2000, Siemiatycki et al, 2003).

Italian immigrants were not the first choice to fill the shortage of man power. The tapering off of immigrants from traditional source countries fostered changes to the immigration system to allow Italians to enter Canada and secure employment in the resource and manufacturing industries. Consequently, the number of Italian immigrants in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area increased ten-fold, from 27, 000 to 270,000 between 1951 and 1971. By 1961, it was estimated that Italians became “the largest non- British ethnic group in Toronto” (Siemiatycki et al., 2003, p. 386).

During the time frame mentioned above, the Canadian and Portuguese governments negotiated to recruit men from Portugal, Madeiras and the Azores. Upon arrival in Canada, the recruits were dispersed to various employers who were prearranged by the Department of Labour. At first there was not a discernable settlement pattern, however, successive waves of immigrants

over a period of about three years settlement patterns emerged; Portuguese communities became established in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal. By 1960, 40 per cent all Portuguese migrating to Canada, settled in Toronto. (Higgs, 1992, p.9). Between 65 and 70 per cent of the Portuguese living in Toronto were from the Azores (Texeira, 2003, p.19).

Many Jews fleeing persecution and poverty in Eastern and Central Europe settled in Winnipeg, Montreal and Toronto. Within the first two decades of the twentieth century the rate of Jewish settlement in Toronto increased by as much as 1000 per cent. By 1931, Jews were the largest non-British group in Toronto, followed by the Italians. During the first half of the twentieth century, Jews were consistently “the only non-British ethnic group with more than 5 per cent of the city’s population” (Siemiatycki et al. 2003, p. 337). By the 1950s, Toronto was home to over 59,000 Jews and represented about 5 per cent of the city’s population.

Another major feature of these groups is that they are considered to be institutionally complete, or highly developed ethnic polities. As I indicated earlier, ethnic polities generally consist of a variety of voluntary organizations, and provide a range of social, cultural or political services to meet the needs of the members of the communities. Another significant aspect of the ethnic polity is the publishing of newspapers. The major longstanding publications produced by these polities are considered in this study. Ethnic publications not only articulate the interests and concerns of the group, I restate that they have the potential to be tools to mobilize the community to political action.

4. Data collection and Methodology

As stated in the introduction, the federal election campaign between November 2006 and January 2006 is the cross-sectional panel of time being considered for this exploratory research. The study is largely qualitative and employs a content analysis of three ethnic media – the Italian publication *Corriere Canadese* (*Canadian Mail*), the Portuguese weekly paper *Sol Português* (Portuguese Sun) and the weekly English language publication targeting the Jewish community, *The Canadian Jewish News* (CJN). Articles from *Corriere* and the CJN were obtained from the Metro Toronto Reference Library in Toronto. In the case of *Sol Português*, permission was granted by the editor of Sol Português Publishing Inc. for copies of relevant issues to be made for the purposes of this research project.

Given that the papers selected for this project target three different communities, and vary in size, frequency of publication and approach to the coverage of the election, I will provide a brief description of each publication. Table 1 presents a brief summary of the data collected. I will elaborate on samples of data collected and provide an analysis by applying the models of analysis and theoretical frameworks presented in the literature review. I will conclude with an overview and analysis of the findings and propose directions for future research on the question of ethnic/immigrant communities and political integration.

Name of Publication	Circulation data (No. of copies)	Frequency of Publication	Approximate No. of articles obtained for analysis
<i>Corriere Canadese</i>	30,000	6 days per week	115
<i>Sol Português</i>	12,000	Weekly	19
<i>The Canadian Jewish News</i>	50,000	Weekly	16

Table 1: Summary of Data

Collecting data poses a challenge especially when the media selected for analysis are published in three different languages. A manual selection of articles was based on a combination of manifest coding or the number of times a specific word or phrase appears in the text (see Table 2). Manifest coding, however, does not take into consideration the various connotations of words and phrases. For this reason, latent coding, or the implicit meaning of the text is taken into consideration (Neuman, 2006). Utilizing latent coding, I selected articles based on references to concepts arising out of the literature review. Hence, articles were perused in order to ascertain the opinion leaders of the group, information on the political behavior, voting trends, transnational linkages exhibited through Media of Diaspora, as well as to determine major campaign issues.

List of key words and phrases		
English	Italian	Portuguese
election / federal election	Elezioni / Politiche	Eleições / eleições federais
Election campaign	Tornata / campagna elettorale	Campanha eleitoral
Vote / voters	Voto (alle urne)	Votos / votar
Liberals, Conservatives/ Tori, NDP	Liberali, Conservatori (Tori), Ndp	Liberais, Conservadores, NDP
Debate	Dibattito	Debate
Election results	Risultati	Resultados eleitorais

Table 2: List of key words and phases

The words and phrases in Italian and Portuguese are not necessarily a direct translation of terms and concepts in English, but serve as a guide to maintain consistency and integrity of the data. Table 2 indicates the key words in English, Italian and Portuguese.

The position of articles within the paper is also significant. Fleras (2003) points out that the special arrangement of a pyramid conceptualizes the arrangement of print news. Printed articles are arranged in relation to other articles so that the most important piece is placed at the apex, or beginning, and the lesser closer to the base or bottom. This observation is essential to the assessment of the prominence of coverage of a particular candidate or party.

The point of view of the researcher is key to the analysis of coverage in ethnic press. I assume the position of an outsider- not belonging to any of the communities targeted by the press, and I make the assumption that the coverage in ethnic press is filtered, that is, it focuses largely on the community. I also assume that ethnic press provides value added coverage or information from a unique perspective in addition to presenting a translated version of coverage available in mainstream press.

Visual data plays an important role in the analysis. These include pictures of incumbents or candidates as well as ad campaigns by the political parties. Visual content is also important to understanding how candidates and their parties solicit voter support, and may include political campaign advertisements and photo opportunities. In the context of the research, the images may be standard, that is, the advertisements are virtually the same as those used in mainstream media. Tailored or customized images are those that specifically target the community. These images may include graphics and text, logos, and other visual data that may not be observed in political advertisements in mainstream press.

As I analyze the visual and textual data, I will make reference to four main concepts borrowed from theories of the construction of political reality as proposed by Kraus and Davis (1976). These concepts explain how political candidates are portrayed in media, and how

coverage may make or break their chances of securing votes. Media can be a tool to create or construct a political reality by “defining activities and events, molding and shaping a variety of images” for its audience (Kraus and Davis, 1976, p. 210). For the benefit of those who are not on the scene of a particular event, media can (re)shape events so that those in the audience have a different perception from those who were at the scene of a given event, and thereby, construct political reality. Reports may be negative or misleading or positive and favourable. In the following section, I will highlight briefly four concepts that create political reality. These are image, status conferral, pseudo events and agenda setting.

The impact that image has on behaviour underpins political reality. In other words, an individual’s political behaviour may be in response to political images, which in turn, stimulates the perception of a certain reality. For example, if a particular candidate is granted more exposure than other candidates in the press, it may appear to the audience that he or she may be the prime candidate. Image formation takes place in several stages; the dissemination of the message, the alteration of the image, and the change in behaviour. What an individual holds to be true or real is what has been retained through these processes, and may stimulate the individual’s perception of a certain reality.

Coverage may have the power to confer status on certain candidates. This is done by focusing on their acts and various concerns. Status conferral may occur particularly through the media endorsements of political candidates through editorials and the legitimizing of specific issues.

Pseudo events framework refers to creating, staging and reporting events to capture the attention of the media. It is also very important in conferring status on an individual or candidate. The reporting of such events, increases the visibility of the candidate and is also

instrumental in conferring status. Status conferral is correlated to name recognition- which is also necessary for election to office. The event may be manufactured in a number of ways; it may be planned or incited, it may be reported or reproduced, it may be self-serving or designed to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. It is generally accepted that mass media in their totality can create reality about individuals and events, however, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which such realities are accepted, acted upon or sustained by a particular community, or society at large.

The ability to influence thoughts on certain issues is called ‘agenda setting’.

Studies of content of political news in press as well as news magazines and television and surveys of the individual’s views on the major issues covered find that there was a correlation between the attention paid to particular issues and the level of importance assigned by those in the community who were exposed to the media. However, it may also be that the audience set the agenda and the media responded (Williams, 2003). The biases or slants in coverage – editorializing- may provide answers to the questions about what is, and who sets the agenda.

I will apply these concepts to the analysis of ethnic press coverage of the various candidates because it a fair assumption that candidates link increased visibility to their chances of being successful in the election campaign. I suggest that ethnic press can create a certain reality by “defining activities and events” as well as “molding and shaping a variety of images” for its audience (Kraus and Davis, 1976, p. 210).

5. Ethnic Press Case Studies

Case Study 1: *Corriere Canadese* (Canadian Mail)

Founded in 1954 by the Daniel Iannuzzi, a Canadian of Italian heritage who was born in Montreal, *Corriere Canadese* is perhaps one of the most recognizable news media on the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) media landscape. It is said that the story of the Italian community is told in the pages of the *Corriere Canadese*. Iannuzzi understood that the newspaper was to serve as a cultural bridge between two different realities- Italian and Canadian, and gave a voice to the Italian community (Nicaso 2001). At present, approximately 30, 000 copies are circulated six days per week.

Approximately 115 articles were collected between December 1, 2005 and January 25, 2006. Roughly 25 political advertisements were collected; 44 per cent of the ads were placed by the Liberal Party which included not only standard Liberal ads, but ads endorsed by the Liberal party featuring various Italian Canadian candidates. The Conservative party captures 40 per cent, and the remaining 16 per cent, by the NDP. The data includes two advertisements placed by Elections Canada providing basic voter registration information in Italian.

The publication appears to be a scaled down version of main stream press in terms of its general layout and style. I have categorized the coverage of the election campaign in the *Corriere* into three distinct categories. The first refers to the coverage of the campaigning of the major federal parties. The first three pages of the publication are largely dedicated to coverage of key campaign promises such as reduction of the GST, child care, health care and the challenges of wait times, the various scandals that buffeted the Liberal party, opinion polls and reaction to the elections debate.

The second category refers to the campaigning conducted by the various parties in the paper. This campaigning was in the form of articles submitted by various candidates of the political parties at the invitation of *Corriere Canadese*. The open invitation was to be managed directly the political parties; in other words, the parties were responsible for the content of their submissions (*Corriere Canadese*. 2005, December 7 p. 2). The *Corriere* appears to strive for a brand of coverage that presents equal opportunity and space to the major parties to present their respective platforms in Italian to the audience. The Liberals, Conservatives and New Democrats appear to be equally represented among the articles submitted by candidates representing the parties and interviews with key political figures. In response to the *Corriere's* open invitation to the various political parties to submit articles on their respective political party platforms, the Bloc Quebecois, Green Party and other lesser known parties such as The Family Coalition, Marxist-Lennist Party, Libertarian Party and Marijuana Party contributed articles on their platforms. In this respect, as the uses and gratification model suggests, the publication may be responding to the needs of its audience to understand the range of political parties, and assumes that this information is needed so that an informed decision – political activism can take place.

The third category of coverage, in my view, presents a clear picture of the election campaign as it relates to the Italian Canadian community. This brand of coverage underscores the key elements of the uses and gratification model. This coverage profiles the Italian Canadian candidates and the ridings they are seeking to represent. Reference is made to electoral maps from Elections Canada and other data appearing mainly in those articles highlighting the performance and the achievements of Italian Canadian politicians.

Several texts on Canadian politics point out the under representation of women at various levels of government, and in politics (see, for example, Brooks, 2004; Crosby, 2005). The

Corriere features the careers of two Italian Canadian women – Judy Sgro and Maria Minna – highlighting the challenges they faced as women in launching their political careers in a “cosa da maschi” (men’s world), and suggests that attitudes are changing to acknowledge that women can also sit at the table of government (See Figure 1). The women take pride in their activism, political involvement and in being representatives of the Liberal party. They express anticipation at the opportunity of representing the York West and Beachers-East York ridings, respectively. There is a recognition of the low participation levels of women in politics. This article celebrates the achievement of these women and presents a very favourable image of power and prestige as having battled against all odds to achieve their political status. This favourable portrayal is also important in constructing political reality. By profiling these women, they enjoy the status conferred upon them as being legitimate candidates, having received endorsements by virtue of such press coverage.

The coverage filtered those ridings where Italian Canadian candidates are campaigning, however specific attention is paid to high profiled ridings. The highly contested riding of Etobicoke-Lakeshore is described as a “teatro” (theatre), a “feudo” (feud) and a “sfida” (challenge or match) because the Italian Canadian Tory (Conservative) candidate John Cabobianco would face an electoral battle of epic proportions, among other opponents, the Liberal “star” and “*l’enfant prodige*” Michael Ignatief (*Corriere Canadese*. 2006, January 10 p.3). The adjectives chosen to describe this confrontation encapsulate the political controversies surrounding the parachuting of Ignatief into this riding. In some respects this coverage conveys a positive image of the Italian Canadian candidate as one who is up to the challenge. Other ridings featured include Mississauga – Cooksville where the veteran Italian Canadian Liberal incumbent Albina Guarnieri who has held the seat for 18 years, competes against other candidates including a

fellow Italian Canadian Carl de Faria (*Corriere Canadese*. 2006, January 13 p.3). This profile underscores the longevity, continued activism as well as builds the prestige of Italian Canadian politicians.

Value added coverage includes a break down of the Italian Canadians who represent the various political parties. There is also a marked increase of twelve candidates up from the previous elections held in 2004, making a total of 46. The number of Italian Canadian candidates increased by about 35 per cent over the last federal elections in 2004 – which may be considered as a testament to the political participation and activism of the community on a whole. Of the 46 candidates, 37 per cent represent the Liberal party, 30 per cent, Conservative and the remaining 33 per cent is divided among NDP, Marxist- Leninist, Bloc Quebecois and Independent. Commentary also points out the overall low participation levels of female candidates. These statistics demonstrate the political diversity of Italian Canadian politicians.

The *Corriere* points out that although Liberals have enjoyed a solid backing by the ethnic vote, things are changing. In Québec, there is a marked surge in ethnic support for the Bloc and the Conservatives. In the article entitled “Bloc fa la corte agli etnici, Il Bloc ed I Conservatori corteggiano il voto etnico” (The Bloc woo ethnics, The Bloc and the Conservatives court the ethnic vote) points out that with reference to Québec, changes in the approach by Parizeau initiated since 1995, after recognizing power of the ethnic vote, and the anger against the Liberals fueled by the Gagliano affair, are contributing factors. (*Corriere Canadese*. 2005, December 13 p.2). Italian Canadian candidates are represented across the political spectrum and there has been a marked shift in party loyalties. I suggest that this has implications with respect to the question of an ethnic vote which has been favourable of the Liberal Party. The *Corriere* signals the end of an era in which, judging by the candidates and opinion polls, “dire italocanadese e dire liberale era la

stessa cosa, or quasi” (saying Italian Canadian and Liberal meant the same thing, or almost).

There is also a sense that the Italian Canadian monopoly of Parliament Hill may be coming to an end (*Corriere Canadese*, 2006, January 18 p.1). During the campaign period, coverage pointed out that the Liberals are in crisis and identified Liberal Italian Canadian candidates in Ontario who run the risk of not being re-elected (See Figures 2 and 3). This may have been an alarm to rally members of the community to support these and maintain the representation of Italian Canadian politicians on Parliament Hill. Should the community members decide to support these candidates, they would inevitably be voting Liberal.

The post elections coverage acknowledges Harper’s victory, and lists those Italian Canadians who are elected to the House of Commons and those who are not successful. This data indicates that 13 of the 46 Italian Canadian candidates were elected (See Figure 4). This election result is a possible backlash resulting from the issues arising from sponsorship scandals and the implication of a prominent Italian Canadian politician, Alfonso Gagliano. It also signifies a blow to the dominant Liberal Italian Canadian presence. It is also noteworthy that the Italian Canadian women Sgro and Minna, are listed among those who were successfully elected to Parliament.

The articles collected contain virtually no coverage on political events or issues salient in Italian community, per se. There is no discernable voice of the polity such as an individual or a specific community organization that is identified as articulating or advocating the needs of the Italian community. Rather, coverage of the elections at the local level focuses on the major party platforms, the performance of the Italian Canadians candidates and general voting trends of the community. The coverage conveys a sense of pride in the level of political engagement and activism by members of the Italian Canadian community. It also appears to

celebrate Italian Canadian political achievements. This brand of coverage is consistent with the uses and gratification model. By projecting a positive image of the accomplishments of several candidates, the coverage seems to obfuscate any references to the negative images that may have been conjured up as a result of the sponsorship scandal.

The use of manifest and latent coding led to the selection of an article covering the visit of Gino Trematerra, a Senator from Italy, who visited Toronto and Montreal while the Canadian federal election was in full swing. The senator is reported as making an appeal to Italian Canadians, “gli emigrati” (the *émigrés*), regarding the law he voted in favour of granting Italians living abroad the right to vote (*Corriere Canadese*. 2006, January 12 p.3). The appeal to the Italian Diaspora demonstrates that the home country seeks to build transnational linkages with nationals living abroad. The linkages represents the conferral of power in the form of voting rights and the power to impact politics of the home country. The senator’s visit focused on Toronto and Montreal. This may be as a result of the significant concentrations of Italian Canadians in these urban areas. I also suggest that the Senator may have recognized the political activism and engagement of Italian Canadians and sought to harness this political power to influence the politics of the country of origin. The data obtained for this study provided virtually no evidence of any other demands with respect to Canada –Italy relations that may be a significant election issue.

...rante le donne provenienti dalla "comunità" impegnate in politica. E ogni campagna elettorale è una sfida che si ri-

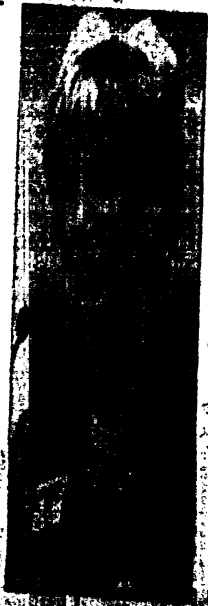
Per Ottawa suona la carica delle italo-canade

Judy Sgro e Maria Minna: «Inizi difficili, ma alla fine l'essere "femminile" è un vantaggio

ALAN PATRIZIA

TORONTO - In Italia il dibattito è sulle cosiddette "quote rosa", cioè le quote da riservare alle donne nelle liste elettorali. Un "correttivo" che servirebbe ad aumentare la rappresentanza dell'ex "nesso debole" in Parlamento, dove a farla da padroni (numericamente e non solo) sono da sempre gli uomini.

In Canada di "quote" non si discute ma il problema si avverte anche qui. Qualche ministro donna (o "ministra" come a qualcuno piace chiamarle) c'è a Ottawa come ce ne sono a Roma, la sostanza del problema resta però sempre la stessa: le donne saranno parte dell'altra metà del ciclo (per dirla con Calvese) o saranno parte certo l'altra metà del Parlamento. La presenza femminile è ridotta, la stragrande maggioranza degli eletti è ancora composta da uomini, nonostante le statistiche sulla popolazione (qui come in qualunque altro Paese) dicano che le



sia ricorrenti, un conto era stare vicino casa, un altro conto era dover andare a Ottawa buona parte della settimana. In-

somma, ricominciò la ricerca: dovresti stare a casa con i tuoi figli e tuo marito, non andrebbe in Parlamento trascurando

la famiglia. Sottruppe sembravano proprio una scelta, ma non nella sua famiglia. Dopo di che si ripartì e si iniziò di nuo-

vo qui, pronti per un'altra campagna elettorale. Fortunatamente oggi il mondo sta cambiando, a molto più velocemente di quanto successe fino a qualche anno fa. Il discorso

soltanto meno soldi, e per mesi tante volte furono più e meglio di noi. I donne esigevano, poi, cambiò il doppio. Una volta, però, ci si trova in un mondo: la parità nei bilanci politici è ormai di fatto, anche se non nel piano "numerico". I funzionari canadesi sono in dirittura di sempre in agli uomini, ma negli anni si sono accorti di noi donne possiamo fare fortuna. Perché si nasce ce tanto il giochino dell'età, che è poi un gioco per. Ma noi di solito siamo puntate ai problemi. Non che non si fa

lo sulla stessa piano, o se penso a qualche anno ricordo che nel 1986, ero al Copi, trascurando governo in un tribunale. Le perché, mentre gli corsi di inglese grandi

Figure 1: Article featuring the political careers of Italian Canadian women – Judy Sgro and Maria Minna (*Corriere Canadese*, 2005, December 7 p. 3)

Liberali in piena crisi, tory in crescita

Gli italocanadesi non fanno eccezione

I sondaggi: a rischio Minna, Valeri, Ianno e Fontana. Bene Mazzilli, Chirico, Del Mastro e Capobianco

ALAN PERRELLA

TORONTO - Sest una corsa verso di colpi di scena, quella dei candidati italocanadesi in Ontario alle elezioni federali.

La battaglia di eletti di sangue italiano potrebbe infatti essere ancora in parte fumante, dopo alcuni mesi di relativa stabilità e di predominio liberale.

I liberali stanno alla pervasa di voto nei diversi distretti elettorali da Democratic Space, un laboratorio di analisi politica che effettua un monitoraggio periodico dei distretti di tutto il Canada e che annunciò in pieno il risultato del 2004, prevedendo la vittoria del partito di sinistra.

BRANDON-EAST YORK Vince l'opinio il collegio di Brandon-East York, del 1993, fu anche il collegio del 2004, con un margine di 10 per cento. Il candidato del partito conservatore, il deputato John Minna, che aveva sondaggi da un leggero vantaggio. Tuttavia i sondaggi prevedono un'inversione di tendenza al 40 per cento dei voti.

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TORONTO Non distacca la testa del ministro per il Lavoro e i Servizi sociali, Joe Fontana, che si scontra con i sondaggi.



Joe Fontana è tra i politici deputati liberali che hanno un buon margine di vantaggio in Ontario. Tra i liberali, Peter Chirico e John Mazzilli.

1993. A rendergli tutto più difficile, questa volta, c'è un altro italiano, il deputato John Minna, che aveva sondaggi da un leggero vantaggio. Tuttavia i sondaggi prevedono un'inversione di tendenza al 40 per cento dei voti.

SANITARY ST. MARKS A Sanit. St. Mark, la partita sembrerebbe ancora più incerta. Il deputato John Minna, che aveva sondaggi da un leggero vantaggio. Tuttavia i sondaggi prevedono un'inversione di tendenza al 40 per cento dei voti.

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YORK WEST Sembra anche l'unico della battaglia di York West, dove l'ex ministro Judy Sgro, eletta nel 1999 in un distretto liberale dal 1962 in precedenza fu del partito conservatore. Sgro, che aveva sondaggi da un leggero vantaggio. Tuttavia i sondaggi prevedono un'inversione di tendenza al 40 per cento dei voti.

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L'approvazione della legge su matrimoni gay. Per la sua non dovrebbe esserci particolari problemi, dal momento che tutti le previsioni demoscopiche lo danno vincitore con una data di voto prossima al 40 per cento intorno al 25 per cento, invece, che sfidarsi. L'italiano Bruce Hyer e l'italocanadese Steve Sordani, entrambi in corsa per la elezione del 2004.

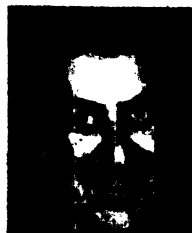
BRANDON-EAST YORK Vince l'opinio il collegio di Brandon-East York, del 1993, fu anche il collegio del 2004, con un margine di 10 per cento. Il candidato del partito conservatore, il deputato John Minna, che aveva sondaggi da un leggero vantaggio. Tuttavia i sondaggi prevedono un'inversione di tendenza al 40 per cento dei voti.

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per il mondo, ma con l'andamento di essere considerato un "pacifista" nel distretto, dove non ha mai rischiosato, e si è visto invece l'arrivo del Canada per quasi un decennio. Tuttavia, quest'anno, nel quale Capobianco - anche alla postuma - ha puntato molto, riuscendo a recuperare un notevole vantaggio elettorale: almeno 10 per cento di voti in più.

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I candidati torontini della destra incontrano la stampa italiana: «No al same-sex»

Figure 2: Liberals in crisis, Tories on the rise; Italian Canadians are not exempt- A List of Italian Canadian Politicians and the ridings they represent across Ontario (Corriere Canadese, 2006, January 18 p.3)

Elezioni, 46 i candidati italo-canadesi

In 1634 alla competizione del 23 gennaio, ma la presenza delle donne è ancora bassa



A sinistra Joe Verga, senatore dell'Ontario, e Lisa Fratta, ministro dell'Immigrazione, i due politici italo-canadesi più rappresentativi in Ontario e nel Québec. A destra il completo con Capitan Provencino, sindaco in carica, dopo essere stato rappresentante per due legislature il distretto di South St. Marie.



ELEZIONI 2006

I CANDIDATI ITALOCANADESI

Nome	Distretto
LIBERALI	
Dennis Cook	Bourassa
Lisa Fratta	Beauséjour
Francis Scarpaleggia	Lac-Saint-Louis
Raymond Folco	Laval-Les Rives
Massimo Parenti	Saint-Léonard - Saint-Michel
Maria Mann	Beauséjour-Est
Joe Volpe	Capitaine-Lawrence
Tony Valeri	Hamilton East - Stoney Creek
Joe Fontana	London North Centre
Alfonso Gennaro	Mississauga East - Cooksville
Anthony Rota	Nipissing-Timiskaming
Christian Provencino	Saint-Sauveur
Joe Comuzzi	Thunder Bay - Superior North
Tony Ianni	Trinity-Spisbas
Maurizio Berlinguer	Vancouver
Patty Spri	York West
Raf Protti	British Columbia - Southern Interior

CONSERVATORI	
Liberio Martini	Bouchette
Angela M. Marino	Beauséjour-Montréal
Enzo Migliorini	Laval
Enrico Pignatelli	Saint-Léonard - Saint-Michel
John Spivack	Beauséjour-Est - Minto
John Caputo	Beauséjour-Lalonde
John Mazzilli	London North Centre
Peter Chino	Nipissing-Timiskaming
Dennis Del Mar	Peterborough
Joe Di Paolo	Richmond Hill
Anthony Rota	Thunder Bay
Ben Scarfo	Thunder Bay - Superior North
Rich Scarfo	Windsor-Essex
Rich Scarfo	Lebanon

INDIPENDENTI	
Tommy Thompson	Beauséjour-Montréal
Richard Piro	Beauséjour-Est - Cooksville
Chris Casanova	Mississauga-Est - Cooksville
Shirley Weiss	Windsor
Maria De Angelis-Peter	York South-Weston
Nick Capra	York West

NDP	
Peter Mancini	Dartmouth-Cole Harbour
Laura Colella	Saint-Léonard - Saint-Michel
Judy Di Bartolomeo	Windsor
Maria Iacono	York Centre
Sandra Romano Anthony	York West

ALTRI	
Anna Maria Gennaro	Bloc Québécois
Frank Chabot	Lac-Saint-Louis
Anna Di Carlo	Beauséjour-Est - Minto
Roberto Romano	Beauséjour-Est - Minto

MODELLO PERSICELLI

TORONTO - Torna al senatore il numero dei candidati italo-canadesi nelle elezioni federali. In occasione del voto del 23 gennaio prossimo, infatti, ci saranno complessivamente 46 italo-canadesi nelle liste dei vari partiti, contro i 34 candidati alle elezioni del 2004.

Anche in questo caso il numero maggiore di candidati si trova nelle zone urbane con concentrazione nella zona di Montreal nel Québec e Toronto in Ontario, con cinque la seconda e più estesa arrivando a sei nella zona del Nord del Québec e nella zona di Hamilton-Provinci Niagara.

Nelle precedenti elezioni a essere un candidato nel New Brunswick, nel Partito del Verbo, due in Alberta, uno con i verdi e uno nel Partito Conservatore, sette nel Québec, con i candidati nell'Ndp e verdi e uno nel Partito Liberale.

Questa volta invece invece a totale di 10 candidati nel Québec, 19 liberali, 4 conservatori, uno nel Bloc ed un indipendente a non in Nuova Scozia, ex deputato dell'Ndp Peter Iacono, un liberale nella British Columbia ed un conservatore nell'Alberta.

Tra gli altri, 27 in totale, sono candidati in Ontario.

Anche una volta la maggioranza dei candidati è nel Partito Liberale (46), ma in la scorsa volta ci sono stati

Partito	CANDIDATI	Donne	Uomini
Partito Liberale	308	78	229
Partito Conservatore	308	58	250
Ndp	108	128	230
Partito del Verbo	308	72	236
Bloc Québécois	75	23	52
Marcel-Laurin	68	24	45
Christian Heritage	45	8	37
Partito di Azione	34	1	33
Partito Progressista canadese	25	1	24
Partito Comunista	21	7	14
Marquise Party	23	1	22
Libertarian Party	10	1	9
First Peoples National Party	5	0	5
Western Block Party	4	1	3
Animal Alliance Environment			
Voters Party	1	1	0
TOTALE	1.834	380	1.264

TORONTO - Complessivamente i candidati per le elezioni federali del prossimo 23 gennaio sono 1.834. I partiti che hanno un candidato in tutti i 308 distretti sono solo quattro e cioè oltre ai maggiori partiti, liberale, conservatore ed Ndp, c'è anche il Partito del Verbo.

Complessivamente i partiti presenti sono 15, se includiamo anche una sola candidatura per l'Animal Alliance Environment Voters Party.

Vi sono anche 10 indipendenti e cinque che concorrono senza alcuna affiliazione.

Anche una volta, nonostante le dichiarazioni di apertura da parte dei vari leader dei maggiori partiti politici, la presenza delle donne è notevolmente inferiore a quella degli uomini. Infatti, alla chiamata delle liste due giorni fa, vi sono 1.834 candidati uomini e 380 donne.

Il partito con più donne candidate è l'Ndp con 128.

cale invece quella nell'Ndp (solo tre), mentre sono in aumento i candidati italo-canadesi nel Partito del Verbo: 6 in Ontario. Gli altri in questa Provincia sono candidati con il Partito del Lavoro-Liberali (due), in Alberta ed uno senza alcuna affiliazione.

Da notare una certa diminuzione di candidati nell'Ovest canadese, incluso la British Columbia, invece si nota qualche movimento nel Québec verso il Bloc Québécois.

In Ontario il numero è rimasto più o meno costante rispetto al 2004 mentre è sceso rispetto alle elezioni precedenti quando, dal 1997 aveva sempre superato le 10 unità.

Da notare la certa ripresa del numero dei candidati conservatori che nel 2004 erano scesi a due ed invece ora sono nove.

Quasi tutti i deputati italiani presenti nella precedente legislatura sono candidati in queste elezioni. Maria, purtroppo, il completo Capitan Provencino, scampato di poco, al suo ultimo mandato nel 2004.

Figure 3: Breakdown of total number of candidates per party and the distribution of Italian Canadian candidates (*Corriere Canadese*, 2006 January 7 p. 16)

Il leader conservatore alle prese con un impegno molto difficile. Il giuramento forse fra dieci giorni

Harper prepara il nuovo governo

Martin annuncia al governatore generale le sue dimissioni

(segue dalla prima)

Nonostante i tentativi del re di avere dettagli, non sono trapelate indiscrezioni, anche se si sa che Harper preferirebbe un governo più piccolo di quello presieduto da Paul Martin. Quest'ultimo aveva infatti 8 ministri. Harper ne vuole pochi di meno.

Intanto i nomi che circolano sono di provenienza giornalistica e se si basano su esperienze del passato. Peter MacKay, ex leader del Partito Conservatore prima della fusione con Canadian Alliance, potrebbe essere il nuovo vice primo ministro, anche se Harper avrebbe intenzione di affidare incarichi simili al ruolo dei suoi deputati del Québec. La Kay potrebbe andare alla finanza oppure ad un altro importante incarico.

Tra le donne che occupano un posto molto importante nel governo Harper c'è Roma Marzese mentre dovrebbe essere anche l'ex leader di Canadian Alliance, Stockwell Day, non Kenney, Monte Solberg.

Tra le prime legislazioni in ecc da presentare al Parlamento ci sarebbe quella del taglio della Gst e il disegno di legge contro la corruzione. Almeno in questi primi passi, Harper non dovrebbe incontrare notevoli difficoltà.

Il leader liberale Paul Martin, come detto, ha informato telefonicamente il governatore generale del Canada Michael



Il leader conservatore e primo ministro Stephen Harper (in alto) con i suoi ministri al suo arrivo all'aeroporto di Ottawa. Insieme a lui il moglie Laureen Harper, il figlio Ben e la figlia Rachel

Nonostante le voci dell'intenzione del liberale di formare un altro governo di minoranza e di coalizione con l'Ndp, la situazione si è bloccata con l'annuncio di Martin nella serata di lunedì, quando il leader liberale

ha accettato la sconfitta e ha confermato il suo ritiro nel prossimo futuro dalla vita politica.

La transizione non è stata comunque sempre così lineare. Ad esempio nel 1993 l'alizza

primo ministro Kim Campbell, aspettò 3 giorni prima di annunciare le sue dimissioni e lasciare l'incarico ai liberali di Jean Chrétien.

Intanto ieri è tornato a Ottawa da Calgary anche il leader conservatore Stephen Harper. Nella capitale ha partecipato ad una serie di ricevimenti organizzati dai suoi sostenitori e quindi da oggi si metterà al lavoro per formare il nuovo governo. La data per il passaggio delle consegne verrà ovviamente concordata con il primo ministro uscente tra di solito occorrono almeno 10 giorni prima di giungere al giuramento del nuovo gabinetto.

Tra i liberali inizia intanto la difficile parte di ricostruzione del partito e ci si prepara per una imminente campagna per il rinnovo della leadership. Martin ha detto che non intende guidare i liberali nella prossima elezione, ma si deve ora stabilire la data per l'elezione del nuovo capo del partito. Cosa questa che deve essere fatta al più presto possibile in quanto, in un governo di minoranza, ci potrebbe essere una crisi in qualsiasi momento e, in caso di nuove elezioni a breve tempo, i gni si ritroverebbero ancora con Martin al vertice.

I risultati degli Italo-canadesi

LIBERALI	VOTI
Anthony Rota	21.383
Massimo Pacelli	22.730
Francis Scarpalacqua	25.998
Raymond Felco	22.730
Joe Comuzzi	13.983
Joe Volpe	20.041
Maria Mirra	20.875
Joe Fontana	24.064
Adina Guarnieri	23.530
CONSERVATORI	VOTI
Maurizio Bovolenta	36.825
Judy Sgro	21.503
Pick Casson	36.000
Dean Del Monte	22.734

LIBERALI	VOTI	CONSERVATORI	VOTI
Tony Valeri	10.878	Joe Di Paolo	10.515
Liza Frulla	17.116	Anthony Rota	10.006
Tony Ierna	25.008	Richard Pisto	1.383
Anna-Marie Guerin	4.064	Otto Casanova	2.307
Christian Provenzano	15.725	Adrian Vianini	3.854
Liberto Martelli	6.830	Ray Baruffi	8.578
Angelo M. Marino	8.990	Pick Panchi	12.852
Ennio Migliorini	9.225	Jody Di Bartolomeo	17.484
Erosimo Pignatelli	5.988	Shirley Williams	2.271
John Sprovieri	16.310	Maria De Angelo Pater	1.308
Laura Colella	2.831	Nick Capra	1.807
Peter Mancini	14.306	Marco Iacampo	5.834
John Capobianco	19.051	Sandra Romano A.	4.726
John Marzilli	17.914	Frank Chelli	233
Peter Chirico	16.511	Anna Di Carlo	205
Bill Profili	9.383	Beverly Bernardo	311
Ian R. Chiocchio	1.853	Paolo Fabrizio	688

REAZIONI



Toronto, Vancouver e Montréal senza deputati conservatori

Le grandi città senza ministri

Figure 4: Election results for Italian Canadians (Corriere Canadese, 2006, January 25 p. 2)

5.2 Case Study 2: *Sol Português* (Portuguese Sun)


Portuguese media play an important role in the community. Newspapers published in Toronto include *Novo Mundo* (New World) from 1970 to 1973, and *Comunidade* (Community), which was published from 1975 to 1979. These papers provided its readership with a Portuguese perspective on life in Canada by highlighting the experiences of various members of the community, as well as encouraged the submission of literary works such as poetry and prose. Some editions of Portuguese press contained few articles with Canadian content, while others made attempts at providing a Portuguese perspective and commentary on Canadian life (Higgs, 1982). To date, the *Sol Português* has been in existence for about a quarter of a century. It is one of the longest surviving papers in the community. Copies of the articles for this study were obtained by permission from Sol Portugues, Inc. This company publishes and circulates 12,000 copies on a weekly basis. The publication targets the concentration of Portuguese speaking residents in the approximate area of Kensington Market to Ossington and Dundas-Bathurst and it comprises the largest Portuguese community in Ontario. The Davenport riding lies within this area (see www.cbc.ca/canadavotes/riding/122/).

Approximately 15 articles were selected from *Sol Portugues* over a six week period starting from December 2, 2005 and ending on January 27, 2006. The three major parties are represented in campaign advertising especially in the January 20, 2006 edition of the paper – the last edition before the January 23, 2006 elections. I have observed two main approaches to the coverage of the election campaign. On one level, there is the coverage of highlights of surveys and opinion poll results on the support for the major political parties. The second level of coverage focuses on the local campaign in the Davenport riding.

The three major political parties are represented in advertisements translated into Portuguese. I estimate that the Liberal party captures just over 60 per cent of advertising space and is featured more prominently – usually within the first few pages in the *Sol*. The NDP advertisement represents about 25 per cent, while the Conservative party rounds off the remaining ± 10 per cent. Two half- page advertisements in Portuguese sponsored by Elections Canada provides basic information on voter registration. Besides the advertisements by Elections Canada, the *Sol* includes call outs or blurbs with the message in Portuguese that voting is not an obligation; voting is a civic duty. In so doing, this message from the *Sol* appears to mobilize the community to participate in the elections.

With specific reference to the campaign at the local level, coverage focuses largely on Mario Silva's campaign. *Sol* reports on the opening of Silva's campaign office (*Sol Português*. 2005, December 9 p. 16) and the launching of Silva's campaign such as the invitation for children to receive toys and the presence of Santa Clause at Silva's campaign headquarters, and food collection for the homeless (*Sol Português*. 2005, December 2 p. 1, 5). Pseudo events are vital to the construction of political reality since they elevate the political image of the candidate. This event provides members of the community and Silva to be photographed, and, thereby, constructs an image and status as a candidate or representative who is well known and enjoys the support of the community. The coverage confirms Silva's status as the first Portuguese Canadian to have been elected to the House of Commons. Silva refers to this achievement and expresses confidence that people will vote for him, since a majority of Portuguese have not forgotten that he was the first Portuguese – Canadian to achieve Ottawa.

With only three days before the elections, the front page of *Sol* highlighted the “electoral battle” looming between two Portuguese Canadians: Liberal incumbent for the




SOL
Canada's leading and largest
Portuguese Language Newspaper

Portuguese Sun

Ano XXIII - Edição 1103
Sexta-feira, 20 de Janeiro de 2006
Preço: \$1.00
- 40 Páginas -

Director: António Parais - Editor: Alca Perinó
Tel: 416 538-1788 - Fax: 416 538-7953
Internet: www.solnet.com
E-mail: sol@solnet.com



Mário Silva


Confronto eleitoral

Luso-canadianos "lutam" pelo mesmo círculo

Mário Silva foi o primeiro luso-canadiano a atingir o Parlamento Canadano. Nos últimos 17 meses, não deixou de pugnar por um melhor conhecimento de todos os problemas e da forma de os resolver. Aqui e ali, analisam-se alguns "traços" do seu trabalho.

Falando a Sol Português, Mário Silva entende que "há ainda muito trabalho a fazer", ao mesmo tempo que acredita que o povo da Davenport vai votar por forma a que ele continue no Parlamento.

var Pág. 9



Theresa Rodrigues

Theresa Rodrigues tem estado a fazer uma campanha limpa e cordate. Não levanta a voz e ganha ninguém. Entende que a plataforma do Partido Conservador fala por si e comenta a ver que há uma forte disposição em "mudar as coisas" da parte de muitos canadianos.

Acredita que o povo da Davenport está com a força dos valores morais que estão na base do Partido Conservador. As vezes pensa que "se todos entendessem que o seu voto também conta", e votassem, "a situação já era bem diferente".

var Pág. 11

o universo de Adidspora.com

Figure 5: Electoral battle between Portuguese Canadians Mario Silva of the Liberal Party and Theresa Rodrigues of the Conservative Party (see *Sol Português*, 2006, January 20 p. 1, 9, 11)

Davenport riding, Mario Silva and Theresa Rodrigues of the Conservative Party (See Figure 5). The coverage raises the profiles of both Portuguese candidates by virtually filtering out coverage of the campaigns of other candidates. Rodrigues is placed on equal footing with Silva, even though she does not appear to have the equivalent in political experience. However, this coverage bestows her with prestige and legitimizes her candidacy.

Campaign advertisements for Silva and Rodrigues demonstrate two strategies to appeal to the Portuguese voters (See Figures 6 and 7). The strategies are to first highlight the standard accomplishments and promises of the party, and secondly, make a tailored or specific appeal to the Portuguese electorate (see *Sol Português*. 2006, January 20 p. 4, 7). Silva's ad lists campaign promises and accomplishments that appear in much of the Liberal party ads such as investments in healthcare and the lowest rates of unemployment in about thirty years. The ad includes the admonition that voters make a definitive choice for "nossa comunidade" (our community), which may refer the Davenport riding, or, it could also refer specifically to the Portuguese community. I would opt for the latter interpretation, given that the advertisement also encourages voters to vote for the "a unica voz Luso – Canadiana no Parlamento Federal do Canadá" (the only Portuguese –Canadian voice in the federal parliament of Canada). Rodrigues' advertisement also lists highlights of the standard Conservative platform such as a reduction in the GST, more jail time for gun crimes and a more fair immigration system. She also points out that she was the candidate in Davenport who respects "os valores familiares tradicionalmente Portugueses" (the Portuguese traditional family values). Thus, both candidates make a specific appeal to the community, and in so doing solicit the ethnic vote for support.

The coverage of the election campaign does not include references to scholarly research; there are virtually no maps, charts or graphs to provide a demographic profile of the

riding. Notwithstanding, Silva and Rodrigues identify two key issues that affect the political participation of the community; eligibility to vote, and voter apathy. Even if anecdotal, this value-added commentary provides general observations on the political engagement of the Portuguese community during the elections.

Silva comments regarding the evolution of the Portuguese in Canada, and admits that there are still many Portuguese Canadians that are unable to vote. He also pledges to continue fighting so that all Portuguese who could, would become Canadians. He also expresses frustration at having fought so hard that they can become Canadians, only to hear some say that they do not know if it is worth it to vote. Nevertheless, Silva appears very confident in his ability to win and reiterates that in the Davenport riding, many Portuguese recall that he was the first –ever Portuguese Canadian to be elected. On the theme of political participation, Rodrigues points out that there are two extremes in the community; those who do not vote, and those who always vote Liberal (*Sol Português*. 2006, January 20 p. 9). This statement hints at a strong ethnic vote support for the Liberal party. As a Conservative, she seeks to challenge this pattern and advances that if she were to lose the elections, it would not be for lack of enthusiasm, rather, it would be because many still believe that their vote does not count (*Sol Português*. 2006, January 20 p. 11).

One of the major themes surfacing in the coverage of the election campaign in the *Sol* is the issue of the political attitudes of the community in general. According to the uses and gratification model, coverage of the community in heritage language press may acquire insight into self. The coverage emphasizes the political behaviour of the community in general, which has been characterized either as apathy and the feeling that the individual's

No dia 23 de Janeiro faça a
escolha certa para a nossa comunidade.

Vote Mario Silva


Vote em experiência, vote em resultados concretos, vote por
quem trabalha em prol da Davenport e de Toronto - Mário Silva!

Vote num investimento de 41 biliões de dólares para
melhorar os cuidados de saúde

Vote na mais baixa taxa de desemprego desde há três décadas

Vote num forte compromisso em comunidades mais seguras

Vote Mário Silva - a única voz Luso-Canadiana no Parlamento
Federal do Canadá



Campaign Office:
1570 St. Clair Ave. W.
Toronto, ON M6H 1C5
Tel: (416) 594-4882
Fax: (416) 594-4883
www.mariosilva.ca

ILVA
Liberal

Figure 6: Liberal incumbent Mario Silva's ad campaign

VOTE

Theresa Rodrigues

A Candidate em Davenport
que respeita os valores familiares tradicionalmente Portugueses

O Partido Conservador propõe:

- Uma redução imediata do GST para 6%, depois uma redução gradual durante os próximos cinco anos até atingir os 5%.
- Pésão mandatória de 5 a 10 anos para ofensas de graves consequências, com armas de fogo. Severas punições para o caso de tráfico de imigrantes. Aumentar a vigilância nas fronteiras.
- Um sistema de emigração funcional e justo que venha de encontro às necessidades laborais que beneficiem o Canadá. Reduzir a taxa de pagamento aplicável aos interessados em emigrar para o Canadá.
- Benefício de \$1,200 anuais por cada criança com menos de 6 anos de idade e criar 125,000 novos postos pré-escolares.
- Uma maior proteção à Terceira Idade evitando o excesso de impostos.
- Manter as propostas feitas em relação aos pagamentos da CPP, QAP, QAS como sendo garantias fundamentais para a sobrevivência de cada indivíduo durante os seus anos de reforma, sem qualquer redução dos níveis presentes ou futuros.
- Aumentar o total de herança de impostos de \$1000 para \$2000 e consequentemente levá-lo até \$2500 anuais.

VOTE POR UMA MUDANÇA EM DAVENPORT

www.theresarodrigues.ca
416-599-6743

STAND UP FOR CANADA

Approved by the Official Agent for Theresa Rodrigues Campaign

Figure 7: Conservative candidate Theresa Rodrigues' ad campaign

vote does not matter, or loyalty to the Liberal party. Editorials add further commentary on voter attitudes and the electoral process. By way of illustration, the article “Mitos Eleitorais” (Electoral myths) takes a humorous look at attitudes to elections (*Sol Português*. 2006, January 6 p. 16) . The article suggests that the Conservatives are not to be feared; Steven Harper’s breakfast does not consist of little children, and those who do decide to vote Conservative are humans - made of flesh and bones- with the same pressures, doubts and feelings as other people. Readers are warned of false voting information in some community publications that appear to be official, and promote Liberal candidates to the exclusion of others. This commentary appears to counterbalance the prominence of the Liberal incumbent Mario Silva, and suggests that the Conservatives are a legitimate choice. More importantly, it enjoins the readers to reflect critically on the choices to be made as voters. Another article, “Resultuados eleitorais confirmam necessidade de mudança” (Election Results Confirm the Need for a Change), suggests the need to reform the representative form of the present electoral system to a system that favours proportional representation and encourages the reader to press for a change in the political system of the country (*Sol Português*. 2006, January 27 p. 16). Such commentary seems to be motivational and challenges the political status quo.

The coverage of the election campaign in the *Toronto Star* paid particular attention to the “ethnic vote.” The January 19, 2006 edition of the *Star* ran an article entitled “Liberals lose ethnic support,” in which there was an attempt to capture the political viewpoints of several communities as to what were the key election issues. The article features comments from editors of various ethnic press. The assistant editor of the *Sol*, Vasco Evaristo, is quoted in the *Star* as stating that Portuguese Canadians are dissatisfied with the Liberal government, however, the article offered no explanation for this dissatisfaction. Notwithstanding Evaristo’s observation, the

results of the elections seem to prove otherwise. Mario Silva, the Liberal incumbent was re-elected to represent the Davenport riding, securing almost 52 per cent of the votes; Gord Perks of the NDP captured almost 33 per cent, while Rodrigues of the Conservative party, almost 11 per cent. It is clear from the results that the Liberal party retained popular support (*Sol Português*. 2006, January 20 p. 12). Two Portuguese Canadians competed to represent the Davenport riding, however, it would appear from the results that if indeed the Portuguese Canadian vote weighed heavily in deciding which of the Portuguese Canadian candidates would best represent the riding, the margin of victory suggests that the vote may be in favour of the Liberal candidate.

The coverage filtered out other ridings where there may potentially be a number of significant Portuguese residents. Murdie and Teixeira (2003) point out that there are two emerging Portuguese settlement patterns. Resettlement is observed in the northwest Toronto, and there is a growing Portuguese community in the City of Mississauga. However the articles obtained for analysis contained virtually no coverage of, or reference to other ridings with a significant Portuguese Canadian electorate or other Portuguese Canadian candidates.

The use of manifest and latent coding also surfaced articles covering the presidential campaign in Portugal that coincided to a large extent with the Canadian federal elections. My research focused on coverage of the federal election campaign in Canada; I found virtually no evidence to suggest that there were bilateral relations between the two countries that would make for an election issue.

5.3 Case Study 3: *The Canadian Jewish News*

The major newspaper serving the Jewish community is the weekly publication, *The Canadian Jewish News*. From cover to cover, *The Canadian Jewish News*, regularly features stories connected to Israel, and advertisements of Jewish schools, services and community events. There are often several references to the Jewish Diaspora. According to *The Canadian Jewish News* website, the paper is the largest in circulation in the Jewish community with a circulation of about 50,000. The website confirms that the paper covers issues relevant to the community via correspondents stationed across Canada and Israel (See www.cjnews.com/about/default.asp).

Articles were obtained from archived CJN papers at the Metro Reference Library in Toronto, and span over a six week period between December 1, 2005 and February 2, 2006. About 20 articles were selected for analysis. The data collected includes two ads sponsored by Elections Canada providing voter registration information. The Liberal party was the only one observed to have placed campaign advertisements in this publication. These ads appeared in the January 5, 2006, January 19, 2006 and January 19, 2006 editions of the CJN. Liberal campaign advertisements obtained comprise three full page ads and two one-quarter page ads featuring Ken Dryden, the Liberal incumbent for the riding of York Centre and his negotiations with the Israeli government on the subject of pensions.

The engagement of the Jewish electorate is the subject that grabbed the headlines in the December 1, 2005 edition of *The Canadian Jewish News*. This report announces the formation of a new “multipartisan organization” aimed at “encouraging participation directly in the political process”. Josh Cooper, the Executive Director of this organization- Canadian Jewish Political Affairs Committee (CJPAC)- is quoted as stating that the Jewish community “has fallen asleep at the switch and [is] not politically engaged”. For this reason, the CJPAC works to encourage

community members to join whatever party they prefer, and work the candidates and generally participate in the political process.” Cooper affirms that the organization will “plan educational events, workshops to train grassroots advocates, education in letter writing and other elements in the political process” (*The Canadian Jewish News*. 2005, December 1 p. 1, 53). This article is important for two main reasons; first, it underscores the various means by which community members can be politically engaged. Secondly, it demonstrates how community organizations are implicated in facilitating grassroots political activism, and utilizes ethnic press to prominently announce and inform the community of these new initiatives.

Staff Reporter, Ron Csillag’s article “Jewish voters weigh familiar issues” formally inaugurates the coverage of the election campaign in the CJNI and identifies the organizations Canadian Jewish Congress and B’nai Brith as being responsible for issuing guides highlighting the national and local candidates engaged in, among other issues, the fight against anti-Semitism, citizenship revocation and war criminals, and funding for Jewish schools are reported (*The Canadian Jewish News*. 2005, December 8 p. 3, 14)

These two organizations play a very important role in the community. According to the Canadian Jewish Congress website, this organization’s mandate includes the protection of the “security, status and rights of the community” and “advocates on behalf of Canadian Jewry” (see <http://www.cjc.ca/template.php?action=history&Language=EN>). The B’nai Brith’s role is to promote peace and to fight anti-semitism. It is also recognized for its activism in the community at large (see <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/aboutus.html>). On the subject of Canada – Israel relations, the article pointed out that the Canada-Israel Committee would also produce a guide to indicate to voters the bilateral relations between the two countries, and Canada’s voting record at the United Nations. This committee identifies itself as the official representative of the community on issues

pertaining to Canada-Israel relations (see <http://www.cicweb.ca/aboutcic/>). The CJN has confirmed and legitimized the status of these entities to relay voting information to the community. I suggest, therefore, that these entities act as opinion leaders in the community.

The reporter affirms that the coverage would highlight or filter the findings with high concentrations of Jewish voters and Jewish candidates. It will also include insights on Jewish voting patterns. Scholarly contributions from Morton Weinfeld, a sociologist at McGill University, provides some basis for assumptions made about Jewish voters. On the question of Israel as the fulcrum issue for Jewish voters, and the notion that Jewish voters tend to vote for the Liberal Party, Weinfeld is quoted as suggesting that there is no clear evidence that Jewish voters are influenced by a party or candidate based on their support of Israel. Furthermore, Weinfeld asserts that although there is the perception that Jewish voters tend to vote for the Liberals, there is no consistent data on Canadian Jewish voting patterns. However, it was clear from Csillag's article, that the question of Canada – Israel relations is a salient topic. Sociologist Morton Weinfeld is quoted as stating that on the question of supporting Israel, the Liberals and Conservatives “are seen as reasonably supportive” and that under Paul Martin, “there is a perception that the Liberals...have been more sensitive to the Jewish community's concern on Israel.” Morton is also quoted as stating that “some pro-Israel Jews vote for the NDP” but these are not basing their support on the NDP Middle East Policy. Coverage includes references to speeches made at events attended by Prime Minister Paul Martin on the subject of Canada – Israel relations. The reporting of such events is relevant to the construction of political reality. This coverage has to a large extent been positive and I suggest that it has contributed to the Liberal Party's image as being supportive of Israel.

The CJN provides value added insight on voting patterns of Canadian Jews in Toronto by comparing the political attitudes of Jews in Québec. Canadian Jews in Québec see the Liberals as their only choice “either because they support the party or because there is no other party, from their point of view to vote for” (*The Canadian Jewish News*. 2006, January 5 p. 17). Conversely, in Toronto, in the ridings with significant Jewish populations, the vote could either be Liberal or Conservative- the decision could be made by the Jewish vote.

The coverage of the federal election campaign in the CJN focuses on those ridings with the largest concentrations of Jewish electorate. These ridings, most of which are considered to be affluent, include Thornhill – which is identified as the largest Jewish riding, Richmond Hill, Eglinton-Lawrence, Willowdale, York Centre and St. Paul’s. The articles focus on the campaign as it unfolds in each riding. The coverage of each riding follows a pattern whereby candidates from the various parties are challenged with three categories of issues. The first deals with the standard party platforms on issues affecting the society at large such as urban violence, investments in social programs and health care. The second category deals with specific issues affecting the Jewish community on the local level, and the third category highlights the relationship on an international level, or foreign policy of the parties towards Israel and the Canada’s policy on the Middle East. I find that the coverage focuses primarily on the second and third category of issues.

At the local level, the key issues are funding for Jewish day schools and combating anti-Semitism. Fighting anti-Semitism on the local level is closely linked to the attitude of the candidates and their respective party’s record on its relationship to Israel. The label “Friend of Israel” (*The Canadian Jewish News*. 2006, January 19 p. 14) describes those candidates who are not of Jewish ethnicity and who demonstrate a pro-Israel stance. This creates the image of being in

solidarity and supportive of policies favourable toward Israel. The Liberal and Conservative candidates appear to be more knowledgeable than the other candidates on Canada's voting record at the United Nations on actions concerning Israel. It would appear that the Liberal and Conservative candidates are featured more prominently and seem well versed on the issues of importance to the Jewish communities.

There are five main observations arising from the election results in the ridings with high concentration of Jewish voters. First, the Liberal campaign appears to resonate well with the Jewish communities. The data I have obtained indicates that it is the only party to post campaign ads in the CJN. The ads are specifically tailored to address the agenda set by the community with respect to Canada – Israel relations. In addition to the standard key points of the Liberal platform, campaign advertising feature Liberal Members of Parliament of varying ethnicities who identify themselves as “Liberal Parliamentarians for Israel.” This relationship is further cemented with the juxtaposition of the Star of David and the Maple Leaf. This custom designed advertisement presents a powerful image of solidarity. It features Liberal incumbents in ridings with significant concentrations of Jewish voters. The Liberal Parliamentarians featured include those who are Jewish and non-Jewish. The advertisement also highlights the actions taken by Canada at the United Nations in support of Israel, bilateral agreements, as well as assistance to Palestinians (see Figure 8). The advertisement emphasizes excerpts from Paul Martin's speech made to the Assembly of Jewish Leaders and pin points the “shared values” between the two countries.

Secondly, the election results may demonstrate the political maturity of the community. Bancroft et al (1990) examine the question of political participation of visible minorities, and explore the realities of ethnopoltics, or the manner in which the ethnic vote is

secured. The researchers note that where a candidate for political office may not be a member of the ethnic community he or she is seeking to represent, he or she may have to find further means of appealing to the ethnic vote. However, no candidate can depend solely on his /her ethnicity.

According to Richard Gwyn, a respected journalist, ethnopolitics is a necessary process of social maturation experienced by ethnic communities. This maturation is manifested in two stages: first, ethnic groups gain the confidence to vote for and/or support their own. In the second stage, the ethnic community exhibits maturity by voting for, or supporting a candidate because of his/her merits and/or qualities rather than ethnicity (Cited in Bancroft et. al., 1990, p. 87).

Post elections coverage highlights the success of non -Jewish liberal incumbents in ridings with high concentrations of Jewish voters, and points out that Jewish Conservative candidates were “soundly defeated.” Susan Kadis, Liberal incumbent for Thornhill, and a Jewish Canadian is quoted as stating that while “it is important to have voices representing Jewish and other ethno-cultural groups, you don’t have to be Jewish to bring forth the issues.” The third observation refers to Jewish voter preferences. Bernie Farber, CEO of the Canadian Jewish Congress, suggests that Jews have voted Liberal, but also notes that the community is not monolithic. Farber also points out that Jewish Conservatives who ran in the election indicates that party’s significant understanding of Jewish issues and concern (*The Canadian Jewish News*. 2006, February 2 p. 3, 5).

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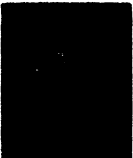
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Stephen Owen
Vancouver-Quebec



Raymond Folco
Louis-L'Assommoir



Maurizio Bevilacqua
Vancouver



Susan Kadis
Thunder Bay



Mario Silva
Dawson-Crête



Russ Powers
Arcadia-Quebec
Flemington-Whitby

Since elections 2004, at the United Nations, Canada:

- L. Changed 8 votes on resolutions condemning Israel at the General Assembly (GA).
- L. Signed withdrawal of Israeli resolution from condemnation in 2005.
- R. Co-sponsored Israel's Nov. 21, 2005 GA resolution to establish an International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust.
- R. Focused international attention on human rights violations in Israel through yearly GA resolutions.
- L. Called for the replacement of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, which actively shields Israel while overlooking serious human rights violations the last, with a Human Rights Council comprised of responsible nations.

Building Regional Ties

Minister Cotler established the Middle East...

Canada-Israel bilateral partnership is booming:

- As a developed country Israel needs little aid. We are signatory to the Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement, trading \$1 billion annually.
- The Canada-Israel Industrial Research and Development Foundation has been a great success and has been renewed until 2008 by Ministers Pedersen, Bennett and Pallone.
- Minister Dryden is currently negotiating an agreement on cooperation with Israel.

Canada Helps Palestinians to Help Themselves:

Canada recognizes that peace cannot be achieved without a credible Palestinian partner. That is why in 2005, Prime Minister Harper started...

Figure 8: Liberal Party ad campaign featuring Liberal Parliamentarians for Israel and Bilateral as well as International pro-Israel initiatives (*The Canadian Jewish News* . 2006, January 19, p. 21)

The fourth observation concerns the CJN and its role as Media of Diaspora. This framework uncovers the transnational ties that are maintained by ethnic media. The importance of *The Canadian Jewish News* to the Jewish community in fulfilling this role cannot be underestimated. Schoenfeld, Shaffir and Weinfeld (2006) point out that this paper, by its regular feature of articles, notices, and advertisements, it links the Canadian Jewry to Israel. The *CJN* informs its readers of the political, cultural, and economic events in the Jewish state with considerable detail. The authors advance that “[v]irtually each front page...either highlights or includes stories connected to Israel” (p. 278), thus, the CJN is an example of what Karim (2003) terms Media of Diaspora.

The fifth observation refers to opinion leaders or the voice(s) of the ethnic polity. The Social Influence or Two Step model underscores the role of opinion leaders in setting the political agenda, informing the community, and, also of great importance to the Jewish community, maintaining transnational linkages between Canada and Israel. Organizations within the Jewish polity demonstrate their power in publishing election guides for the community and setting the agenda of the elections. Leaders of political parties, incumbents and other candidates seem to be compelled to respond to questions on the policies of the Canadian government not only towards the local community, but to the State of Israel, particularly in the international arena. Moreover, these organizations establish and maintain transnational linkages. Schoenfeld et. al. (2006) point out that the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) is an example of the congruence of the national and the diasporic. This organization has a dual role: it advances the integration of Jews into Canadian society and advocates before the Canadian governments. This organization was founded in 1919, and, according to Schoenfeld et. al., “the Congress’ agenda has always mixed an interest in Canadian issues with an interest in the Canadian role on the international scene”

(Schoenfeld et al., 2006, p. 281). With the creation of the State of Israel, the organization has “shifted its agenda away from national integration and toward stronger transnational ties” (Cited in Schoenfeld et al., 2006, p. 281).

The CJN features the victory of the Conservative party and the fact that no there is no Jewish representation in the new government. The B’nai Brith Canada is reported to have issued the statement of its intention to “hold...politicians accountable for promises made and policies articulated during the election period” (*The Canadian Jewish News*. 2006, February 2 p. 5). This statement confirms role of this organization as continuing to be the voice of the community’s concerns.

6. Summary of Findings

The selection of main publications circulated in the Italian, Portuguese and Jewish communities present a sample base which varies in attributes such as style of journalism, language and frequency of publication. Although editions of the papers such as *The Canadian Jewish News* and *Corriere Canadese* are generally available at the Metro Toronto Reference Library, not all editions published during the cross – sectional panel of time were accounted for. The manual selection of articles may have also increased the chance of human error in overlooking samples for the study. Nevertheless, I contend that a large percentage of articles obtained for analysis – an approximate total of 150- were adequate for the exploratory research.

The major research goal of this paper is to determine the role ethnic press plays in fostering immigrant political integration. Immigrant political participation may be summarized as the expression of political interested and / or making political demands. This question embodies two components; first, I examined the extent to which ethnic press facilitates – promotes, encourages or mobilizes- the civic engagement of the community during the cross-sectional period of time that constitutes the federal election campaign of 2006. Secondly, I sought to understand the extent to which political parties campaigned in ethnic press as a means of capturing ethnic votes.

The research employed models of communicating political information- namely the Social Influence or Two-Step Model, the uses and gratification model and Media of Diaspora framework. I have chosen these theoretical frameworks because they are among other frameworks developed to conceptualize and analyze the impact of mass media and (political) communication on audiences. I hypothesized that these frameworks would also have currency

with respect to ethnic press. My definition of coverage of the federal election campaign in ethnic press placed emphasis on those articles that shed light on immigrant political participation and engagement. The articles for analysis were obtained by employing qualitative research methodologies, namely a content analysis, in which manifest and latent coding techniques identified articles pertinent to the study. I have utilized concepts derived from theories of constructing political reality to interpret the data collected.

I have indicated that the Social influence or Two Step model suggests that political information is relayed to community members by individuals who are respected for their knowledge, and thereby, have the power to influence the voting patterns of their audience. However, I have expanded the definition of opinion leaders to include organizations or entities within the community and in so doing, I have pointed out the various organizations particularly in the Jewish community that are mandated to advocate on behalf of the community. They diffuse information to guide the Jewish electorate to make electoral choices that benefit the community. I also find that ethnic press itself may act as an opinion leader. My research has demonstrated that the information it presents filters or relays specific political information to the community, and may act as an authoritative voice on the political attitudes of the community.

The power of ethnic press has also been emphasized in the uses and gratifications approach. This model underscores the ability of the press to present favourable images of the political activism, empowerment, and builds the community's self esteem. It also has the power to symbolically reorder prestige and/or the pursuit of political power. This is evident in the way ethnic press promotes and legitimizes candidates from the community. The coverage highlights, profiles and celebrates the political achievements and political activism of ethnic political

candidates. The emphasis on the positive achievements may eclipse any backlashes from scandals in which other high profiled candidates from the community may be implicated. It also prompts members of the community to be self reflective by airing the political 'dirty laundry' of the community to point out attitudes that are not conducive to civic participation. It alerts its readers to the general apathetical attitude of the community towards the elections and takes note of the shifting political climate that may threaten the re-election of candidates from the particular ethnic group and immigrant community. My research findings also suggest that ethnic press may clarify myths about elections, warn readers of unofficial political communication, and highlight the opinion leaders of the community who provide further information on those candidates who are sensitive to the issues affecting the community. It reminds its audience of its civic responsibility. All in all, I suggest ethnic press provides information and attempts to motivate or mobilize the community to political action.

One of the major themes surging from this study is the question of representation. It may be true that several ethnic candidates may be featured in mainstream press, particularly those in highly contested ridings. The uses and gratification approach as well as concepts from theories of constructing political reality accentuate ethnic press as a tool for presenting an overall positive portrayal of the communities' political activism, raising the candidates' profile, boosting their image and conferring status as legitimate contestants, especially for those candidates who may not have enjoyed such limelight in the mainstream press and who may be lesser known. Of particular interest, is the focus on the political engagement / involvement of women from the three ethnic groups featured in this study, and the positive coverage they received in their community's publications. The favourable coverage or reporting of pseudo-events includes photo opps and the references to statements made during a politician's speech. These factors

may construct a political reality in which the candidate is perceived to be a legitimate choice. This phenomenon was observed particularly in the *Sol's* coverage of Mario Silva, and the CJA's multiple references to, and quotations of Paul Martin's statements on Canada-Israel relations.

The *Corriere*, *Sol* and CJA all carry content on issues of relevance to the homeland. I have pointed out that there was a specific appeal to the Italian Diaspora regarding the right to vote. However, on the subject of Italian Canadian candidates campaigning for representation in the Italian Parliament, Tony Carella of the National Congress of Italian Canadians explains this phenomenon as follows:

"We don't believe any of these people [candidates] [sic] have a right to say that they represent the community. For the first generation who came here for a better life, one of the things they miss least is Italian Politics. And as for the second and third generation, no one cares" (Cited in Aguiar, 2006 p. 214).

The *Sol* simultaneously covered the Canadian federal election campaign and the Portuguese presidential campaign and indicated voting information for both events. Aguiar (2006) admits that there is a paucity of research particularly in the case of Portuguese living in Canada. Portuguese living abroad were conferred the right to vote in presidential elections in 2001, but voter turn out is quite low. For a community of up to 375,000 across Canada, just over 8,700 registered but only about 975 actually voted (Aguiar, 2006, p. 213). Aguiar (2006) further asserts that even though links to the country of origin are maintained, and there are attempts to establish new ones through the activities of business people, community liaisons as well as community journalists, however, in general, transnational practices are not common for the Italians and Portuguese.

The Canadian Jewish News is, according to my observations, the best example of Media of Diaspora. This framework points out how ethnic press is instrumental in fostering multiple transnational linkages between the community and the adopted homeland. The *CJN* also makes several references to those institutions in the community that forger and maintain transnational linkages. I have indicated that this press emphasizes stories related to Israel and there are several references made to the Jewish Diaspora. I propose that this publication best demonstrates the community's ability to make demands and set the political agenda that have bilateral and international foreign policy implications.

I hypothesized that given the political climate, other major parties could seize the opportunity to achieve political inroads into multicultural ridings by campaigning in ethnic press. I am somewhat surprised to discover that this is not the case. Overall, the Liberal party advertising campaign dominated in terms of occupying a more prominent space in the publications. There was more full page advertising in addition to smaller ads featuring Liberal incumbents and this increased the party's visibility. The Liberal Party campaign in *The Canadian Jewish News* best exemplifies an advertising campaign that is cognizant of, and responsive to the issues of most significance to the Jewish community, namely Canada-Israel relations bilaterally, and in the international arena. This type of ad campaign was unrivalled by other political parties, and is not observed in mainstream press. The campaign strategy of the Liberal Party as exhibited in the case studies may partly explain the Party's ability to maintain hegemony among ethnic groups and immigrant communities. The decision for, or against advertising in ethnic press may have been the result of executive decisions made by party strategists, or, perhaps ethnic press may have exerted control over political advertising in favour of the Liberal party. My research has not unearthed any answers to these questions. This may be a subject for further study.

The question of the ethnic vote will now be addressed. The assumption can be made that ethnic politicians campaign in ethnic press because they are appealing to their own community for support. Politicians of other ethnicities who are seeking support from a community may campaign on issues that resonate well with the communities. This may be true to some extent, but it is vital to remember that even in ridings where there may be a concentration of a particular immigrant or ethnic community, the members of these constellations are not politically monolithic. The success of efforts to court the ethnic vote depends on “a supportive ethnocultural vote (in ridings where there is sufficient residential concentration of minorities) [sic] and substantial voter turnout” (cited in Gerber, 2006 p. 106). This may partially explain why less than half of the Italian Canadian candidates were successfully elected. In the case of the Italian Canadian candidate Maria Minna, for example, her victory has been described as “inaspettata” (unexpected) and she is depicted as being surrounded by supporters of various ethnicities. This demonstrates that her campaign has appealed to a wide cross section of the electorate (*Corriere Canadese*. 2006, January 25 p. 1, 2). Mario Silva’s campaign made specific references to his ethnicity and that of the community, however, it is interesting to note that the *Sol* portrays Silva’s victory celebrations with pictures of supporters of various ethnicities (*Sol Português*. 2006, January 27, p. 12). I have already indicated that non-Jewish Liberal candidates were more successful than Jewish Conservative candidates in the ridings of high concentrations of the Jewish electorate. These results may signal the political maturity of the ridings in which these candidates campaigned.

The cross-sectional panel of time chosen for this project has unearthed a number of themes that can be further explored in longitudinal studies. No community is monolithic, and indeed, communities are dynamic organisms. Longitudinal studies have the potential to capture

changing political preferences, increase/decrease in the number of candidates from a particular ethnic community, the fostering and/or maintaining of transnational linkages and the policy implications, as well as the role of organizations in the ethnic polity to set the political agenda and/or influence the community's voting patterns.

7. Conclusion

In the context of this paper, I defined the concept ‘lost in translation’ as misunderstandings, misgivings or dissonance that may arise in the face of cultural and linguistic differences where adaptation - political integration of immigrant communities and ethnic minorities- are concerned. As indicated in the introduction, burgeoning scholarship in the field of immigrant political integration is informed by empirical data obtained by quantitative analyses to determine voter turn out rates for a given ethnic group or immigrant community, and to determine the extent of proportional representation and inclusion in the various levels of government. In keeping with the definition of immigrant political behavior, this paper has proposed that other forms of political engagement- the ability to express demands, psychological engagement or exhibiting an interest in Canadian politics also constitutes political engagement. I posit that the *Corriere*, *Sol* and CJNI present coverage that seems to appeal to voters to become politically engaged by supporting the candidates. Of the three papers, the *Corriere*, provides a more extensive coverage on the various party platforms and thereby attempts to present to the reader the political choices so that the reader may make an informed decision. The coverage in the *Sol* seeks to challenge voter apathy by highlighting statements from the ethnic candidates that aim to encourage political participation. Likewise, the CJNI also prominently highlights the Canadian Jewish Political Affairs Committee, a newly formed grassroots organization which aims to encourage political participation by sponsoring various events to facilitate political learning.

Ethnic press not only fosters political engagement and seeks to mobilize communities into political action, it may also express the demands of the community where government policy is concerned. This is particularly evident in the CJNI, where coverage of the

election campaign points out the stance of candidates on issues pertaining to Canada – Israel relations. The Liberal advertising campaign also clearly demonstrates this party’s attempt to respond to the Jewish community’s concerns on Canadian bilateral and international policies affecting Canada-Israel relations, the sovereignty of Israel, and actions taken in support of Israel in the international arena, namely at the United Nations. However, the subject of ethnic press and immigrant or ethnic political engagement is not often focus of scholarly research. I assert that my exploratory research begins to address the paucity of research of the relationship between ethnic press and immigrant political behavior, but this lack needs to be addressed.

The theoretical models I have chosen for analysis are based on the assumption that media can impact the (political) behavior of its audience. The role of media has been linked to the legitimacy of democracy. For a democratic society to function, voters must elect candidates to represent them. I have pointed out that texts on Canadian politics and Canadian mass media have confirmed the importance of the mass media to a democratic society as the means by which the electorate is informed. There is virtually no reference made to ethnic press. I presume that references to ethnic press have been omitted due to three major myths. First, it is assumed to be “ethno-centric”, that is, it focuses on the community and does not promote (political) integration into the Canadian society. Secondly, it is believed that ethnic media will not survive in the long run; it will cease to be relevant as succeeding generations will eventually consume mainstream media. Thirdly, there may be a misconception of the relevance of ethnic press in general. I will address each myth.

First of all, the ethnocentricity of ethnic press is a legitimate concern. However, the case studies presented demonstrate that ethnic press, by and large, not only provide coverage

of the election campaign on a national and local level, but draw attention to the ethnic candidates' political achievements and political activism in the various levels of Canadian politics. The celebration of these achievements may be construed to be a celebration or evidence of the communities' (political) integration into Canadian society.

Secondly, for many communities, the retention of the mother tongue becomes challenging since successive waves of immigrants with the same background are needed to perpetuate the language and culture of the group. The hegemony of the English (and/or French) may increase with each succeeding generation, and the relevance of ethnic media in the heritage language may decline. However, the determination of the group to forge institutions- such as separate schools- that aim to instruct succeeding generations on language and culture cannot be ignored. These initiatives have not gone unnoticed by governments of the countries of origin, and their bid to establish transnational linkages. These initiatives have been the catalyst to create and/or maintain diplomatic relations between the ethnic group and the government of the country of origin. This has been the case, for example, of Portuguese Community Schools- an initiative fostered by the Embassy of Portugal and its Consulates in Canada, and the government of Portugal (Burney 2003). Additionally, an institutionally complete community with organizations that conduct business in the heritage language is also a contributing factor to the longevity of the language. State policy is also instrumental in aiding ethnic communities to preserve their cultural and linguistic heritage. This has been evidenced in the creation of Heritage Language Classes and other initiatives as delineated by the Toronto District School Board (See http://www.tdsb.on.ca/_site/ViewItem.asp?siteid=200&menuid=989&pageid=726). I suggest that these factors may contribute to the longevity of ethnic press in the heritage language, even

though there may be no substantial waves of immigrants of the same ethnicity, culture and language to perpetuate the group's customs and identity.

The third myth concerns a general misunderstanding of the role of ethnic press. The exclusion perpetuated by mainstream institutions may be a catalyst for the creation and longevity of minority institutions. In other words, "if a mainstream institution is marginalizing minority groups, minority institutions are likely to become outlets for the minority group or groups....[M]inority media sources serve the role of increasing visibility of marginalized groups" (Grose , 2006, p. 117). The ethnic press selected for this study are samples of ethnic media that have been in existence for decades. Nevertheless, I have demonstrated that a survey of Canadian texts on politics and the media, or mainstream media and minorities dedicate virtually no space to explore the role ethnic media plays in fostering integration, more specifically political integration / engagement.

Fleras and Lock Kunz's (2001) study of media and minorities in Canada has uncovered systemic racism. They also point out that a dichotomy or binary persists where the role of ethnic media is concerned; that of facilitating adaptation into the Canadian society or solidifying values and links (transnationalism) with the country of origin. They also suggest that the proliferation or expansion of ethnic media may undermine the need for mainstream media to take responsibility for being more inclusive. However, I suggest that this finding does not challenge the systemic marginalization exhibited by mainstream media, neither does it consider any possible consequences if mainstream media does not adopt a more inclusive approach. I expand on this point later in my concluding remarks.

Ethnic media are as diverse as the communities they serve, however, in an attempt to address the dichotomy that appears to exist between ethnic and mainstream media, the late

Daniel Iannuzzi, founder of the *Corriere Canadese*, coined by the term “New Mainstream.” A recipient of the Order of Canada, Iannuzzi was well recognized in media circles for the unique vision he possessed on the role that media would play in reflecting the diversity and multiculturalism that Canada for which Canada has come to be recognized. In an address given to the Media Club of Ottawa in December 2004, Iannuzzi defined the term “new mainstream” as:

“those who are comfortable with their identities, enjoy the stimulation that exists within a diversity of peoples, want to be in a position to develop their own perspectives on the affairs and events of the global village and are open and eager to interact with the peoples of their nation and those of the globe” (2000, p.13).

The rationale for exploring the concept of the “New Mainstream” is justified for three main reasons. Firstly, there are increasing changes to the demographic profile of Toronto; race, ethnicity, languages spoken. Secondly, there has been a decline in circulation of major mainstream newspapers media such as *Toronto Star* and *Toronto Sun* (see Robertson, Grant (2006, March 22) “Resisting trend, Globe circulation climbing.” *The Globe and Mail* p. B2). There is also an admission from mainstream press that it is struggling to keep pace with diversity (see *Toronto Star*. 2006, June 24 H1, H15). Declining circulation may be the consequence that mainstream media may face if a more inclusive posture is not assumed. This may also signal the existence of potential niche markets to be filled by ethnic press. Thirdly, rather than undermining of the need for mainstream media to be inclusive as suggested by Fleras and Lock Kunz, the “New Mainstream” concept proposes a synthesis between the two genres.

The notion of “mainstream” is based on British and French heritage - the two founding cultures of Canada- male, and a minority of those who were accepted because of wealth or outstanding ability, as such, the mainstream is about power and influence (Iannuzzi, 2000, p.8,

9.). Iannuzzi recognized that mainstream media needed to evolve to allow equal access to all Canadians. It calls for spaces to be created to permit Canadians to “have access to the expressions of their shared heritage” (Iannuzzi, 2000, p10). The notion of a ‘shared heritage’ is defined by Iannuzzi to mean “draw[ing] from each other’s heritage and those of all other fellow citizens especially through media” (2000, p. 9). This perspective recognizes that the media may act as the space where there are shared experiences; a place where each learns from the other. As such, the New Mainstream acts as a synthesis between two polarities- ethnic media and mainstream media, and may diminish opportunities for misunderstandings and misgiving that often occur when cultural exchanges are lost in translation.

What is also of great significance is the vision that producers of ethnic media have of themselves as stakeholders in not only impacting the GTA media landscape, but more importantly, in shaping their destiny as far as inclusion and participation in all levels of the Canadian society is concerned. According to Himani Bannerji (2000), “much is vested in the fact of naming, in the words we use to express our socio-political understanding, because they are more than just words they are ideological concepts” (p.550). Although the terms pervade scholarly literature, “ethnic media” and/or “ethnic press” are terms that disempower and “other” those who produce and those who read the media. In other words, unlike mainstream media, they may not be considered as being professional and authoritative. Thus, any expression of a community’s vision of itself and its place in the Canadian mosaic may be lost in translation.

If mass media are considered to be an “essential pillar of democracy” and, in political terms, they “support structures for the political systems...of modern states” (Siegel, 1996, p. 18), then the marginalization of ethnic press has implications for its audience who continue to view ethnic press as a means of becoming politically engaged. Besides contributing

to the research on immigrant political behaviour/ political engagement, the exploratory research may open avenues for future study on ethnic press as a means of political agency.

If current projections on the demographic profile of Canada hold true, by 2017, one in five people will be a visible minority. Statistics Canada project that for urban centres like Toronto, more than half the population would be a member of a visible minority group (see www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/050322/d050322b.htm). This may certainly have implications not only for the media landscape in the GTA, but it also underscores the role that ethnic press will continue to play. As Toronto's ethnic/linguistic characteristics continue to evolve, ethnic media will also be of great importance. Harney postulates that "ethnic press should be seen as one of those rare sources through which we can reach some understanding of the mentalités and psychic maps of immigrants, people, articulate in their own time and culture rendered silent by historians with inadequate methods for hearing them" (Harney, 1982, p.7).

In spite of technological advances in media, there is general acknowledgement that newspapers are still relevant in conveying political messages particularly during an election campaign. This observation is no less applicable to ethnic press. Although ethnic press cannot be seen as the "authentic voice" of the ethnoculture it claims to be, nevertheless, "it does provide the best printed source for evaluating the world in which people [live] and the information and ideas that [are] directed to them" (Harney, 1982, p.7). It is true that ethnic media evolve over time to reflect changes occurring within the community. Some media fail, and new ones are created. Notwithstanding, Zybala's (1982) assertion continues to be relevant: "as long as there are immigrants, as long as there is a "collective will to exist",[sic] and as long as there are causes to support, there will be an ethnic press" (p.29).

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