

Taking Root: Media, Community, and Belonging in Ottawa

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**For my grand-mother, Lili,
who, through her love, support, and indomitable spirit,
instilled in me everything I needed
to follow my dreams**

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Abstract

This thesis employs a post-anarchist influenced lens and develops a collective capacity framework in order to explore how the media consumption and production practices of the Chinese Canadian, Latin American, and Somali Canadian communities in Ottawa, Canada, can strengthen these communities' ability to facilitate the process by which immigrants become community members and form a sense of belonging in Ottawa. The thesis explores both how ethno-cultural media can help newcomers to form a sense of belonging and become part of a local ethno-cultural community, as well as how such media can help members of minority ethno-cultural communities become part of the broader local community and to form a sense of belonging in Ottawa, and Canada more broadly. Throughout, the thesis identifies and explores the differences that emerge between the three communities in order to gain better insight into the potential benefits of ethno-cultural media.

In order to explore and to answer these questions, the thesis employs quantitative and qualitative methods. It relies on analysis of secondary literature, raw data from the OMMI 2012 Survey, raw content coding of local Chinese and Spanish language media carried out as part of the Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative, and primary research consisting of content coding of a Somali Canadian television program.

The main contribution of this thesis lies in offering a new lens through which to assess the integrative potential of ethno-cultural media. Approaching the question from a bottom-up, relationship-centred perspective has yielded different findings than those generally reported in Canadian ethno-cultural media research. Although there were significant differences in terms of media use and media production between the three communities, the findings revealed that all three used ethno-cultural media in ways that had the potential to help them in the process of settling down and taking root in a new city, and of helping them to form a sense of belonging.

Legend

BC – British Columbia

CBC – Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

CCN – Canada China News

CRTC – Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission

ECM – Ethno-Cultural Media

EL – Eco Latino

HT – Health Times

ITV – Integration: Building a New Cultural Identity

MEE – Mundo en Español

OMMI – Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative

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This thesis made extensive use of survey and content coding data produced as part of the Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative (OMMI). I am grateful to the OMMI team (Principal Investigator: Dr. Rukhsana Ahmed; Co-investigators: Dr. Caroline Andrew, Dr. Houssein Charmarkeh, Dr. Jaya Peruvemba, and Dr. Luisa Veronis) for generously granting me the permission to use this data. I would also like to acknowledge and to thank Dr. Jing Feng and Ms. Fatima Yusuf whose contribution to the OMMI as research assistants was essential to the data collection process. This thesis would not have been possible without their brilliance, hard work, and dedication.

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Preface

Following the thesis defence, I was asked to describe my positionality in relation to the thesis, and to explain why I felt strongly about the post-anarchist influenced lens employed. I have chosen to do this as part of a preface, rather than inserting it in the thesis.

I had considered and discarded the possibility of addressing my positionality within the thesis, partly because I had hoped that the thesis could stand on its own, but mostly because I am uncomfortable sharing so much about myself. While I would not have hesitated to discuss how the way that I am perceived (white woman, maybe francophone white woman) could influence the way that participants engaged with me and what they revealed to me, this type of reflection was not particularly useful, because I did not directly engage with people as part of the thesis. I relied on survey data and content analysis, which means that while the way in which I am perceived might have an impact on how my work is received, it has limited potential to affect the data I relied on.

I feel considerably more hesitant about describing my positionality, beyond the aspects that can be surmised at a glance, with what have become common short hands of identity and experience (class, sex, language, colour, ethno-cultural heritage, place of birth, etc.), because in the absence of more detail, all it does is enable people to tap into easy class and regional stereotypes. In order to reveal anything of significance about how my positionality influences my thinking and analysis, I have to provide a more personal account of where I have come from (literally and figuratively), and I am profoundly uncomfortable with that. I am uncomfortable partly because I am somewhat reserved; partly because it forces me to write and to think about experiences that I generally try to forget (and the process makes me feel like I am viewing my life through a very grey lens); and partly because I know that in a few years' time I will look back on what I wrote with some embarrassment given that my understanding of my positionality and of how it influences my thinking will (hopefully) have matured and evolved. For these reasons, my discussion is limited to those parts of my positionality which I perceive to be related more directly

to the main questions treated in the thesis. I use a narrative format, because I find that it enables me to share my perspective in a way that stays closer to my truth.

I am not an immigrant. Some of my ancestors arrived on the continent tens of thousands of years ago, and the most recent immigrants in my family are believed to have arrived at the time of the Irish Potato Famine. When hearing about my background and of where I grew up, people are sometimes surprised and curious about how I came to develop an interest in issues of immigrant settlement and integration. But, when you reframe the question in terms of being uprooted, experiencing alienation, experiencing culture shock, seeking to settle in a new place where people are different than where you came from, experiencing discrimination and exclusion, trying to fit in, trying not to disappear, building relationships, slowly beginning to build a life that allows you to feel like you belong, then the experiences that help me to relate to newcomers, and that influence my understanding of the challenges of being part of an ethno-cultural minority population in Canada become easier to perceive.

I was raised, until the age of 12, in a small village named Smoky Falls located along the Mattagami River between Moosonee and Kapuskasing. My grandparents lived there, and my mother had grown up there. There were generally between 6 and 8 children attending the local school, including myself and my two brothers. I was the only girl. It was, to say the least, a very unusual upbringing. It was not always easy. There were moments of extreme loneliness, but living in Smoky also afforded me an unusual degree of freedom. I spent a lot of time playing outside, exploring the forest around Smoky, fishing, hunting, trapping with my parents and grandparents, and reading any book I could find. Having no living template for how girls my age were supposed to behave, I made it up as I went. When I was 10, the hydroelectric dam which sustained Smoky Falls was sold to Ontario Hydro and marked for modernization. As part of the plan, the entire village was to be raised to the ground and everyone had to move away.

I will get back to my story shortly, but before I do, I would like to acknowledge that when the Smoky Falls hydroelectric dam and village was built in the early 1900s, there was a Cree community living at the location where the dam was built. The people were forcibly relocated,

their homes burned to the ground, and the surrounding lands were flooded. As a child, when I played in the forest surrounding Smoky, I sometimes found objects where the Cree community had lived. My mother and I would try to figure out what they had been for. On one occasion, I found an old, broken doll... This knowledge and these experiences had a lasting impact on my understanding of the country I lived in, on its history, and how it has fallen short of its ideals.

There is also another layer to this story. Growing up, my grandmother often hinted that she might be indigenous, and people often made comments about my brother's complexion. These hints and comments were always offered in a joking manner and for reasons that I am only beginning to unpack, I had never really put much thought into it. Shortly after beginning my doctoral studies in Ottawa, I learned that my great-grandfather had been Nehiraw-iriniw (Attikamek), and that when he and my great-grandmother had moved from Québec to Northern Ontario, they, like so many others in the region, only retained their French Canadian identity. I do not yet know how this will come to influence my perspective, but it has added to my rejection of the will to cultural homogenization. It has caused me to reflect on Canada's complex history of colonialism, on how my indigenous heritage was lost, disappeared into French Canadian culture, and how my newly 'emancipated' ancestors continued the process of colonization in an effort to escape the horrors that are visited upon indigenous people in this country. It has caused me to think in a more introspective fashion about how the experience of exclusion and marginalization can lead to a desire to erase our differences in order to gain access to a better life, about the ways in which these strategies are often bound to fail, and about the emptiness that follows. I still have so much to learn.

Two years after we first learned of what was to happen in Smoky, my family moved to Kapuskasing, and I experienced my first case of culture shock. I had gone from being in a school with six children where I was the only girl to a school with hundreds of children - well over 20 in my grade six class. The girls and boys were largely self-segregated. The boys treated me like a girl, and the girls terrified me. I eventually became friends with another misfit and we remain friends to this day, but these first experiences of being uprooted, of losing my home, and of slowly

taking root in a new town left me with an appreciation of the heartache involved in the process and of the difficulty of rebuilding a true sense of belonging.

My second major experience of culture shock was when I left home to attend the University of Western Ontario. It was completely exhilarating, but also very challenging. In making the move from a small, northern, working class paper mill town to a university which is jokingly called a country club school, I became aware of my socio-economic class position in a way which I had not been before. I was the first person in my family to attend university, and so I had received very little in the way of preparation. More than anything in my first year of university, what I learned revolved around passing as middle class. These experiences, as you may imagine, makes the question of speaking openly about my positionality and how it influences my understanding all the more challenging, because it runs counter to all of the strategies that I have learned in order to get by since I have left the north. In some ways, it runs counter to multiple generations of teachings in my family.

Then there was the matter of being French Canadian in a predominantly Anglophone, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant city. There is some diversity in London, but when I lived there it was not a good place to be different. Not everyone was unwelcoming of course, but enough people were that I generally felt unwelcomed. For example, when I spoke in English in the course of my day to day business, at the grocery store for instance, the faces of the people with whom I was speaking would all too often lose their smile and take on a sometimes neutral, sometime cautious, sometimes hard expression as soon as they heard my Northern Ontarian French Canadian accent. Very rarely was my difference unnoticed or welcomed with curiosity. I was even chided on several occasions, by people whom I did not know and with whom I had not been talking, for speaking in a 'foreign' language. These experiences have made me keenly aware of the many, daily, individually insignificant, but cumulatively clear and exhausting little ways that one can be made to understand that they are different, that they do not belong, and that they are unwelcome.

I had never held being francophone as a political identity until that point. I had grown up French Canadian in a predominantly Francophone area, but it was something that was just part of me and that I took for granted. In the north, most of those who promoted francophone pride were teachers, many of whom had come to teach in Northern Ontario from Québec. There were considerable cultural and class differences between many of the teachers and most of the students and their families. I loved school, but I hated French class. The teachers were well-meaning. They were generally very concerned about the way that French was spoken in town, and believed that the only way to save us from being assimilated into Anglophone culture was to improve the quality of our spoken and written French. This experience left me feeling alienated from my culture, and even more so from Franco-Ontarian politics. However, faced with a difficult environment in London, and needing to find a reprieve from being different, I soon reached out to the local Franco-Ontarian community. These experiences have helped me to appreciate some of the complexity of being part of a minority ethno-cultural community, and the importance of building and organizing capable communities, especially where exclusion and discrimination are involved.

One of the most formative parts of my experience in London and at Western was shaped by where I finally found a sense of belonging. As much as I wanted to fit in at Western, I was neither willing nor probably quite capable of erasing my differences enough to pass in the in 'mainstream' Western and London crowds. I was experiencing difficulty forging bonds with people around whom I had to hide so much of myself, and who were experiencing the city and the campus in a very different way. I eventually found my home with the younger professors, lecturers, and international graduate students in the Italian studies section of the modern languages department, where I developed close and supportive friendships. It is largely thanks to their encouragement that I decided to pursue graduate studies. Over the course of my BA and MA at Western, I found that in many ways my experience of the city and of the campus had more in common with those of newcomers to the country than with my 'mainstream' Canadian peers.

Nearly all the people that I counted as friends over the course of those years were either international students, immigrants, or the children of immigrants, and this nuanced my

understanding of what it is like to live as a member of an ethno-cultural minority population in Canada. It opened my eyes to how much more hostile the city and campus could be to my racialized friends. It also really brought home the need for supportive solidarity between different ethno-cultural minority populations, so that we can stop trying to erase ourselves to fit in. An influence which is ever present in this thesis.

My thesis asks that we think about the process of settling-in, taking root, and developing a sense of belonging from a perspective which is not premised on the erasure of difference. My positionality toward this specific question is one of shared interest, because in many ways, however this questions plays out, we will share each other's fate. My ability to live as I am, without having to disappear myself into an unhyphenated, undifferentiated, conforming 'mainstream' Canadianess is tied to that of other non-dominant populations in Canada.

This understanding is intimately connected with my choice of using an anarchist/post-anarchist influenced lens in the thesis. Anarchist philosophy asks us to focus on the more positive aspects of human community. It challenges the survival of the fittest thinking favoured by the dominant neo-liberal ideology of our time, and suggest that rather than being the best individuals who survive, it is those communities that are the best at co-operating (Kropotkin, 1989). In so doing, it invites us to focus on the mutually helpful and supportive practices which allow individuals to survive and to thrive through community.

Post-anarchist philosophy challenges the notion that unity and community require homogenising hegemonic power and control (Alfred, 2005; Day, 2005). It opens up a world of possibilities for reimagining the basis of shared community (Day, 2005; Landauer, 1978). This influence makes room for radically re-imagining how we live together, for categorically rejecting the notion of the nation-state, which requires the continuous erasure of difference, and which has more often than not gone hand in hand with the genocide (cultural and total) of minority ethno-cultural populations (Mann, 2004). It allows us to envision the basis for a real, living, and spirit affirming multiculturalism. It allows us to imagine a Canada where everyone belongs.

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Canada has been shaped over time by successive waves of immigrants from all over the world, each adding to the country's multicultural make-up. Today, with one out of every five Canadians born in another country, Canada has the second largest proportion of foreign born residents after Australia (Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011). The great majority of newcomers to Canada (63 percent) settle in the country's three largest cities – Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal – but Ottawa-Gatineau also receives a large number of immigrants, ranking fifth with 19.4 percent of its population born in another country (Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011).

Since the end of the eighteenth century, Canada's growing ethno-cultural diversity has been accompanied by a growing number of ethno-cultural media (ECM). The first were German language papers, followed by African Canadian newspapers, such as the *Provincial Freeman*, and the *Voice of the Fugitive*, in the 1850s (Fleras, 2011). Since then, there have been many ethno-cultural publications, such as the Italian language *Corriere Canadese* published since the mid-1950s, as well as a growing number of television channels, such as CMFT, launched in 1979, and radio channels, such as CHIN radio launched in 1966, but it was not until the late 1990s, however, that the ECM market really took off.

In 1999, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) adopted its Ethnic Broadcasting Policy, which provides licenses to Canadian produced multilingual and language-specific channels, and allows for the broadcasting of internationally produced channels via satellite. Since then, Canada has experienced a dramatic growth in ethnic media production, especially in major urban centres (Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011). By 2007, there were more than 350 ethno-cultural newspapers in Canada, over 50 television channels providing a variety of ethno-cultural programming, and over 60 radio stations providing programming to targeted to specific ethno-cultural groups (Fleras, 2011; Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011). Some radio channels, such as CHIN Radio, broadcast programs in over 30 languages (Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011). This is in Canada alone, and does not include

the booming market for internationally produced ECM and the media exports of other countries.

Because they attract the greatest number of immigrants, and because most of Canada's ECM is produced in the country's three largest cities, the ECM of Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal have attracted the most research attention. Vancouver, in particular, benefited from a major comparative research initiative lead by Dr. Catharine Murray, which led to the publication of the *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Media in BC* report in 2007, as well as many other articles authored by Murray and her colleagues Dr. Sherry Yu and Dr. Daniel Ahadi. Toronto, on the other hand, has benefited from Dr. April Lindgren's research carried out as part of her *Local News Research Project*, as well as that of other renowned ECM scholars, such as Dr. Augie Fleras, and Dr. Karim H. Karim. As discussed in more detail in the literature review, these researchers have significantly advanced our knowledge about ECM in Canada, and in particular our knowledge about the potential and actual contributions that these media can make toward facilitating the settlement and integration of newcomers to their cities, and to Canada.

The Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative (OMMI), which was launched in 2011, represents the first major attempt to study Ottawa's ECM. In 2010, a group of public servants working for the City of Ottawa had expressed interest in knowing more about how ECM and how it could be employed to reach newcomers to the city. Up to that point, Dr. Houssein Charmarkeh and Dr. Philip Couton had produced some research on the use of information communication technologies by members of Ottawa's Somali community, (Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010), but the city's ECM had received relatively little research attention. It was in response to this interest that Dr. Caroline Andrew initiated the research and assembled the researchers who came to form the OMMI team, which came to be led by Principal Investigator Dr. Rukhsana Ahmed. Over the course of three years, the OMMI produced a significant body of data and research on the media and media practices of the city's Chinese, Spanish speaking Latin American, Somali, and South Asian communities. Specifically, the OMMI carried out a survey on the media consumption habits of 1212 people in these four communities, content coding of popular local or

regional ECM publications in three of the four communities (Chinese, Latin American, and South Asian), and focus groups with consumers of these publications.

Making secondary use of data produced by the OMMI, and of original research carried out as part of this thesis, I explore the media consumption practices and the ECM of Ottawa's Chinese, Spanish speaking Latin American, and Somali communities in order to gain insight into the potential of ECM to contribute to the collective capacity of ethno-cultural communities to facilitate the process by which newcomers settle down, take root, and form a sense of belonging in a new city.

The nascent quality of research on ECM in Ottawa is only part of the reason why this thesis makes a significant contribution to the field. At present, most of the research in Canada focuses on the potential of media to facilitate integration through the provision of integrative content. As will be discussed in more detail in the literature review (Chapter 2), major Canadian research studies on the subject of ECM tends to be characterized by top down, governmental understandings of the process of integration. Rather than beginning with questions about how newcomers experience the process of integration, what they find helpful in this process, why members of minority ethno-cultural communities produce and consume ECM, what benefits consumers believe they derive from ECM, and how this could potentially help them in the process of settling in and setting root, most research on the topics analyse the content of ECM to see if these contain 'integrative content'. What counts as integrative content is generally fairly narrow, mostly limited to those types of information which could potentially serve to educate consumers on Canada, Canadian institutions, and Canadian culture. Most of these studies report that Canadian ECM contains little of this content, and conclude that ECM is therefore not likely to facilitate integration in any significant way.

Such studies also reveal an understanding of integration that seems to be somewhat ill-suited to a multicultural country. In their mildest forms, they seem not to fully appreciate what supports may be necessary to sustain substantive multiculturalism – that is to support Canadians in their ability to nourish themselves as cultural beings. In

the more problematic cases, they betray a belief that the retention of a distinct ethno-cultural identity is antithetical to the process of becoming Canadian - a belief which is completely at odds with the multicultural reality of Canada.

This thesis employs a post-anarchist influenced lens and develops a collective capacity framework in order to explore the potential benefits of ECM from a perspective which is not premised on the erasure of difference or on the need or eventual homogenization. To this end, it explores the potential of ECM from a bottom-up, relationship-centered approach, that is from the ways in which people form relationships, support each other, learn from each other, and exchange information. In this way, it seeks to broaden both what is perceived to be part of the process of integration as well as how ECM could potentially facilitate this process. The main contribution of this thesis is to offer a news lens through which to approach these questions, and in making the case that it would be worthwhile to employ a broader lens when researching ECM, because the top-down approach currently favoured may not really reflect how and why members of ethno-cultural minority populations consume these media, and for this reason, may not be capturing their true value.

Guiding Research Questions and Hypothesis

In order to keep this exploration grounded in a more bottom-up and relationship-centered understanding of the process of integration, the thesis is guided by the following questions:

1. How can ECM contribute to the collective capacity of ethno-cultural communities by supporting their communication infrastructure, networks of interaction, and collective imaginary?
2. How can improved collective capacity (improved community communication infrastructure, networks of interactions, and collective imaginary) facilitate the process by which immigrants settle-in, take root, and develop a sense of belonging in their local ethno-cultural community?

3. How can ECM help newcomers to connect with, and to benefit from, their local ethno-cultural communities as they settle-in, take root, and develop a sense of belonging?

In order to maximize the nuance of the exploration and of the insight gained, the thesis also seeks to pay attention to how media use, media content, and the potential benefits derived from ECM may be different between respondents of the three communities and between different demographic segments in these communities.

I hypothesise that employing the proposed lens to explore the potential of ECM will reveal that ECM has tremendous potential to facilitate the process through which immigrants settle-in, take root, and form a sense of belonging in ways that cannot be captured by the traditional content analysis and understanding of integration.

A more thorough description of the theoretical framework, methodology, data sources, and scale of the thesis is provided in Chapter Two.

Thesis Outline

The thesis is composed of six chapters: an introductory chapter; a chapter for the literature review, theoretical framework, and methodology; three chapters forming the body of the thesis, and a concluding chapter. Chapter Three provides a profile of the three communities' media consumption habits. This serves to confirm the pertinence of studying the ECM of the three communities, and provides important contextual information for the analyses carried out in Chapters Four and Five. Chapter Four focuses on the practical and affective aspects of media consumption in order to gain a better understanding of why members of the three communities consume different types of country of origin and ECM. This analysis provides valuable insight into the benefits that members of the three ethno-cultural communities draw from their consumption of country of origin and ECM, and in so doing provides valuable context for analysing whether or not the media analysed on Chapter Five responds to the needs of their target audience. In Chapter Five, I turn my attention to the content of the ECM of the three communities so as to gain a better understanding of how they may contribute to their

target community's collective capacity to facilitate immigrant integration. The concluding chapter directly addresses the main and secondary thesis questions identified as the outset of this chapter.

CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part provides a literature review of Canadian and international research on ECM and country of origin media. The second part presents the analytical lens and theoretical framework that guide this thesis. Finally, the third presents the methodology used in the thesis; this final part also includes a description of the three local communities included in the thesis.

Literature Review

The following reviews existing literature on two main types of media: ECM produced in Canada and country/region of origin media used by immigrants and their descendants. An effort has been made to thoroughly review the works of Canadian scholars who have researched ECM in Canada. Works by scholars based in other countries, as well as works focusing on ECM in other countries have also been included to supplement the Canadian literature when possible and relevant.

Reflecting the thesis' main research questions, the literature review focuses on literature that addresses questions of immigrant settlement and integration. This process was facilitated by the fact that much of the Canadian research and literature on the subject of ECM focuses on questions of immigrant integration. In particular, much of the literature consists of content analyses of ECM newspapers and radio programming with the explicit aim of assessing such media's potential for facilitating immigrant integration in Canada, and in the city of settlement. In other words, these works assess the potential bridging function of ECM.

Much of the research on immigration and media focuses on the increasing ease of access to country of origin media, and to international migrant or diaspora produced media. This research seeks to address concerns that these transnational media creation and consumption practices will impede cultural integration by hampering the formation and adoption of the country of the settlement's national identities and contributing to the long-term maintenance of country of origin national identities. Part of this research involves the question of whether globalization is undermining the foundations of the nation state, and giving way to a new migration paradigm characterised by mobility and

cultural retention, rather than permanent settlement and assimilation. Given that this question goes to the core of the question of the relevance of research on integration, such research has been included in the review.

Given the comparative nature of this thesis, it would have been fitting to engage in a comparative review of the research on the ECM and country of origin media use of the three communities under study. This undertaking, however, was impeded by several factors. First, ECM has been the subject of relatively little research in Canada, and what research exists is divided very unevenly between the three communities under study. Forming important portions of Toronto and Vancouver's populations, Chinese and South Asian ECM have benefited from considerably more research attention than that of the Latin American and Somali populations. Furthermore, attempts to supplement Canadian research with ethno-culturally specific research in other countries were undermined by the fact that these questions are predictably treated quite differently depending on the national context, and by the fact that the relationships between different countries and given ethno-cultural populations vary considerably. Because of the heterogeneous and uneven nature of research on this subject, the literature review can only signal differences between the three ethno-cultural communities under study without engaging in a systematic comparison.

The review begins with research that is pessimistic about any potential integrative benefit of ECM, and slowly works its way through to more optimistic research findings.

Integration vs. Segregation

Interest in ECM has been growing since the 1980s in Canada, but the subject remains relatively under-researched. Since the beginning, most of the Canadian research and literature on ECM has been concerned with the impact of ECM consumption on the settlement and integration of newcomers to Canada. While this may appear natural from a Canadian perspective, the same cannot be said about research on ECM in the United States and in Europe, where research focuses have been much more varied. Given the relatively narrow focus of Canadian research into the subject, one might expect to find

growing evidence for one thesis over the other – either ECM facilitates integration or it does not – but that is not the case. As will be discussed in more detail below, while many have sought to address the question as to whether ECM facilitates or hinders integration, no definitive answer has emerged, and the most accurate answer that can be given to this question is, “it depends.” The answer depends on the specific ECM publication in question. It also depends on a second, equally salient, but more abstract consideration, namely on how one conceptualizes the process of migration and the meaning of integration.

Research on ECM’s impact on the settlement and integration of newcomers has become more nuanced since the 1980s when researchers began to take interest in the subject, but remains inconclusive when taken as a whole. While this may seem somewhat surprising at first thought, the mixed findings of research on ECM simply reflect the great heterogeneity of media productions and of the ethno-cultural communities that these seek to serve. These media vary considerably in terms of their size from small ‘mom and pop’ operations to well established corporations (Fleras, 2011; Lin & Song, 2006). Some are funded exclusively through local advertisement and subscription, while others are bankrolled by powerful overseas interests (Fleras, 2011; Murray & al., 2007). Some are dailies, others weeklies, and others still monthlies. They can be local, regional, provincial, national, and even international in scope and distribution. Some are strictly commercial enterprises, while others have an avowed community media function (Ahadi & Murray, 2009; Yu & Murray, 2007). Moreover, as Husband argues, ECM is shaped both by the characteristics and the needs of the ethno-cultural communities that they target (Husband, 2005). Some target mostly newcomers while others target established communities (Fleras, 2011). They seek to meet varying combinations of needs, such as the need for integrative information, for information and analysis about events in the country of origin, and the need to sustain cultural heritage, or even to rediscover one’s roots (Ahadi & Murray, 2009; Fleras, 2011). ECM are also shaped by the broader economic and technological environment in which they exist; as mainstream media have been

declining and struggling to remain profitable in a quickly changing technological environment, ECM have continued to expand (Fleras, 2011).

Understandably, all of these differences lead to variations in terms of the integrative content that is likely to be found in any given publication or program. To provide a concrete example, Yu & Murray found significant intercommunity variation between the local Korean community media and local Cantonese community media's coverage of international and local news ratio in Vancouver. Country of origin news accounted for slightly over 50% of Vancouver's Korean media, but for only 19% of the city's Cantonese media (Ahadi & Murray, 2009). The authors hypothesize that the variation may in part be explained by the relative newness of the Korean community in Vancouver compared to the Cantonese community, which has a much longer history in the city (Yu & Murray, 2007). The idea is that new communities are more concerned about country of origin news, while more established communities have developed a more local focus. This is unfortunate from an integrative perspective, as according to this research, the community the most in need of integrative content received the least. While such variation may be expected between communities, they can also be found between the publications of a given community. For example, Karim H. Karim's 2002 study of South Asian print media in Toronto revealed that there was considerable variation in integrative content between different publications, with some containing as little as 3.8 percent and some as much as 30.5 percent integrative content (Karim, 2002). Despite all of this heterogeneity, Canadian scholars have been able to add much nuance to how the question of ECM and integration is approached. In what follows, I will discuss this research beginning with research that supports the non-integrative thesis and slowly moving on to research that supports a more integrative thesis.

Cultural isolation and non-integration

Concerns that ECM could have the effect of isolating immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities from the general population and of hindering their integration are not new. In 1989, for example, Kim and Kim cautioned that newspapers that only provided in-group content could serve to isolate their readers from the broader Canadian

population (Kim & Kim, 1989). Yet, the context has changed dramatically over the past two decades.

Before the advent of satellite television and digital media, media choices were much more constrained than they are today (Ahadi & Murray, 2009; Fleras, 2011; Hafez, 2007; Karim, 2006; Thompson, 2002). In addition to local ECM, immigrants and newcomers can now access a wealth of media content produced in their country of origin and by fellow migrants, and there is evidence to suggest that they do. For example, writing mostly on the European context, Hafez finds that, when they have access to it, immigrants tend to select programming from their country of origin, and to consume much of the same media regardless of where they live (Hafez, 2007). In this context, the fear that ECM has the potential to isolate given ethno-cultural populations from the rest of the Canadian population has intensified, and led some to go one step further arguing that the ECM of some migrant populations actively discourage integration in favour of cultural preservation, and even repatriation (Brinkerhoff, 2006; Nagra, 2011; Chen and Thornton, 2009; Chen & al., 2013; Spoonley and Trlin, 2004). In the post 9/11 world these fears have become entwined with security concerns that some of these media are being used to ideologically manipulate and recruit for international terrorist organizations (Brinkerhoff, 2006; Hafez, 2007; Karim, 2006). There are also fears that ECM will be used to ideologically sustain civil war and inter-community conflict among those who have fled zones of tension, conflict, or war (Axel, 2008; Issa-Salwe & Olden, 2008; Issa-Salwe, 2008; Ranganathan, 2009a, 2009b; Thompson, 2002).

While some ECM have and likely will continue to be used for nefarious purposes, this is in no way representative of ECM use. In fact, existing empirical research on the subject does not support the hypothesis that increased country of origin media and ethnic media availability and use actually impedes or hampers integration. The maintenance of national ethno-cultural identities would pose a serious challenge to migrant integration if the potential information bubbles made possible by new information technologies were sustained over the second and third generation after migration, but there is a growing body of research on immigrant media use in Europe which suggests that this is not the

case. On the contrary, based on a review of European research, Kai Hafez holds that despite the easy availability of country of origin and ECM, second generation immigrants continue to show a marked decline in their consumption of such media (2007). Hafez's own research on the media habits of Turkish immigrants in Germany, for example, finds that consumption habits change dramatically between first and second generation immigrants, with the second generation generally preferring a much greater ratio of country of settlement media, if not exclusively consuming country of settlement media (Hafez, 2007). Gillespie identified the same pattern among Indian immigrants to the UK, where the second generation of Indian immigrants indicate a strong preference for British media (Gillespie, 1997). While there does not appear to be any recent research on the subject in Canada, the question will be addressed using OMMI's 2012 survey data in the following chapter.

Moreover, even among first generation immigrants, there is little evidence to support the notion that interest in country of origin culture, politics, and events and interest in country of settlement culture, politics, and events are mutually exclusive, or that they form a kind of zero sum game where level of interest in one is inversely related to interest in the other. Hafez cites a range of studies throughout Europe which demonstrates that many migrants and immigrants are deeply engaged with the media, culture, and politics of both their country of origin and their country of settlement, and that this does not impede or hamper integration (Hafez, 2007). As will be discussed in more detail below, most of the literature concludes that ECM's impact on integration is neutral in some cases and positive in others. Before moving on to a review of the pro-integrative thesis literature, however, I will address another non-integrative thesis argument which has been emerging in the recent literature – the idea that the very notion of integration is becoming dated.

From Immigration to Mobility – The end of Integration Argument

Before the widespread accessibility of the internet, media production, with the possible exception of some forms of radio programming, was a fairly elite activity (Fleras, 2011). New information technologies, especially those associated with the internet, are

much more horizontal than older communication media, such as newspapers and television. Anyone can create their own blog and publish their own content. Anyone who has a cell phone can record their own video and share it online. This new technology has already been leveraged in support of efforts by sub-national groups - the Zapatistas' use of the internet to defend themselves and their land in 1994 is one of the first and most widely known examples, in support of national change – the Arab Spring is one of the most powerful recent examples, and in support of international social movements – such as the Occupy and Indignados movements for example. In this way, new technologies have to some extent facilitated the decentering of public discussion from urban, provincial, and national territories, and the formation of other kinds of allegiances and identities. The very same technologies that allow people to overcome the limitations of space and national territories have also allowed migrants and de-territorialized peoples, such as migrant diasporas, to maintain their ethnic and national identities, and to remain engaged in the cultural, political, and economic lives of their countries of origin, in a way that was simply not possible only a few decades ago (Axel, 2008; Hafez, 2007; 2006; Khan, 2009; Enteen, 2006; Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Ranganathan, 2009a, 2009b; Skop & Adams, 2009; Thompson, 2002).

Many emphasise that these changes in the availability and in the flows of media will have wide-ranging effects on identity and belonging within countries, including on the integration of migrants into countries of settlement. Alonso & Oiarzabal, for example, explain that technology has long influenced the formation and maintenance of communities (2010). Newspapers, then radio, cinema, and television in the 20th century came to form and inform national media information spheres, which contributed to the articulation and to the maintenance of national identities, and to the perception, among those who consumed the media, of shared identity and culture (Axel, 2008; Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010; Jeffres, 2000; Karim, 2006; Ros, 2010). While these media certainly still exist, they must compete with a myriad of new possibilities, and these new possibilities have led some to declare that national identities are being destabilized and that new global identities are forming (Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010; Karim, 2006; Ros, 2010). Alonso

and Oiarzabal, for example, argue that new communications technologies are leading to the formation of a global information sphere and that a global, post-national, de-territorialized information sphere is forming, where individuals are bound by common interests rather than by their location, thereby disrupting the notion of a territorially bound nation state (Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010). While scholars such as Ros (2010), and Alonso & Oiarzabal (2010) seem to welcome the shift to a post-national world, others such as Karim (2006), and Thompson (2002) worry about the consequences of destabilizing the cultural identities of immigrant-receiving states.

While the emergence of new media information technologies is undoubtedly having a considerable impact on people's ability to stay connected with the people, culture, and politics of their countries of origin, and enabling the formation of new non-territorially based identities, those who are imagining a complete break with the past are likely overstating their case, and worries that the world is currently experiencing a shift to a post-national society are likely a little premature. Still, some researchers of media and migration have begun to hypothesize that the traditional paradigm of immigration is beginning to give way to a new paradigm characterized by continuous migration and mobility (Hafez, 2007, Karim, 2006; Ros, 2010; Thompson, 2002). The traditional immigration paradigm is one where people will migrate from one country and permanently settle in another country, where they will gradually, over the course of one or more generations, integrate into the dominant culture of the country where they chose to settle. While this is still the case for most immigrants, technological changes, which have rendered international communication and travel much faster and accessible, have created conditions whereby people at both ends of the socio-economic spectrum, elite business people and seasonal migrant workers, challenge core assumptions of the traditional immigration paradigm (Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010; Karim, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2006; Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Ros, 2010; Sun, 2005; Yang, 2003).

If such migration patterns are in fact on the rise, they are not attributable to a single cause, such as the rise of new communication technologies, for example. Rather, these migration patterns reflect profound changes associated with economic

globalization, and in the case of transnational business people and migrant workers, are also, to a considerable extent, encouraged by government economic and immigration policies. Ros (2010), working in the European context, argues that this shift from a pattern of permanent resettlement to one of mobility seems to have been lost on governments, and that these are still actively resisting the dynamics of mobility to the extent that they are aware of them. The situation in Canada seems to be more complex. On the one hand, the government seems to be actively promoting migrant worker programs and business class immigration, thereby taking full advantage of greater migrant mobility. On the other hand, the Conservative government in place from 2006 to 2015 has also been moving toward more emphasis on the adoption of 'Canadian culture' by new immigrants. One thing that can be said with certainty is that the Canadian government is well aware of the pattern of high mobility migration among some migrant groups.

These dynamics have also been noticed by media and migration scholars operating in the Canadian context. Fleras briefly alludes to this dynamic in his 2011 book *The Media Gaze*, but he does not provide a detailed analysis or rely on empirical evidence. Among Canadian scholars, Karim seems to have given the question the most attention. He finds the resistance to the transnationalization of Canada's population to be curious given Canada's official multiculturalism policy, as multiculturalism is itself a product of globalization and its associated increased human migration (Karim, 2006).

Karim reminds us that the concept of the nation-state, based on the notion that people who shared an ethnicity should live together within a defined territory, is relatively new, having emerged in 17th century Europe (Karim, 2006). He reminds us that nation-states have never really existed as containers of single ethnically homogenous nations, and that nations themselves are imagined, but made to feel real through the continuous efforts of nation-state governments (Karim, 2006). He argues that national mass media play a central role in this process by continuously highlighting national symbols, national leaders, national history, etc. (Karim, 2006). He explains that the imaginary of the nation-state started to become muddled in the late 20th century, as states began to recognize greater ethno-cultural diversity within their national borders (Karim, 2006). Some

diversity had always been present, but in immigrant-receiving countries diversity was increasing, and came to be recognized in many countries, including Canada, through official multiculturalism policies (Karim, 2006).

Karim argues that despite official multicultural policies, the values of the dominant ethno-cultural group remained hegemonic, and though minor concessions were made to incorporate parts of minorities' cultures, ethno-cultural minorities continued to be expected to eventually integrate into the dominant ethno-cultural group's culture (Karim, 2006). For the most part, they did, but, in Canada as elsewhere, some types of migrants are no longer doing so, in part, as a result of improving transportation, communication, and media technologies (Hafez, 2007, Karim, 2003; 2006; Ros, 2010; Sun, 2005). Those ethno-cultural migrant groups who are either being denied integration or whose work require mobility, are leveraging improving transportation, communication, and media technologies to nourish their diaspora communities and transnational networks (Appadurai, 1996; Hafez, 2007, Karim, 2006; Ros, 2010; Sun, 2005).

It is worth noting that these communities are still forming around traditional *national/ ethno-cultural* identities, and so cannot really be said to be leading to post-national identities, especially since, with the exception of the Latin American community in the United States, their major cultural industries remain in their countries of origin. A prominent example of this is the billion dollar Bollywood film industry which reaches audiences around the world. In this sense, these national ethno-cultural identities cannot even be described as being deterritorialized imagined communities as has been suggested by Appadurai, for example (1996). At most, national ethno-cultural identities could be said to belong to deterritorialized people and communities. Karim, for example, writes:

Unlike a nation's traditional placement within a defined location, transnations are deterritorialized communities. Migration removes the diasporic members from the homeland; but they transport with them its imaginary, which they frequently invoke in their lands of settlement. (Some view themselves as exiles, dreaming of returning to ancestral home sometime in the future). This contributes to their desire for media content and other cultural products that celebrate their emotional links to the old country. (Karim, 2006)

Researchers engaged in these types of reflections wonder what these practices entail for immigrant receiving countries such as Canada, in terms of immigrant integration expectations and policy. Karim, for example, states that “new technologies have now made the ‘melting pot’ model largely untenable” (Karim, 2006, p. 277). Karim (2006) concludes from all of this that Canada’s Multiculturalism policy may have fallen out of step with the times, but one could just as well argue that it has become more relevant than ever, and that it should be allowed to deepen and to mature, rather than be discarded. Even in the most extreme of these scenarios, migrants would continue to need to become acculturated to different government systems, would still need to find work, go to school, and see the doctor. In other words, even if the idea of integration becomes increasingly detached from the perceived need for eventual cultural assimilation, and increasingly open to substantive multiculturalism, the need for political, economic, and civic integration would remain as salient as ever.

In any case, while it is certainly true that some immigrants are increasingly mobile, the lived reality of migrants is likely to elude the either-or scenarios described here. While some envision these more complex senses of identity, nationality, and belonging as a transnationalism, others have described it more as a sense of having more than one homeland, of belonging to many places, and as a multilocal sense of belonging (Cheng, 2005; Shi, 2005). The 2007 *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Media in BC* used content analysis to measure the identity and locality orientation of BC’s ECM. What they found reveals an image of transition and of a complex feeling of home and belonging. The majority of the media that they sampled conveyed home as being the country of origin, but also conveyed a sense of belonging to Canadian culture. (Murray & al., 2007) Again, it is important to note that their study revealed significant variation between different communities’ ECM’s orientation to locality and identity (Ahadi & Murray, 2009). Studying the West Canadian Edition of the Cantonese newspaper *Ming Pao*, Cheng similarly finds that the paper reflects a complex sense of identity and multilocal belonging – the feeling of belonging to more than one place, of having multiple homelands. This is a different way of imagining the affective relationship that members of transnational networks and

diasporas have toward the countries in which they reside and those whence they came. For migrants with a hybrid identity and a multilocal sense of belonging, ECM can help to support a sense of cultural cohesion (Cheng, 2005; Shi, 2005; Zhang & Hao, 1999; Zhou & Cai, 2002).

The Neutrality of Impact Argument

The main argument made by those who hold that ECM does not facilitate the process of integration is that ECM do not contain much integrative content, meaning that they do not contain information that can help newcomers to integrate. Most of the Canadian literature, which relies strongly on content analysis, supports this conclusion.

Studying the Chinese population in Toronto in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Lawrence Lam concluded that Toronto's Chinese language press was not an important source of integrative information, and that it had no discernible impact on the settlement and integration of Chinese newcomers to Toronto (Lam, 1980). More than 30 years later, April Lindgren's research shows that this continues to be the case. Through her study of the Chinese community paper *Ming Pao*, Lindgren found that, though editors and publishers were aware of and acknowledged the importance of reporting on local news to help newcomers to adapt and settle, their publication tends to privilege country of origin content over local content (2011). She also found that local stories tended to be very in-community focused, that crime stories were overrepresented, and that the content did not reflect Toronto's multicultural character (Lindgren, 2011b). These elements combined to produce a skewed and potentially misleading image of the city (Lindgren, 2011b). Lindgren argues that newcomers would benefit from more local news (Lindgren, 2011a; Lindgren, 2011b).

A study conducted by Karim on the media of South Asian populations yielded similar results. Studying the ECM of Canada's urban South Asian populations, Karim found that Canadian South Asian media relied heavily on country of origin news, and did not contain sufficient Canadian content. Based on this content analysis, Karim concluded that

the South Asian populations' media is more likely contribute to ethno-cultural cohesion, than to integration (Karim, 2002).

In the biggest study of this kind undertaken in Canada, Murray, Yu, and Ahadi arrived at a similar finding. They analysed the content of a comprehensive sample of ECM productions in BC and found that, in general, ethno-cultural news contained relatively few items that covered federal and provincial news (Murray & al., 2007; Ahadi & Murray, 2009). They found this to be very problematic because many of the policies that affect ethno-cultural minorities and newcomers are developed and implemented at the federal and provincial levels of government (Murray and al., 2007; Ahadi & Murray, 2009). According to Matsaganis & al., immigrants with limited official language proficiency are more likely to engage exclusively with country of origin and ECM, and the lack of balance in domestic news, such as that identified by Murray & al. (2007) in BC, is likely to be especially damaging to these immigrants. These concerns may be somewhat mitigated if news are shared and transferred within families between individuals who have different official language proficiency, but more research is needed to ascertain the extent to which this happens (Ahadi & Murray, 2009). The present thesis will engage in content analysis to assess whether the trend toward little local content holds in Ottawa.

There are practical impediments standing in the way of producers' ability to provide more local content. In her study of *Ming Pao*, for example, Lindgren found that though *Ming Pao* producers perceived that they had a social responsibility to their readers, they mostly provided country of origin news, because providing reprinted country of origin content was much less resource-intensive than having reporters produce local content (2011a). This should not come as a surprise, as most ECM productions are, much like their mainstream counterparts, first and foremost, businesses, and must remain profitable (Yu & Murray, 2007; Jin & Kim, 2011). In fact, many studies emerging from the United States emphasize the commercial aspects of ECM, (Levine, 2001; Mayer, 2001; Martinez, 2004; Rodriguez, 1997a, 1997b, 1999).

Ahadi & Murray also highlight practical impediments to the ability of ECM to provide more helpful integrative and local content. While some of the ECM publications and programs that they study were mostly commercial enterprises that did not perceive themselves as having a social responsibility, most were quite aware of their role in informing their readers and facilitating newcomer integration, and perceived this as one of their *raison d'être* (Ahadi & Murray, 2009, Yu & Murray, 2007). Ahadi & Murray found that this will to make a positive contribution to their community was to some extent undermined by the lack of institutional standards and infrastructure to ensure that this editorial will is expressed, and by the paucity of trained multilingual journalists (Ahadi & Murray, 2009; Murray, 2008).

The absence of obvious integrative content in some ECM productions is not sufficient to conclude that ECM hinders integration by isolating consumers from the broader Canadian society, as Kim and Kim worried in 1989. To draw this conclusion, one would have to study the media consumption habits of a population and demonstrate that consumers of ECM only consume ECM to the exclusion of mainstream Canadian media. As several Canadian researchers have noted, if members of a given ethno-cultural population consume a variety of mainstream local and Canadian media along with ECM, then the potential risk of isolation occasioned by the consumption of ECM is minimal (Karim, 2003; Hirji, 2006; Murray and al., 2007). The absence of obvious integrative content may not even be sufficient to conclude that an ECM publication or program does not facilitate newcomer settlement and integration. To draw that conclusion, one would have to interview consumers of ECM, as these media may well have integrative effect, which are not immediately obvious from their content.

Much of the research on ECM relies on content analysis and focus on the likely effect of ECM on their consumers, but many media researchers have been calling attention to the need to move beyond studies focusing on the effect of media to research focusing on the ways that media is used by consumers (Hirji, 2006; Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010). This approach, which focuses on the uses and gratifications of media, appreciates that media consumers are not mere receptacles of information, but active users who

utilize media to meet their needs and desires (Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010). In the case of ECM, consumers may use these media to meet needs and desires that are not met by mainstream media (Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010). The ability to meet these needs and desires may well be crucial to the ability of migrants to successfully settle in a new country. These possibilities will be discussed in more detail further below.

The Strong Integration Thesis

Supportive ECM facilitate settlement and integration by helping immigrants to orient themselves and to develop a sense of belonging (Ball-Rokeach, Kim, and Matei, 2001). ECM that manage to provide a fair balance of country of origin and domestic news stand to have the most perceptible positive impact on the integration process of newcomers. Such media productions can help alleviate some of the strain of migration while facilitating local integration and the learning of domestic norms (Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011). For example, such media can provide information on job opportunities, the education system, health care and social services, banking, local event, festivals etc. Such media can also provide important information on changes in government policy, elections, electoral politics, and voting rights (Fleras, 2009; Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

Lindgren (2011a), Fleras (2011), and Murray & al. (2007) all argue to some extent that ECM have a responsibility to ensure that they have a positive impact by connecting people together. While this may seem like a particularly tall order, especially for the smaller publications whose first objective has to be economic survival and viability, there is evidence to support that some Canadian ECM successfully provide such integrative content. Yu and Ahadi's 2008 study contrasts heavily with the arguments put forward by those who fear that ECM will lead to inter-cultural isolation and segregation. Through a comparative content analysis of British Columbia's English language and Korean language newspapers' coverage of the 2008 Federal Election, Yu and Ahadi found that English language newspapers had a much narrower and more exclusionary ethno-cultural orientation than the Korean language newspapers. The Korean language papers not only focused on a more diverse set of candidates and voters than the English language papers,

but also engaged in noteworthy efforts toward citizenship education, providing how-to information to first-time voters (Yu & Ahadi, 2010). Similarly, studying Fairchild Group's Talentvision and two local Vancouver current-affairs talk show programs in Mandarin, Kong (2011) found that these ECM productions could promote civic virtues and help immigrants to transform their formal, legal citizenship into a more vibrant, participative, and substantive citizenship.

In another study, through their interviews with ECM producers in Vancouver, Ahadi & Murray found that ECM can play an important civic education role for newcomers (2009; See also Lindgren, 2011). Indeed, they found a consensus among the producers that they interviewed that ECM must cover local news in order to raise the intercultural awareness of their readers and to assist newcomers in their process of integration (Ahadi & Murray, 2009). One area where producers seemed to be keenly aware of their role was in the electoral process. For example, new Chinese immigrants who are used to a one level of government system in China may find the three level system used in Canada to be confusing. Through their interviews, they learned that Elections Canada's outreach programs to ethno-cultural communities and their media was a very important resource for educating newcomers. Also focusing on electoral integration, Karim has found that ECM have become an important tool for political candidates seeking to reach ethno-cultural communities (2002). Indeed, he found that political parties are increasingly reaching out to the electorate in their mother tongue through ECM, during and between elections times (Karim, 2002).

Canadian researchers have also highlighted the ways in which ECM can contribute to the economic survival, settlement, health, and success of members of their community. The most obvious way in which they do this is through employment creation for those immediately involved in its production, but it can also help by promoting in-community businesses through advertisement (Ahadi & Murray, 2009; Auld, 2007). Working in the American context and studying the local Chinese media usage of several American Chinese communities, Zhou & Cai (2002) argue that Chinese language media, while helping its consumers to maintain a sense of ethno-cultural identity, also serves as a road

map to newcomers by promoting home ownership, entrepreneurship, and educational achievement. Similar dynamics could be present in Canadian ECM.

Another major area in which ECM can make a positive impact is health promotion. In their study of health promotion in the Los Angeles Latin American community, Wilkin & Ball-Rokeach (2006) found that members of this community are often not reached by public health education campaigns and that local Spanish media were an effective tool for reaching members of the Latin American community. Unfortunately, this does not appear to have been an area of focus among Canadian ECM researchers.

A bridging function

Many have suggested that even ECM that does not actively facilitate integration can still indirectly help immigrants in their process of integration. As Fleras eloquently states, access to ECM and country of origin media enables migrants to “transition from ‘there’ to ‘here’ at a pace consistent with their realities and experiences” (Fleras, 2011, p.202). Rather than impeding integration, improved access to such media, even when it does not actively facilitate integration, may ease the culture shock and feelings of homesickness that often accompany immigration (Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010; Dudrah, 2002; Hirji, 2010; Skop & Adams, 2009, Witteborn, 2012).

A growing body of research has brought attention to this bridging function of ECM for newcomers to Canada. Fleras notes that ECM functions to both bond members of given ethno-cultural populations together and to help create a bridge between ethno-cultural communities and mainstream Canadian society (Fleras, 2009, 2011). For example, in addition to easing the pain of transition, it has been argued that ECM can provide subtly integrative information on Canadian norms and culture, such as movie reviews, news on local entertainment events or festivities, information of major fundraising activities, such as the Terry Fox Run.

Moreover, though it is increasingly easy for newcomers to access country of origin news produced in the country of origin, these news sources may not fully meet the changing needs of newcomers. ECM offer a unique space where newcomers can begin to

articulate news about their country of origin and Canada from their perspective as Canadian immigrants. For example, migrant and diasporic communities may have a sense of belonging to multiple geographic locations, may experience a progressive shift of their sense of belonging from one location and its associated culture to another (Alonso and Oirzabal, 2010; Dudrah, 2002; Hirji, 2010). Throughout this process the sense of nationality of migrant and diasporic communities may become complicated, taking on different meanings, which are not reflected and which cannot really be meaningfully expressed in the media of either their country of origin or their country of settlement (Alonso and Oirzabal, 2010; Dudrah, 2002; Hirji, 2010; Skop & Adams, 2009; Werbner, 2004). There is some evidence that local ECM can help to fill this gap. For example, locally focused ECM in BC have astutely exploited this niche in the media market, providing readers with a melange of local and country of origin news (Murray & al., 2007). Murray & Yu (2007), and Ahadi argue that by taking on 'glocal' form, ECM can facilitate newcomer integration.

ECM can also help to bridge the intergenerational aspects of integration. Difficult conversations about subjects that sometimes cause intergenerational tension can sometimes be eased by their treatment in ECM that is attuned to the issues arising in their target community. For example, Bollywood movies depicting intermarriage can help South Asian children to broach the topic with their parents when they view them together (Durham, 2004; Gillespie, 1989; Hirji, 2010; Matsaganis & al., 2011). The children of immigrants, those born in the country of settlement, but also those who arrived in their country of settlement at a young age, often develop complex identities, falling in a different space than that of their immigrant parents and non-immigrant citizens of the country of settlement. Some have argued that ECM can help youth to negotiate their complex identities, and to articulate it for themselves, as well as to their parents (Durham, 2004; Gillespie, 1989; Hirji, 2010; Werbner, 2004).

Finally, another aspect of ECM that may facilitate integration, which seems to have received surprisingly little attention, is its potential to connect newcomers with more seasoned immigrants who have completed the process of integration and may be able to

provide especially relevant advice and assistance to newcomers. Although this does not receive much research attention, the fact that most of the media producers interviewed for the *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Media in BC* study indicated that they believed that part of their mandate is to “serve the community members in their acculturation process,” suggest that the question should be explored (Murray & al., 2007, p.34). Most ECM producers are, after all, immigrants who have undertaken the process of migration and integration, and as such carry with them considerable knowledge about this process.

ECM as Protection from Mainstream Media

“The eyes of others our prisons; their thoughts our cages.” Virginia Woolf

In Canada, multiculturalism is a demographic reality and Canada’s commitment to multiculturalism is enshrined in Section 27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, as well as in the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act, which seeks to ensure the institutional inclusiveness of all Federal institutions. Following the adoption of the Act, Federal institutions were obligated to reflect the multicultural nature of Canada in their representation and service. This obligation extended to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), the National Film Board (NFB), and the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunication Commission (CRTC) (Ojo, 2006). By 1991, with the stated objective to “safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada,” the CRTC’s Broadcasting Act required that all licenced stations reflect racial and multicultural diversity of Canada in both their programming and employment (CRTC 1991 Broadcasting Act as cited by Ojo, 2006). Despite the provisions of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act and of the 1991 Broadcasting Act, Canada’s ethno-cultural minorities continue to be grossly underrepresented and misrepresented in Canada’s media more than 20 years later (Fleras, 2009; Fleras, 2011; Ojo, 2006). In this way, mainstream media is failing newcomers and established ethno-cultural minorities. Many of those who study ECM believe that the rapid growth of the ECM sector can in part be attributed to the largely negative depiction of ethno-cultural minorities and immigrants in the mainstream media (See for example: Fleras, 2009; Fleras, 2011; Hirji, 2006; Ojo, 2006).

Fleras explains that depictions of ethno-cultural minorities can be classified in 4 main frames: invisibility, stereotype, problem people, and whitewash (Fleras, 2011). The invisibility argument is fairly straightforward; ethno-cultural minorities are underrepresented in the mainstream media. Though Fleras bases his argument on research conducted on the U.S. context, there is data supporting the general argument that ethno-cultural minorities are underrepresented in mainstream Canadian media. For example, in its 2011 report, *Representations of Diversity in Canadian Television Entertainment Programming*, Media Action Media found that Caucasian people make up most the main characters on Canadian television, while racialized people play secondary roles (Elizabeth and Ward, 2011). This despite the fact that nearly one in five Canadians identifies as a visible minority (Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011).

In the second frame, stereotype, ethno-cultural minorities are represented in ways that play to the prejudices of the dominant ethno-cultural population (Berns-McGown, 2013; Fleras, 2011; Karim, 2002; Henry & Tator, 2008; Mahtani, 2001, 2008; Ojo, 2006; Shi, 2009). Muslim people and Middle Eastern people tend to be depicted as religious fundamentalists, terrorists, and billionaires posing a threat to national security (Berns-McGown, 2013; Brinkerhoff, 2006; Fleras, 2011; Ojo, 2006). Asian people are often lumped together and depicted as being rigid, of high intelligence, and untrustworthy (Fleras, 2011; Shi, 2009). Latin American people who live in Canada and the United States are often depicted as uneducated, lazy, poor, oversexed, gang members, and drug dealers (Fleras, 2011). Black people tend to be depicted as criminals, drug dealers, gang members, poor single mothers, buffoons, and athletes (Berns-McGown, 2013; Fleras, 2011; Henry, 1999; Henry & Tator, 2005; Mahtani, 2001). Overall, most ethno-cultural minorities tend to be portrayed as immigrants, and despite the fact that immigrants are less likely to break the law than the Canadian born populations (Kymlicka, 2007), immigrants and visible minorities continue to be disproportionately represented as villains and criminals in the mainstream media (Fleras, 2011). Henry and Tator (2008), for example, engaged in a critical analysis of the columns and editorials of Canada's two national daily newspapers, the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*, and concluded that the two papers have a

tendency to 'Jamaicanize' crime and to criminalize black people in Canada. The overall effect is to construct Black men as dangerous threats to social order, and therefore as requiring continual surveillance (Berns-McGown, 2013; Henry, 1999; Henry & Tator, 2005, 2008; Mahtani, 2001). For example, news stories involving the killing of a visible minority person, especially those involving people from the Caribbean and South Asia, there is a pronounced tendency to report these stories as being gang related, even when there is no evidence to suggest that it is (Berns-McGown, 2013; Henry, 1999; Mahtani, 2001). The effect of these misrepresentations, according to Henry (2002), is to produce, reproduce, and disseminate racist thinking.

In the third frame, problem people, members of ethno-cultural minorities are treated as people who are, have, and/or create problems (Berns-McGown, 2013; Brinkerhoff, 2006; Fleras, 2011; Greenberg, 2000). As discussed above, visible minorities in general, both Canadian born and immigrant, are depicted as troublesome constituents who are always in need of special programming and services. Refugees are discussed in terms of their neediness and the costs associated with meeting these needs, while Canada and Canadians are portrayed as being kind and generous to the point of naïveté (Berns-McGown, 2013). Immigrants are portrayed as opportunistic troublemakers who steal work from Canadians, are intent on taking advantage of Canada's generous social services and welfare system, all the while refusing to integrate by holding on to values that are incompatible with 'Canadian values', thereby tearing apart the country's social fabric (Berns-McGown, 2013; Fleras, 2011, p.146; Karim 2006).

Finally, when diversity is made visible in an un-stereotyped way, Fleras argues that it is often 'whitewashed' - in other words, any characteristic or difference which could be perceived as problematic by the dominant ethno-cultural group is omitted in such a way that the characters being depicted will appeal to the dominant ethno-cultural group (Fleras, 2011). This process necessarily limits the possibilities of character development. Ethno-cultural minority characters, thus emptied, are then cast in as secondary characters, and ethno-cultural minority people are more likely to be celebrated for their

athleticism, musical talent, and entertainment value, than for their ideas and character (Fleras, 2011).

The mainstream corporate and public media have tremendous power to set agendas, construct realities, and frame issues (Bullock & Jafri, 2000; Downing & Husband, 2005; Fleras, 2001; Karim, 2003; Mahtani, 2001; Szuchewycz, 2000). Fleras and Kuntz (2001) argue that unbalanced and biased representations of ethno-cultural minorities have a negative impact, not only on how members of the dominant ethno-cultural group view members of ethno-cultural minorities, but also on how member of ethno-cultural minorities come to perceive themselves. They write:

The self-esteem of minority men and women is sabotaged by a media centric process that “miniaturizes” minorities as irrelevant, “racializes” minority women and men as inferior, “otherizes” them as people removed in time and remote in space, privileges the “white-stream” as normal and preferred, and glosses over the “systemic biases” that complicates and constrains minority life. (Fleras and Kuntz, 2001, p.xiii)

Practices such as those described by Fleras above do great harm to a large portion of the Canadian population, and yet they have persisted for decades, despite the mounting evidence of the harm they cause.

Combinations of four main types of explanations for mainstream media’s persistent underrepresentation and misrepresentation of ethno-cultural minorities have been advanced: first, some point to economics, saying that mainstream media is simply producing what sells (Derry, 2010; Fleras, 1994; Fleras, 1995; Fleras, 2011; Joynt, 1995; Mahtani, 2001; Ojo, 2006); second, some point to media ownership, saying that the content of mainstream media reflects the perspective of media owners who tend to be older, white, socio-economically elite men (Henry, 1999; Mahtani, 2001; Miller, 1998; Winter, 1997); third, some point to newsroom composition, where ethno-cultural minorities tend to be underrepresented (Carter, Branson & Allan, 1998; Dunn and Mahtani, 2001; Joynt, 1995; Miller & Caron, 2004; Miller 1998); and fourth, some simply point to plain discrimination (Bullock & Jafri, 2000; Fleras, 1994; Fleras, 1995; Fleras, 2011;

Greenberg, 2000; Henry & Tator, 2000, 2003; Husband, 2004; Mahtani, 2001; Szuchewycz, 2000).

Regardless of how these theories combine to explain mainstream media practices, there is cause to worry that these mainstream media misrepresentations are detrimental to ethno-cultural minorities and to the future of the Canadian social fabric, as they send powerful messages about who belongs in Canada, what kind of people members of ethno-cultural minorities can aspire to become, and who matters (Bullock & Jafri, 2001; Downing & Husband, 2005; Fleras & Kuntz, 2001; Fleras, 2011; Mahtani, 2001). For example, texts can be constructed in such a way as to exclude ethno-cultural minorities from the term 'Canadian', articles about ethno-cultural minority events, holidays, and festivities can be placed in the foreign affairs, international news, or world sections of newspapers and televised reporting (Bullock & Jafri, 2000; Mahtani, 2001; Szuchewycz, 2000). These insidious forms of discrimination are most problematic, because through their routine practice they normalize prejudicial, racist, and exclusionary beliefs about ethno-cultural minorities (Downing, 2005; Essed, 1991). Rima Berns-McGown perceives this type of media misrepresentations and stereotyping as nothing less than a failure to fulfil Canadian society's role in the two-way street that is the process of integration – the desire and work to integrate on the part of the individual, and the welcome on the part of society. She explains that:

[M]edia portrayals that consistently focus only on violent deaths or terrorist connections create a narrow narrative, which becomes integral to the wider society's understanding of the community, which in turn feeds the perception of teachers, prospective employers, police officers, and policy-makers and politicians at all levels of government. In homing in on a relatively small number of individuals who cannot speak for themselves [...], these portrayals evoke a community characterized by gun or gang violence, or the violence associated with al-Qaeda fanaticism [...] (Berns-McGown, 2013)

In this way, rather than facilitating integration, as small ECM publications are expected to do, powerful media corporations impede integration by signalling that a large portion of the population does not belong.

Given the harmful practices of mainstream media, Fleras theorizes ECM as having both a reactive and a proactive function. Reactively, ECM provide newcomers and ethno-cultural minority populations, especially racialized populations, a space where they can to some extent protect themselves from their underrepresentation and misrepresentation in the mainstream Canadian media. (Brinkerhoff; 2006; Fleras, 2001; Fleras, 2009; Mitra, 2005; Ojo, 2006; Shi, 2009). He writes:

In an industry driven by the logic that “only bad news is good news,” the framing of minorities as troublesome constituents resulted in one-sided coverage that was systemically biasing in its consequences. Not surprisingly, racialized minorities reacted by capitalizing on alternative media to reflect their needs and realities, in a language they can relate to, with a style that taps into their experiences (Fleras, 2009, p.726).

For most people who arrived from countries outside of North America and Europe, but especially for populations that originated in areas of conflict, ECM can be a source of more detailed and less distorted news about their country of origin and ancestral land (Fleras, 2009).

Proactively, ECM function as a community resource, providing a place in which ethno-cultural communities can articulate their own sense of themselves and foster a sense of cultural and community pride, by celebrating success and accomplishment (Auld, 2007; Brinkerhoff, 2006; Charmarkeh, 2009; Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010; Fleras, 2009; Issa-Salwe, 2010; Ojo, 2006; Riggins, 1992). As Hirji explains, ECM “represents an important alternative to the media commonly viewed in mainstream Canadian society, allowing for [ethno-cultural minorities] to see representations of themselves that would be otherwise inaccessible” (Hirji, 2006, p.126; see also: Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011). Working on the Somali Diaspora in the United State, for example, Issa-Salwe chronicles the growth of websites dedicated to Somali poetry competitions, called *Doodwanaag*. According to Issa-Salwe, in addition to offering a platform where Somali youths can express and take pride in their cultural identity, these poetry competitions are meant to induce a participatory, peaceful mindset, to highlight unity and peace, and to help youth to develop peaceful solutions (2010). In this way, the internet acts as a

palliative to the pain and loneliness of the migration process (Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010; Kline and Liu, 2005). A growing body of research suggests that by challenging negative stereotypes and by building a positive community image, ECM can serve as a corrective influence.

Information gap

In addition to underrepresenting and misrepresenting members of ethno-cultural minorities, mainstream media often underreports and misreports local and international news and issues that are of particular importance to given ethno-cultural populations. For example, Karim holds that recent business class immigrants who are part of the transnational business class have needs that are not met in mainstream Canadian media in the sense that their business model depends on having access to more international information than is usually provided in mainstream Canadian media (Karim, 2002; Karim, 2006). Karim argues that easily accessible country of origin media and ECM can help to fill that gap (Karim, 2002; Karim, 2006).

Moreover, Auld (2007), and Murray & al. (2007) have all emphasized the fact that mainstream English language media provide relatively little coverage of international news, which means that they fail to provide all Canadians with information which may be very important to members of their community. Examples include instances where certain regions are affected by deadly natural disasters or violent conflict which may affect many immigrant communities living in Canada. While ECM can help to fill these gaps for the affected ethno-cultural communities, the rest of the population remains unaware of, and therefore insensitive to, issues and events that may be affecting their fellow citizens.

Aside from their role in reporting news, the media also provide a space, a public sphere, in which people can discuss, debate, and resolve issues of common concern. Cunningham (2001) argues that given the extreme marginalization of many ethno-cultural minorities in public spaces and their lack of representation in positions of leadership, governance, and positions of power, ECM become one of the main means of

communications for ethno-cultural minorities outside of certain neighbourhoods and places of worship. Many argue that ECM play a crucial role in providing newcomers and members of established ethno-cultural minorities a forum in which issues that affect their community can be discussed and begin to be addressed (Ahadi & Murray, 2009; Auld, 2007; Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010; Félix, González, & Ramírez, 2008; Fleras, 2009; Kong, 2011; Lin, 2004; Mitra, 2005; Ojo, 2006).

For example, based on their own innovative research in Los Angeles, Matsaganis & al. argue that in communities where there is a well-integrated communication ecology, that is where there are strong connections between local ethnic-cultural media, community organizations, and community members, residents articulate their sense of community through a variety of means of communication which allow for community dialogue, which in turn helps to foster a very strong sense of belonging, and of collective efficacy – the sense that the community could come together to solve shared problems or to achieve common goals. Such communities also had higher degrees of civic engagement and political participation. (Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011; see also Ahadi & Murray, 2009; Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010; Félix, González, & Ramírez, 2008; Kong, 2011; Lin, 2004)

Indeed, Matsaganis & al. hold that ECM can offer a space where ethno-cultural populations can help ethno-cultural communities to mobilize either in support or against government policies that are of particular importance to their community (Matsaganis & al., 2011). For example, when the US congress was considering passing a law that would have changed the US's immigration policy, Latin American radio and print media were key tools in the mobilization of opposition to the changes. Indeed, the proposed changes to immigration policy had been discussed for months in the ethnic media, before it broke in the mainstream media (Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2010; Félix, González, & Ramírez, 2008).

These potential benefits of ECM are all the more important for forced migrants, that is, for people who were forced, by human conflict, environmental disaster, and/or

economic need, to migrate away from their country of origin and to settle in another country. Forced migrants are more likely to face additional challenges when compared to voluntary migrants. They are more likely to experience post-traumatic stress resulting, for example, from violence in the country of origin and in refugee camps (Auld, 2007; Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011; Witteborn, 2012). They are also more likely to experience health complications due to inadequate nutrition, sanitation, shelter, and access to health care while in refugee camps and refugee processing centres (Witteborn, 2012; Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011). They may also experience anxiety and depression especially when faced by generally unwelcoming communities in the countries where they seek refuge, as well as on account of missing the friends and family that they have left behind (Witteborn, 2012). Charmarkeh and Couton, for example, argue that the media needs of members of the Somali who live in Toronto and Ottawa are quite different from those of more sedentary populations. In the case of diaspora refugee communities, who tend to be stigmatized, ECM can be a powerful tool for the rebuilding of a positive sense of ethno-cultural identity (Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010).

For forced migrants the internet can become a lifeline allowing people to stay in touch with family and friends in their country of origin as well as with those who have sought refuge in other countries (Auld, 2007; Charmarkeh, 2009; Witteborn, 2012). The internet also helps them to meet other people who speak their language and have shared similar life experiences, with whom they can become friends and expand their social network and overcome feelings of isolation (Auld, 2007; Charmarkeh, 2009; Karim, 2003; Karim, 2006; Witteborn, 2012). Witteborn emphasizes that the interactive character of social media enables migrants to begin the affective work of overcoming trauma, and of building positive affective spaces, which is especially important for migrants whose mobility, and social and economic progress is arrested while they await to be processed by the country in which they have sought refuge (Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010; Witteborn, 2012). While Witteborn mostly focuses on social media, which is not central to the focus of this thesis, her research also points to potential benefits of local community media.

Reflection on the literature

As the literature review revealed, much of the Canadian research on the potential of ECM for facilitating immigrant settlement and integration relies heavily on content analysis. While this is an excellent method of analysis and will be used in this thesis, when used on its own, it can leave many questions unanswered. While content analysis provides insight into the type of content included in a given publication or program, in the absence of survey, interview and/or focus groups data obtained from media consumers, it does not reveal how or why listeners or viewers utilize the media. Moreover, in the absence of information mapping out people's general media consumption habits, it is difficult to accurately assess whether there may be gaps in the information making its way to newcomers. This thesis will attempt to as much as possible to avoid these draw backs by relying on multiple methods of analysis.

Much of the Canadian research focuses on content that stands to directly facilitate integration. Various forms of information are presented as having the potential to directly facilitate integration. Some analyses focus on the subject of the content, and reveal a multifaceted understanding of integration. I have divided these facets into three categories: basic settlement (employment, housing, health care, education, language skills, etc.), civic and political engagement (understanding and participating in civic activities, the electoral process, government, etc.), and social integration (making friends, developing a social network, having a sense of belonging). Reflecting the literature, these will form some of the basic categories of the thesis' theoretical framework.

Other analyses focus on the community orientation of the content. In other words, they assess how much the content has an in-group orientation, focused on the target ethno-cultural community, compared to an out-group orientation, focused on the broader population. Another analytical focus assesses the geographical focus of the content, comparing how much of the content relates to the city and country of settlement, and how much relates to the country or region of origin. The community and geographic focus analyses will also be integrated in the theoretical framework.

While Canadian research has focused much attention on the potential of ECM to facilitate immigrant integration through the provision of information that directly facilitates integration, such as information on the electoral process, the more indirect ways in which ECM may be beneficial have received less attention. ECM has the potential to indirectly contribute to immigrant integration, by: helping newcomers to overcome culture shock and isolation; to progressively rearticulate themselves vis-à-vis their country of origin and the country of settlement; to protect themselves from internalizing the racism of the dominant society; to celebrate and take pride in their community's history, culture, and achievements; to obtain information and analysis that are not present in mainstream media because it is not considered to be of general interest; to develop a voice with which to mobilize around common concerns. Such indirect potential benefits have received relatively little attention in Canada, and therefore these have been integrated in the theoretical framework.

The bonding functions of ECM, in particular, seems to be assumed, and when the bonding impact of ECM is discussed, it is generally out of concern that it could potentially impede integration, by promoting cultural isolation from the broader Canadian society. As discussed in the review, the bonding or community forming potential of ECM has received considerably more attention in the United States and Europe. Although most of this research is focused on ECM's role in the creation of ethno-cultural advertising markets, some of the literature focuses on the potential positive impact of bonding media for immigrant integration. The Metamorphosis Project's communication infrastructure model (described in the theoretical framework section) seems like a particularly promising conceptual construct for the exploration of these potential indirect benefits of ECM. This thesis will seek to make a contribution to research on both the bonding and bridging potential of ECM in the Canadian context.

Theoretical Framework:

Collective Capacity

I use the term 'collective capacity' to refer to a group's ability to act together in such a way as to support group members, and enable them work toward collective goals. As stated Chapter One, the collective capacity framework used in this thesis brings together insights from anarchist and post-anarchist philosophy, social movement theories, social capital theories, and communication infrastructure theories. While this may seem like an unlikely mix, all contribute to our understanding of what enables people to work together, which is at the heart of the collective capacity framework developed here.

Though my thesis cannot be said to employ a post-anarchist theoretical framework, anarchist and post-anarchist philosophy, and the concepts developed within anarchist and post-anarchist scholarship, have had a strong influence on the lens used in this thesis. This influence comes with some challenges. The language of anarchist and post-anarchist philosophy is relatively radical compared to that used in most ECM and immigrant integration scholarship. It is the language of sociability, mutual aid, direct action, and opposition to all forms of oppression and hierarchical control. It is often the language of revolution, of the complete rejection of all forms of the state and capitalism. In short, there is an immense gap in the subjects treated by anarchist and post-anarchist philosophy and those addressed by people who study the process of immigrant integration, and the role of ECM in this process. Not only can the language of anarchist and post-anarchist philosophy seem somewhat out of place when applied to questions of immigrant integration, the very question of immigrant integration could be said to be at odds with a philosophy that rejects the very legitimacy of the state and of its governance processes. Nevertheless, anarchist and post-anarchist philosophy can provide valuable insight to the study of ECM's potential in facilitating immigrant integration.

By shifting our focus from macro-structural, state-centric, top down, hierarchical processes of change, post-anarchist philosophy invites us to pay attention the life-blood

of community and belonging, that is to the importance of relationships between people and to the practices that organize everyday life. These foci often fall below the radar of researchers and policy makers. Whereas most research into the potential of ECM to facilitate immigrant integration has focused on the presence or absence of obvious integrative content, such as information about the functioning of Canadian elections, for example, a post-anarchist sensibility invites us to *also* focus on how newcomers might use such media to meet people, make friends, and become part of a community. It also encourages us to appreciate how becoming part of a community, how developing mutually helpful relationships, can be essential to developing a true sense of belonging in a city and country. The fact that this thesis is influenced by a post-anarchist sensibility should in no way be taken to mean that the thesis intends to discount the value of governance, government policy, or the work of dedicated public servants. The influence simply informs the way in which I draw on social movement theories, social capital theories, and communication infrastructure theories. It also influences how the question of immigrant integration is approached in this thesis.

Rather than conceptualizing integration as a slow process of homogenization, post-anarchist philosophy enables us to envision the process of settling-in, taking root, and developing a sense of belonging in a way which is not premised on the erasure of difference. Post-anarchist thinkers such as Taiaiake Alfred (2005) and Richard Day (2005) challenge the notion that unity and community require homogeneity in a way that allows for the categorical rejection of the processes that seek to create a one-nation-states out of culturally heterogeneous spaces; a process which has historically been associated with the genocide of ethno-cultural minority populations (Mann, 2004). This frees us to reimagine the basis for community and belonging in a way that includes and takes seriously the supports necessary for a real and living multiculturalism.

Four prominent concepts in anarchist and post-anarchist philosophy influenced the development of the collective capacity framework used in this thesis: these are sociability, mutual aid, non-state practices, and non-hegemonic practices. Anarchist philosophers from Kropotkin onward have emphasized the importance of sociability,

which refers to people's tendency to develop social relationships and form communities, and mutual aid, which is the practice of exchanging labour and resources for the mutual benefit of groups and individuals, as the basis of resistance and social revolution (Day, 2005; Kropotkin and Alekseevich, 1989; Landauer, 1978). Contemporary post-anarchist thinkers, such as political philosopher Richard Day (2005) and journalist Raul Zibechi (2010), argue that the development of sociability and engagement in every day mutual aid practices strengthen and reinforce the skills that people need to work together, and create micro networks of interaction. The importance of these barely perceptible networks becomes apparent in times of crisis, when the networks, and the relational bond that have been formed through them, can serve as the foundation for effective organization and communication lines. Reflecting the influence of these concepts, the collective capacity framework developed here seeks to capture the ways in which ECM help to facilitate the development of sociability and to support conditions that may facilitate engagement in mutual aid practices, namely by functioning as a communication channel within communities, supporting the development and maintenance of networks of interactions within communities, fostering a community pride and belonging,

The concept of non-state practices, as developed in Day's *Gramsci is Dead* (2005), refers to the horizontal, place-based, face-to-face, culturally grounded community interactions, relationships and networks as opposed to vertical, bureaucratic, centralized institutions, abstract markets, and mass consumed culture. This concept has a strong influence on how I approach the question of immigrant integration because it leads me to focus on the integrative practices and experiences of newcomers and immigrants. Absent the post-anarchist influence, I might have focused on how the government could use ECM to facilitate immigrant integration, or on how ECM furthered the immigrant integration policy goals of the government, but my appreciation for the concept of non-state practices leads me to *also* focus on how immigrants might use ECM in ways that facilitate their integration, and on how ECM responds to the needs of immigrants who are in the process of transition from one place to another.

Finally, the concept of non-hegemony has helped to shape how the end goal of integration is perceived in this thesis. Non-hegemony, as developed by Day (2005), refers to the plurality of practices and alternative ways of living enacted by place-based communities, which do not have a totalizing will – in other word, practices that are not aimed at allowing a particular group to remake the world in its own image through processes of homogenization. Immigrant integration can be imagined to entail any number of outcomes. In the current political context, marked by Islamophobia as hundreds of thousands of Muslim refugees are arriving to Europe and North America, integration is increasingly defined by state leaders as the adoption of the culture and values of the receiving state. This conception of integration, however, is at odds with the reality of multiculturalism in Canada and with Canada's official multiculturalism policy. Anglo-Protestant culture is undeniably dominant in Canada, but it is nevertheless one among many. When political leaders and pundits insist that immigrants should adopt Canadian culture and values, whose values do they have in mind? Inuit, Cree, Algonquin, Micmac, Acadian, French Canadian, Anglo-Canadian, or any of the many other cultures that have taken root in Canada? There is no such thing as Canadian culture and Canadian values tout court, a fact which sits unpleasantly with many, and causes them to wring their hands in concern for the cohesion of the Canadian social fabric and nation state. Be that as it may, any attempt to impose one culture as 'the Canadian culture' or to impose a set of values as 'Canadian values' would in all likelihood reflect what Richard Day has in mind when he describes totalising projects allowing a dominant group to remake the world, or in this case the country, in its own image. Non-hegemony, on the other hand, encourages us to make space for the complex reality of multiple co-existing, evolving, and ever-mingling cultures. It seems to capture the essence of the ideal of multiculturalism, and while reality may always fall short of this ideal, it does seem to reflect how many non-dominant Canadian cultures have been practiced and continue to be practiced, and it is at the heart of how immigrant integration is envisioned in this thesis.

Nourished by these concepts, my focus is on three elements which have been found to increase groups' collective capacity to thrive and to supports their members as

they transition from one country to another: communication channels, networks of interaction, and an enabling collective imaginary. Some of these factors are emphasized in post-anarchist scholarship, while others are drawn from other fields of study which have focused on the factors that enable collective action. My focus on these three elements is not intended to discount the importance of fundamental variables relating to the underlying socioeconomic, cultural, and political factors that influence the flow of immigration, the context within which immigrants integrate, and the relative wealth and power of different immigrant groups within receiving societies. These are simply not the focus of this thesis.

Communication Channels

Communication channels refer to the lines of communication that allow people to exchange information, identify problems, set the terms of a discussion, frame issues, build consensus, articulate interests, and identify courses of action. The importance of having access to means of communication is emphasized by many social movement theorists, especially by proponents of resource mobilization theory (see Tarrow 1998; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001), and it is the one of the main research focuses of communication infrastructures researchers involved in the Metamorphosis Project at Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Southern California (Matsaganis, Katz, and Ball-Rokeach, 2010). Metamorphosis Project researchers theorise that a community's communication infrastructure is composed of two main components: a communication action context and a storytelling network ("Theory | Metamorphosis" 2016). The communication action context is the physical, social, economic, political environment within which communication occurs. The storytelling network on the other hand consists of the 'storytellers', and Project researchers have identified three main storytellers: residents and their friends and families, community organizations, and geo-ethnic media (neighbourhood and local ECM). The Metamorphosis Project research provides support for the idea that grounded, inclusive, and representative local ECM leads to improved collective capacity, or what they call collective efficacy, and that it can facilitate the

process of immigrant orientation and the development of a sense of belonging among immigrants (Lin and Song 2006).

Moreover, Ahadi & Murray (2009) explain that the model of communication infrastructure is rooted in the literature of cultural pluralism, especially that associated with the idea of 'differentiated citizenship', which is developed in the scholarship of Will Kymlicka (1995, 2007), and Iris Young (2000). Proponents of differentiated citizenship hold that group affiliation is central to the full expression of citizenship and to participation in society (Ahadi & Murray, 2009). Kymlicka holds that so long as the idea of all-inclusive liberal citizenship has not been achieved, immigrants and non-dominant ethno-cultural populations remain, to varying extents, excluded from the dominant society and its associated networks that provide opportunities for civic engagement and participation, group affiliation will remain central to the full expression of citizenship in multicultural societies (Ahadi & Murray, 2009). Without adopting the position that the achievement of a single, uniform society and culture is desirable, the concept of differentiated citizenship is very much in line with the conception of non-hegemonic multiculturalism presented above.

The 'communication channel' concept used in this framework draws from the Metamorphosis Project's research, but I avoid using the terms 'storytellers' and 'storytelling networks' in this thesis because of the nature of the data that was used in the thesis. The content coding produced by the OMMI largely consisted of a quantitative accounting of the types of contents, ads, writers, sources, and actors present in a given media. In order to carry out an analysis of ECM as storytellers, I would have needed to carry out a much richer qualitative analysis, and this was not feasible. Reflecting this limitation, I use the term communication channel to refer to the many components forming and participating in a community's broader communication infrastructure, one of which is ECM.

Networks of Interaction

From Mark Granovetter (1983), who emphasized the power of weak ties, to James Coleman (1988) who argues that the social capital gained through social networks could have a profound impact on individual's chances of academic and economic success, to Putnam (1993) who makes the case that networks of interaction are one of two factors, the other being norms of trust and reciprocity, which are necessary for the development of democratic societies, those who study social capital have perhaps done the most to advance our knowledge of the functioning and benefits of networks of interaction. Networks of interaction refer to the linkages between people. These may vary in terms of their density (from sparse to dense network ties), depth (from elite to mass participation), connectivity (from superficial, bureaucratic relationships to friendships, and family), and their organization (from hierarchical to horizontal forms of organization) (Granovetter, 1983; Coleman 1988, Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Among post-anarchist thinkers, Raul Zibechi's work (2006) is especially relevant because he emphasizes the power of even the least formal of networks to form the organizational basis of collective action when the need arises. In fact, the importance of these networks are recognized across the spectrum of contemporary social movement theory, from Resource Mobilization theorist who mostly focus on organized, hierarchical networks (see Tarrow 1998; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001), to New Social Movement theorists, such as Alberto Melucci who focuses on the role of a myriad of horizontal, rhizomatic networks (Melucci 1989).

When newcomers arrive, they have generally left behind many of their established familial, social, and professional networks (Thomas, 2011). Part of the work of integration involves building new relationships and making a place for themselves in a new city and country (Thomas, 2011). This task is likely made all the more difficult when networks and the norms that govern them are very different from those of the birth country. Initially being able to tap into a network of people from the same ethno-cultural background, who have already been through the process of integration, could be very helpful for newcomers. In this way, local ECM can potentially contribute to a community's capacity to welcome newcomers to the city. Through these networks, ECM can also help

newcomers to make friends, and to find a community within which to practice their culture, thereby helping them to develop a sense of belonging.

Collective Imaginary

The least theorised element of collective capacity is 'collective imaginary'. Imaginary is here used as a noun, and refers to the result of a society's hegemonic, or dominant, gaze. It includes the narratives, images, representations that constitute the community's perception of itself within the broader societal context. It frames the way that a group perceives itself, the way that group members perceive their community, that they perceive themselves as members of this community, and that they perceive their community in relation to the broader society (city, country, world) that they live in. It informs how community members view the world around them, and what possibilities they see for themselves in it.

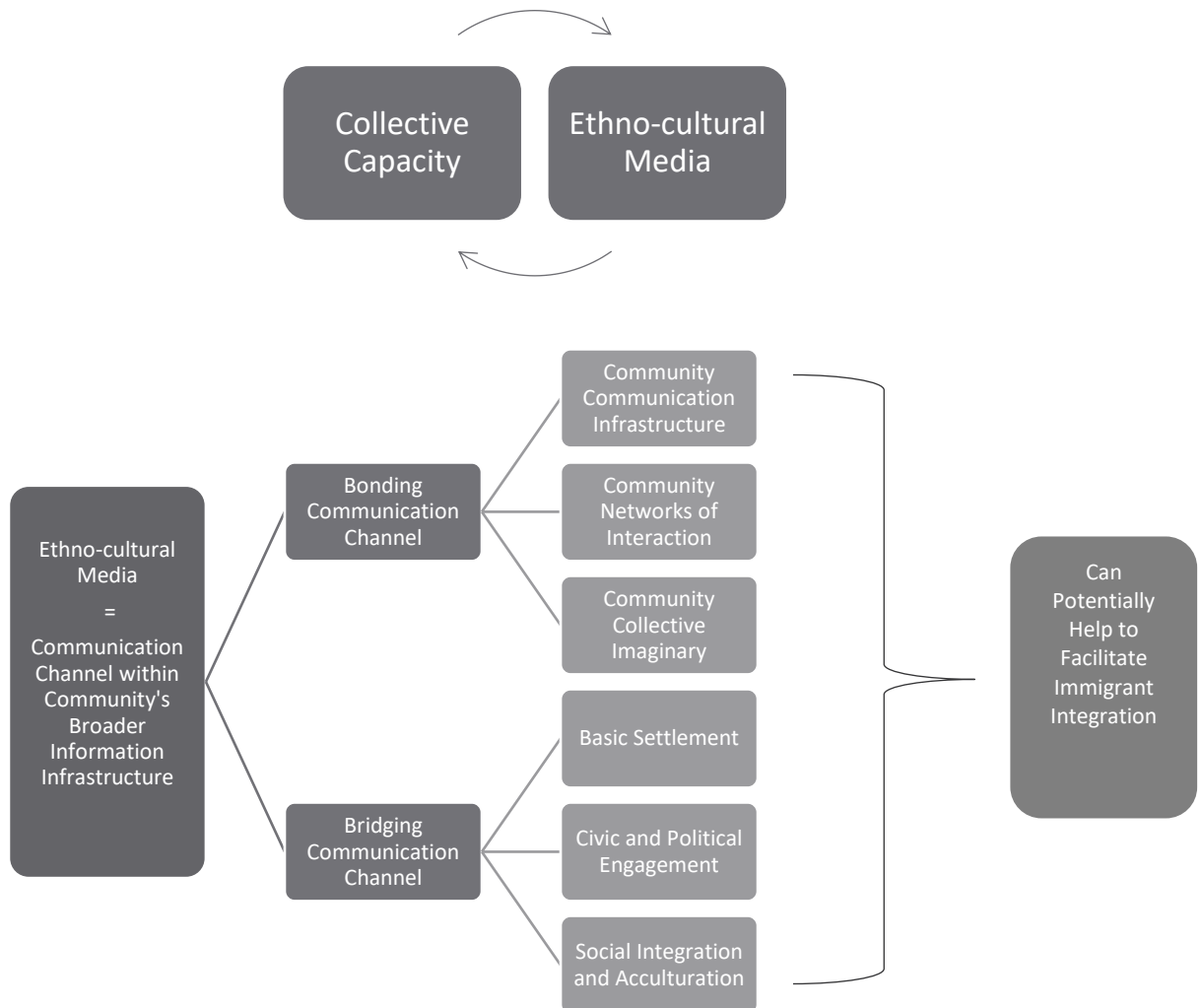
Gramscian inspired theory on hegemony and counter-hegemony is useful in analysing the reality of ethno-cultural minorities living in states with a dominant ethno-cultural group, in fact literature on minority media is filled with research on the dominant, majority, gaze, how members of minority groups internalise the representations that emerge from the dominant gaze, and how this impact their life chances (Berns-McGown, 2013; Fleras, 2011; Henry & Tator, 2008; Mahtani, 2001, 2008; Ojo, 2006; Shi, 2009). Yet there does not appear to be a widely used term to refer to smaller communities' 'worldview' of themselves and of their place in such states. For this reason, I propose the term collective imaginary. Extending the arguments put forth by the authors cited above, having an enabling collective imaginary, a positive image of their community, is essential to collective capacity of communities and of their members.

Framework

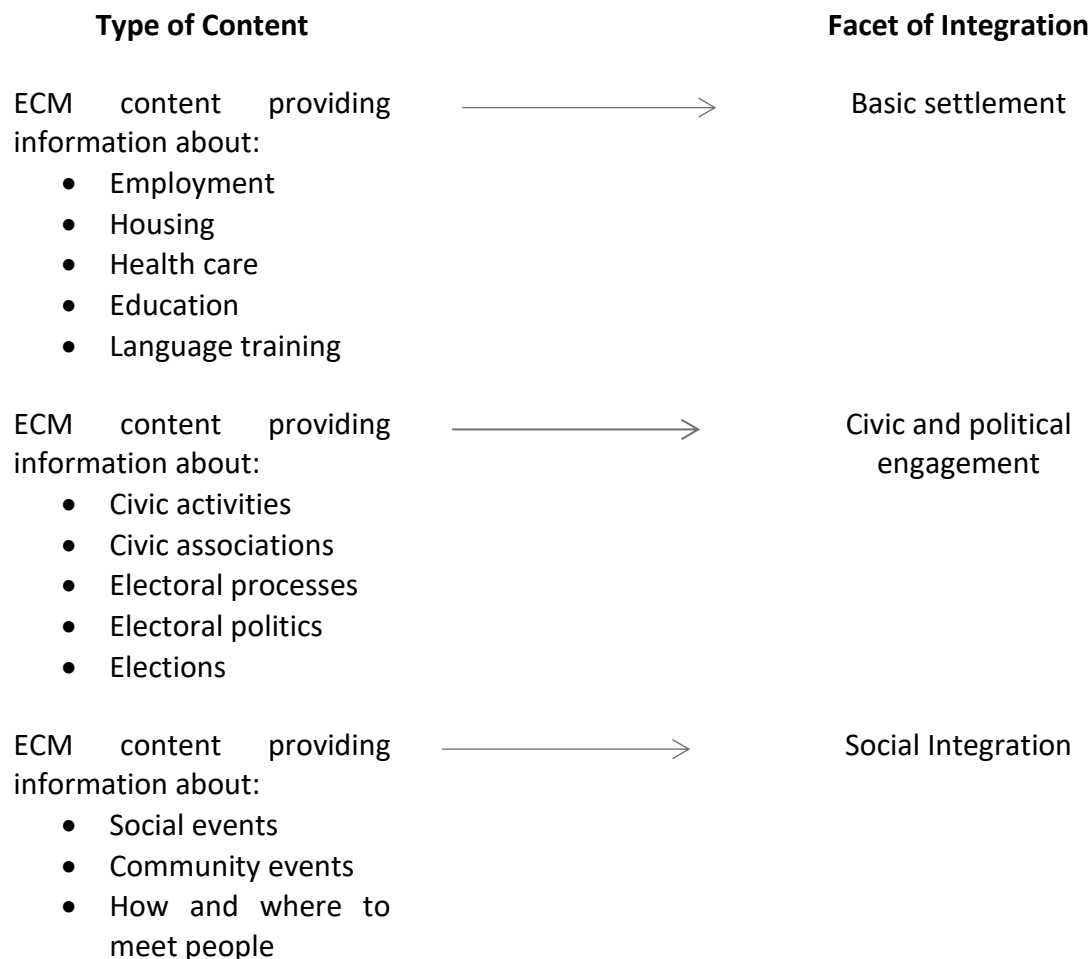
As stated in Chapter One, I hypothesize that ECM form communication channels within communities' broader local ethno-cultural communication infrastructures, and as such contribute to the overall collective capacity of ethno-cultural communities to facilitate the process of becoming part of a community and forming a sense of belonging

among newcomers to Ottawa. The diagrams below depict the relationship that is hypothesized to exist between ECM, collective capacity, and immigrant integration.

As the diagram shows, it is hypothesised that ECM can contribute to a community's collective capacity by providing bonding information that can strengthen a community's communication infrastructure, networks of interactions, and collective imaginary, which can help to facilitate immigrant integration. As part of a community's greater information infrastructure, ECM can also provide information which can potentially facilitate immigrant integration.



The framework accounts for the various facets of integration identified in the literature review, namely basic settlement (employment, housing, health care, education, language skills, etc.), civic and political engagement (understanding and participating in civic activities, the electoral process, etc.), and social integration (making friends, developing a social network, having a sense of belonging) (Murray & al., 2007). The presence of certain types of content could potentially facilitate different facets of integration. As illustrated below, different types of content could conceivably help to facilitate different facets of integration; for example, articles providing information on employment or housing could facilitate basic settlement, information on civic associations or elections could help to facilitate civic and political engagement, and information on social community events could help to facilitate social integration and acculturation.



Another important aspect of integration, relates to the affective and cultural needs of newcomers, immigrants, and Canadians whose ethno-cultural identities are rooted in a non-dominant culture. These include, for example:

- A transitional cultural space that can ease culture shock and help to address feeling of nostalgia (Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010; Fleras, 2011; Hirji, 2010).
- A refuge from, and corrective to the misrepresentations of ethno-cultural minority population present in the mainstream media (Fleras, 2001; Fleras, 2009; Ojo, 2006).
- A corrective to the underrepresentation of ethno-cultural minorities in the mainstream media (Fleras, 2001; Fleras, 2009; Ojo, 2006).
- A space to celebrate and take pride in their ethno-cultural community's history, culture, and achievements (Charmarkeh, 2009; Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010; Fleras, 2009; Ojo, 2006; Riggins, 1992).
- Information and analysis that are not present in mainstream media but are important to members of the ethno-cultural community (Karim, 2002; Karim, 2006).
- A forum where ethno-cultural communities can engage in discussions about, and address issues of common concerns to their community (Matsaganis & al. 2011).

By helping to meet these affective and cultural needs, ECM has the potential to provide a space where ethno-cultural minorities can identify, resist, and sometimes challenge some of the barriers to integration, such as racism, prejudice, erasure, marginalization, and ethnocentrism. In so doing, ECM may form public sphericules or counter-spheres that palliate ethno-cultural minorities' marginalization within or exclusion from the dominant public sphere.

Initially developed by Jürgen Habermas (1989), the concept of the public sphere is used by many media researchers to refer the realm of open debate in which public opinion is formed, and in which the media play a central role (see, for example: Ahadi & al., 2009; Cunningham, 2001; Karim 2002.) Central to the concept of the public sphere,

for Habermas (1989), is the idea that it is inclusive of, and open to, all citizens to participate in more or less equally, and that it pertains only to the common public realm. Nancy Fraser's (1992) criticisms of the concept are particularly relevant for ECM researchers. First, she rejects the idea that the public sphere is, or ever was, inclusive (Fraser, 1992). Fraser argues that the sphere has historically been characterised by glaring exclusions and discrimination against women, ethno-cultural minorities, and people of lower classes, and could more appropriately be called the male bourgeois public sphere. Indeed, according to Fraser, it was the very ground or arena in which a growing strata of increasingly powerful men came to perceive themselves as the universal class. In any case, given the serious under-representation of ethno-cultural minorities in both the media room and in the media, which were discussed in the literature review, the criticism is particularly relevant for this thesis. Second, Fraser challenged the idea of the common and the public. Fraser argues that there are not natural, a priori boundaries between matters that are public and those that are private, and that drawing this distinction has historically served to exclude concerns that were common to women. Issues of violence against women, reproduction, and marriage, for example, were long labelled as private matters, and were only accepted as public matters after years of contestation and activism (Benhabib, 1992; Fraser, 1992).

Given these challenges, Fraser argues that groups who were excluded from the dominant male bourgeois public sphere formed their own counterpublic spheres (1992). Although ECM, given their heterogeneity, cannot be described solely in terms of the space that they may provide to the articulation of counterpublic opinion, Fraser's concept remains useful for the present thesis.

Reflecting the changes associated with deepening globalization that continue to take place since the concept of public sphere was developed, some have argued that rather than the one public sphere theorized by Habermas, immigrant societies are now composed of myriad sphericules; smaller co-existing and overlapping public spheres (Ahadi & al., 2009; Cunningham, 2001; Karim 2002). Reflecting this reality, Stuart Cunningham suggested the more specific term of 'ethno-specific mediatized sphericules'

(Cunningham, 2001). Though Cunningham focuses strictly on the mediated elements of sphericules, the term as it will be used here follows Ahadi & Murray (2009), and Karim (2002), in including mediated as well as non-mediated communication in these sphericules. Though they do tend to be media centric, ethno-cultural sphericules are the spaces within which communities express themselves operate through interpersonal, group, and mediated communications, through family networks, ethno-cultural associations, and ECM, for example (Ahadi & Murray, 2009; Cunningham, 2001; 2009; Karim 2002).

Finally, another element that will be taken into account throughout the thesis is that integration is a 'two-way street'. As Canadian scholars Rima Berns-McGown explains, integration involves two interconnected and interdependent components: first, the willingness and effort on the part of individuals to embrace their new country, city, and society; and second the willingness of the receiving country, city, and society to welcome individuals into every aspect of its political, economic, and social life (Berns-McGown, 2013). Keeping this in mind in the context of this thesis means taking into account both the way in which newcomers and immigrants use ECM to access integrative information, as well as the content which is made available in these media sources by other members of the community and by the broader receiving society.

Methodology

In order to explore and to answer these questions, the thesis employs mixed quantitative and qualitative methods. The thesis relies on secondary literature for qualitative data, on original content analysis carried out as part of this thesis, and makes use of two data sets collected as part of the Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative, which consists of the following: OMMI 2012 Survey raw data, and OMMI ECM content coding of *Canada China News*, *Health Times*, *Eco Latino*, and *Mundo en Español*.

The OMMI was funded through a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Partnership Development Grant, and consisted of a multidisciplinary and multi-sectoral research initiative. It was as part of this initiative the OMMI 2012 Survey was administered

and that the ECM content coding used in this thesis was produced. The OMMI 2012 Survey data is based on the answers to a 10-page survey on media use, which was administered to 1212 respondents from Ottawa's Chinese, Latin American, Somali, and South Asian communities, between May, 2012 and January, 2013. In order to participate respondents had to self-identify as being part of one of the communities, be eighteen years of age or older, and live in Ottawa. A thorough description of the methodology used by the OMMI is available in the following OMMI report, *OMMI 2012 Survey: Demographic Profiles of Ottawa's Four Ethno-Cultural Communities*. Only the data for the Chinese, Latin American, and Somali communities is used in this thesis.¹ A complete copy of the OMMI Survey Questionnaire developed and used by the OMMI is included in Appendix 3. Please note that the survey questionnaire included is that used for the Chinese community; those used for the Latin American and Somali communities were identical in all respects save for the use of 'Latin American' or 'Somali' instead of 'Chinese' for the name of the communities, and for the use of 'Spanish' or 'Somali' instead of 'Chinese' for the name of the languages.

The OMMI produced content coding of 2 local Chinese language newspapers and of 2 local Spanish language newspapers:

- Three issues of Canada China News published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013
- Three issues of Health Times published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013
- Three issues of Eco Latino published in October, November, and December, 2013

¹ The OMMI focused on four communities: the Chinese, Latin American, Somali, and South Asian communities. I decided not to include the South Asian community because it was the least cohesive of the four. Being composed of people of many different nationalities who do not have a unifying language meant that they did not share many media institutions.

- Three issues of *Mundo en Español* published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

The OMMI content coding was produced by OMMI research assistants using the OMMI Content Analysis Coding Protocol (see Appendix 4), which was developed by the OMMI, and pilot tested to ensure coding consistency across coders. Dr. Jing Feng produced the coding for the Chinese language ECM, and I produced the coding for the Spanish language ECM.

In addition to the OMMI data, the thesis will also rely on additional primary research consisting of content coding of three issues of a Toronto based Somali program, *Integration TV: Building A New Cultural Identity*, which aired on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013. The coding was completed using a protocol adapted from the OMMI Content Coding Protocol (see Appendix 5); because the OMMI Protocol was developed to code print media, some adaptations were necessary to apply the protocol to television media.

Finally, I supplement the analysis of the content coding with a more informal review of the Spanish language and Somali media studied as part of this thesis. To this end, I browsed through a full year of content (2013) of *Eco Latino* and *Mundo en Español*; the aim of this exercise was to identify any particularly important topics treated in the papers, or important people interviewed for or contributing to the papers. This supplemental analysis is used to provide concrete examples in support of the analysis produced using the more quantitative content coding. To the same end, I browsed all of the content produced as part of *Integration TV*, from its first episode on March 1st, 2014, to September 2015. I was unable to carry out a similar analysis of Chinese language media, because I do not possess any Chinese language skills.

Scale

Though not exclusively focused on Ottawa, this thesis does privilege the local as an area of newcomer and immigrant integration. This focus reflects research upholding urban areas as the concrete space within which immigrants integrate, such as that of

Saskia Sassen (2002), and Andrew (2012) for example. It also reflects the growing acknowledgement of the role of municipalities in immigrant integration on the part of Canadian federal and provincial governments, as evidenced by growing support for local immigration partnerships, and urban level research, such as that undertaken by the Welcoming Communities Initiative and Pathways to Prosperity.

Communities

The choice of communities for the study was limited by the choices made as part of the OMMI. The OMMI chose to focus on the media practices of Ottawa's Chinese, Spanish, Somali, and South Asian communities. These communities represent some of the largest ethno-cultural minority populations in Ottawa. They also represent a promising combination of characteristics in terms of their population size, history, length of establishment in the city. In addition to these considerations, the research team's areas of expertise and language competencies were taken into account when selecting the communities for the OMMI. Of these four communities, three have been included in this thesis: the Chinese, Latin American, and Somali communities.

Chinese Community and its Media

Chinese Canadians are one of the oldest ethno-cultural communities in Canada. People first emigrated from China to Canada in the mid-19th Century, initially as part of the Gold Rush, and then later in order to build the Canadian Pacific Railway (Ma & al., 2003). In 1885, following the completion of the railway, in what came to be recognized as a very shameful chapter of Canadian history, the Canadian government passed the Chinese Immigration Act (Library and Archives Canada. The Early Chinese Canadians: 1858-1947). The Act imposed a \$50 'head tax' on all Chinese people coming to Canada in order to discourage them from coming. Over the next decades the 'head tax' was raised \$500 per person, and it became increasingly difficult for Chinese immigrants to find work in Canada. From 1923 to 1947 the Canadian government passed the Chinese Immigration Act, popularly known as the Chinese Exclusion Act, which saw the government abandon the strategy of prohibitive fees in favour of a complete ban on all Chinese immigration to Canada (Library and Archives Canada. The Early Chinese Canadians: 1858-1947). After the

end of the Second World War, the Canadian government repealed the Chinese Immigration Act, and Chinese Canadians were granted full citizenship. However, it was not until the race and place of origin sections were eliminated from Canada's immigration policy in 1967, and that the Chinese government loosened its emigration policy, that the Chinese Canadian population really began growing again (Library and Archives Canada. The Early Chinese Canadians: 1858-1947). Today, China is the biggest source country of newcomers to Canada, and the Chinese Canadian population, estimated to include 1,346,510 people, forming the one of the largest ethno-cultural populations in Canada, after the English (6,570,015), French (4,941,210), Scottish (4,719,150), Irish (4,354,155), German (3,179,425), Indigenous ² (1,785,565), and Italian (1,445,335) communities (Statistics Canada, 2006 Census).

In terms of their demographic characteristics, most Canadians of Chinese origin or decent speak an official language. In 2001, 85 percent reported being able to converse in an official language; only one percent reported being able to have a conversation in French. More than a quarter (27%) had a university degree, compared to 15 percent of adult Canadians. Despite being more likely to have completed post-secondary education than the Canadian average, they were slightly less likely to be employed – 56 percent of those over 15 were employed compared to 62 percent of the overall population. In 2011, they also had a lower average income – the median income among Chinese Canadians was \$39,839, compared to almost \$41,401 as the Canadian average (2011 NHC, 2011). Chinese Canadians are much more likely to be atheist than the Canadian average – in 2001, 56 percent reported having no religious affiliation, compared to only 17 percent of the overall population. Most (76%) indicated that they felt a sense of belonging in Canada, and were actively engaged citizens (60% reported voting) and community members (35% reported having participated in an organization such as a sports team or community

² *Including the First Nations, Métis, Inuit populations.

association over the past year). A large number (34%) reported having experienced discrimination based on their ethnicity, race, religion, language or accent since their arrival in Canada, with the most common reported type of discrimination being that based on race or skin colour, especially in the context of employment (Lindsay, 2001).

The majority of Chinese Canadians live in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, but Ottawa also has a significant Chinese Canadian population, which comprised approximately 32,000 people at the time of the 2006 Census. Ottawa is home to a well-established Chinese Canadian community, whose historical neighbourhood forms Ottawa's Chinatown, which is located along Somerset Street in downtown Ottawa. As is the case across Canada, however, the majority of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian population arrived after 1991. Reflecting this more recent and continuing influx of Chinese immigrants, Ottawa's Chinese Canadian population is distributed across the city, and is especially present in the Barrhaven, CentrepoinTE, Nepean, Orleans, and Kanata suburbs, which were amalgamated into the City of Ottawa in 2004 (Ahmed et al., 2014).

The community is relatively well-organised, and has built many businesses, social service agencies, and cultural centres catering to the Chinese community, most of which are located in Chinatown. The community has also developed a range of Chinese media, including print newspapers, blogs, community websites, and radio and television programming ("Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative", 2016).

In 2012, five newspapers catered to Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community: Canada China News, Health Times, Seven Days News, Chinese Canadian Community News, and Ottawa Weekend. There were also several Chinese language radio programs, including a daily two-hour program on CHIN International Radio Ottawa, one hour of programming every Sunday on the University of Ottawa's Community Radio, and a bi-weekly program on Carleton University's radio station, CKCU ("Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative", 2016). Being more expensive to produce, there is often little local level ethno-cultural television programming available, but Rogers TV offers a monthly program, reflections on china, which offers news and analysis of relevance to Ottawa's Chinese

community. Another type of media popular among Ottawa's Chinese population are community information websites, *Come from China* being the most widely used in Ottawa. These site offer a wide variety of news and information on housing, employment, community events, etc.

Ideally, I would have liked to analyse the content of each of these media productions, but given time and resource limitations it was not possible to do so. Thankfully, I was granted permission to use the content coding produced by Dr. Jing Feng as part of her excellent work for the Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative. Dr. Feng coded three issues each of Canada China News, and of the Health Times. Canada China News has been serving Ottawa's Chinese community since the mid-1990s, which is no small feat in an industry characterised by very short-lived ventures. It has been recognised as one of the best ECM outlets in Canada, and claims to be the most up-to-date and comprehensive source of Ottawa Chinese News. Health Times is a weekly newspaper serving the Ottawa Chinese community. The paper also has sister editions in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver.

Spanish Speaking Latin American Community and its Media

For the purpose of this thesis, the Latin American community refers to all Spanish speaking individuals who have roots in any of the countries in North, Central, and South America that count Spanish as one of their official languages. This decision was made on the basis that Ottawa's Latin American media is predominantly produced in Spanish.

Unlike in the United States, where there has been a sizeable and growing American Spanish speaking population since the time of colonization and state formation, Canada has a much younger and smaller Latin American community. Significant immigration from Latin America began in the late 20th century, first with the arrival of people from the Andean region, who came to Canada in search of better work, and later with people fleeing from countries throughout South and Central America (Ahmed et al., 2014).

Immigration from Latin America has continued since then and has come to include people from every country in the region, who come to Canada for a wide variety of

reasons, ranging from temporary work and university studies, to highly skilled professional looking to make a life in Canada (Ahmed et al., 2014). Despite sustained immigration, however, the Canadian Latin American population remains relatively small. In 2011, there were approximately 381,280 Latin American people living in Canada, amounting to roughly 1.2 percent of the population. The main source countries were Mexico (69,695), Columbia (60,555), El Salvador (43,655), Peru (26,715), and Chile (25,195) (Statistics Canada, NHS, 2011).

If we look at the demographic characteristics of the community, we see that the great majority of Latin American Canadians (94%) speak an official language (Lindsay, 2001). In 2001, people of Latin American origin were slightly more likely to have a university degree than the overall Canadian population – 17 percent, compared to 15 percent of the Canadian population. They were also slightly more likely to be employed than the overall Canadian population; 64 percent were employed, compared to 62 percent of working age Canadians. Despite being more likely to have a university degree and being more likely to be employed, people of Latin American origin had a lower average income than the national average; in 2011, the median income of Latin Americans was \$34,373, compared to \$41,401 as the national average (2011 NHC, 2011). Latin American Canadians are slightly less likely than the average Canadian to report having no religious affiliation; in 2001, 12 percent of Latin American Canadians reported having no religious affiliation, compared to 17 percent of the overall Canadian population. The majority of were Catholic (64%), and many were affiliated with one of the protestant denominations. Most (82%) indicated that they felt a sense of belonging in Canada and were engaged citizens (66% reported voting, and many were active in their community (40% reported having participated in an organization such as a sports team or community association over the past year). As was the case in the Chinese Canadian community, many reported that they had experienced discrimination or unfair treatment based on their ethnicity, race, religion, language or accent since their arrival in Canada (Lindsay, 2001).

The majority of Latin American Canadians live in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, but Ottawa also has a growing Latin American population of approximately 10,255 people at the time of the 2011 NHS. Ottawa has been home to a growing Latin American population since the 1970s and the growth has followed the broader pattern seen at the federal level. The first to arrive in significant numbers were Chilean refugees in the 1970s, followed by Salvadoran refugees in the 1980. Most of the population, however, is composed of more recent immigrants (Ahmed & al., 2014).

Considering the relatively small size and newness of the community in Ottawa, they have managed to develop an impressive array of community resources. They have built many associations and organizations that aim to serve specific national communities, such as the Grupo Folklorico Mexicano, Peru Danza, the Asociacion Salvadorena Canadiense, and the Columbian community of Ottawa-Gatineau. Latin Americans are also coming together to develop resources intended for all of Ottawa's Latin American community, including businesses, many restaurants and grocery stores, sports clubs, cultural associations, churches, small social service associations, festivals and other events.

For a relatively small community, Ottawa's Latin American community has a wealth of ECM. In 2012, two newspapers catered to Ottawa's Spanish speaking Latin American community: *Eco Latino* and *Mundo en Español*. There were also a number of Spanish language news and music radio programs, including three hours of programming weekly on the University of Ottawa's Community Radio (CHUO) (*El Tren Latino*, *Origenes*, and *Amenecer Ranchero*), three hours of programming weekly on Carleton University's *Ottawa's Community Radio Station* (CKCU) (*Punto de Encuentro* and *Barrio Latino*), and five hours of programming weekly on CHIN Radio. Rogers TV Ottawa also produced a Spanish language program, *Revista Latinoamericana*, which was the only Spanish language TV show in Ottawa; the program covered news and cultural events in South America and in Ottawa's Latin American community. Finally, the annual *Latin American Film Festival* is hosted in Ottawa by the Canadian Film Institute.

Once again, though I would have liked to study each of these media productions as part of this thesis, it was simply not possible to do so. As was the case for the Chinese community, I was granted permission to use the content coding that I produced as part of the OMMI. I coded three issues of both *Eco Latino*, which is a monthly print newspaper and *Mundo en Español*, an electronic newspapers emailed to subscribers semi-monthly.

Somali Community and its Media

Much like that of many non-European communities, Somali immigration to Canada began with the removal of the race and place of origin sections from Canada's policy in 1967, but it was not until several decades later that Somali immigration began in earnest. As the regime of Siad Barre began to falter throughout the 1980s, Canada saw a gradual increase in Somali immigration. It was not until the outbreak of civil war in 1991, however, that Canada began to receive large numbers of refugees from Somalia. Today, people of Somali ancestry represent the largest African community in Canada; in 2011 44,995 people in Canada reported that they were of Somali ancestry (2011 NHS, 2011).

The 2011 National Household Survey provides some information on the demographic characteristics of the Somali Canadian community. The overwhelming majority of Canadian of Somali ancestry (96%) speak an official language; 14 percent speak French. Approximately 18 percent had a university degree, compared to 15 percent of the adult Canadian population. Despite being more likely to have completed a university degree than the Canadian average, they were much less likely to be employed – 42 percent of those over 15 were employed, compared to 62 percent as the Canadian average. They also had a much lower income – the median income among Somali Canadians was \$26,295, compared to the Canadian median income of \$41,401. Somali Canadian are much more likely to be religious – in 2011, 98 percent reported having a religious affiliation, compared to 71 percent as the Canadian average. When it comes to statistics on Somali Canadians' sense of belonging, targeted information could not be found. Instead, I used information produced on Canada's 'African Community' by statistics Canada (Lindsay, 2001). Most of those of African descent (83%) reported having a sense of belonging in Canada, and were actively engaged citizens (66% reported voting)

and community members (48% reported having participated in an organization such as a sports team or community association over the past year). A very large portion (50%) reported having experienced discrimination since their arrival in Canada, 87 percent of whom said that they believed that this discrimination was on the basis of their race or skin colour. 62 percent reported discrimination in the context of employment.

The great majority of Somali Canadians are concentrated in two urban centres in 2011; 21,450 lived in Toronto, and 8,990 lived in Ottawa. The Somali Canadian community is also the largest African Canadian community in Ottawa, and it is concentrated in a few neighbourhoods: Alta Vista (21%), Glouster-Southgate (14%), and Bay (14%) (OMMI Website). Because of the circumstances under which a great number of Ottawa's Somali Canadian community arrived in Canada, the community has faced significant challenges in the city. As a racialized and predominantly Muslim community they have had to deal with considerable prejudice and social stigma (Berns-Mc-Gown 2013). Nevertheless, the community is setting roots in the city, and is setting the foundation that it needs to thrive by working through mosques and with local organizations to address the challenges they face in Ottawa.

In 2012, the Somali community was served by a variety of ECM, including an online blog, the *Hiiraan Online*, a monthly newspaper, the *Safari Post*, a television program on Rogers TV, *Dhagan Somali*, an hour-long weekly radio program on Carleton University's Ottawa's Community Radio Station (CKCU), *Voices of Somalia*, and an hour long radio program on the University of Ottawa's Community Radio (CHUO), *Somali Show*. Ideally, I would have like to study some if not all of these Somali media, content analysis of these programs was not available, and lacking Somali language skills, I was unable to carry an analysis of my own. In order to fill this void, I chose to analyse the content of *Integration: Building A New Cultural Identity*, which is a weekly 20 to 30-minute-long English language Somali program produced in Toronto.

Variables

In addition to analysing the OMMI data for differences between the Chinese Canadian, Latin American, and Somali Canadian communities, I have elected to explore the data along with other variables. The 2012 OMMI Survey included sixteen demographic questions. I explored these questions to determine which would reveal the greatest differences in media consumption practices and motivations, and retained those that revealed the greatest differences: sex, age, level of English (a very small portion of the respondents reported having French language skills, so level of French was not included), immigration category, date of arrival, and parental status. Sex and age are central to intersectional analysis, because these are major axes of discrimination and exclusion, which means that people often experience the world differently depending on their age and sex ("Equity and Inclusion Lens Handbook," 2015). Level of English, immigration category, and date of arrival were included because they are major categories in the study of immigrant integration (Bloemraad and Paquet, 2011). Finally, parental status was included because the data revealed considerable difference in the media consumption practices and motivations of parents when compared with those who do not have children, and because it was useful in analysing the use of ECM to bring the family together, and to transmit cultural heritage from immigrant parents to their children.

CHAPTER 3 - MAPPING MEDIA USE IN THREE OTTAWA ETHNO-CULTURAL COMMUNITIES

As discussed in Chapter Two, Canadian media researchers have expressed concern that ECM may leave their consumers under-informed and misinformed about their country and city of settlement (see for example, Ahadi & Murray, 2009; Karim, 2002; Kim & Kim, 1989; Lam, 1980; Lindgren, 2011a, 2011b; Murray & al., 2007). Though content analysis studies reveal marked variation in integrative content between ECM publications and programs, most tend to conclude that integrative content is insufficient. Some studies, such as those of Karim (2002), Kim & Kim (1989), and Lindgren (2011a; 2011b), find that ECM contain too much content about the country of origin, and too little content about the country and city of settlement. Others, such as that of Murray, Yu, & Ahadi, find that while ECM may contain sufficient content about the city of settlement, they do not contain sufficient content about the province and country of settlement, which they find to be problematic because many of the policies and programs affecting newcomers are governed at the provincial and federal levels of government (2007). Moreover, although many ECM publications contain information about the city and country of settlement, this information can be misleading. For example, in her 2011 study of the Chinese language newspaper *Ming Pao*, Lindgren found that local content tended not to reflect the multicultural character of Toronto, and to over-emphasize crime. Overall, these researchers note the low levels of obvious integrative content, an inward ethno-cultural identity orientation, and a country of origin geographical focus of media and suggest that these media are unlikely to facilitate immigrant integration.

These concerns have been compounded by the increasingly widespread and easy access to country of origin media. As discussed in Chapter Two, some researcher are concerned that easy access to ethno-cultural and country of origin media will enable and encourage immigrants to live in cultural and informational bubbles, continuing to consume the same media that they consumed before immigrating, and that this might hinder their integration in their country and city of settlement (see for example, Hafez, 2007; Karim, 2006; Thompson, 2002). In this case, the concern is that increased access to country of origin media may actually encourage non-integration.

The consumption of country of origin media, the skewed content of ECM, and the potential information gaps present in such media, are only problematic to the extent that the consumers rely on such media for information. As several Canadian researchers have noted, people who consume a wide variety of mainstream, ethno-cultural, and country of origin media are less likely to live in cultural bubbles, and be affected by skewed and incomplete content than those who rely on one type of media alone (Karim, 2003; Hirji, 2006; Murray and al., 2007). Unfortunately, Canadian researchers have been constrained by the absence of recent media use data to rely predominantly on content analysis. While content analysis provides insight into the type of content included in a given publication or program, in the absence of information mapping out people's general media consumption habits, it is difficult to accurately assess whether there may be gaps in the information making its way to newcomers.

With this in mind, I use 2012 OMMI Survey data to map the media consumption habits of the three ethno-cultural communities included in the thesis project in order to assess the extent to which skewed and incomplete content are a cause for concern. Specifically, I analysed the OMMI survey data to assess four major aspects of respondents' media consumptions habits:

1. first I determine how many people actually consume ethno-cultural print media (newcomers, established immigrants, the second generation), and how often;
2. second I assess the ratio of respondents who access different types of content such as international news, Canadian news, local news, entertainment & movies, and cultural and religious programs through ethno-cultural/country of origin media alone, vs. through a combination of ethno-cultural/country of origin media and mainstream media vs. mainstream media alone;
3. third, I assess how respondents make a differentiated use of media depending on the type of content they seek, such as using more mainstream media for Canadian news, and more country of origin media for international news, for example;

4. finally, I attempt to gain a better understanding of the demographic characteristics of those who rely exclusively on ethno-cultural and country of origin media as sources of Canadian news.

The chapter begins by presenting a description of the basic demographic characteristics of the survey respondents for each community. The analysis then begins with a look at respondents' frequency of consumption of local print ECM and televised ethno-cultural and country of origin media. The core of the chapter focuses on respondents' consumption of international, Canadian, and local news with the aim of identifying different consumption habits among various demographic groups within each of the three communities. This should allow us to ascertain the extent to which respondents rely on ECM and country of origin media for information, and to identify which demographic groups are most at risk in each community.

Demographic Characteristics of Survey Respondents

The data for this chapter comes from the 2012 OMMI Survey. In 2012, OMMI surveyed over 1200 hundred members of Ottawa's Chinese, Spanish Speaking Latin American, Somali, and South Asian communities in order to gain a better understanding of these three communities' media consumption practices. With this survey, OMMI produced the first baseline data on ECM use and consumption in Ottawa.

In order to be eligible to participate in the survey, participants needed to self-identify as being from a Chinese, Spanish speaking Latin American, Somali, or South Asian background, be 18 years of age or older, and be a resident of Ottawa (residents of Gatineau were not included in the study). The survey was only available in English, but this serious limitation was, to some extent, mitigated by the fact that many of those who helped to administer the survey were able to use their Chinese, Spanish, Somali, and South Asian language skills to help respondents with elementary to no English language skills to complete the survey. Aside from these respondent eligibility criteria, efforts were made to recruit a balanced diversity of respondents in each community in terms of sex, age, education, income, length of stay in Canada, and official language skill levels. Because

they represent an important portion of Ottawa's newcomer community, efforts were also made to recruit international student respondents. In what follows, I review the basic demographic characteristics of the survey respondents in each of the three communities included in the OMMI survey, before moving on to the data analysis portion of the chapter.

Chinese Community Survey Respondents' Demographic Characteristics

As can be seen in Table 3.1, respondents from the Chinese community represented a fair balance of female and male respondents, with over half of the respondents, 56 percent, being female, and 44 percent being male. Younger respondents were better represented than senior respondents, with 51 percent being less than 30 years old, 29 percent being between the ages of 30 and 60, and only 20 percent being 60 years of age or older. Nearly half of the respondents (49%) were married or in a common law relationship, and slightly over half (55%) had children.

Most of the respondents, 74 percent, had completed some form of post-secondary education. A large portion, 42 percent, of the respondents were students, and I estimate that roughly 20 percent of respondents were international students. As for the rest, 30 percent were employed, 4 percent were homemakers, 19 percent were retired, and only 5 percent were out of work. The large number of student respondents may to some extent explain the fact that the majority of the survey respondents, 62 percent, reported annual household incomes in the lowest bracket of \$0 to \$19,999. The remaining 38 percent were spread over the \$20,000 to 39,999 (10%), \$40,000 to \$59,999 (5%), \$60,000 to \$79,999 (7%), and \$80,000 or more (15%) income brackets.

Only 3 percent of Chinese community respondents were born in Canada, and the majority were relatively new immigrants, with 45 percent having arrived in Canada between the years of 2000 and 2009, and 34 percent since 2010. Only 17 percent of respondents arrived in Canada before the beginning of the new millennium. Aside for the roughly 20 percent who are in Canada as international students, most of the respondents

in the Chinese community arrived in Canada as economic (23%) and family (37%) class immigrants. Roughly a third of respondents, 34 percent, were Canadian citizens.

The overwhelming majority (91%) of Chinese community respondents spoke a language other than English or French at home, but that is not to say that they had low levels of official language proficiency. 41 percent of respondents reported having advanced or fluent levels of English, while another 33 percent reported having an intermediate level of English. Less than a third of respondents (26%) reported having elementary to no knowledge of English. French language proficiency was much lower, with 96 percent of respondents indicating that they possessed elementary to no knowledge of French.

Spanish Speaking Latin American Community Survey Respondents' Demographic Characteristics

As can be seen in Table 3.2, respondents from the Spanish speaking Latin American community represented an adequate ratio of female to male respondents, with 60 percent, and 40 percent respectively. Most of the respondents, 69 percent, were between the ages of 30 and 60. Younger people were also well represented, with 29 percent of respondents indicating that they were between 18 and 30 years old. Senior respondents were much less well represented with only 2 percent indicating that they were 60 or older. Most of the respondents in this community (68%) were married or in a common law relationship, or had been married but were now divorced, separated, or widowed (7%). A majority of the respondents (62%) indicated that they had children.

Most of the respondents, 71 percent, had completed some form of post-secondary education. A majority of the respondents (52%) were employed. 10 percent worked as homemakers, less than one percent were retired, 8 percent were out of work. 28 percent of the respondents indicated that they were students, and I estimate that roughly 6 percent of respondents were international students. Reflecting the diversity of employment of the respondents, their income was spread over all the income brackets, with 31 percent indicating their annual household income was less than \$19,999, 20

percent in the \$20,000 to \$39,999 bracket, 12 percent in the \$40,000 to \$59,999 bracket, 15 percent in the \$60,000 to \$79,999 bracket, and 23 percent in the \$80,000 and above bracket.

Only 4 percent of the respondents in this community were born in Canada, and as was the case with the Chinese community respondents, the majority are fairly new immigrants, with 46 percent having arrived in Canada between the years of 2000 and 2009, and 24 percent since 2010. Still, little over a quarter (26%) of respondents in the Spanish speaking Latin American community arrived before the year 2000. Aside from the roughly 6 percent who are here as international students, 25 percent immigrated to Canada through the economic class, 26 percent immigrated through the family class, and 17 percent arrived in Canada as refugees. 29 percent of respondents indicated that they arrived through an 'other' category on the survey. As stated above, I estimate that 6 percent of these are international students, but the rest could include people such as those who are in Canada on a diplomatic visa and temporary foreign workers.

Most (70%) of the respondents spoke a language other than English or French at home, or a mix of an official language and other language(s) at home (26%). As was the case with the Chinese community respondents, most respondents in this community also possessed advanced official language skills. 75 percent of respondents indicated that they had advanced or fluent language skills in English, compared to 17 percent in French. Another 16 percent indicated that they possessed intermediate skills in English, and 16 percent indicated they had intermediate skills in French. Only 8 percent reported having elementary to no skills in English, as compared to 67 percent in French.

Somali Community Survey Respondents' Demographic Characteristics

As can be seen in Table 3.3, despite the efforts of survey administrators to achieve a balance of respondents in terms of sex, a majority of the Somali community respondents (74%) were female, with only slightly more than a quarter being male (26%). Younger community members were better represented than senior community members, with 68 percent of respondents indicating that they were between the ages of

18 and 30, and 28 percent indicating that they were between the ages of 30 and 60. Only 3 percent of respondents were 60 years of age or older. Most (67%) of the respondents were single. Another 25 percent were married or in a common-law relationship, and 9 percent were separated, divorced, or widowed. Reflecting the higher proportion of singles in this community, fewer of the respondents (31%) reported having children.

Nearly half of the respondents (47%) had completed some form of post-secondary education. Nearly half (45%) of the Somali community respondents were students, though less than 1 percent of these were international students. As for the rest, 40 percent were employed, 8 percent were homemakers, 4 percent were out of work, and roughly one percent each were retired or unable to work. Incomes were spread through each income bracket, though they were more heavily represented in the two lower income brackets: \$0 to \$19,999 (33%), \$20,000 to \$39,999 (25%), \$40,000 to \$59,999 (21%), \$60,000 to \$79,999 (13%), and \$80,000 or more (7%).

Nearly 30 percent of the Somali community respondents were born in Canada, and another 62 percent were well established immigrants, having arrived in Canada before the year 2000. Only 4 percent arrived between the years of 2000 to 2009, and only 6 percent arrived since 2010. Aside from the respondents who were born in Canada, most (40%) arrived in Canada as refugees. 9 percent arrived through the economic class, and 18 percent arrived through the family class.

Most (69%) of the respondents spoke a combination of an official language and other language(s) at home. Nearly a quarter (24%) exclusively spoke a non-official language at home. Most (82%) reported possessing a high level of English, and a fair portion (30%) reported having a high level of French. Only 9 percent reported having intermediate knowledge of English, or elementary to no knowledge of English, as compared to 12 percent, and 57 percent respectively for French. Of all communities, Somali respondents were the most like to be fluent in French.

Ethno-cultural and Country of Origin Media Consumption

The question of the integrative potential of ECM, either positive or negative, is salient to the extent that residents consume this type of media – the more it is consumed, the more salient it is, the less it is consumed, the less salient it is. The salience of the question also depends on who uses the media; integrative content is more important if the media is primarily used by newcomers, but less important if it is primarily used by established immigrants, or people who were born in Canada. The ECM consumption of each of the three communities is addressed in turn.

I also look at respondents' consumption of audio-visual ethno-cultural/country of origin media. As discussed in Chapter Two, some scholars are concerned that increased access to country of origin and ECM programming may be enabling ethno-cultural communities to exist in separate ethno-cultural informational bubbles. Again, the potential for this is dependent on the extent to which people actually consume such programs. I therefore examine the survey data to assess the popularity of ethno-cultural/country of origin audio-visual media.

Chinese Community ECM Consumption

As we can see in Chart 3.1, slightly more than half of the Chinese community respondents often or occasionally read local ethno-cultural print media. If we observe frequency of use of local print media by date of arrival however, we see that it is those who have been in Canada the longest who make the most use of local ethno-cultural print media; 88 percent of those who arrived in Canada before the year 2000 read ethno-cultural print media, as compared to 39 percent of those who had arrived in 2010 or after. The numbers dropped considerably for people born in Canada. Despite the fact that use increases with length of stay in Canada, the portion of newcomers who read local ethno-cultural print media in Ottawa's Chinese community is relatively high, thereby making the question of integrative content in this community's ECM fairly salient, especially for those with lower language skills.

As we can see in Chart 3.2, the numbers are even higher if we look at the number of respondents who often or occasionally watch Chinese language programs. The great majority of respondents (86%) reported that they often or occasionally watched Chinese language programs, and the numbers remained relatively stable regardless of the time of arrival. Even among those who were born in Canada, 60 percent reported that they often or occasionally watched Chinese language programs. Though it is not within the scope of this thesis to analyse the content of Chinese language television programming, these high usage rates underline the importance of verifying if ethno-cultural and country of origin media are consumed to the exclusion of mainstream media, or in conjunction with mainstream media. If newcomers consume Chinese language programming to the exclusion of mainstream Canadian programming, then the argument that country of origin and ECM may slow or hinder the integration of newcomers grows more salient. If, on the other hand, the survey data shows that newcomers consume country of origin media and ECM in addition to Canadian programming, the risk of ethno-cultural isolation and impeded integration is lessened.

Spanish Speaking Latin American Community ECM Consumption

Though use is relatively lower in the Latin American community when compared to that of the Chinese community, Chart 3.3 reveals that it is still considerable, with nearly one in three respondents indicating that they often or occasionally read local ethno-cultural print media. As was the case in the Chinese community, use increases with length of stay in Canada, before dropping down again among those who were born in Canada. Many newcomers in this community, one in five, regularly read local ethno-cultural print media, meaning that the question of integrative content is salient for the media of this community as well.

As was the case in the Chinese community, Chart 3.4 reveals that audio-visual media is also more popular than print media in the Latin American community. Slightly more than half of the Latin American community respondents reported that they often or regularly watched Spanish language programming. As is the case with local Spanish language media consumption, the percentage of respondents indicating that they often

or occasionally watch Spanish language media increases among those who have been in Canada longer. Unlike the trend with print media, however, the percentage of those who reported often or occasionally watching Spanish language programs increased to 66 percent among respondents born in Canada. In other words, the longer respondents had been in Canada, the more likely they were to report that they often or occasionally watched Spanish language programs. Once again, while these numbers are high, their potential salience for the question of integration depends on the greater context of respondents' media consumption habits, which is discussed in the next section.

Somali Community ECM Consumption

As illustrated in Chart 3.5, the survey revealed that fewer Somali respondents made frequent or occasional use of local ethno-cultural print media than was the case in the Chinese and Latin American community, only 13 percent of respondents indicated that they often or occasionally read such media. Local ECM use in the Somali community followed the general pattern exhibited in the Chinese and Latin American communities of increased use with length of stay. Reflecting the general lower frequency of use in the Somali community, however, only 7 percent of Somali newcomers, and 10 percent of those who arrived between 2000 and 2009 regularly consumed local ethno-cultural print media. Accordingly, the question of integrative content in local ethno-cultural print media may be less salient in this community.

As was the case in the other communities, Somali community respondents reported much more frequent consumption of audio-visual programming than local ethno-cultural print media. In fact, the gap between audio-visual and local print media consumption was most pronounced in the Somali community. As we can see in Chart 3.6, overall, 38 percent of Somali respondents reported that they often or occasionally watched Somali language programs. The average rises to 60 percent among those who arrived between the years 2000 and 2009, but then drops again, and falls to 25 percent among respondents who were born in Canada. Though use of audio-visual media is considerably more common than use of local ethno-cultural print media in this community, use of Somali audio-visual media is comparable to use of Spanish language

audio-visual media in the Latin American community, and lower than that reported in the Chinese and South Asian communities. Still, given the low use of local Somali print media in this community, especially when compared to the considerable consumption of Somali language programs, it will be interesting to see what kinds of content is popular among Somali community respondents.

In two of the three communities, local ethno-cultural print media is consumed by a large number of newcomers to Canada, meaning that the ECM of these communities has the potential to facilitate newcomer integration if it contains integrative content. To the extent that these ECM provide incomplete information they could also provide newcomers who do not consume mainstream media with skewed and incomplete perceptions of Ottawa and Canada. The analysis provided in the next section will attempt to assess the extent to which this may be an issue.

The OMMI survey also revealed a high rate of audio-visual ethno-cultural and country of origin media consumption in all three of the communities included in this study. As discussed in Chapter Two, similar findings in other studies have lead some researchers to postulate that such widespread access to and use of ethno-cultural and country of origin media could lead to ethno-cultural isolation and hinder newcomer integration. These unfortunate outcomes are only likely, however, to the extent that members of the three communities consume such media to the exclusion of mainstream media. If respondents use both types of media, that is both ethno-cultural/country of origin and mainstream media, then the potential for ethno-cultural isolation and hindered integration is considerably reduced. With this in mind, the next section will place this data in the context of respondents' complete media consumption habits.

Comparative Use of Mainstream Media, ECM and Country of Origin Media

In what follows, I examine data comparing the ratio of respondents who access different types of content such as international news, Canadian news, local news, entertainment & movies, and cultural and religious programs through ethno-cultural/country of origin media alone, vs. through a combination of ethno-

cultural/country of origin media and mainstream media vs. mainstream media alone. These categories are combined, because the survey asked respondents to identify media that they consumed in an official language (French or English) and media that they consumed in Chinese, Spanish, Somali, or South Asian languages, which includes both ethno-cultural and country of origin media categories. Though the two types of media are counted together, I consider that for the most part, local and Canadian information is more likely to come from ECM.

As stated above, I want to assess the extent to which respondents consume a variety of mainstream media, and media in Chinese, Spanish, Somali, or South Asian languages. The question of cultural bubbles, information gaps and skewed content is less salient for those who consume a balance of mainstream and ethno-cultural/country of origin media, but remains salient for those who only consume ethno-cultural/country of origin media. I also want to assess if (and if so, how) respondents make differentiated use of media to access different types of content. Even if respondents rely solely on ethno-cultural/country of origin media to obtain international news, for example, if they rely on a mélange of mainstream and ethno-cultural/country of origin media to obtain news about Canada, then the question of skewed and incomplete information is less salient. Finally, for each of the three communities, I will also seek to identify the demographic characteristics of people who rely exclusively on ethno-cultural/country of origin media to obtain news about Canada. The question of integrative content is most salient for newcomers in this category.

Comparative Media Use in the Chinese Community

Chart 3.7 illustrates the ratio of respondents who used different types of media (only Chinese language media vs. combination of Chinese language media and mainstream media vs. only mainstream media) to access different types of content (international news, Canadian news, local news, entertainment and movies, cultural shows, and religious programs). The numbers appearing in the white spaces above the columns indicate the percentage of respondents who either did not consume a specific type of media, or who chose not to answer the question. Those who consume only

Chinese language media are considered to be the most susceptible to skewed or incomplete information, as media focusing on the needs of specific ethno-cultural communities have often been found to have a narrower scope of content. Those who consume mainstream media alone are likely to be missing information which may be of interest to them as members of an ethno-cultural community. Those who consume both Chinese language and mainstream media obtain information of interest as members of the Chinese community and enjoy culturally relevant entertainment, while also maximizing their chances of being at least as informed about important political, economic, and civic issues affecting their city and country of settlement as non-immigrant citizens.

Even before we look at the differentiated use of media for different kinds of content, we notice that Chinese community respondents are much more avid consumers of some types of contents than others. For example, while fully 85 percent of respondent reported that they consumed entertainment & movies, only 15 percent reported that they consumed cultural & religious programs. Respondents from the Chinese community were the least likely of the three communities to consume cultural & religious programs. In terms of news, 70 percent of respondents reported that they consumed international news, compared to only 51 percent for Canadian news and 42 percent for local news. While it is not surprising that newcomers and immigrants would take an interest in international news, presumably news from or about their country of origin, the fact that nearly half did not report consuming any Canadian news content, and that more than half did not report consuming any local news content is of concern. As discussed in Chapter Two, some researchers of ECM are concerned that newcomers may not be receiving balanced news coverage of Canadian and local news from ECM, but the OMMI data presented here suggests that a complete lack of Canadian and local news may be just as significant an issue. Though it is not within the scope of this thesis to explore this dynamic any further, the topic should merit further investigation.

In terms of differentiated use of media, across all types of content, Chinese community respondents are generally more likely to consume a *mélange* of media, than

to consume ethno-cultural/country of origin media alone. The categories for which they were most likely to consume ethno-cultural/country of origin media alone were international news and entertainment programming, with 33 and 39 percent of respondents respectively. These numbers support the idea that members of the community use ethno-cultural/country of origin media in order to keep up with news in their country of origin and to access culturally appealing content. Relatively few respondents reported that they consumed cultural shows and religious programs. Of the 15 percent who did, however, 9 percent reported that they did so in Chinese.

In terms of Canadian and local news, most of those who consumed this type of content did so relying on a mix of mainstream Canadian and ethno-cultural/country of origin media. Still, fully 17 percent of respondents reported that they relied exclusively on Chinese language media to access Canadian news content and 16 percent indicated that they relied exclusively on Chinese language media to access local news content. In other words, only 34 percent of respondents from this community accessed Canadian news content through mainstream media sources, and only 26 percent accessed local news content through mainstream news sources. Accordingly, the data suggest that the majority of the Chinese community respondents are vulnerable to being under-informed about issues affecting their city and country of settlement, and are likely missing an important source of integrative content.

Below, I engage in more detailed data analysis in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the demographic characteristics of those who access different types of content, namely international news, Canadian news, and local news, through Chinese language media alone, through a combination of Chinese language and mainstream Canadian media, and through mainstream media alone. In addition to providing a better profile of media consumption in Ottawa's Chinese community, this should allow us to gain a better understanding of the demographic characteristics of those who are most at risk of not receiving sufficient and balanced Canadian and local news coverage. Data for entertainment & movies, and cultural & religious programs has not been included in this

chapter, as these types of media content are less directly relevant to economic and civic integration which is the greater focus of this chapter.

Consumption of International News in Ottawa's Chinese Community

As noted above, Chinese community respondents were more avid consumers of international news, compared to Canadian and local news. Focusing on respondents' differentiated use of media, we see that among the 71 percent of respondent who indicated that they consumed international news are 13 percent who accessed international news through mainstream sources, 24 percent through a mix of mainstream and Chinese language sources, and 33 percent through Chinese language sources alone. As we can see in Chart 3.8, there is some variation in the consumption habits of respondents when analysed through the variable sex, age, level of skill in English, immigration category, date of arrival in Canada, and whether or not respondents have children.

As we can see in Chart 3.8, women were slightly less likely to consume international news than men. Women were also relatively less likely to rely exclusively on Chinese language sources to do so. Moreover, they were relatively more likely to rely exclusively on mainstream sources to access international news than male respondents. No obvious explanation presents itself as to why this is the case.

Older respondents were only slightly more likely to consume international news than younger respondents, but they were much more likely than younger respondents to consume international news exclusively in Chinese. Among the 76 percent of older respondents (60+) who consumed international news, all reported that they consumed international news exclusively in Chinese. Younger respondents were slightly less likely to consume international news, but they were much more likely to do so using a combination of Chinese language and mainstream media, or mainstream media alone, than older respondents. As we will see in Charts 2.9 and 2.10 for Canadian news, and local news, older respondents were generally much more likely to consume Chinese language media, regardless of content category, than younger respondents. As we can see in Table

2.4, this may be partially explained by the fact that senior Chinese respondents reported much lower levels of English language competency than younger Chinese respondents. 88 percent of older Chinese respondents report having only basic English language skills, compared to only 11 percent of respondents who were less than 60 years of age. The combination of weaker English language skills and exclusive use of Chinese language media strongly suggests that senior Chinese respondents may be more vulnerable to potentially skewed information in ECM and to insufficient access to integrative information.

Predictably enough, there was a relationship between respondents' level of English language skills and the language of the media they used to access international news. Among those who reported having basic language skills, 65 percent consumed international news in Chinese. The percentage drops to 29 percent for those with intermediate English language skills, and to 18 percent for those with advanced English language skills.

Of greatest interest from an immigrant integration perspective is the relationship between time of arrival and consumption of international news. For example, consumption of international news not accompanied by consumption of Canadian and local news could be hypothesised to indicate that a respondent has yet to develop significant affective ties and vested interests in the country of settlement. Conversely, consumption of both international news and Canadian news could be hypothesised to indicate that a respondent has developed affective ties and vested interests in both her country of origin and her country of settlement. If we look at Chart 3.8, we can see that those who have been in Canada since before 1990 were much less likely to consume international news than those who were more recent immigrants. Among those who arrived after 1990, between 64 and 74 percent consumed international news, but the percentage drops to 40 percent for those who have been in Canada since before 1990. Exclusive use of Chinese language media to access international news varied between 28 and 41 percent for those who arrived after 1990, and dropped to 20 percent for those who have been in Canada since before 1990. Though it is impossible to confirm why

consumption of international news diminished with length of stay in Canada, it may be indicative of a slow evening out of affective ties and interests between country of origin and country of settlement. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that consumption of Canadian and local news increases with length of stay in Canada, as we can see Charts 2.9 and 2.10 below.

Immigration category was associated with different media consumption ratios. Economic class immigrants were more likely to make use of a mélange of sources to access international news when compared to family class immigrants, who were much more likely to rely exclusively on Chinese language sources. This is likely partially attributable to the higher language requirements for economic immigrants, and to their broader informational needs to function in the workplace. The sample size for refugees in the Chinese community is too small to be statistically relevant. Surprisingly, international students, who might have been expected to be less interested in consuming mainstream Canadian language news sources to access international news, followed the same pattern as economic class immigrants.

Finally, respondents with children were only slightly more likely to consume international news than those without children (77% compared to 66%), but they were much more likely to do so exclusively in Chinese. 47 percent of respondents with children consumed international news exclusively in Chinese, compared to only 23 percent of those who did not have children. Although it is impossible to identify why this may be the case without further research, it may be that parents are simply opting for the most convenient (i.e. less time and effort intensive way) of consuming news because of the time constraints of being a parent. Another possible explanation for the greater consumption of ECM by parents is that parents want to share their cultural heritage with their children, and may be leveraging ECM in this efforts.

Consumption of Canadian and Local News in Ottawa's Chinese Community

As noted above, Chinese community respondents were much less likely to consume Canadian and local news than international news. Focusing on respondents

differentiated use of media to access Canadian and local news content, we can see that respondents are much less likely to rely exclusively on Chinese language media for both types of content. Still, as we can see in Charts 2.9 and 2.10, 17 percent of respondent relied exclusively Chinese language media to access Canadian news content, and 16 percent of respondents relied exclusively on Chinese language media for local news content. The demographic characteristics of those most likely to rely exclusively on Chinese language media to access Canadian and local news content resemble those for international news content for some variable, but not for others.

As was the case with international news, women were slightly less likely than men to consume Canadian and local news. Unlike international news consumption, however, where female consumers are less likely to rely exclusively on Chinese language media, when it came to Canadian and local news content, female consumers were more likely than male consumers to rely exclusively on Chinese language sources, and much less likely to rely exclusively on mainstream sources. I have no hypotheses for plausible explanations of these differences. In any case, the differences between men and women in terms of exclusive reliance on Chinese language sources are fairly slight, 18 percent for women compared to 16 percent for men for Canadian news, and 17 percent for women, compared to 14 percent for men, for local news (see Charts 2.9 and 2.10). Overall then, the data does not suggest that Chinese community female respondents to be markedly more vulnerable or less well informed than their male counterparts.

As was the case with international news, younger respondents were less likely than older respondents to consume Canadian and local news. Older respondents, however, were much more likely to rely exclusively on Chinese language media sources to access Canadian and local news content. Despite the greater availability of Canadian and local news in mainstream media, less than one percent of older respondents consumed Canadian and local news through mainstream media, or a combination of mainstream and Chinese language media (see Charts 2.9 and 2.10). Well over half of older Chinese community respondents reported consuming no Canadian or local media at all. Well over half of younger Chinese community respondents were made vulnerable to

missing news about the political, economic, and social issues affecting their city and country of residence by their non-consumption of mainstream Canadian and local news. Only 35 percent of younger Chinese community respondents accessed Canadian and local news through mainstream media. Still the most vulnerable demographic age group is those who are 60 years of age or older, as only 1 to 2 percent of older respondents accessed Canadian and local news through mainstream media.

As was the case with international news consumption, respondents' level of English language skills was associated with the language in which they consumed Canadian and local media. Comparing Charts 2.9 and 2.10, to Chart 3.8, however, we see that respondents begin incorporating mainstream media, or switching to mainstream sources entirely in much greater numbers as their language skills improve. The media consumption habits of those with intermediate language skills illustrate the trend. Of the respondents possessing intermediate language skills, only 10 percent and 9 percent consumed Canadian news and local news, respectively, exclusively through Chinese language media. This is compared to 29 percent for international news. This may reflect the greater availability, diversity, and quality of mainstream Canadian and local news content sources compared to Chinese language sources for the same content.

While the early integration of mainstream sources of Canadian and local news content is favourable to integration, the percentage of respondents with basic language skills who indicated that they relied exclusively on Chinese language sources was very high: 40 percent for Canadian news content, and 38 percent for local news content. This represents a large portion of newcomers to the Chinese community. According to Matsaganis & al., immigrants with limited official language proficiency are more likely to engage exclusively with country of origin and ECM, and the lack of balance in domestic news, such as that identified by Murray & al. (2007) in BC, and by Lindgren (2011) in Toronto, is likely to be especially damaging to these immigrants. The content of two Canadian Chinese language publications will be assessed in Chapter Five, and will provide a partial indication of the balance of news available to Chinese newcomers who possess weaker language skills. Regardless of the outcome of this content analysis, however, given

the high percentage of exclusive reliance on Chinese language sources for Canadian and local news content, it is clear that the question of integrative content in ethno-cultural publications is extremely salient for many Chinese newcomers to Ottawa.

Immigration class was once again associated with different media consumption habits. Economic class immigrants were somewhat more likely to rely on either a combination of Chinese language and mainstream sources, or on mainstream sources alone for Canadian and local news content. Family class immigrants were much more likely to rely on Chinese language sources alone, with approximately 30 percent of family class respondents indicating that they did so for both types of news content. With family class immigrants accounting for a large portion of the Chinese community, this high reliance on Chinese language sources indicates that more attention needs to be focused on this demographic. As might have been expected, international students are much less likely to consume Canadian and local news content than immigrants, 65 percent of international students indicated consuming no Canadian news content, and 78 percent indicated consuming no local news content. Still, among those who did, they were relatively more likely to do so through a mainstream source.

As mentioned above, unlike consumption of international news, which tended to go down as length of stay in Canada increased, consumption of Canadian and local news increased with length of stay. If we focus on the ratio of Chinese language to mainstream media consumption, Charts 2.9 and 2.10 illustrate that for local news content, time of arrival followed a pattern similar to that found for international news. That is, exclusive reliance on Chinese language source of local news content went up a little before going down again as the length of stay in Canada increased. Consumption of Canadian news content followed an entirely different pattern; exclusive reliance on Chinese language sources actually rises again among those who have been here since before 1990. Fully 30 percent of those who arrived in Canada before 1990 exclusively rely on Chinese language sources for Canadian news content.

Finally, as was the case with international news, respondents with children were more likely to consume Canadian and local news than those without children – indicating that respondents with children were simply more likely to consume news content than those without. Once again, the presence of children was associated with markedly different media consumption habits. Respondents with children were much more likely to consume Canadian and local news exclusively through Chinese language sources, than respondents without children. Moreover, despite the fact that more respondents with children consumed Canadian and local news content than those without children, fewer of those with children relied exclusively on mainstream sources. While the wish to transmit one's language and culture would to some extent explain the pattern, I can think of no reason why parents would lean so strongly in favour of Chinese language media other than the simple fact of convenience mentioned above.

Comparative Media Use in the Spanish Speaking Latin American Community

Chart 3.11 illustrates the ratio of respondents who use different types of media (only Spanish language media vs. combination of Spanish language media and mainstream media vs. only mainstream media) to access different types of media content, namely, international news, Canadian news, local news, entertainment & movies, and cultural & religious programs. Those who consume both Spanish language and mainstream media are likely to be the best informed and therefore the least vulnerable. Those who only consume Spanish language media, whether produced in Canada, the US, or Latin America, are considered to be the most susceptible to skewed and incomplete information. Those who consume mainstream media alone are likely to be missing information which may be of interest to them as members of an ethno-cultural community. Those who consume both Spanish language and mainstream media obtain information of interest as members of the Latin American community and enjoy culturally relevant entertainment, while also maximizing their chances of being at least as informed about important political, economic, and civic issues affecting their city and country of settlement as non-immigrant citizens.

As we can see in Chart 3.11, respondents from the Spanish speaking Latin American community consume some types of media content more avidly than others. As was the case in the Chinese community, entertainment & movies are much more widely consumed than cultural & religious programs, with 74 percent of respondents reporting that they consume entertainment and movies compared to only 21 percent for cultural & religious programs. Though respondents from the Latin American community were more likely than those of the Chinese community to consume cultural & religious programs, they were the least likely of the three communities to do so exclusively through Spanish language media. News consumption followed a similar pattern, with international news being more widely consumed than Canadian and local news. If we compare Charts 2.7 and 2.11, however, we can see that the gap between international news on the one hand, and Canadian and local news on the other, is less pronounced in the Latin American community than it is the Chinese community. The gap between international news and Canadian news consumption was one of 19 percent in the Chinese community, but it is only of 5 percent in the Latin American community. Similarly, the gap between international news and local news was of 28 percent in the Chinese community, but only 19 percent in the Latin American community. This reflects both a less widespread consumption of international news and a more widespread consumption of Canadian and local news in the Latin American community when compared to the Chinese community. Overall, 63 percent of respondents consumed Canadian news content, and 49 percent consumed local news content. While not quite as severe as the low rates of Canadian and local news consumption in the Chinese community, the data nonetheless indicates that a large percentage of the Latin American respondents did not consume any Canadian news (37%), or local news (51%). Once again, though it is not within the scope of this thesis to explore this dynamic any further, it should be of concern to those interested in media and immigrant integration research.

If we look at Latin American respondents' differentiated use of media across all categories, we see that they are more likely to either use a mix of Spanish language media and mainstream media, or mainstream media alone, than to consume Spanish language

media alone. As was the case in the Chinese community, the categories for which Latin American community respondents were most likely to consume Spanish language media alone were international news (19%), and entertainment & movies (12%). Even for these categories, however, Latin American respondents were much more likely to consume a mix of Spanish language media and mainstream media, or mainstream media alone. As was the case in the Chinese community, relatively few Latin American respondents reported consuming cultural & religious programs (21%), and even fewer reported accessing such content through Spanish language media alone (4%). Overall, the higher use of Spanish language media for international news and entertainment & movies supports the notion that immigrants and ethno-cultural communities consume ECM and country of origin media in order to keep up to date with events in their country of origin and to access culturally appealing content.

In terms of Canadian and local news, not only were Latin American respondents more likely to consume Canadian and local news, but they were also more likely than Chinese community respondents to do so using mainstream media. Only 5 percent of Latin American respondents accessed Canadian news content exclusively through Spanish language content, and only 4 percent did so for local news content. Accordingly, the portion of the Latin American community who is at risk of skewed and insufficient Canadian and local news content is much smaller than it is in the Chinese community. Still only 58 percent accessed Canadian news content through mainstream media sources, and only 45 percent accessed local news through mainstream media sources, meaning that a large portion of this community is likely to be under-informed about many of the issues affecting their city and country of settlement, and to be missing an important source of integrative content.

Below, I engage in a detailed data analysis in order to gain a better understanding of the media consumption habits of different demographic segments of Ottawa's Latin American community, namely in terms of sex, age, level of English language skills, immigration category, date of arrival in Canada, and whether respondents have children. The aim is to see whether these variables correspond with different ratios of Spanish and

mainstream media consumption to access international, Canadian and local news, in order to better identify which demographic segments are likely to be most vulnerable to skewed and incomplete local and Canadian news coverage.

Consumption of International News in Ottawa's Spanish Speaking Latin American Community

As noted above, slightly more Latin American community respondents consumed international news than Canadian and local news. In order to access international news content, 19 percent of respondents relied exclusively on Spanish language sources, 29 percent relied on a combination of Spanish language media and mainstream media, 20 percent relied exclusively on mainstream media, and 32 percent reported no international news content consumption. Chart 3.12 reveals that there is some variation in the consumption habits of respondents when compared through the variables of sex, age, level of skill in English, immigration category, date of arrival in Canada, and whether or not respondents have children.

As can be seen in Chart 3.14, unlike in the Chinese community, Latin American female respondents were slightly more likely to consume international news than male respondents, 71 percent for female respondents, compared to 64 percent for male respondents. As was the case in the Chinese community, however, female Latin American community respondents were more likely to access international news through Spanish language sources than were their male counterparts. Female respondents were also slightly less likely than their male counterparts to access international news through a combination of mainstream and Spanish language media sources. This could be attributable to slightly lower English language skills among women.

As was the case in the Chinese community, consumption of international news increased with age. Overall, older Latin American respondents were both more likely to consume international news exclusively in Spanish, and to access international news through a combination of Spanish language and mainstream media sources. Among the 88 percent of older Latin American respondents who consumed international news, 38

percent did so exclusively in Spanish, and the other 50 percent did so through a combination of mainstream and Spanish language media. None relied exclusively on mainstream media. Younger respondents were relatively much less likely to rely exclusively on Spanish language media, and much more likely to rely exclusively on mainstream media sources. Although not as pronounced as in the Chinese community, the greater reliance of older Latin American respondents on Spanish language sources holds for Canadian and local news content as well. As can be seen in Table 2.5, older Latin American respondents' greater reliance on Spanish language sources may in part be explained by their lower levels of English language skills when compared to younger Latin American respondents. Though the sample size of older respondents in the Latin American community is very small, we can still see that a quarter of older Latin American respondents report having basic English language skills, compared to only 8 percent of younger respondents. This combination of weaker English language skills and greater reliance of Spanish language news sources suggest that Latin American seniors may be slightly more vulnerable than other members of Ottawa's Latin American community to skewed and incomplete information.

Unlike in the Chinese community, where level of English language skills was not associated to differences in international news consumption, respondents from Ottawa's Latin American community were more likely to consume international news as their level of English skills increased. The connection between level of English language skills and the language of international news consumption was not very clear in the Latin American community. Though respondents with a basic level of English were understandably less likely to access international news exclusively through mainstream sources (9% did so), they were no more likely to rely exclusively on Spanish language skills than those with intermediate and advanced English language skills. In fact, the most interesting aspect of the data for this category is that those with the strongest English language skills were by far the most likely to access international news through Spanish language news sources, 52 percent in all. No obvious explanation comes to mind at this time.

Respondents' immigration class did not seem to be associated with different international news consumption habits, except in the case of international students, who were somewhat less likely to consume international news. Immigration category was not strongly associated with different mainstream to Spanish language media use ratios. Respondents who arrived in Canada through the economic, family, and refugee categories had similar international news consumption habits. The only outliers were the international students. These were much more likely to access international news exclusively through Spanish language sources, 38 percent did so, and were much less likely to consume mainstream sources, only 6 percent did so. These consumption patterns are not surprising given that international students, especially those who do not wish to immigrate to Canada after the completion of their studies, would conceivably be less interested in consuming international news from a Canadian perspective.

As discussed in the Chinese community data analysis section above, for the purposes of this thesis, length of stay in Canada (based on 'period of arrival' response in the survey) is likely the most salient variable for consumption of international news. It may form an imperfect proxy for respondents' affective ties and interest. In the Chinese community, we saw that consumption of international news went down, and consumption of Canadian and local news went up, as length of stay in Canada increased. This was hypothesised to indicate a certain evening out of affective ties and interest between country of origin and country of settlement among Chinese community respondents. The Latin American community respondents seem to be following a different pattern, whereby their consumption of international news increases with their length of stay in Canada. Those who have been in Canada the longest, are by far the most likely to access international news through Spanish language sources, 74 percent do so, compared to only 39 percent of those who arrived since 2010. This is accompanied by a fairly stable consumption of Canadian news across date of arrival categories, and by an increasing consumption of local news as length of stay in Canada increases. In other words, the data seems to be revealing an increasing level of interest in both international news (presumably from the country of origin), and local news. If we follow the same logic

used to assess data from the Chinese community, therefore, it would appear that Latin American respondents' affective ties and interest to both their country of origin and their local community increases with time spent in Canada.

Finally, as stated above, respondents with children were more likely to consume international news than those without children. They were more likely to access international news through Spanish language sources, 53 percent compared to 40 percent, and they were also slightly more likely to access international news exclusively through Spanish language sources than those without children (21% compared to 15%). Overall, the relationship is much weaker in the Latin American community than it was in the Chinese community. Still, it may in part be attributable to parents' wish to share their cultural heritage with their children.

Consumption of Canadian and Local News in Ottawa's Spanish Speaking Latin American Community

As noted above, Latin American respondents were only slightly less likely to consume Canadian news than international news, 63 percent compared to 68 percent. Only 49 percent of respondents indicated that they consumed local news media, which represents a considerable drop compared to both Canadian and international news content consumption. These lower rates of Canadian and local news consumption, though less severe than in the Chinese community, are still somewhat unfortunate, as Canadian and local news are likely to be helpful sources of integrative content.

If we focus on respondents' differentiated use of media to access Canadian and local news content, we can see that respondents are markedly less likely to rely exclusively on Spanish language media sources for Canadian and local news content than for international news. As we can see in Charts 2.13 and 2.14, only 4 to 5 percent of respondents rely exclusively on Spanish language sources for Canadian and local news content. As will be discussed below, some of the demographic characteristics of those who are most likely to rely exclusively on Spanish language are somewhat surprising.

As was the case with international news, female Latin American respondents were slightly more likely than male respondents to consume both Canadian and local news media. Though women were more likely to consume Canadian and local media content, they were no more likely than their male counterparts to rely exclusively on Spanish language media to do so. Female respondents were slightly more likely than male respondents to access this type of media content through a combination of mainstream and Spanish language media. Female and male respondents were equally likely to access Canadian and local news media exclusively through mainstream media. Overall then, female respondents are likely less vulnerable and slightly better informed than their male counterparts.

Younger respondents were the least likely to consume Canadian and local news content; only 51 percent and 36 percent reported doing so, meaning that a many younger respondents are vulnerable to being under-informed. Among those who did consume Canadian and local news content, however, only 8 percent relied exclusively on Spanish language media sources for Canadian news content, and only 1 percent did so for local news content. Overall then, younger respondents were made more vulnerable by their lack of media consumption than by their choice of media. Respondents aged 31 to 59 were the most likely to consume Canadian and local news content, and only 3 to 5 percent relied exclusively on Spanish language media sources, meaning that they were not especially vulnerable as a group. As discussed above, older respondents are one of the most vulnerable demographic. Among the 62 percent who consume Canadian news content, 13 percent relied exclusively on Spanish language sources, and among the 50 percent who consume local news content, 13 percent did so exclusively through Spanish language media sources.

Those with advanced English language skills were much more likely to consume Canadian and local news content than those with weaker English language skills. They were also most likely to rely either on a combination of Spanish language and mainstream media, or on mainstream media alone. As would be expected those with weaker English language skills were less likely to consume Canadian and local news content, and were

more likely to rely exclusively on Spanish language sources to do so. Overall, of those with basic English language skills, 13 percent relied exclusively on Spanish language sources to access Canadian news media, and 9 percent did so to access local news media. Unsurprisingly then, those with weaker language skills are more vulnerable to being under-informed.

The greatest difference in Canadian and local news consumption was between immigrants in general and international students. International students were markedly less likely to consume local news, only 6 percent did so compared to 49 to 59 percent for immigrants, and also less likely to consume Canadian news, only 37 percent did so compared to 60 to 72 percent for immigrants. Despite being much less likely to consume Canadian and local news content, international students were not more likely to rely exclusively on Spanish language media sources.

Consumption of local news increased with length of stay in Canada, but consumption of Canadian news remained more or less stable across all periods of arrival in Canada. While consumption of Canadian news media stays stable across periods of arrival, use of Spanish language news media to access Canadian news content actually rises from 18 percent to 27 percent with length of stay in Canada. This is surprising given that consumption of Spanish language sources could reasonably be expected to diminish as official language skills improve. The same happens for consumption of local news media, where consumption of Spanish language news sources to access local news content rises from 4 percent among newcomers to 20 percent among those who have been here since before 1990. The longer members of Ottawa's Latin American community have been living in Canada, the more they take an interest in the local and Canadian Latin American community, which suggests that feeling of belonging in the Latin American community increases over time. Despite being among the least likely to consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media, Latin American newcomers to Ottawa remain the most vulnerable, as they are the least likely to consume Canadian and local news content of any kind.

Finally, respondents with children were more likely to consume both Canadian and local news than those who did not have children. Those with children were also less likely to rely exclusively on Spanish language sources to access Canadian and local news content. Overall then, parents were less vulnerable as a demographic group than respondents without children to being misinformed or under-informed.

Comparative Media Use of in the Somali Community

Chart 3.15 illustrates the ratio of respondents who use different types of media (only Somali language media vs. combination of Somali language media and mainstream media vs. only mainstream media) to access different types of media content, namely, international news, Canadian news, local news, entertainment & movies, and cultural & religious programs. I consider that those who consume both Somali language and mainstream media are likely the least vulnerable to skewed and incomplete information, and have a better chance of being at least as informed about important political, economic, and civic issues affecting their city and country of settlement as non-immigrant citizens.

As illustrated in Chart 3.15, much like their Chinese and Latin American counterparts, Somali respondents are much more avid consumers of some types of media content than others. As was the case in the Chinese and Latin American communities, entertainment & movies, which were consumed by 79 percent of Somali respondents, and international news, which was consumed by 57 percent of Somali respondents, were the most popular types of content. Canadian and local news were slightly less popular than international news, being consumed by 48 and 43 percent of Somali respondents respectively. Finally, the least popular types of media content were cultural & religious programs, which were consumed by only 30 percent of Somali respondents. Despite being the least popular type of media in the Somali community, cultural & religious programs were more popular in the Somali community than in the other three communities.

The gap between international and Canadian news consumption is smaller in the Somali community than it was in the Chinese community, but slightly bigger than it was

in the Latin American community. Of greater concern than the gap between types of news consumption in this community is the overall low level of news consumption. Fewer than 50 percent of Somali respondents reported consuming any kind of Canadian and local news, leaving a great portion of this community vulnerable to being under-informed about important political, economic, and social issues at play in their city and country of settlement.

Focusing on Somali respondents' differentiated use of media, across all categories, we see that they are more likely to make use of combined Somali language and mainstream media, or mainstream media alone, than to rely on Somali language media alone. Unlike the patterns observed in the Chinese and Latin American communities, whereby respondents were most likely to rely exclusively on ethno-cultural and country of origin media to access entertainment and international news, the types of media content for which Somalis were most likely to rely exclusively on Somali language media were cultural & religious programming. 10 percent of Somali respondents reported doing so. Entertainment and international news followed closely behind, however, with 9 and 8 percent of respondents indicating that they relied exclusively on Somali language media to access such content. It is important to note that, even for these types of content, Somali respondents were much more likely to consume a combination of Somali language and mainstream media, or mainstream media alone, than to rely exclusively on Somali language media. Still, Somali respondents' media use patterns are consistent with and support the notion that immigrants and ethno-cultural communities consume ECM and country of origin media in order to stay up-to-date with events in their country of origin and to access culturally relevant and appealing content.

Fewer than 50 percent of Somali respondents reported consuming any type of Canadian and local news. Among those who did consume this type of content, however, only 4 percent accessed Canadian news content exclusively through Somali language media, and only 5 percent did so for local news content. Accordingly, a fairly small portion of respondents are at risk of receiving potentially skewed information from ECM, but a

very large portion are still at risk of being under-informed, because of the low rates of Canadian and local news consumption.

Below, I engage in a more detailed data analysis in order to come to a better understanding of the media consumption habits of different demographic segments of Ottawa's Somali community. Specifically, I analyse respondents' media consumption habits according to the variables of sex, age, level of English language skills, immigration category, date of arrival in Canada, and whether or not respondents have children. The aim is to see if different demographic segments of the Somali community are more likely than others to consume certain types of media content, and to see if they are likely to use different media type (only Somali language media vs. combined Somali language and mainstream media vs. only mainstream media). Such an analysis should enable us to identify which demographic segments are most vulnerable to being under-informed.

Consumption of International News in Ottawa's Somali Community

As noted above, slightly more Somali community respondents consumed international news than Canadian and local news. In order to access international news content, 9 percent of respondents relied exclusively on Somali language media sources, 17 percent relied on a combination of Somali language and mainstream media, 32 percent relied on mainstream media alone, and 43 percent did not report consuming any type of international news media. Chart 3.18 reveals that there is some variation on the consumption habits of respondents when compared through the demographic variables of sex, age, level of English language skills, immigration category, date of arrival in Canada, and whether or not respondents have children.

As was the case in the Chinese community, Chart 3.16 illustrates that female Somali respondents were slightly less likely to consume international news content than their male counterparts. 55 percent of female respondents did so, compared to 66 percent of male respondents. As was the case in the Chinese and Latin American communities, female respondents were slightly more likely to rely exclusively on ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to access international news content. Male

respondents were most likely to access international news content through a combination of Somali language and mainstream media, but both sexes were about as likely to rely exclusively on mainstream media.

In contrast to the pattern in the Chinese and Latin American communities, where consumption of international news increased with age, consumption decreased with age in the Somali community. Only 46 percent of older Somali respondents consumed international news compared to 41 percent of those below the age of 60. Moreover, though older Somali respondents were more likely to access international news content through a combination of Somali language and mainstream media content, they were slightly less likely than younger respondents to rely exclusively on Somali language sources. This pattern does not hold for consumption of Canadian and local news content, where older Somali respondents exhibit the same pattern as those of the Chinese and Latin American community in being more likely to rely exclusively on Somali language media. Still, the preference for Somali language media is slighter among older respondents from the Somali community than it is among those of the Chinese and Latin American community. As we can see in Table 2.6, the slightness of this preference for Somali language media is all the more surprising when we take into account the fact that 46 percent of older Somali respondents reported having only basic English language skills, compared to only 7 percent of younger Somali respondents. Given the relatively high portion of older Somali respondents who reported have basic English language skills, I would have expected a greater reliance of Somali language media among this demographic group.

The pattern that emerges when we look at international news consumption habits across different levels of English language skills is also surprising. As was the case in the Latin American community, consumption of international news rises with stronger language skills. 61 percent of those with advanced English language skills reported consuming international news media, compared to only 33 of those with basic language skills. What is surprising is that, as was the case in the Latin American community, those with the strongest English language skills were the most likely to rely exclusively on Somali

language media to access international news; 9 percent of those with advanced English language skills did so, compared to only 4 percent of those with basic English language skills. I am at a loss as to what could possibly explain this consumption patterns, but it is clear that poor English language skills are not the greatest determinant of the language in which respondents choose to access international news.

The immigration category through which Somali respondents came to Canada is not strongly associated with greater or lesser likelihood of consuming international news. Between 57 and 50 percent of respondents across all categories reported doing so. Immigration category was, however, related to different ratios of media type use. Economic class immigrants reported no use of Somali language media to access international news, while 8 percent of both family class immigrants and those who arrived as refugees reported accessing international news exclusively through Somali language media.

By far the greatest variation in international news consumption occurs when we look at period of arrival. Although consumption of international news generally varied between 50 and 56 percent across periods of arrival, 90 percent of those who arrived between the years of 2000 and 2009 consumed international news. Despite this, it was those who had been here the longest, those who arrived before 1990, who were the most likely to access international news content through Somali language media (36%), and who were most likely to access international news exclusively through Somali language media (13%). As discussed above, length of stay in Canada (measured through the period of arrival) is likely the most salient demographic variable for international news consumption, as it provides partial proxy for respondents' affective ties and interests in their places of origin and settlement. As in the Latin American community, the data for the Somali community seems to indicate that affective ties to and interest in Somalia increases as length of stay in Canada increases. This increase in international news consumption is accompanied by an initial increase and then stabilizing of consumption of both Canadian and local news content. This would seem to indicate that Somali respondents develop affective ties to and interest in Canada as their ties to Somalia

continue to deepen, which hints to the complex feelings of multilocal belonging described by ECM scholars in Chapter Two (Cheng, 2005; Shi, 2005; Zhang & Hao, 1999; Zhou, 2002).

Finally, unlike respondents from the Chinese and Latin American communities, Somali community respondents with children were not more likely to consume international news. Those with children were, however, much more likely to access international news through Somali language media, 34 percent did so compared to just 22 percent of those without children. Those with children were not much more likely to rely exclusively on Somali language sources than those without. As has been suggested above, it may be that greater use of Somali media among parents can in part be attributed to their desire to share their cultural heritage with their children.

Consumption of Canadian and Local News in Ottawa's Somali Community

As was the case in the Chinese and Latin American community, Somali community respondents were slightly less likely to consume Canadian and local news content than international news content. Charts 2.17 and 2.18 illustrates that, overall, 48 percent consumed Canadian news content, and 43 percent consumed local news content, compared to 57 percent for international news content. Again, these lower rates of Canadian and local news content are somewhat unfortunate, as Canadian and local news sources contain important information about political, economic, and social issues in respondents' city and country of settlement, and are also likely to include helpful integrative content.

As stated above, if we focus on respondents' differentiated use of media, only 4 to 5 percent of respondents rely exclusively on Somali language media to access Canadian and local news content. Overall then, as was the case in the Chinese and Latin American communities, a greater portion of the community is made vulnerable by their non-consumption of Canadian and local news, than by their overreliance on Somali language media. Nevertheless, below I examine the Canadian and local news media consumption habits of different demographic segments of the Somali community in order to identify the characteristics of those who may be most vulnerable to being under-informed about

the political, economic, and social context of the City of Ottawa and Canada more generally.

As was the case in the Chinese community, and with international news in the Somali community, female respondents were slightly less likely to consume Canadian and local news content than male respondents: 46 percent of female respondents consumed Canadian news content compared to 53 percent for male respondents, and 40 percent of female respondents consumed local news compared to 49 percent of male respondents. Female respondents were also less likely than male respondents to rely exclusively on Somali language media to access international news. 3 percent of female respondents relied exclusively on Somali language sources to access Canadian news content, compared to 4 percent of male respondents, and 4 percent of female respondents relied exclusively on Somali language media sources to access local news content compared to 10 percent of male respondents. Overall, male respondents were more likely to access both Canadian and local news through Somali language sources: 14 percent did so for Canadian news, and 24 percent did so for local news. Overall, female respondents, still appear to be more vulnerable than their male counterparts because of their lower rates of Canadian and local media consumption.

If we look at the different consumption habits of the three different age demographics, we see that younger Somali respondents were slightly less likely to consume Canadian and local news media, than older respondents. Younger respondents were also less likely to rely exclusively on Somali language media, meaning that what made them vulnerable was their low rates of news consumption, rather than their overreliance on Somali media. Older respondents were the most likely to consume Canadian and local media. They were also the most likely to access Canadian and local media through Somali language sources, and the most likely to rely exclusively on Somali language sources of Canadian and local news. Still, only 8 percent of seniors relied exclusively on Somali language sources, which leads us to conclude that even though older Somali respondents were slightly more vulnerable to being under-informed than

younger Somali respondents, they were not particularly more vulnerable as a demographic group.

Level of English language skills was fairly strongly associated with different levels of Canadian and local news consumption. Those with basic English language skills were much less likely to consume Canadian and local news than those with stronger skills. Only 25 percent of those with basic English language skills consumed Canadian media, compared to roughly half of those with stronger skills. Similarly, only 29 percent of those with basic skills consume local media, compared to slightly less than half of those with stronger skills. As was the case in the Chinese and Latin American communities, those with weaker language skills were also the most likely to rely exclusively on Somali language media sources to access Canadian and local news content. 4 percent of those with basic skills, and 7 percent of those with intermediate skills relied exclusively on Somali language media to access Canadian news content, compared to 3 percent of those with advanced skills. The gap is more pronounced for local news, where 13 percent of those with basic skills, and 12 percent of those with intermediate skills relied exclusively on Somali language sources, compared to only 3 percent for those with advanced language skills. Once again, the data suggest that those with the weakest language skills are the most vulnerable to being under-informed, and are the most dependent on the quality of ECM for their informational needs.

Immigration category was not strongly related to different Canadian and local news consumption habits. Family class immigrants were slightly more likely to consume Canadian news than those who arrived as refugees, and those who arrived as refugees were slightly more likely to consume Canadian news than those who immigrated through the economic class. None of those who immigrated through the economic class reported relying exclusively on Somali language media to access Canadian news, compared to 8 percent of those who immigrated through the family class, and 4 percent of those who arrived as refugees. The situation was reversed for local news consumption, where economic immigrants were the most likely to rely exclusively on Somali language media to access local news. Fully 13 percent of economic class immigrants relied exclusively on

Somali language media to access local news. The only other demographic with such an elevated exclusive reliance on Somali language media is among those with basic English language skills. My only hypothesis is that economic class Somali immigrants could be more heavily involved within the local Somali community, which could explain why their preference for a Somali focus in local news.

Consumption of both Canadian news and local news was lowest among newcomers peaked among those who arrived between the years of 2000 and 2010, but remained between 42 and 51 percent for those who arrived before the year 2000. Exclusive reliance on Somali language media to access Canadian and local news content hovered around the 4 to 5 percent averages, except in the case of local media consumption for those who arrived between 2000 and 2009, in which case it spiked to 10 percent. I cannot explain this anomaly at this time.

Finally, whether or not respondents had children was not related to different levels of consumption of Canadian and local news, but it was associated to different ratios of Somali language and mainstream media use. Respondents with children were more likely to access Canadian and local news through Somali language media, and more likely to do so exclusively. 21 percent of respondents with children accessed Canadian and local news through Somali language media compared to 9 percent of those without children, and 6 percent of those with children did so exclusively compared to 3 percent of those without children. If we look at local media consumption, we see that 25 percent of those with children accessed local media through Somali language sources compared to 8 percent of those without children, and 9 percent did so exclusively, compared to 4 percent without children. A possible explanation of greater consumption of ECM among parents is that parents want to share their cultural heritage with their children, and may be leveraging ECM in their efforts.

Conclusion

As explained at the outset of this chapter, my first goal was to determine how many people in each of the three communities actually consume ethno-cultural/country

of origin audio-visual media and local ethno-cultural print media, and how often. For audio-visual media, I wanted to assess how many people in each community consume ethno-cultural/country of origin audio-visual media to see if the numbers were high enough to be considered salient, and to warrant further analysis. I found that they were; close to 50 percent or more of newcomers in each community reported that they frequently or occasionally watched ethno-cultural/country of origin audio-visual media. Having found this type of media to be consumed by such a large portion of newcomers, I proceeded to a more in-depth analysis of respondents' media consumption habits.

In this first section of the chapter, I also wanted to assess how many people from each community frequently and occasionally read local ethno-cultural print media, as I posit that the potential of ECM to both hinder and facilitate integration is only salient to the extent that respondents, especially newcomers, consume this type of media. Despite the fact that ethno-cultural print media consumption generally increased with length of stay in Canada, I found that many of the newcomers in two of the three communities frequently or occasionally consumed such media; 40 percent of Chinese newcomers, and 20 percent of Latin American newcomers reported that they often or occasionally consumed local ethno-cultural print media. Only in the Somali community was the portion of newcomer consumption less salient, with 7 percent of Somali newcomers reporting that they often or occasionally read local Somali language media. Overall then, there can be no question that local ethno-cultural print media has the potential to facilitate newcomer integration. However, such media could also have the potential of providing a skewed or incomplete perception of Ottawa and Canada to readers who do not supplement their consumption of ECM with consumption of mainstream media. I therefore proceeded to a more in-depth analysis of consumers' media consumption, which is summarised below. Given the demonstrated salience of this type of media, I will also engage in a content analysis of popular local and or Canadian Chinese, Latin American, and Somali publications, which will be presented in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

My second set of goals was to assess how many respondents from each community accessed a variety of media contents (international news, Canadian news, local news, entertainment & movies, and cultural & religious programs) through ethno-cultural/country of origin media alone, through a combination of ethno-cultural/country of origin media and mainstream media, and through mainstream media alone. I also wanted to assess how consumption habits of these types of media content varied in different demographic segments (sex, age, English language skills, category of immigration, length of stay in Canada, and parental status) of each community, in order to gain a sense of which demographic groups in each community were most vulnerable. Again, I posited that those who relied exclusively on ethno-cultural and country of origin media were the most vulnerable to receiving potentially skewed or incomplete information about the political, economic, and social issues affecting their city and country of settlement, and of missing out on potentially helpful integrative information. Although it would be impractical to repeat all of the findings here, I summarize some of the key findings.

Across all three communities, entertainment & movies were by far the most popular types of media content, and were also one of the most common types of content accessed both exclusively and in part through ethno-cultural/country of origin media. The second most popular type of content in all three communities was international news, which vied with entertainment & movies as the most common types of content accessed both exclusively and in part through ethno-cultural/country of origin media. Accordingly, the data strongly supports the notion that immigrants and ethno-cultural communities use ECM to keep up-to-date with their countries of origin, and to access culturally appealing entertainment. That being said, explicitly cultural and/or religious programming was the least popular type of content in all three communities.

After it became evident that international news was more popular in each community than Canadian and local news, I assessed if this preference changed in favour of Canadian and local news as length of stay in Canada increased. My logic was that as length of stay in Canada increased, respondents' affective ties to Ottawa, and Canada

might increase, and that their affective ties to their country of origin might decrease so as to bring about an evening out of international, Canadian, and local news consumption. This hypothesis was not borne out by the data. Instead, what I found is that while consumption of Canadian and local news did rise, so did consumption of international news. Not only did consumption on international news increase with length of stay in Canada in every community except the Chinese community, use of ethno-cultural/country of origin media to access international either stayed stable or increased in every community except the Chinese community. Moreover, use of ethno-cultural/country of origin media to access both Canadian and local news also rose in all three of the communities, with the exception of Canadian news in the Chinese community. This leads me to conclude that immigrants' affective ties may multiply rather than switch from one place to another as length of stay in Canada increases, which hints at the complex feeling of multilocal belonging described by ECM scholars, as discussed in Chapter Two. Increase in use of Canadian and local ECM to access Canadian and local news content could also be hinting at the development of affective ties to a local and Canadian ethno-cultural community.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Canadian media researchers have expressed concern that ECM could leave their consumers misinformed and under-informed about their city and country of settlement. I posited that this potential shortfall of ECM consumption is only possible to the extent that immigrants and members of ethno-cultural communities, especially newcomers, consume this type of media to the exclusion of mainstream media. Simply put, if respondents consume a combination of ethno-cultural and mainstream media they are much less vulnerable to any potential shortcomings in either type of media. With this in mind I set out to assess the portion of respondents in each community who accessed Canadian and local news media exclusively through ECM compared to those who relied on a combination of mainstream and ECM. I found that the great majority of those who consumed Canadian and local news did so either exclusively through mainstream media, or through a combination of mainstream and ECM. In other

words, I found that the great majority of our respondents were not vulnerable to potentially skewed or incomplete information provided in ECM.

Nonetheless, I also found that a small portion of each community, which varied from 4 to 5 percent in the Latin American and Somali communities, to 16 to 17 percent in the Chinese community, relied exclusively on ECM to access Canadian and local news. Having no other media source of Canadian and local news, these respondents are likely much more vulnerable to the potential shortcomings of ECM, and stand to gain the most from improved integrative content. I was also surprised to find that many of respondents in each community did not consume any Canadian or local news at all. These respondents are likely the most vulnerable to being under-informed about their city and country of settlement, but it is not within the scope of this thesis to investigate non-consumption of media. I therefore focused my efforts in gaining a better understanding of the demographic characteristics of those who rely exclusively on ECM to access Canadian and local news.

Respondents' sex was not associated with markedly different Canadian and local media consumption habits. With the exception of the Latin American community, female respondents were slightly less likely to consume Canadian and local news than male respondents. Women in the Chinese community were slightly more likely to rely exclusively on ECM, but this was not the case in the other two communities.

Immigration category was more strongly related to different Canadian and local media consumption habits. Overall, family class immigrants were less likely to consume Canadian and local news, and more likely to access it exclusively through ECM. International students were generally less likely to consume Canadian and local news than immigrants.

Whether respondents had children was very strongly related with different Canadian and local news consumption habits. Across all three communities, respondents with children were more likely to consume international news than those without. With the exception of the Latin American community, respondents with children were much

more likely to access Canadian and local news through ECM, and more likely to do so exclusively through ECM. While the desire to share cultural heritage with children may to some extent explain these differences, it is unfortunate that parents are made more vulnerable to being less well informed about their city and country of settlement than those without children. Aside from the greater ease and convenience of accessing news in one's mother tongue, I can think of no other explanation for this pattern.

Age was the most strongly associated with different media consumption habits. Though older respondents, those who are 60 years of age or more, were generally among the most likely to consume Canadian and local news, they were also much more likely than younger respondents to consume such news exclusively through ECM. Almost all the older Chinese community respondents who consumed Canadian and local news did so exclusively through Chinese language media. Older respondents from the Latin American community were also much more likely to rely exclusively on ECM to access Canadian and local news. Only in the Somali community were older respondents not more likely rely exclusively on ECM. Overall, the data suggested fairly strongly that seniors in the Latin American, South Asian, and especially in the Chinese communities were the most vulnerable demographic in terms of media consumption habits.

As was expected, level of skill in English was also very strongly associated with different media consumption habits. As a rule, in all three communities, the weaker the respondents' English language skills, the more likely they were to rely exclusively on ECM to access Canadian and local news. Those with the weakest language skills were also generally less likely to consume Canadian and local news than other respondents, therefore making them among the most vulnerable demographics.

Overall then, although the media consumption habits of a portion of each community indicates that some demographics groups are more vulnerable than others, particularly those with weaker English language skills, seniors, family class immigrants, and those with children, the great majority of respondents made use of a combination of ethno-cultural and mainstream media to access Canadian news content. In other words,

rather than being made vulnerable by their consumption of ethno-cultural and country of origin media, as is the concern of many ECM and immigrant integration researchers, most of the respondents who consume ECM are likely to be better informed than those who rely on a less diversified media diet.

CHAPTER 4 - EXPLORING THE USES AND
GRATIFICATIONS OF ETHNO-CULTURAL AND
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN MEDIA IN OTTAWA'S CHINESE,
LATIN AMERICAN, AND SOMALI COMMUNITIES

In Chapter Three, I focused on the types of media consumed by members of Ottawa's Chinese, Latin American, and Somali communities, and demonstrated that they consume a wide variety of media, including local and Canadian mainstream media, local and Canadian ECM, international media, and country of origin media. In this chapter, I explore why members of these three communities consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media.

The chapter is divided in three parts. In the first part, I explore respondents' feeling of representation in mainstream media in order to gain a sense of what role these feelings may play in their media consumption choices. In the second part, I employ a uses and gratifications approach to analyse part of the OMMI 2012 Survey data in order to gain a better understanding of why respondents consume this type of media and what kinds of needs they are trying to meet through ethno-cultural and country of origin media consumption. Specifically, I begin by assessing to what extent respondents use ethno-cultural and country of origin media to access information which could contribute to their basic settlement, engagement in the civic and political life of their country and city of settlement, and social integration. I then proceed to explore how respondents might be using ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to meet their affective and cultural needs, which may support their long term integration by easing the process of transition. Finally, in the third and last part of the chapter, I begin to assess what immigrant's use of ethno-cultural and country of origin media reveals about such media's contribution to the collective capacity of local ethno-cultural communities to facilitate the settlement and integration of newcomers to Ottawa.

Part 1: Feelings of representation in Mainstream media

In Chapter Two we saw that mainstream media generally under-represents and misrepresents ethno-cultural minorities in Canada. When represented on the news and entertainment media, ethno-cultural minorities are generally stereotyped, often negatively as problem people, and this can have an extremely negative impact on people's self-esteem, self-confidence, self-perception, sense of belonging, sense of

possibility for the future, and ability to fully integrate as Canadians (Berns-McGown, 2013; Fleras, 2009; Fleras, 2011; Fleras and Kuntz, 2001; Ojo, 2006). With this in mind, I analysed the responses to the 2012 OMMI Survey question '*In English and/or French language media, do you feel represented?*'. The survey provided five response options to this question - a. Completely; b. Just enough; c. Not Sure; d. A little; e. Not at all – which should provide an indication of the extent to which respondents felt represented in mainstream media. We know from the research cited above that ethno-cultural minorities are under-represented and misrepresented in mainstream media, but we do not know if given communities *feel* under-represented and misrepresented. The 2012 OMMI survey data provides a geographically and ethno-culturally circumscribed answer to this question.

Canadian media scholars also argue that ethno-cultural and country of origin media can serve to protect ethno-cultural minorities by creating a space where we can see ourselves, our ethnicity, our culture, and our religion portrayed in a positive manner (Charmarkeh, 2009; Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010; Fleras, 2009; Ojo, 2006). Although the survey did not directly ask respondents if they consumed ethno-cultural and country of origin media because they did not feel represented in mainstream media, or because they were trying to counter misrepresentation in mainstream media, the answer to the question on representation analysed here can be taken as an indirect indication of why respondents may choose to consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media. If most respondents feel completely represented, then it is unlikely that they consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to counter under-representation and misrepresentation in mainstream media. If, on the other hand, the survey reveals widespread and strong feelings of not being represented in mainstream media, then it is likely that part of respondents' motivation for consuming ethno-cultural and country of origin media is to access positive representations of their communities.

Chart 4.1 depicts respondents' feeling of representation in English and French language media in Canada³. As we can see, a large portion of the respondents, nearly a third, indicated that they were not sure about whether or not they felt represented in mainstream media. Aside from those who were not sure, respondents who indicated that they felt either completely represented, or represented just enough were much less numerous than those who did not feel adequately represented. 6 percent of respondents felt completely represented, and 14 percent felt represented just enough (see Chart 4.1), meaning that 20 percent felt adequately represented. Although I do not have comparative data for feelings of media representation among Canada's more longstanding minority populations, such as Acadians, French Canadians outside Québec, First Nations, Inuit, and Métis people, I would be very surprised to find that as many as 6 percent would report feeling completely represented. Still, the portion of respondents who reported feeling just 'a little' represented and 'not at all' represented was much greater; 21 percent answered 'a little', and 28 percent answered 'not at all'. Together, this amounts to nearly 50 percent of respondents who reported not feeling adequately represented. The data points to a dissatisfaction with mainstream media, and provides some support for the hypothesis that the need for more valorising and personally relevant media may to some extent explain why minority ethno-cultural communities turn to ethno-cultural and country of origin media.

Comparison of the three communities

If we compare the responses across the Chinese, Latin American, and Somali communities, we see that the feeling of not being represented in mainstream media holds in each of the three communities, but that there are considerable differences between the three (see Chart 4.2). The feeling of being not at all represented is strongest among members of the Somali community and weakest among members of the Chinese

³ The question on representation is set in a survey asking about ethno-cultural media, so it is taken as a given that respondents understood the questions as asking about their feeling of being represented as an ethno-cultural group.

community. Though there is no way to verify why this is the case, it seems probable that the types of stereotypes and prejudices commonly held about each community could to some extent explain the differences.

Though stereotypes about Chinese people abound in Canada, many of these have been described by researchers as positive stereotypes in the sense that they portray the community in a positive, or at least privileged position. For example, Li and Wang (2008) identify common positive stereotypes of Chinese people, such as being hardworking, good at math, and skilled with computers. Though such stereotypes can and do still have negative consequences, for example a Chinese student struggling in math may not receive the help she needs because she is 'supposed to be good at math', they are less negative than the stereotypes commonly held about Latin American and Somali people. Another point to consider is that the Canadian Chinese population has been established in Canada for much longer, and is much more numerous than the Latin American and Somali populations. Accordingly, they have had more time and more demographic weight to weave themselves into the popular imagination in a more nuanced way.

In contrast to the prejudices held about Chinese people, stereotypes about Latin Americans tend to be based on representations of 'Latinos' in the US media (Whittaker, 1988). Accordingly, Latin Americans are often stereotyped as being poor and uneducated migrant workers, and as gang members (Whittaker, 1988). Well educated wealthier Latin Americans are simply generally not represented in mainstream media, so it is not surprising that a great number of the Latin American survey respondents would not feel represented in mainstream media.

The stereotypes about Somali people are by far the most negative. All of the stereotypes about refugees, Muslims, and racialized people are concentrated in one community (Berns-McGown, 2013; Charmarkeh, 2012). Rima Berns-McGown explains the way that Somali people have been portrayed in the Canadian media since their initial arrival as refugees in the late 1980s and early 1990s:

When they arrived, they were further horrified: they found themselves in cold places, met by a barrage of hostile media and suspicion (see Christmas 1993; Stoffman 1995). They were assumed to be looking for an excuse to freeload on Canadian generosity; they were assumed to prefer “First World” Canada to “Third World” Somalia. They were bewildered by these assumptions and perplexed that anyone would think that they had willingly traded a life of sunshine, fresh food and relative wealth for a cramped existence in the grim, grey apartment complexes of Etobikoke and Scarborough.

They were viewed – and portrayed in the media – as strange people with strange habits. They were depicted as unfamiliar with technology and Canadian transit systems. They ate with their hands. They circumcised their daughters at the age of eight or nine. They had multiple wives. They were both black and Muslim. They were secretive and did not talk to non-Somalis. They were keen to live off Canadian taxpayers and not pay for what they took. They were prone to violence. (Berns-McGown, 2013, p.6)

Although most of the first to arrive had been wealthy and educated, they were not, and still are not, portrayed that way, and the flourishing of the Somali diaspora in Canada tends to be ignored in favour of news stories focusing on crime and continued turmoil in Somalia, especially since the 9/11 attacks (Berns-McGown, 2013). Today, the Somali community, especially its young men, tends to be portrayed in one of two ways, either in association with violence, drugs, and gangs, or with violent, radical extremist al-Qaeda terrorism (Berns-McGown, 2013). Against this backdrop it is not surprising that Somali respondents were most likely to feel not at all represented in mainstream media.

Comparison of female and male respondents

Data comparing the responses of female and male respondents revealed that female respondents were more likely to feel inadequately represented in mainstream media; only 19 percent of female respondents felt at least ‘a little’ represented compared to 27 percent male respondents, and 30 percent of female respondents felt not at all represented compared to 24 percent of male respondents (see Chart 4.3). This difference is not surprising given that women in general tend to be severely underrepresented across news and entertainment media, and that racialized women tend to be even more severely underrepresented than those who are not (Burton, 2015).

Comparison by Age

Over 60 percent of older respondents reported being unsure about whether or not they felt represented in mainstream media (see Chart 4.4). Those over 60 years of age were also much less likely to feel represented than younger respondents; only 3 percent felt represented 'just enough', and none felt completely represented. This could in part be attributed to the fact that older respondents had much lower official language skills than younger respondents, which means that they may not be consuming much mainstream media, and/or not understanding the mainstream media that they do consume. As we can see in Chart 4.5, those with lower English language skills were, in general, more likely to feel unsure about whether or not they felt represented. The data in Part 2 of this chapter provides some support for this hypothesis (see Chart 4.4). Older respondents were dramatically more likely than other respondents to consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media because they did not understand English and French, they were much more likely to consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media on a regular basis, and they were much more likely to consume these media than younger respondents across all content categories. Another possible explanation is that they may feel excluded and misrepresented by ageist representations in these media (Lagacé, 2008).

Younger respondents were more likely to feel adequately or at least 'a little' represented; 6 to 8 percent felt completely represented, 14 to 16 percent felt represented just enough, and 21 to 24 percent felt at least 'a little' represented. At the same time, younger respondents were also the most likely to feel 'not at all represented'; between 28 to 32 percent did so (see Chart 4.4). This finding is of some concern given that younger respondents are also more likely to have been born in Canada, or to have been raised in Canada. As such, they stand to have the greatest sense of belonging in Canada and, as Chart 4.5 shows, to have a high level of English proficiency, meaning that their feeling of not being represented cannot be attributed to a lack of understanding, as was the case for the older respondents. When I analysed the feeling of being represented in mainstream media among respondents who had been born in Canada, the data confirmed

most felt inadequately represented, meaning that feeling of not being represented remain strong into the second generation (see Chart 4.7).

Comparison by level of English Language Proficiency

As noted above, those with lower language proficiency are more likely to report being unsure about whether or not they feel represented in mainstream media (see Chart 4.6). Overall, they were also less likely to feel represented than those with better language skills. This can likely be attributed to the fact that, not understanding English very well, they are unlikely to even understand the content of mainstream media. If we look at the data for those with the highest level of English proficiency, an interesting finding emerges; though those with the highest level of English proficiency were the most likely to feel completely represented, 9 percent did so, they were also the most likely to feel not at all represented, 33 percent did so (see Chart 4.6). In fact, the feeling of being ‘not at all’ represented increased as level of English language proficiency increased, meaning that the more respondents were likely to understand mainstream media, the less they felt represented in this media.

Comparison by Time of Arrival

Overall, those who have been in Canada the longest were less likely to report being unsure about whether or not they feel represented in Canadian media (see Chart 4.7). With the exception of recent newcomers (those who arrived between 2010 and 2012), respondents were much more likely to feel ‘not at all’ represented than ‘completely’ represented, represented ‘just enough’ or even represented ‘a little’. As was the case with the data comparing the responses of people with different levels of English language proficiency, the data reveals a slight polarization of feelings of representation by time of arrival. The longer respondents had been in Canada, the more likely they were to report feeling completely represented, which would be really positive from an integration perspective if it were not for the fact that they were also the most likely to report feeling ‘not at all’ represented.

Comparison by Parental Status

If we look at the data comparing parents' feeling of being represented in mainstream media with that of respondents who did not have children, we see that parents were less likely to feel represented in mainstream media than those without children (see Chart 4.8). Fewer of parents felt 'completely' represented, 4 percent did so compared to 9 percent of those without children, fewer felt represented 'just enough', 13 percent of parents did so compared to 15 percent of those without children, and fewer parents felt even just 'a little' represented, 20 percent did so compared to 23 percent of those without children. Parents were also more likely to feel 'not at all' represented, 30 percent did so, compared to 27 percent of those without children. While the differences are not very pronounced, they do point to a slight change in mind-set among those who have children. It could be that those with children are more attuned and attentive to issues of media representation because they are thinking of the environment in which their children are growing, and are concerned about the media representation of their country and region of origin, culture, ethnicity, and in some cases religion. Thanks to Rima Berns-McGown's research, we know that this is a very important consideration in the Somali community, where parents are extremely concerned for the future of their children, and are intent on providing strong and positive models to counter the racism that their children endure in Canada (2013). Such feelings may also to some extent be at play in the other two communities.

Media Representation Summary:

Overall, nearly a third of respondents felt that they were 'not at all' represented in mainstream media, and approximately half felt that they were inadequately represented. This feeling held across all three ethno-cultural communities, but was strongest in the Somali community, where nearly 40 percent reported feeling 'not at all' represented. Being racialized and Muslim, members of this community endure the most negative stereotypes and prejudices of the three communities (Berns-McGown, 2013). These negative perceptions are often reproduced and reinforced by mainstream news and

entertainment media (Berns-McGown, 2013), which could explain why so many in this community do not feel adequately represented.

Ideally, feelings of not being represented would diminish as the process of political, economic, social, and affective integration progresses, but the data revealed a more complicated reality. Although those with higher language skills, and those who had been living in Canada the longest were the most likely to report feeling completely represented, they were also the most likely to report that they did not feel represented at all. In fact, they were three times more likely to report not feeling represented at all than they were to report feeling completely represented. In other words, the more respondents knew and understood mainstream media, the less they felt represented. This is significant, because it suggests that mainstream media are not adequately representative, and are not meeting the needs of ethno-cultural minority populations.

Parents were more likely to feel inadequately represented than those without children. I hypothesised that this might be because, as parents, they are understandably more attuned to and concerned about the media representation of their culture, ethnicity, and religion. It would seem that this greater concern is well placed, given that the data also showed that those who were born and raised in Canada were among the most likely to feel that they were not at all represented in mainstream media.

Taken as a whole, the data points to a high level of dissatisfaction with mainstream media, and provides some support for the hypothesis that the need for more valorising and personally relevant media may to some extent explain why minority ethno-cultural communities turn to ethno-cultural and country of origin media. The data also points to a failure of integration. As discussed in Chapter Two, integration is a two-way street requiring effort on the part of both immigrants and the receiving society. These findings combined with existing research on the representation of ethno-cultural minorities in mainstream media, strongly suggest Canada's mainstream media producers, are failing to integrate.

Part 2: Uses and Gratifications Analysis

In Chapter Three we saw that survey respondents mostly used ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to access content which was not available in Canada's mainstream programming, namely entertainment media and country of origin news. While this adds to our knowledge of what kind of content immigrants seek in such media, it tells us very little of their motivations, of the reasons why they seek out this type of content. Canadian media researchers, such as Faiza Hirji (2006) and Houssein Charmarkeh (2010), have emphasized the need for additional research on the ways that ethno-cultural and country of origin media is used by people, and on why people consume such media. As discussed in the second chapter, this approach to media research is based on Uses and Gratifications Theory. As opposed to media effect theories, which focus on content to understand what media does to people, Uses and Gratifications Theory is an audience focused approach which seeks to understand what people do with media, why they use it, and how. These questions will be at the heart of this section. By gaining more insight into why respondents from the three communities consume ECM and country of origin media, we may also gain insight into the ways in which consumption of such media may have the potential to support immigrants as they settle-in and take root in Ottawa, and to help them develop a sense of belonging as members of their ethno-cultural communities, and as residents of Ottawa.

As we saw in Chapter Three, consumption of local ECM increases as length of stay in Canada increases. I hypothesised that this may indicate the development of feeling of belonging to the local ethno-cultural community over time. As we have just seen in the previous section, feelings of representation in mainstream media decrease with length of stay in Canada, which could suggest another layer of explanation for why local ECM increased the longer respondents had been in Canada. As dissatisfaction with mainstream media increases, use of ethno-cultural and country of origin media to satisfy unmet needs may increase. For example, Canadian researchers have found that members of ethno-cultural minorities may consume such media to meet a wide variety of needs, such as the need for integrative information, for information and analysis on events in the country of

origin, in order to sustain cultural heritage or to discover their roots, etc. (Ahadi & Murray, 2009; Charmarkeh, 2010; Fleras, 2011, Hirji, 2006).

In this section, I analyse the responses to a question in the 2012 OMMI Survey which asked respondents why they chose to watch media in their mother-tongue or heritage language. Specifically, the question asked respondents why they had chosen to purchase, or were planning on purchasing, Chinese/Spanish/Somali language cable, satellite, or internet channels, and provided 16 response options, listed here (see OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b):

1. I enjoy them
2. Canadian programming is not interesting
3. They bring family together
4. They help me with the language
5. I do not understand the language of Canadian programs
6. They tell me about Chinese/Latin American/Somali culture
7. They make me feel part of the Chinese/Latin American/Somali community
8. They remind me of life back in my country of origin
9. They tell me about religion
10. My parents and/or grandparents like me to watch them
11. To teach my children/family about my home country and culture
12. I get information about City of Ottawa services and activities
13. I get practical information about life in Canada (doctors, lawyers, food stores etc.)
14. I learn about Ottawa in my language
15. No clear reason
16. Other:

Some of these responses are here employed as proxies for media use to facilitate the different facets of integration, to meet affective and cultural needs, and to contribute to some of the components of collective capacity outlined in Chapter Two. Below I provide

a table listing each of the responses and broader categories for which they are used as a proxy.

Why do you consume this type of media?

Survey response	Proxy for	Use to facilitate different facets of integration
1. I do not understand the language of Canadian programs	➤	• Poor English language skills
2. I get info about City of Ottawa services and activities	➤	• Basic settlement • Civic and political engagement • Social integration • Acculturation
3. I get practical information about life in Canada	➤	• Basic settlement • Civic and political engagement • Social integration • Acculturation
4. I learn about Ottawa in my language	➤	• Basic settlement • Civic and political engagement
Survey response	Proxy for	Use to meet affective and cultural needs
5. They remind me of life back in my country of origin	➤	• Addressing feelings of nostalgia
6. They bring family together	➤	• Intergenerational bonding
7. To teach my family about my home country/culture	➤	• Intergenerational transmission of cultural heritage

8. They tell me about Chinese/Latin American/Somali culture	➤	- Ethno-cultural identity exploration and formation - Maintaining a positive sense of ethno-cultural and national heritage
9. They help me with the language	➤	- Ethno-cultural identity exploration and formation - Maintaining a positive sense of ethno-cultural and national heritage
10. They tell me about religion	➤	- Ethno-cultural identity exploration and formation - Maintaining a positive sense of ethno-cultural and national heritage
11. They make me feel part of the Chinese/Latin American/Somali community	➤	Desire to discover and to belong to a local ethno-cultural community ** Network of interaction

Use of ECM in order to obtain information about Ottawa and Canada:

In this section, I seek to understand to what extent respondents used ECM in order to access the type of content which could facilitate the integration process. Specifically, I look at the following responses to the 2012 OMMI Survey question, *‘Why do you consume this type of media?’* (see OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b):

1. Don’t understand the language of Canadian programs;
2. I get information about City of Ottawa services and activities;
3. I get practical information about life in Canada; and
4. I learn about Ottawa in my language

Response one provides a good proxy for the official language skills of the respondents. Responses two, three, and four are here used as proxies for various elements of integration as outlined above.

Those who selected response number one likely have very poor official language skills, and as such could stand to benefit the most from using ECM in order to obtain information about Ottawa and Canada. Responses two, three, and four identify the desire to obtain information about Ottawa and Canada as a motivation for consuming ECM. Though imperfect, I am using it as a proxy for the desire to access content which could help in the process of integration, specifically in the process of basic settlement, civic and political engagement, social integration, and acculturation.

An important consideration to keep in mind is that, as it was asked in the survey, the question only applied to why respondents who had purchased, or were planning to purchase Chinese/Spanish/Somali language media cable, satellite, or internet channels. These types of media are less likely to contain much local content, and in many cases do not contain much Canadian content. Given the low level of local and Canadian content, it should be expected that responses two, three, and four would not figure prominently among respondents' motivations for consuming Chinese/Spanish/Somali language television media. Nevertheless, I chose to include these responses because it is the only question where the survey asked respondents *why* they consumed ethno-cultural and country of origin media. Other questions, which will be discussed in Chapter Five, asked respondents what kind of content ECM help them keep up to date with, and which sources they relied on to obtain information on City of Ottawa services. Responses to these questions help us to understand what kind of content respondents consume in various media, but they do not really speak to their motivations. This question asks *why*, while questions analysed in Chapter Five address *what* and *where*.

Nearly a quarter of respondents indicated that they consume this type of media because they simply do not understand English and French language media (see Chart 4.9). This is a very large portion of respondents to this question, and makes the need for integrative content in ECM all the more important. Yet the data suggests that the obtention of integrative content does not figure very prominently in respondents' motives for consuming ethno-cultural television media. This is not to say that ECM in general are not an important source of information on Ottawa and Canada, a questions

which is addressed in Chapter Five, but only that it is not one of the main motivations for consuming ethno-cultural television. This makes sense given that this type of media often does not contain much local and Canadian content, and that respondents tend to make greater use of ethno-cultural and country of origin media to access content which is not available in mainstream media, and to make greater use of mainstream media to access content about Ottawa and Canada (See Chapter Three). Still, between 5 to 8 percent of all respondents indicated consuming ECM specifically in order to obtain this kind of information, which is not an insignificant number considering that these media are not a good source for content about Ottawa and Canada (see Chart 4.9). Below, I seek to gain more insight into which demographic groups are most likely to use ECM for integrative content.

Comparison of the three communities

If we look at the data comparing responses across the three ethno-cultural populations, we see that Chinese respondents are by far the most likely of the three communities to report that they consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media because they do not understand the language of mainstream programming; 40 percent did so, compared to only 4 percent of Latin American respondents, and 9 percent of Somali respondents (see Chart 4.10). One might have expected this substantial difference between the responses of the three demographic groups to translate into noticeably different portions of each population reporting that they consume ECM in order to obtain information about Ottawa and Canada, specifically one might expect to find that the Chinese respondents would be more motivated than respondents from the other three communities to consume ECM to access this type of content, but this is not the case. In fact, the portion of respondents reporting that they consume ECM in order to obtain information about Ottawa and Canada is remarkably similar across all three populations, ranging between 4 and 9 percent of each group (see Chart 4.10). It would appear then that there is no connection between poor English language skills and use of ECM in order to access the kind of content which is most likely to contain integrative information.

Comparison by level of English Language Proficiency

The conclusion that use of ECM for integrative purposes is not associated with poor English language skills is supported by the data looking at motivations for ECM consumption among respondents possessing different levels of English language skills. Those with little to no English language skills were not more likely to consume ECM in order to obtain information about Ottawa, and Canada; in fact, they were among the least likely to do so (see Chart 4.11). Those who were most likely to use this type of media to access information about Ottawa and Canada were those with intermediate English language skills, between 8 and 13 percent did so (see Chart 4.11). Those with advanced English language skills were slightly less likely to do so, between 5 to 8 percent did, but were more likely to do so than those with poor English language skills (see Chart 4.11).

Comparison by Time of Arrival

The finding that respondents who are likely to have the greatest need are not the most likely to consume ECM in order to access integrative content might seem counter intuitive from a short-term settlement and integration perspective, but it makes more sense if we think of it from the perspective of long-term integration. Many of those who possess advanced and intermediate English language skills have been living in Canada for a longer time, and therefore would conceivably develop a greater interest in local and Canadian content as their affective ties to Canada and Ottawa increase. The data looking at the responses of those who arrived in different decades support this hypothesis. It is the immigrants who have been here the longest who reported using this media to obtain information about Ottawa and Canada in the greatest numbers (see Chart 4.12). Between 16 and 21 percent did so, compared to only 2 to 8 percent of those who arrived after 2010 (see Chart 4.12). Though this does not provide support for strategies of communicating important settlement and integration information to newcomers through ethno-cultural television, it does suggest that immigrants to Ottawa take an increasing interest in local and Canadian matters the longer they live here, which is very positive from a long-term integration perspective.

Comparison of female and male respondents

Are any of the other variables (sex, age, having children) connected to greater or lesser use of ethno-cultural television media to access content about Canada and Ottawa? Female respondents were slightly more likely to identify the obtention of information about Ottawa and Canada as a motivation for consuming ethno-cultural television media (see Chart 4.13). Female respondents were more than twice as likely to be motivated to use this type of media by a desire to obtain information about City of Ottawa services and activities, 9 percent of female respondents did so compared to 4 percent of male respondents, and were slightly more likely to be motivated to use this media to obtain information learn about Ottawa and to get practical information about life in Canada than male respondents (see Chart 4.13). I am not sure why this is the case. My first hypothesis would have been that the discrepancy could be explained by the fact that more of the female respondents reported having poor English language skills, but as we saw above, lower English language skills are not associated with greater use of ethno-cultural television media in order to access information about Ottawa and Canada. One possibility is that female respondents spend more time in the home engaged in child rearing work than male respondents. 15 percent of female respondents reported being homemakers compared to 1 percent of male respondents, and these women likely have fewer opportunities to obtain information about Ottawa and Canada from other sources (see Table 4.1). Given that necessity did not seem to be a main motivation for consumption, however, this is not likely to be the reason for female respondents' greater use of these media. Another possibility is that since women generally play a greater role in the transmission of cultural heritage from one generation to the next, they are simply more likely than men to consume ECM in general (Berns-McGown, 2013; UNESCO 2005).

Comparison by Age

Age was not associated with greater use of ethno-cultural television media for the explicit purpose of obtaining information on Ottawa and Canada. Though those over 60 years of age were dramatically more likely to report consuming this type of media because they did not understand the language of mainstream media, 85 percent of those

over 60 did so compared to only 6 to 9 percent of younger respondents, they were slightly less likely than younger respondents to consume ethno-cultural television media in order to obtain information about Ottawa and Canada (see Chart 4.14). This might be attributable to the fact that 76 percent of respondents over 60 were retired and could conceivably be relying on their children in order to obtain information. Though there is no way to verify this hypothesis, we know that it is a common dynamic in immigrant families (Murphy & al., 2006). Younger respondents were only slightly more likely to turn to ECM with the intention of obtaining information on Ottawa and Canada, meaning that age associated with noticeably different ethno-cultural television media consumption practices.

Comparison by Parental Status

A Large portion of parents reported consuming ethno-cultural and country of origin television media because they did not understand the language of Canadian programs; 39 percent did so compared to only 4 percent of those without children (see Chart 4.15). This is of some concern given children's dependence on their parents to meet all of their needs. If 39 percent of immigrant parents do not master an official language well enough to follow mainstream television, it is likely that they are facing significant barriers in accessing information which is important for their wellbeing, settlement, and integration as well as that of their children. There is evidence that immigrant families overcome these barriers with the help of their children. As children tend to gain mastery of their new language much faster than their parents, they function as translators and interpreters for their parents (Faulstich Orellana, Dorner, and Pulido 2003). There were no noteworthy differences between those who had children and those who did not in their use of ethno-cultural television media to access information about Ottawa and Canada.

Integrative Use Summary

Overall, though a great many chose to watch Chinese/Spanish/Somali language media because they did not understand the language of Canadian programs, the percentage of respondents who indicated that they watched this type of media in order

to access information about Canada and Ottawa was relatively small, varying between 5 to 8 percent of respondents. Comparison of responses by sex, age, parental status did not reveal very noteworthy differences.

Though respondents from the Chinese community were by far the most likely to consume such media because they did not understand the language of Canadian programs, this did not translate into a greater propensity to use such media to access integrative content; numbers were remarkably similar across the three communities. As was the case in the Chinese community, respondents' level of English language skills was not associated with greater or lesser use of ECM to access information about Ottawa and Canada. In other words, the data analysed in this section did not provide strong support for the possibility that immigrants use ECM in order to access content which could facilitate their basic settlement in Ottawa and Canada. In fact, the data suggest that it was those least in need of integrative information who used this type of media to access information about Ottawa and Canada the most – those who had been living in Canada the longest. This suggests that they were accessing information about Ottawa and Canada through ethno-cultural and country of origin media for their perspective, rather than simply because they did not have the language skills to seek the information in mainstream media sources. As we will see in the following section, aside from those whose choices were constrained by poor English language skills, respondents had many other reasons for choosing to watch this type of media. The need for information about Ottawa and Canada simply did not figure very prominently in these motivations. Once again these findings should be taken with a grain of salt, as television media is unlikely to contain much integrative content. Chapter Five will provide a more nuanced analysis of this question.

Use of ECM in order to meet cultural and affective needs:

In this section I explore the affective reasons for which respondents chose to watch Chinese/Spanish/Somali media. Each of the survey responses listed below is used as a proxy for the following six motivations (see OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b):

1. Need to address feelings of nostalgia;
2. Desire to facilitate intergenerational bonding;

3. Desire on the part of parents to transmit their cultural heritage to their children;
4. Desire on the part of those born and/or raised in Canada to explore their ethno-cultural roots and to develop a hybrid ethno-cultural identity;
5. Maintaining a positive sense of ethno-cultural and national heritage; and
6. Desire to discover and to belong to a local ethno-cultural community.

Why do you consume this type of media?

Survey response	Proxy for	Use to meet affective and cultural needs
12. They remind me of life back in my country of origin	➤	• Addressing feelings of nostalgia
13. They bring family together	➤	• Intergenerational bonding
14. To teach my family about my home country/culture	➤	• Intergenerational transmission of cultural heritage
15. They tell me about Chinese/Latin American/Somali culture	➤	• Ethno-cultural identity exploration and formation • Maintaining a positive sense of ethno-cultural and national heritage
16. They help me with the language	➤	• Ethno-cultural identity exploration and formation • Maintaining a positive sense of ethno-cultural and national heritage
17. They tell me about religion	➤	• Ethno-cultural identity exploration and formation • Maintaining a positive sense of ethno-cultural and national heritage

18. They make me feel part of
the Chinese/Latin
American/Somali
community ➤

- Desire to discover and to
belong to a local ethno-
cultural community

** Network of interaction

In what follows, I analyse respondents' responses with the aim of better understanding why immigrants consume ECM.

Addressing Feelings of Nostalgia

One of the main reasons for consuming ethno-cultural and country of origin media discussed in the literature on the topic is that it can ease the culture shock, and nostalgia that often accompany settling in a new country (Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010; Dudrah, 2002; Hirji, 2010; Skop, 2009, Witteborn, 2012). Fleras explains that access to such media can help newcomers to more gently transition from their country of origin to their country of settlement (2011).

While the survey did not directly ask respondents if they consumed ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to help them deal with culture shock and nostalgia, one of the questions included in the survey could serve as a proxy. At first glance, they question which would appear to serve as the best proxy is question C.3, which asked respondents when they watched ethno-cultural and country of origin programs, and provided the following response options: a. *I watch these programs all the time/on a regular basis*; b. *Particular events back home*; c. *Homesickness periods*; d. *Religious Holidays*; e. *I only watch these programs*; and f. *Other*. Unfortunately, there is reason to suspect that the way the question was formulated prejudiced the answers - respondents who indicated that they watch this type of media *all the time* were less likely to select additional times when they watched, which leads me to suspect that the other responses may be underrepresented. For this reason, I use the response to question C.1, *They remind me of life back in my country of origin*, as a proxy for watching because of feelings of nostalgia.

This response was the most popular, being selected by slightly over a third of all respondents (see Chart 4.16). The data comparing responses across the three ethno-cultural communities shows that the desire to be reminded of life back in the country of origin figures prominently among the reasons for consuming this type of media in each of the three communities; 30 percent of Chinese respondents indicated that this is one of the reasons that they consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media, 40 percent of the Latin American respondents chose this response, as did 36 percent of Somali respondents (see Chart 4.17).

The differences in the use of such media to deal with feelings of nostalgia between the three communities is not clear, but there are some plausible hypotheses. Though most members of Ottawa's Chinese community arrived after the 1990s, they are part of a relatively old and well-established local ethno-cultural community. They have a long history in Ottawa, and have developed a range of cultural and service institutions to meet their needs. For this reason, it is likely that members of Ottawa's Chinese population have more options and resources for overcoming culture shock, and feelings of nostalgia than members of the Latin American and Somali communities.

Members of Ottawa's Latin American community, by contrast, are part of a much less numerous and well-established ethno-cultural identity. In fact, many Latin American immigrants do not self-identify as 'Latin American', especially when they first arrive in Canada, but rather as members of their individual countries of origin: Argentinian, Columbians, Guatemalan, Mexican, etc. The number of immigrants from each of these countries is very small when compared to the number of immigrants from China. For this reason, Ottawa's Latin American community tends to be quite fragmented, and has not yet created the kinds of well-resourced supports found in the Chinese community. Moreover, Spanish speakers have access to a great diversity of Spanish language programming in North America, because of the large Spanish speaking population south of the Canadian border. Taken together it is likely that Latin American respondents' greater use of ethno-cultural and country of origin media to ease feelings of nostalgia can be

attributed to the lesser number of local resources on the one hand, and to the wide availability of Spanish language media on the other (see Chart 4.17).

Nearly as many Somali respondents reported using ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this purpose (see Chart 4.17). The Somali community in Ottawa is much smaller than that of both the Chinese and Latin American communities. Despite their smaller size and the very challenging circumstances under which they arrived in Ottawa, they have created some local organizations and resources to meet their needs, such as places of worship and the Somali Centre for Family Services. Still, these are small compared to those of the Chinese community, which could partly explain their greater use of ethno-cultural and country of origin media to deal with feelings of nostalgia. Unlike Ottawa's Spanish speaking community, however, Somali respondents do not have access to varied, high quality, and easily accessible Somali media sources. Given this reality, one might have expected use of such media to meet affective needs in the Somali community to be lower, on average, than in the Chinese and Latin American communities, but nothing could be further from the truth. It is clear from Somali respondents' answers that many make use of Somali media to meet diverse affective and informational needs.

If we look at the data comparing the answers of female and male respondents (see Chart 4.17), we see that female respondents were more likely to consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media because it reminded them of life back in their country of origin than were male respondents: 39 percent of female respondents did so, compared to 25 percent of male respondents. Taken on its own this finding would be difficult to interpret, but when placed in the context of the findings discussed in this chapter, it becomes clear that women tend to seek out ethno-cultural content more than do men. This could be explained by the greater role that women tend to play in the maintenance, renewal, and transmission of cultural heritage (Berns-McGown, 2013; UNESCO, 2005). Playing this important role in their families and communities, women could feel the needs to be more attracted to, immersed in, and knowledgeable about ethno-cultural content. Another possible explanation is that women may be more likely to be in charge of shopping for the family, and may be seeking out information about where to purchase

goods and foods that are difficult to find or more expensive in non-ethno-cultural community specific stores.

If we compare the answers of respondents in different age groups (see Chart 4.17) we see that younger respondents are less likely to consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media because it reminds them of their country of origin than are older respondents; 26 percent of those aged 18 to 29 reported doing so, compared to 40 percent of those aged 30 to 59, and 35 percent of those aged 60 and over. Part of this difference can likely be attributed to the fact that many of the younger respondents were born in Canada or immigrated to Canada when they were still children, and would therefore have fewer affective ties and memories of the country of origin than those who arrived in Canada at an older age. Indeed, if we look at the responses provided by those who were born in Canada, we see that they were much less likely to consume ECM for this purpose, only 15 percent reported doing so. Those who arrived in Canada when they were 15 years of age or younger were also less likely to consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this reason, albeit only slightly; 30 percent reported doing so. Overall, these two groups of respondents were avid users of ethno-cultural and country of origin media, but were less likely to do so in order to address feelings of nostalgia.

Comparing the answers by year of arrival in Canada (see Chart 4.17), we see that it is those who have been living in Canada the longest who are the most likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media because it reminds them of their country of origin; 53 percent of those who arrived before the 1990s did so compared to 34 percent of recent newcomers. The data suggests longing to be reminded of one's country of origin may not necessarily disappear as time passes, and that use of ethno-cultural and country of origin media increases among those who have been in Canada the longest. It could be that, having lived in Canada for more than 25 years, these respondents have fewer concrete ties, such as active friendships, than newcomers, and therefore have to rely on more mediated sources. It could also be that newcomers have had less time to grow nostalgic. Still approximately a third of all those who arrived between 1990 and 2015 used ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this purpose suggesting that ethno-cultural

and country of origin media is an important tool for first generation immigrants as they adapt to life in a new country.

Parents are much more likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media because it reminds them of their country of origin than are those without children; 39 percent of parents did so, compared to 26 percent of those with no children (see Chart 4.17). Though it is not clear why this is the case, it could be attributed to the specific challenges that immigrant parents face when raising their children in a country which is very different from the one in which they were themselves raised. Research into the topic has shown that there are often cultural clashes between children and their immigrant parents. As social worker and counsellor Gary Direnfeld explains:

For the children of immigrant parents, however, this boundary pushing is generally more pronounced as children will naturally assimilate to the host culture to a greater extent than their parents. Parents can also experience personal conflict between their traditional and mainstream values, which can make it difficult to decide the best way to relate to their children. (Rose, 2013)

It is likely that such times make parents long for the country of origin, where raising their children according to their own values might have been easier. The data suggest that a large number of immigrant parents reach out to ethno-cultural and country of origin media during this challenging period.

Intergenerational bonding in immigrant families

As discussed in Chapter Two, media researchers have found that ECM can help immigrant families to address and to overcome tense intergenerational aspects of integration (Durham, 2004; Gillespie, 1989; Hirji, 2010; Matsaganis & al., 2011). Intergenerational bonding is especially important in immigrant families as there is often conflict between immigrant parents and their Canadian born and/or raised children. The response *They bring family together* provides some insight into the extent to which immigrant families employ ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to spend time together and to bond. Nearly a quarter of the respondents indicated that one of the reasons they consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media is because it brings

family together (see Chart 4.18). This suggests that the need to find an enjoyable culturally nourishing activity through which to bond figures prominently in respondents' reasons for consuming these types of media.

The extent to which respondents consumed ethno-cultural and country of origin media varied considerably between the three communities. Chinese respondents were the least likely to indicate that they consume these types of media in order to bring the family together; 17 percent of Chinese respondents did so, compared to 23 percent of Latin American respondents, and 40 percent of Somali respondents (see Chart 4.18). While I cannot confirm why this is the case, one possible explanation is that a much greater portion of Chinese respondents were international students than was the case in the other communities; 20 percent in the Chinese community, as opposed to 6 percent in the Latin American community, and less than one percent in the Somali community (see Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3). International students are less likely to have members of their family with them in Canada, and therefore would not select this response. Those in the Somali community were the most likely to report that they watch because it brings family together (see Chart 4.18). As was discussed in the section on media representation, this may be because the greater distance between Somali culture and the Christian, Caucasian ethno-cultural population that is still culturally, politically, and economically dominant in Canada. In this context, bonding over positive representations of one's ethno-cultural heritage is likely to be very important.

Female respondents were more likely to respond that they watched this type of media to bring family together than were male respondents; 25 percent of female respondents did so compared to 19 percent of male respondents (see Chart 4.18). While this is not a dramatic difference, it does point to women's greater role in doing the heart work, or emotional work, in most families irrespective of their cultural heritage (Bendelow and Williams, 1998; Berns-McGown, 2013; 1997; Hochschild, 1979). Emotional work refers to the work undertaken in order to assure the emotional wellbeing of friends, partners, and family members, and to ensure the health of relationships of these individuals. In this case, the response reveals that female respondents were slightly more

attuned to the potential of ethno-cultural and country of origin media to bring family together.

We might have expected to see a similar difference emerge between respondents who have children and those who do not, but this was not the case; 24 percent of those who had children selected this response, compared to 22 percent of those who did not have children (see Chart 4.18). The absence of strong variation between the two may suggest that family bonding is considered equally important by children as it is by their parents. If we look at the data for the children of immigrants (see Chart 4.18), however, we see that they are much more likely than first generation immigrants to watch because it brings the family together. In fact, the children of immigrants were the most likely to do so; 50 percent did so, compared to 24 percent of first generation immigrants (see Chart 4.18). Those who were 60 years of age or more, on the other hand, were much less likely to select this response, suggesting that bringing the family together does not figure as prominently in the motivations of older respondents, and may be less of an important consideration for these respondents in general. Grandparents, it would seem, are not as keen on bonding over the television as their children and grandchildren.

If we look at the responses divided by level of English proficiency, we see that it is those who have the highest level of English who are most likely to watch ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to bring the family together (see Chart 4.18). Though the difference is very slight, 25 percent among those with advanced language skills compared to 23 percent of those with basic English language skills, when combined with the responses divided by time of arrival, the data begins to tell a story (see Chart 4.18). Use of ECM and country of origin media in order to bring the family together increases with the length of time that respondents live in Canada; 50 percent of those who were born in Canada report watching for this reason, compared to 42 percent of those who arrived before 1990, 25 percent of those who arrived between 1990 and 1999, and 16 percent of those who arrived after the year 2000 (see Chart 4.18). This suggests that the greater the gap in first-hand experience of the country of origin and its culture, the more important the place of ECM and country of origin media in bringing family together.

Respondents who were born in Canada, and therefore likely had the least lived experience of their parents' country of origin and its culture were the most likely to watch in order to bring the family together, and were closely followed in this tendency by their parents. This suggest that the wider the cultural gap between parent and child, the more central the role of ethno-cultural and country of origin media is to bridge this the gap.

The data for those who were raised in Canada (see Chart 4.18) shows that use of ECM to teach family about the culture and country of origin goes down for those who were raised in Canada. Those who were raised in Canada, but not born in Canada, were much less likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this purpose than were those who had been living in Canada for some time; 32 did so compared to nearly 50 percent of those who had been born in Canada (see Chart 4.18).

Parent to Child Transmission of Cultural Heritage

The ability to share one's cultural heritage with one's children is a core component of multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka, 1996), and crucial to the process of intergenerational bonding (Nickel, 1995). As such it is part of the deep process of multigenerational integration for the first, second, and to a lesser extent third generation of immigrants. Moreover, Charmarkeh (2012) demonstrates, there is a growing body of international research, at least in the Somali community, that parents encourage their children to consume ECM to teach them about their culture. With this in mind, I wanted to investigate to which extent immigrant parents from the three Ottawa communities make use of ECM in order to share their cultural heritage with their children. The response *'To teach my family about my home country/culture'* provides some insight into this question. Nearly one in three respondents with children indicated that they used ethno-cultural and country of origin media to this end, making it one of the most widely shared reasons for consuming this type of media identified by the respondents (see Chart 4.19).

As we can see in the graph comparing the responses from each of the three ethno-cultural groups, though relatively high in each community, the percentage of parents reporting that they use ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this reason varies

considerably between the three groups (see Chart 4.19). Nearly a quarter of Chinese community respondents use it to teach their family about their country and culture of origin, compared to 35 percent of Latin American parents, and 41 percent of Somali parents (see Chart 4.19). These differences may reflect major differences in the realities of these three groups both at the local level in Ottawa, and in their country of origin. The Chinese population in Ottawa forms a longstanding, numerous, and well established community. It has built a variety of social services and cultural centres for itself over the years. Accordingly, it may be that members of the Chinese community can benefit from a direct, lived experience of Chinese culture in Ottawa, and is therefore less reliant on mediated alternatives. Ottawa's Latin American population is less well established, less numerous, and divided among many national and ethno-cultural lines. At the same time, they have access to a wealth of Spanish language programming developed by and for the substantial Latin American population of the United States. This could in part explain why so many more of them use ethno-cultural and country of origin media to teach their children about their country and culture.

The Somali diaspora has access to a much more limited number of ethno-cultural and country of origin media sources than Chinese and Latin American immigrants to Canada. Given the conditions under which many in the Somali diaspora left Somalia, they have managed to develop an impressive array of Somali media publications, blogs, radio shows, and television programs. Still, given to the continued chaos brought by the ongoing civil war in their country of origin, they have less access to the types of major cultural productions to emerge from China, the United States, and many Latin American countries. Despite all of this, Somali parents were the most likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to teach their children about their country and culture of origin (see Chart 4.19). Of the three groups, Somali culture is likely the least represented in Canadian and American media, which might offer a partial explanation for the high number of Somali parents who make use of this media.

Another explanation is that the conditions under which many Somali people left Somalia and arrived in Canada are very different from those of the majority of Chinese

and Latin American immigrants. Whereas most Chinese and Latin American to a great extent chose to leave their countries of origin and to settle in Canada, many of the Somali people who settled in Ottawa arrived as refugees. In his 1994 article *The Value of Cultural Belonging*, Nickel posits that those who choose to immigrate may share some common traits, such as being independent, learning new languages and making new friends easily, and not being prone to homesickness. These traits, he argues make the process of cultural upheaval easier for these individuals. Those who are forced to leave their country of origin, on the other hand, are composed of a mixed lot, some of whom will have an easier adjustment than others. Those who would not have chosen to immigrate are at greater risk of suffering severe psychological and emotional harm from a rapid loss of cultural belonging (Nickel, 1994). As Nickel explains:

[T]he members of this minority group will be unable to transfer to their children and grandchildren their culture, way of life and religion. This frustration of a widespread and deep human desire, will have the effect of greatly weakening the bonds between parents and children and is a very substantial infringement of liberty. Many of these parents will feel that they lost their children, even though those children are still alive. (Nickel, 1994, pp.639-640)

The possibility of sharing their cultural heritage with their children is of great importance for these parents and their ability to maintain strong family bonds. Given the lack of developed cultural institutions comparable to those of the Chinese community, it is not surprising that many Somali parents make use of whatever media resources are available to teach their children about their cultural heritage and country of origin.

Rima Berns-McGown's research support that a similar dynamic is present in the Somali community. Through her research in Toronto's Somali community, Berns-McGown found that Somali families faced extremely adverse conditions when they first arrived in Canada (2013). They fled war and arrived in a hostile environment, where they were considered strange and potentially dangerous. They faced racism in government services bureaus, social service agencies, hospitals, schools, and the media. In her words:

Importantly, Somali women found themselves fending off the tidal wave of social change that threatened to sweep their children away and

render them unrecognizable to their elders. In Somalia, they had not concerned themselves much with questions of identity or religion. They had not had to. [...] Until Siad Barre and his divisive and irredentist politics caused the breakdown of civil society and the subsequent exodus into the diaspora, Somalis had little reason to be particularly conscious of what it meant to be Somali and/or Muslim, or to spend much time on defining it.

Coming to the West, though, meant addressing these questions. Somali women, in keeping with their responsibility for their children's well-being, were preoccupied with what it meant to be Somali and Muslim in the diaspora, and with passing their identity and heritage on to their children, who they feared were in danger of losing these things in the flood of societal demands competing for their attention. (Berns-McGown, 2013, p.7)

Though the community has made tremendous progress, they still face many of these challenges. In this environment, some children struggle and their parents do their best to guide them and to help them navigate the obstacles that they many face growing up racialized in rough neighbourhoods. Even those children who are born to more affluent parents and who grown up in privileged neighbourhood still have to deal with the pervasive prejudices about their community and culture. Part of what Somali parents do, according to Berns-McGown is to seek to provide stable cultural and religious anchors to their children. Through the transmission of Somali culture, parents seek to counter the stigmatization of their culture and to help their children take pride in their cultural heritage. Through the practice of Islam, parents seek to guide their children through the many dangers and obstacles that they face, especially as teenagers. Somali mothers have been so invested and central to these efforts that Berns-McGown qualifies them as heroes. Given large portion of Somali respondents who reported using ethno-cultural and country of origin media to being their family together it would appear that such media is a useful tool in these efforts.

According to UNESCO, because women are often the primary caretakers of their children, women play a central role in the intergenerational transmission and renewal of cultural heritage throughout the world (UNESCO, 2001). Though the difference is slight, the data divided by sex does lend support to this notion. Women are slightly more likely

to use ECM and country of origin media in order to teach their family about their culture and country of origin; 31 percent of female respondents did so, compared to 27 percent of male respondents (see Chart 4.19).

Following the pattern of the previous section on the use of media to bring the family together, the data for this response suggests that it is families who have the greatest gap between the parents' culture and that in which the children were raised who are keenest to use ECM in order to teach their family about their culture and country of origin (see Chart 4.19). This is in-line with Charmarkeh's research (2012). Using Hirsch's concept of post-memory generation (2008), Charmarkeh explains that the children of refugees have no memory of the sometimes traumatic experiences that their parents lived through, and that parents (in this case Somali parents) often turn to ECM in order to 'reconstitute' this memory (2012).

Those who had higher levels of proficiency in English were more likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media in this way; 36 percent of those with advanced English language skills did so, compared to 21 percent of those with basic English language skills (see Chart 4.19). Similarly, those who had been living in Canada the longest (but had not been born in Canada) were more likely to use this media for the purpose of teaching their family about their culture and country of origin (see Chart 4.19). In fact, use for this purpose increased as years in Canada increased; 47 percent of those who arrived before 1990 used it for the purpose of teaching their family, compared to 36 percent of those who arrived between 1990 and 1999, and roughly a quarter of those who arrived after the year 2000 (see Chart 4.19). Parents whose children were mostly raised in Canada or born in Canada are raising their children in a completely different culture than that in which they themselves were raised. This could conceivably significantly increase some of the challenges associated with childrearing, and would to some extent explain why these parents are the most likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media to bridge that gap.

The data for those who were raised in Canada (see Chart 4.19) shows that use of ECM to teach family about the culture and country of origin goes down for those who were raised in Canada. Those who were raised in Canada, but not born in Canada, were much less likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this purpose than were those who had been living in Canada for some time; 32 did so compared to nearly 50 percent of those who arrived before 1990 (see Chart 4.19). Those who were born in Canada were even less likely to use media for this purpose, only 8 percent did so, meaning that use of media to transmit cultural heritage decreases considerably by the second generation, which is in line with broader trends of immigrant integration in Canada, and Europe (Hafez, 2007). In this context, ethno-cultural and country of origin media can be seen to enable a gentler transition than would otherwise be the case, which according to Kymlicka significantly improves the lives of immigrants, and minimizes the risk of psychological and emotional harm associated with cultural transitions (Kymlicka, 1989).

Exploring Roots and Identity formation among the Children of Immigrants

Researchers have shown that the children of immigrants who were either born in the country of settlement or who are growing up in the country of settlement often develop complex identities falling in a different space than that of their immigrant parents and non-immigrant citizens of the country of settlement, and that ethno-cultural and country of origin media can play an important role in this process (see, for example, Durham, 2004; Gillespie, 1989; Hirji, 2010; Werbner, 2004). Hirji (2010), for example, has shown that these media can be used to facilitate difficult conversations about subjects that can elicit intergenerational tension in immigrant families, such as out-marriage, premarital sex, and homosexuality. Hirji (2010) provides the example of Bollywood films with a theme of immigration and out-marriage, and explains that such films can help the children of South Asian Immigrants to broach the topic with their parents when they view them together. Such conversations are part of the complex process that many immigrant children and children of immigrants undertake to articulate hybrid identities for themselves and to negotiate these identities with their immigrant families and others in their country of settlement. Though Hirji focuses on the intergenerational conversation

aspect of this process, it is likely that ethno-cultural and country of origin media constitute an equally important tool in helping the children of immigrants to articulate an identity that fits them. In this section, I employ the responses '*They tell me about Chinese/Latin American/Somali culture*', '*They help with the language*', and '*They tell me about religion*' as proxies for the extent to which the children of immigrants use ECM to explore their cultural roots and to gain some of the knowledge that they need to formulate their identities. For the purpose of this analysis, those considered children of immigrants includes respondents who were born in Canada, as well as those who arrived in Canada when they were 15 or younger.

The desire to learn about their cultural heritage figures very prominently among the reasons that children of immigrants have for consuming ethno-cultural and country of origin media. More than half of those who were born in Canada (54%), and 40 percent of those who arrived when they were 15 or younger reported that they consumed ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to learn about their cultural heritage; this was the most common reason for consuming such media cited by those born in Canada (see Chart 4.20). Nearly as common was the use of this type of media to help learning their heritage language; half of those who were born in Canada used ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this purpose, as did 32 percent of those who had arrived in Canada as children (see Chart 4.20). Respondents were less likely to use this type of media to learn about religion. Still slightly over than one in ten (12%) of those who were born in Canada, and nearly one in five (19%) of those who arrived as children did so, which represents a considerable portion of those raised in Canada (see Chart 4.20). The data is very clear in showing that the Children of immigrants use ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to explore their cultural roots and to develop substantive hybrid identity by supporting the acquisition of cultural knowledge and the acquisition of their heritage language. It is especially noteworthy that the children of immigrants were much more likely to use this type of media to learn about their cultural roots than parents were to use this media to teach their children about their culture and country of origin; between 40 and 54 percent of those raised in Canada, compared to 29 percent of parents

(see Chart 4.20). This would suggest that the need to explore their cultural heritage is just as strong, and possibly stronger, in the children of immigrants, than the need to transmit their culture is for immigrant parents. It is also worth noting that curiosity about cultural heritage is not limited to younger respondents. In fact, those between 30 and 59 years of age, and those with children are more likely to consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this purpose than are younger respondents and those without children (see Chart 4.20). This suggest that curiosity about cultural heritage increases with the transition to parenthood

The data comparing use across the three communities, reveals some surprising findings. Use of this type of media by Somali respondents who were raised in Canada in order to learn about their cultural heritage more or less mirrors the portion of Somali parents who used this type of media to teach their family about their culture and country of origin: 42 percent compared to 41 percent, respectively (see Chart 4.21). But there were dramatic gaps between immigrant parents and Canadian raised children in the other two communities. While 35 percent of Latin American parents used such media to teach their children, 59 percent of Canadian raised respondents of Latin American heritage used such media to learn about their heritage (see Chart 4.21). In other words, among Latin American respondents, those raised in Canada were almost twice as likely to use this type of media to learn about their cultural heritage, than immigrant parents were to use it to teach cultural heritage. I can think of no reason why this would be the case. The complete opposite is true among Chinese respondents, where immigrant parents were twice as likely to use such media to teach about cultural heritage (22%), than the children of immigrants were to use it to learn (11%) (see Chart 4.21). Again, I can think of no reason why this would be the case.

If we look at the other two responses, *'They help me with the language'* and *'They tell me about religion'*, we see that Chinese respondents were the least likely to indicated that they consumed ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this purpose. Only 6 percent did so to learn about religion, and only 11 percent did so to practice language skills (see Chart 4.21). The lower use of such media to learn about religion among Chinese

respondents may simply be attributable to lower levels of religiosity among Chinese immigrants. I can think of no reason why the children of Chinese immigrants are less likely to make use of such media to practice their language skills.

The children of Latin American immigrants were much more likely to make use of this media for both purposes; 32 percent did so to practice their Spanish skills, and 14 percent did so to learn about religion (see Chart 4.21). Given the wide variety and accessibility of Spanish language media, it is not surprising that respondents would turn to these sources, especially in order to practice language. Overall use among Latin American respondents who were raised in Canada indicates that they make good use of these media sources to explore their cultural roots and to support the development of a hybrid ethno-cultural identity.

The children of Somali immigrants were by far the most likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media for these purposes; 39 percent made use of such media to practice their language skills, and 25 percent did so to learn about religion (see Chart 4.21). Greater use to learn about religion makes sense given the higher levels of religiosity among Somali immigrants. Overall then, ethno-cultural and country of origin media is of central importance to these respondents' ability to explore their cultural roots and to cultivate their ethno-cultural identity.

Maintaining a Positive Sense of Ethno-cultural, and National Heritage

In Chapter Three we saw that most respondents used ethno-cultural and country of origin media in conjunction with mainstream media in Canada. Then, when looking at respondents' feeling of being represented in mainstream media we learned that very few felt completely represented in Canada media, 6 percent did so, and that far too many felt not at all represented, 28 percent did so. Taken together these findings suggested that ethno-cultural and country of origin media is likely used as a media supplement by immigrants to Canada, one which allows immigrants to access content which would not be available in mainstream media, and which allows them to see themselves and their culture represented in the media. The analysis of the responses '*They tell me about*

Chinese/Latin American/Somali culture’, *‘They help me with the language’*, and *‘They tell me about religion’* strongly support this hypothesis. Over a third of all survey respondents indicated that they consumed ethno-cultural and country of origin media because it told them about their culture (see Chart 4.22). Nearly one in five did so because it helps them learn or retain their heritage language (see Chart 4.23), and just over one in ten did so because it told them about religion (see Chart 4.24). This type of media clearly allows immigrants to satisfy a need for culturally specific content which is not available in mainstream media.

The data comparing responses across the three ethno-cultural communities shows that use of ethno-cultural and country of origin media to access culturally relevant content remain elevated regardless of ethno-cultural background, averaging approximately 40 percent among Latin American and Somali respondents, and around 27 percent among Chinese respondents (see Chart 4.22). Overall then, between a quarter to half of all respondents, depending on the ethno-cultural group, used this type of media to meet a need for culture specific content.

Learning and maintaining a language represents a significant commitment to one’s roots and cultural heritage. It should therefore not be surprising that fewer respondents indicated that they used ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this purpose (see Chart 4.23). Chinese respondents were the least likely to do so, 11 percent reported using ethno-cultural and country of origin media because it helps them with the language (see Chart 4.23). It is not clear why this is the case, but one possibility is that given the greater size of the Chinese community in Ottawa, Chinese respondents simply have access to more varied opportunities to learn and to practice their language. Latin American respondents fell in the middle with 17 percent indicating that they used ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to help them with Spanish (see Chart 4.23). This represent a large gap from the 32 percent use among the second generation and those who were raised in Canada. I have no plausible hypothesis for why this is the case. Somali respondents were the most likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media to this end; 37 percent reported doing so, which suggests that language retention

is very important in the Somali community and that ethno-cultural and country of origin media are important tools in this effort (see Chart 4.23). This is in keeping with findings presented above suggesting that Somali respondents placed great importance on learning about and maintaining their roots.

Learning about religion did not figure very prominently in Chinese and Latin American respondents' motivations for consuming ethno-cultural and country of origin media; only slightly over 5 percent did so in the two groups (see Chart 4.24). This is likely attributable to the low level of religiosity among Chinese respondents, and to the fact that the most popular religions in Latin America are Catholicism and various Protestant denominations which are also widely practiced in Canada. Islam, on the other hand is practiced by a substantial yet relatively much smaller percentage of the Canadian population, and Mosques often form around specific ethno-cultural Muslim communities. As a consequence, Somali Muslim communities are more likely to tap into a broader community of practitioners than is available in Ottawa, which would explain why a quarter of Somali respondents turn to ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to access religious content. Thus while ethno-cultural and country of origin media was not used by many to support of religious vitality in the Chinese and Latin American communities, it was very important in the Somali community.

If we compare the responses provided by member of each sex, slight differences emerge in the use of ethno-cultural and country of origin media to learn about culture and religion (see Chart 4.22 and 3.24). In both cases, female respondents were slightly more likely than male respondents to use this type of media to access cultural and religious content; 11 percent of women do so to access religious content, compared to 10 percent of men, and 33 percent of female respondents do so to access cultural content, compared to 32 percent of male respondents (see Chart 4.22 and 3.24). The differences are too slight, really, to provide insight.

Given the similarity in responses for cultural and religious content, the differences that emerge when we look at use of ethno-cultural and country of origin media to learn

or maintain language is quite striking. Female respondents were twice as likely to use such media to help them with the language than were male respondents; 22 percent of female respondents reported doing so, compared to 11 percent of male respondents (see Graph 3.23). There is an old sexist stereotype that women are better suited to learning languages than men (and that men are better suited to learning math). Could it be that a similar widely held belief explains this difference? While it is not within the scope of this thesis to explore the matter in more depth, the question as to why so many more women use ethno-cultural and country of origin media to help them with the language merits further investigation.

If we look at the responses provided by people of different age categories, we see that use of media to access content about culture and religion was not markedly different between different age groups (see Chart 4.22 and 3.24). Respondents in the oldest age group were slightly less likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to access cultural content; 27 percent of those 60 and over did so, compared to 36 percent of those 30 to 59, and 32 percent of those 18 to 29 (see Chart 4.22 and 3.24). Those 60 and over, were very slightly more likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media to access content about religion than were younger respondents; 11 percent of those 60 and over did so, compared to 10 percent of those aged 30 to 59, and 9 percent of those aged 18 to 29 (see Chart 4.22 and 3.24).

As might have been expected, there were marked differences in the likelihood of respondents from different age groups to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to help with the language (see Chart 4.22 and 3.24). This makes sense as many among the younger respondents would still be in the process of learning the language. It is also likely that a greater portion of those in this age group are students at a post-secondary education where they would have the opportunity to take language classes in order to learn their heritage language.

Some of the most telling differences emerge when we look at the responses by time of arrival in Canada. The longer a respondent had been living in Canada, the more

likely they were to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to learn about Chinese/Latin American/Somali culture and to help them with their heritage language (see Chart 4.22 and 3.23). 54 percent of those who were born in Canada, and 47 percent of those who had immigrated to Canada before the 1990s used ethno-cultural and country of origin media to access content about their roots, compared to only 28 percent of newcomers (see Chart 4.22 and 3.23). Similarly, 50 percent of those who were born in Canada, and 42 percent of those who had immigrated to Canada before the 1990s used ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to help them with the language, compared to only 10 percent of newcomers (see Chart 4.23). In other words, the more time has elapsed and created distance between a respondent and her culture and country of origin, the more she is likely to employ media to quench her thirst for knowledge about her roots. Those who have arrived in Canada more recently, in contrast, have much more recent lived experience and memory of their culture and country of origin and are much more practiced in their mother tongue than are people who have been living in Canada for a long time. The data also strongly suggest that curiosity and longing to maintain cultural heritage remains strong and important to immigrants into the second generation, and that ECM is an important tool helping immigrants and their children to satisfy this need. There was no clear pattern of media use to access content about religion.

Supporting the findings discussed in the two previous sections, there are mild differences in the media use of parents when compared to that of those without children, which suggest that interest in linguistic and cultural heritage increases slightly after people have children (see Chart 4.22 and 3.24).

ECM and Ethno-Cultural Community Belonging

The response *They make me feel part of the Chinese/Latin American/Somali community* speaks directly to one of the core questions explored in this thesis: Do ECM contribute to the collective capacity of ethno-cultural communities to help newcomers by facilitating the process of becoming part of a local ethno-cultural community and forming a sense of belonging in a local ethno-cultural community? This potential function of ECM is often discussed in Canadian research on the subject as a bonding function

leading to ethno-cultural cohesion. This bonding function is often juxtaposed to a bridging function, which would serve to create a cultural, linguistic, and informational bridge between a given ethno-cultural community and the broader society. In most of the literature on the topic, bridging is argued to facilitate integration, while bonding is considered to be unhelpful, and even in some cases detrimental to the process of integration, as it can contribute to the isolation of newcomers and to fragmentation along ethno-cultural lines (Karim, 2002; Lindgren, 2015). Those who worry about the bonding function of ECM seem to be operating from the perspective that feelings of belonging and attachment to a specific ethno-cultural community are, to some extent, inversely related to feelings of belonging and attachment to Canada, and to integration in the Canadian cultural and social fabric (Karim, 2002; Lindgren, 2015). This is not the perspective adopted here. While it is clear that such a dynamic can emerge, especially in among isolationist ethno-religious groups who seek to distance themselves from non-group members, strong ethno-cultural affiliation and strong feelings of attachment and belonging to Canada are by no means mutually exclusive (Kymlicka, 2002).

Rather than perceiving ethno-cultural belonging and national identity as mutually exclusive, either/or categories, this analysis follows in tradition of Canadian multiculturalism, and in the scholarship of Will Kymlicka. This tradition not only recognizes that belonging to an ethno-cultural minority and actively participating in its culture in no way detracts from individuals' ability to integrate politically, economically, or socially, but also holds that individuals' ability to do so is essential to their ability to be full and equal citizens. In other words, multiculturalism significantly enhances citizenship, especially for those who do not belong to the dominant ethno-cultural group (Berry & al., 2006; Kymlicka, 1989; 1995). From this perspective, having a strong ethno-cultural identity and sense of belonging to an ethno-cultural community can provide Canadians with a sufficiently secure identity and base from which to thrive in a de facto multicultural state, and to be secure and confident in multicultural interactions. Whereas those whose identity is uncertain or threatened are more likely to engage with others in a defensive

and reactionary manner, those who are secure in their identity have the confidence to engage with people from other ethno-cultural backgrounds from a place of curiosity.

In the past two decades there has been a sharp rise in those who oppose multiculturalism policies on the grounds that it weakens national unity, and fragments national solidarity and loyalty. This has been a particularly hot topic in Canadian Anglophone and Francophone news media, in Canadian academic circles (a notable example being the work of Ricardo Duchesne), and in the political discourse of the Conservative Party of Canada, which has been increasingly vocal in demanding that immigrants respect 'Canadian values'. As Kymlicka argues, however, there is scant evidence for the notion that multiculturalism erodes loyalty to Canada (Kymlicka, 2002):

There has been much armchair speculation on this question, but remarkably little evidence. Reliable evidence is needed here, because one could quite plausibly argue the reverse: namely, that it is the absence of multiculturalism which erodes the bonds of civic solidarity. After all, if we accept the two central claims by multiculturalism—namely, that mainstream institutions are biased in favour of the majority, and that the effect of this bias is to harm important interests related to personal agency and identity—then we might expect minorities to feel excluded from 'difference-blind' mainstream institutions, and to feel alienated from, and distrustful of the political process. We could predict, then, that recognizing multiculturalism would actually strengthen solidarity and promote political stability, by removing the barriers and exclusions which prevent minorities from wholeheartedly embracing political institutions. (Kymlicka, 2002, p367)

As Kymlicka himself concedes, there is little evidence either way, but in a time of economic turmoil and growing inequality, arguments pitting 'ordinary Canadians' against immigrant others have proven themselves to garner more political traction. It is a dangerous argument to promote given that Canada has a highly multicultural population, and that such arguments could seriously negative feelings and conflict between ethno-cultural minorities and the dominant ethno-cultural group. In any case, given that the question here is whether ECM facilitates the integration of newcomers by contributing to ethno-cultural communities' collective capacity, and not whether it contributes homogenizing, national building efforts, the argument is not of central importance.

Nearly a third of respondents (30%) indicated that they consumed ethno-cultural and country of origin media because it made them feel part of their ethno-cultural community, making this one of the most common reason reported for consuming this type of media (see Chart 4.25). If we compare the responses provided by members of each community, we see that this motivation figured prominently in each of the three ethno-cultural communities; 29 percent of the Chinese and Latin American respondents and 34 percent of the Somali respondents reported consuming ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this reason (see Chart 4.25). Though this type of media was used to nourish feelings of ethno-cultural community belonging by a large portion of the three communities, the data once again suggest that ECM is slightly more central, as a tool, in the Somali community than in the other two.

If we compare the responses provided by respondents of both sexes, we see that female respondents were much more likely to consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to feel part of their ethno-cultural community; 33 percent of female respondents did so compared to 23 percent of male respondents (see Chart 4.25). Once again, the data suggest the greater centrality of women when it comes to ethno-cultural identity maintenance and transmission. Because women play a more central role in this process, they may have a greater interest in maintaining a feeling of belonging in their ethno-cultural community. At the very least the data show that women are consistently more likely than men to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media in this effort.

Comparing the responses by respondent's time of arrival we see that it is those who were born in Canada, closely followed by those who have lived in Canada the longest who were most likely to consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to feel part of their ethno-cultural community. 46 percent of those who were born in Canada used ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this reason, and 37 percent of those who had arrived in Canada before the 1990s did so, compare the between 27 to 33 percent of those who had arrived in Canada more recently (see Chart 4.25). The data suggest that the need to feel part of one's heritage ethno-cultural community remains important well into the second generation. It also confirms that the longer immigrants

have been living in Canada and the more distant their lived experience of their country of origin and culture, the more ethno-cultural and country of origin media are used to satisfy the need to feel part of their ethno-cultural community. Combined with the finding that consumption of local ECM increases the longer immigrants have been living in Canada, this data offers strong support for the hypothesis that ECM helps immigrants to support and strengthen their sense of belonging to their local ethno-cultural community.

There is reason to believe that becoming part of an established community composed of other immigrants from one's own ethno-cultural background can be helpful in smoothing the process of integration. In the passage that follows, Nickel explains that the need for positive role-models is at the heart of one of the main difficulties faced by members of ethno-cultural minorities:

Being a part of a distinctive minority is often psychologically difficult. In general, living in a society that does not fit one's culture while trying to retain one's own is often difficult, particularly if good models of how to do this are not available from others who have succeeded—and particularly from others who have succeeded without having extraordinary talents and strengths. (Nickel, 1994, p.641)

Accordingly, one of the ways in which local ECM contributes to the process of integration is in providing such examples, and in helping newcomers become aware of others who have succeeded in making a home for themselves in a new city and country. As discussed in the introduction, most ECM producers felt that it was part of their mandate to support newcomers in their acculturation process (Murray & al., 2007). Being successful immigrants themselves, these media producers carry with them significant knowledge about the process of making a new home and of adapting in a new context without losing oneself.

Cultural and Affective Needs Summary

Overall, it is clear that many respondents use ethno-cultural and country of origin media in order to meet various affective needs; overcoming feelings of nostalgia, exploring ethno-cultural roots, maintaining a positive sense of ethno-cultural and national heritage, belonging to an ethno-cultural community, and parent to child transmission of

cultural heritage were all cited by approximately a third of the survey respondents. Nearly a quarter of respondents also indicated that they consumed these media to facilitate intergenerational bonding.

The most common reason for consuming ethno-cultural and country of origin media was to be reminded of life back in the country of origin. This desire can be said to stem from a feeling of nostalgia, and those who were most likely to cite this reason were those who had been in Canada the longest; over half of those who arrived in Canada before the 1990s selected this response. Most have raised their children and have been working in Canada for decades. Most are well established, fully integrated immigrants, yet they still long to remember where they came from, and ethno-cultural and country of origin media helps them in this regard.

The second most common reason for consuming this type of media was because it told respondents about their cultural heritage, helping them to explore their roots, to develop their identity, and to maintain a positive sense of their ethno-cultural and national backgrounds. The most likely to consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this purpose were respondents who had been born in Canada, more than half did so, closely followed by those who immigrated to Canada before the 1990s, 47 percent did so. Though I do not have data on the third generation, it is clear that ethno-cultural heritage remains very salient well into the second generation, and that many use ethno-cultural and country of origin media meet these needs.

The third most common reason cited for consuming these media was that they made respondents feel part of their ethno-cultural community. In this way, ethno-cultural and country of origin media helped to satisfy respondents' need for belonging in their ethno-cultural community. The most likely to consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media for this reason were those who were born in Canada (46 percent), those who had immigrated prior to 1990 (37 percent), and newcomers who had arrived in Canada since 2010 (33 percent). The findings reaffirm the lasting salience of ethno-cultural heritage among first and second generation immigrants, and suggest that newcomers

initially turn ECM to get to know their local ethno-cultural community in the early stages of their integration and settlement process.

Use of these media in the process of intergenerational transmission of culture was also cited by nearly a third of respondents. Those most likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media to this end were immigrants who arrived in Canada before 1990 (47 percent) and those who arrived between 1990 and 1999 (36 percent). Those who were born in Canada were the least likely to do so, only 8 percent cited cultural transmission as a reason. This could be taken to suggest the decreasing salience of cultural heritage between the second and the third generation, but it could also simply reflect that many of the respondents in this category were relatively young and might not yet have children. In any case, it is very clear that ethno-cultural and country of origin media is an important resource in this process.

Closely related was the use of such media to facilitate intergenerational bonding; nearly a quarter of respondents indicated that they consumed ethno-cultural and country of origin media because it brought the family together. Once again, those most likely to use ECM for this purpose were people who were born in Canada (50 percent), and those who arrived in Canada prior to 1990 (42 percent).

Overall, time of arrival and place of birth emerged as the most salient variables. Though many respondents used ethno-cultural and country of origin media to meet diverse affective needs regardless of their country of origin, sex, age, proficiency in English, time of arrival, and parental status, it is clear that the most likely do so are those who arrived before 1991, and those who were born in Canada. In other words, it would appear that these media play an especially important role in meeting the needs of those who have been in Canada for some time, and in solidifying the relationships between those who were born in Canada and their immigrant parents.

If we look at the three ethno-cultural communities included in the analysis, some general trends emerge. For nearly all of the responses, those from the Chinese community were the least likely to use ethno-cultural and country of origin media to meet

their affective needs, Latin American respondents nearly always fell in the middle, and Somali respondents were nearly always much more likely to make use of these media to meet their affective needs than the other two communities. I discussed potential explanations for these differences throughout this section, and synthesize these here. The Chinese community, being the largest, and the best established is likely to be able to meet the affective needs of its members more directly, through face to face contact. It would make sense then if they were less dependent on media.

Latin American respondents generally fell in the middle, and because of the great heterogeneity of immigrants from Latin America, it is much more difficult to read their responses within the context of their culture and of the circumstances under which they immigrated. One thing that can be said with certainty is that, thanks to the large population of Spanish speakers in the United States, they have access to relatively varied and high quality ethno-cultural Spanish language media when compared to the other two communities.

Respondents from the Somali community are part of a much smaller local community, and as discussed in the section on media representation, they were by far the most likely to feel that they were not represented in mainstream media, which is to be expected given that Somali culture is rarely discussed in the media, other than in the context of the ongoing civil war in Somalia, and that Islam, while frequently discussed in the media, is almost always cast in a negative light. This, combined with the challenging circumstances surrounding their arrival in Canada can likely account for Somali respondents' greater use of ethno-cultural and country of origin media to meet their affective needs.

One last trend is worth discussing before moving on to the topic of collective capacity. Female respondents were consistently more likely than male respondents to indicate that they used ethno-cultural and country of origin media to meet each of the affective needs discussed above. As discussed throughout, it is generally believed that

women play a much greater role in the maintenance and transmission of culture than men, and the finding throughout this section likely reflects this dynamic.

Part 3: Contribution to Collective Capacity⁴

As discussed in the introduction, much of the research concluding that ethno-cultural either has a negative impact or a neutral impact on integration has focused almost exclusively on the content of these media, without investigating the media consumption habits of members of minority ethno-cultural communities, and without exploring why and to what end people consume these media. In Chapter Three, I was able to map out respondents' consumption of media, and to situate their consumption of ethno-cultural and country of origin media within this broader context. The data analysed in that chapter clearly revealed that the great majority of respondents consumed media from a broad variety of media sources, including mainstream Canadian and American media, international media, country of origin media, and American, Canadian, and local ECM. What is more, the data analysed in Chapter Three revealed that respondents made differentiated use of media depending on the types of content that they were seeking. For example, they were more likely to use mainstream local media to access news about Ottawa, and to use local ECM to access news and information about their local ethno-cultural community. In other words, the media consumption habits of the great majority of respondents did not leave them vulnerable to being isolated in an ethno-cultural information bubble.

The data analysed in this chapter added another layer to our understanding of this dynamic by showing that nearly half of the respondents from the three ethno-cultural communities included in the study do not feel represented in mainstream media, and that country of origin media and media produced specifically for their ethno-cultural community can be a great tool enabling members of these communities to meet needs

⁴ Collective Capacity is the name of the framework that I developed and outlined in Chapter One. It is composed of three elements: Communication Infrastructure, Networks of Interaction, Collective Imaginary.

that are not met by mainstream media.

It is clear that access to ethno-cultural and country of origin media enables immigrants and their children to address a wide variety of affective needs, which can directly and indirectly contribute to their integration process. But are the benefits associated with these types of media, greater than the sum of their parts? Does access to these types of media carry benefits which extend beyond the individual level and improve the collective capacity of local and Canadian ethno-cultural communities? What is the relationship between ECM and an ethno-cultural community's collective capacity?

I will begin by addressing the last of these questions before moving on to the others. ECM can be seen both as a product of a community's collective capacity, as well as a contributor to a community's collective capacity. To the extent that local ECM is produced by and for a given ethno-cultural community, it can be considered to be a product of that community's collective capacity, especially in cases where a media production benefits from considerable financial support, through advertisements for example, and content contributions from community members in the form of interviews, articles, art etc. Though anyone with sufficient funds can produce ECM, in the absence of a minimally cohesive community which has (1) a sense of itself as a community (collective imaginary), (2) a means of communicating with its members to produce content (a communication infrastructure), and (3) a means to promote and distribute the production throughout the community (networks of interaction), in the absence of a community which has begun to develop some level of collective capacity, the production will never amount to much more than a personal opinion blog or a reproducer of content produced in another location. At the same time, ECM can contribute to the growth of a community's collective capacity by further fortifying a community's sense of itself, by constituting a communication channel among members of the community, and by facilitating efforts to both access existing networks of interaction, and to create new networks of interaction.

The data analysed in this chapter does not provide much insight into the question of ECM as a product of existing collective capacity, because it focuses solely on television media and does not necessarily distinguish between country of origin media (which is in

no way dependent on the existence of an ethno-cultural community in Ottawa), and media produced for a local or national ethno-cultural community. Because it focuses on television media and on the affective motivations that respondents had for consuming this media, it only provides limited insight into Chinese/Spanish/Somali media's contribution to the creation and strengthening of communication channels and networks of interaction. Where the data analysed in this chapter stands to provide the most insight is in ECM's contribution to creating and strengthening an enabling collective imaginary through which ethno-cultural community members can perceive themselves as members of a given community, and frame the issues affecting their community. In what follows, I begin to explore how ethno-cultural and country of origin media may contribute to ethno-cultural communities' collective capacity by favouring the creation of networks of interaction, communication channels, and positive a positive collective imaginary. I also begin to address how the creation of such collective capacity might contribute to the social, economic, and political settlement, rooting, and integration of newcomers.

Networks of Interaction

As a product of collective capacity, ECM can contribute to the maintenance and creation of in-community and out-community networks of interaction, both of which can be beneficial to the settlement and integration of newcomers (Metamorphosis Project, Research, Theory, 2014). It can contribute to the maintenance and creation of out-community networks of interaction by reporting on and promoting mainstream associations, events and activities where consumers could potentially meet and engage with members of the broader community outside of the local ethno-cultural community. The data analysed in this chapter provides very limited insight into the use of ECM to access such information. Still the data revealed that at least 6 to 8 percent of respondents used ethno-cultural television media in order to access information about City of Ottawa services and activities. Participation in such activities could conceivably lead to insertion into an existing network of interaction, and so ECM could be said to add to the capacity of a given ethno-cultural community to connect their members with existing networks in the broader community. This in turn could help newcomers as they seek to settle in a new

city and to begin the process of integration. This is a very meagre finding but the data analysed in Chapter Five will provide much more insight into both the use of ECM for this purpose, as well as the presence of such information in the ECM of the three communities.

As a product of and contributor to collective capacity, ECM can also contribute to the maintenance and creation of in-community networks of interaction by reporting on and promoting ethno-cultural community associations, events and activities where consumers could meet and engage with members of their local ethno-cultural community (Cunningham, 2001; Metamorphosis Project, Research, Theory, 2014). In fact, Cunningham (2001) argues that in many cases ECM constitute one of the main means of communication for ethno-cultural communities outside of certain neighbourhoods and places of worship. By meeting and interacting with members of their own ethno-cultural community who have already been through the process in integration, newcomers can gain valuable information and tips to help them in their settlement and integrations. This is especially true of newcomers who experience culture shock and who may initially experience greater challenges in getting to know and to understand how things work in a new country and city. Meeting other community members can also be helpful in helping newcomers to meet new people, which can help them to overcome feelings of loneliness and isolation in a new city and country.

Aside from these more immediate integrative ends, the presence of vibrant networks of interaction can also be invaluable in contributing to a community's ability to organize themselves, whether it is to respond to internal issues within the community, to mainstream issues affecting the community, or even just to organize celebrations. The ability to organize in this way is a crucial component in a community's capacity to engage in the work of deep integration by addressing systemic barriers affecting a community, such as prejudice, exclusion, and racism. Unfortunately, the data analysed thus far does not provide any insight into the potential of ECM to contribute to the maintenance and creation of in-community networks of interaction.

Communication Channels

ECM can form an integral part of a community's communication infrastructure, constituting one of the most visible and accessible collective communication channel between members of ethno-cultural communities and the broader society, as well as between members of an ethno-cultural community (Metamorphosis Project, Research, Theory, 2014). As a product of collective capacity, ECM can help to connect newcomers with helpful integrative information, and news stories which can help them to get to know their new city and country. Different levels of government, service providers, schools, etc. can communicate with newcomers, and all in their own language, before they become proficient in an official language. Because the data in this chapter focused on ethno-cultural and country of origin television media, it did not provide much insight into newcomers' use of ECM as a communication channel to access this type of information, or on the presence of such information in ECM. The data did, however, provide considerable insight into the potential benefits of ECM as a communication channel between newcomers and the broader society in their new home.

Nearly a quarter of survey respondents indicated that they consume ethno-cultural and country of origin media because they do not understand the language of mainstream media. While the data analysed in the section on integrative content suggest that obtaining information on Ottawa and Canada was not one of the most common motivations for consuming ethno-cultural television media, only 5 to 8 percent of respondents reported doing so, it is nonetheless clear that many newcomers consume this media and that it has the potential of being a communication channel between newcomers in the three ethno-cultural communities, and the broader public and institutions of the City, province, and country. This is especially true for the Chinese community, which has a very high percentage of people with poor English language skills along with numerous local media outlets. In Chapter Five, I will explore to what extent respondents use local and Canadian ethno-cultural publications to this end, and what kind of information is actually available in these media sources, which should give us more insight into this question.

As a product and component of a community's collective capacity, ECM can constitute one of the main communication channels of an ethno-cultural community (Ahadi & Murray, 2009; Auld, 2007; Charmarkeh & Couton, 2010; Cunningham, 2001; Félix, González, & Ramírez, 2008; Fleras, 2009; Kong, 2011; Lin, 2004; Mitra, 2005; Ojo, 2006; Metamorphosis Project, Research, Theory, 2014). Through such media, established community members can provide information of broad variety of helpful topics, varying from where to find a place of worship and difficult to find food items, to discussions of the best schools for their children, and analysis on topics of interest in to the community in upcoming elections. As discussed above, such information can help consumer to become better integrated in their ethno-cultural community and to access the supports and support networks which have been developed by settled immigrants. As will be discussed below, ECM can also form a vector through which a positive collective imaginary can be developed. The data analysed thus far does not provide insight into the use of ECM as a communication channel nor into the content of ECM, but these questions will be explored in Chapter Five.

collective imaginary

As discussed in Chapter Two, the issues and events affecting minority ethno-cultural communities are often portrayed in a very negative light in mainstream media and analysed through heavily biased and prejudiced collective imaginary. This practice can exacerbate the prejudice and exclusion faced by ethno-cultural minorities, and can leave members disempowered by a very negative image of their community. Indeed, as demonstrated at the beginning of this chapter, nearly half of the survey respondents felt adequately represented, a great many were unsure, and only very few felt adequately represented. In such an environment, one of the most powerful ways in which ECM can empower communities is by providing a space in which community members can see themselves represented in a positive light, and a space in which they can analyse events and articulate positions which reflect their collective interests (Cunningham, 2001; Metamorphosis Project, Research, Theory, 2014).

ECM can significantly bolster a community's collective capacity to undertake this kind of re-framing, which is likely a necessary precursor to any attempt to address issues and challenges with the broader society and its institutions. And the ability to address such concerns is a fundamental part of completing the process of integration which sees members of ethno-cultural minority communities gain an equal footing with those of the dominant ethno-cultural group, free of systemic barriers and unearned privilege.

The data analysed in this chapter provides considerable insight into respondents' use of ECM to access positive, or at least more nuanced, representations of their ethno-cultural communities and countries of origin, and to develop a positive sense of belonging to their ethno-cultural community.

As discussed in the affective and cultural use section above, one of the most prominent reasons for consuming ethno-cultural and country of origin media is because first and second generation immigrants wish to learn about their ethno-cultural heritage. Doing so enables them to explore their roots, to develop their identity, and to maintain a positive sense of their ethno-cultural and national backgrounds. The use of ethno-cultural and country of origin media to satisfy these needs was to be expected. Given the under-representation and negative representations of countries of origin of the survey respondents and of their cultures, and the lasting salience of ethno-cultural heritage, the ability to access positive representations in the ethno-cultural and country of origin media is all the more important. Ethno-cultural and country of origin media offer a less biased, more nuanced, and likely sometimes even proud and celebratory representation of the country of origin and ethno-cultural group. As such they can be said to form a type of counter-sphere, correcting and countering the media representations found in mainstream media, offering a glimpse into an alternative sphere through which immigrants and their children can see themselves, and their ethnicity, culture, religion, history, and country of origin. Though it is clear that this is not the main motivation for the creation of country of origin media, and likely only a small factor in the creation of ECM, it is clear that a great many respondents use it to this end. When taken together, nearly three quarters (73 percent – 241/328 respondents) reported using country of

origin and ECM in this way. Very tellingly, it was those who face the most negatively biased mainstream media portrayals, Somali respondents, who were the most likely to use country of origin and ECM to meet these needs.

There are many specific examples of minority ethno-cultural communities using media in this way in other cities. For example, as mentioned in Chapter Two, the research Issa-Salwe (2010) has chronicled the growing number of websites dedicated to Doodwanaag, which are Somali poetry competitions. These websites provide a space where Somali youth can take pride in their cultural heritage and to develop a positive identity, seeing themselves as peaceful and engaged for change. Matsaganis and al. document another example, also mentioned in Chapter Two, of how Latin American ECM was used to discuss changes to the U.S. immigration policy which had been proposed by Congress, and to articulate a position which reflected the interests of the Latin American population. Over months of discussion in their media, they were able to mobilize members of the community in opposition to the changes, and to clearly articulate a collective response before the story even broke in the mainstream media (Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2010, 16-17; Félix, González, & Ramírez, 2008). These are powerful examples, yet it would be extremely useful at this point to have qualitative data with which to illustrate the many ways in which ethno-cultural and country of origin media are used by members of Ottawa Chinese, Latin American, and Somali communities, and how this contributes to the collective capacity of these communities to develop and to benefit from an empowering collective imaginary. Unfortunately, our local stories will have to wait for further research.

CHAPTER 5 - POTENTIAL OF ECM TO SUPPORT COLLECTIVE CAPACITY IN OTTAWA'S CHINESE, LATIN AMERICAN, AND SOMALI COMMUNITIES

In the previous chapters I analysed the media consumption habits of members of each of the three communities and sought to contextualize each community's local ECM use within their broader media consumption habits. The purpose of these analyses was to gain a better understanding of who consumes ECM, and of why and to what end members of each community consume ECM. Having gained a better understanding of media consumption practices in the three communities, I now turn my attention to the ECM publications themselves, and analyse their content in order to gain a better understanding of the extent to which they form an important part of each community's communication infrastructure, of how they strengthen the other elements of collective capacity in each community, and of how they can facilitate the process of settling-in, taking root. The Chapter is divided in three parts, one for each community.

Each of the three parts analysing the ECM of the three communities begins with a media use profile. These profiles summarize findings from previous chapters which are likely to be especially pertinent to the ECM content analyses being carried out as part of this chapter. This includes a review of the percentage of respondents in each community who reported relying exclusively on ECM to access local and Canadian news. These respondents are likely the most dependent on ECM and the most vulnerable in terms of access to information. The more people are dependent on ECM for information about Ottawa and Canada, the more the question of integrative content in ECM is salient. The profiles also include a brief review of Chapter Four findings with regard to what motivated respondents of the three communities to consume ECM. These findings are essential to assessing whether there is a good match between the types of content provided by local ECM and the types of content sought by their readers. Because the analysis carried out as part of Chapter Four was limited to television media, which tends to have little local and Canadian content, the findings presented in Chapter Four likely do not reflect the extent to which respondents use other types of media in order to access information about Ottawa and Canada. In order to remedy this situation, the media use profiles provided as part of this chapter provide additional analysis of the types of information sought in ECM by members of the three ethno-cultural communities. These findings are

essential in assessing if members of the three communities seek integrative information in ECM and whether the ECM analysed as part of this chapter adequately meet the demand of their readers and viewers for this type of content. Moreover, combined with the ECM content analysis, these findings should provide some insight into whether and to what extent members of the three ethno-cultural communities use ECM in a way which is consistent with Will Kymlicka's concept of differentiated citizenship, whereby ECM media consumers would use ECM to engage with Canada and Ottawa while also nourishing their roots in a distinct ethno-cultural community.

Following the ECM use profiles, I proceed with a content analysis of popular ECM in each community. For Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community, I analyse the contents of two local Chinese language newspapers: *Canada China News*, and of *Health Times*. For Ottawa's Latin American community, I analyse two local Spanish language newspapers: *Eco Latino*, which is available in print, and *Mundo en Español*, an electronic paper distributed via email. Finally, because I did not have access to content analysis of any Somali language media, I analyse the content of a popular English language program produced in Toronto by a member of the Somali Canadian community and for the Somali Canadian community: *Integration: Building a New Cultural Identity*. I repeat the same analysis for each of these 5 ECM.

Potential as a Communication Channel

I begin by assessing the ECM's potential to function as an effective communication channel within its target ethno-cultural community's greater information infrastructure. To this end, I explore the ECM's ratio of original content, the geographic origins and focus of its content, the ethno-cultural focus of its content, the variety of voices that are included and of people who are represented, the topics that are covered, and the types of ads included. Each of these variables affects not only the extent to which a given ECM can serve as a communication channel and contribute to a community's overall collective capacity, but also in what ways it is likely to do so. Understanding how a given ECM contributes to each element of a community's collective capacity is essential to

understanding its potential to help immigrants settle-in, take root, and develop a sense of belonging. Below is a list of how each variable affects an ECM's potential as a communication channel:

- The more a given ECM is composed of original content, the more it is likely to speak to and to reflect the lived realities of local residents. ECM which consists entirely or mostly of reprinted stories from the country of origin, for example, are less likely to contain bonding content capable of contributing to the local community's collective capacity or to contain content that can serve as an information bridge between the ethno-cultural community and the Broader society.
- The more a given ECM has a local, and to a lesser extent Ontarian or Canadian, focus the more it has potential to circulate information between members of a local community and to form an important part of the community's greater information infrastructure, and to support local networks of interaction.
- The more a given ECM has a local, provincial, or Canadian focus, the more likely it is to contain content that can serve as an information bridge between the ethno-cultural community and the broader society. Such content could have the potential to facilitate the process of basic settlement, civic and political engagement, and social integration and acculturation.
- The more an ECM consists of content produced in Canada, the more it is likely to include a Canadian perspective.
- In-community focused content has more potential to circulate information of particular importance to the community between community members, and ECM that contain a greater portion of such content have a greater likelihood of providing information that can support an enabling collective imaginary among community members, and information that can meet the affective and cultural needs of its readers/ viewers/ listeners. From an immigrant integration perspective, however, it is also desirable that a paper provide content covering

- issues in the broader community, thereby serving as a bridging communication channel between the broader community and the ethno-cultural community.
- The diversity of voices, in terms of age, sex, ethnicity, and profession, present in a paper can provide insight into the inclusivity of a paper, both in terms of the people represented, and of the people whose voices are welcomed, sought, circulated, and/or given an outlet. The greater the paper's diversity, the greater its potential to be an inclusive communication channel. As part of its content coding, the OMMI collected information on the sex, age, ethnicity, and geographic location of each item's writer(s), of the actors covered in the items (the people about which an item may be produced), and of the sources cited in the items.
 - The more a media production has an even ratio of female and male writers, sources, and actors, the more it can be said to provide equal representation and voice to members of both sexes, and to be a gender inclusive communication channel.
 - The more a media production has an even distribution across age groups of writers, actors, sources, the more it can be said to provide equitable representation and voice to people of different ages, and to be an age inclusive communication channel.
 - The data on writer and source ethnicity can provide additional insight into the in-community/out-community balance in the paper. As stated previously, ECM can function both as in-community bonding communication channels, as well as bridging communication channels between a community and the broader society. As a bonding communication channel ECM have the potential to strengthen a community's collective capacity. As a bridging communication channel, ECM have the potential to serve as an information bridge between the ethno-cultural community and the broader society. In both of these capacities, ECM have the potential to help facilitate immigrant integration.

- Analysis of news sources' occupation can reveal if, and to what extent, different levels of government, public servants, experts, etc. have a voice in ECM, and of the extent to which ECM serves as a communication channel between people of various professions and members of the community.
- The topics covered in a given ECM production can provide some insight into the range of topics on which it can convey information within the community and from the broader urban, provincial, federal context to the community. The broader the range of topics covered in a given production, the broader the range of topics on which a given ECM production can serve as a communication channel.
- Finally, the source, geographical target, and subject of a media production's advertisements can reveal much about its potential as a communication channel. Knowing who placed an ad, the ad source, and who the ad is targeting, can provide insight as to whether community members and people outside the community use a given production to communicate – to advertise – their business, services, goods, events etc. with the members of a given community.

Whether or not a given ECM can also contribute to the community's capacity to facilitate immigrant integration will depend on the extent to which: the ECM supports local in-community networks of interaction, which can connect immigrants to more established community members; the ECM supports an enabling collective imaginary, which can contribute to immigrants feelings of belonging and agency, and help to meet the affective and cultural needs of community members; and the ECM functions as a bridging communication channel, which provides information that can help to facilitate immigrants' basic settlement, civic and political engagement, social integration and acculturation. Each of these questions is treated in turn.

Higher quality ECM with greater readerships likely have a greater ability to secure contributions and interviews from high profile residents in the city and country, and are also more used by high profile residents, such as government officials and public servants, in order to communicate with their target community. In other words, higher quality ECM

have more potential to serve as an effective bonding and bridging communication channel, and therefore the higher its potential to help facilitate immigrant integration.

Potential to Support In-community Networks of Interaction

ECM can support the creation and maintenance of community networks of interaction by providing information that can help to connect community members to one another and to existing networks of interaction. In order to assess how and to what extent a given ECM publication supports community networks of interaction I analyse the percentage of content items and ads that have the potential to bring community members in contact, or to alert community members about other community members and existing networks of interaction. ECM that support the development and maintenance of community networks of interaction can help to facilitate immigrant integration in several ways. First, such ECM can provide information that can help to connect newcomers to established immigrants from their ethno-cultural community, and these can provide helpful insight gained from lived experience about the integration process, and they can do so in a newcomer's mother tongue. Second, ECM can provide information that can help connect community members, which can help them to make friends, and to find a community within which to practice their culture, such as for example, the celebration of Chinese New Year. This can help immigrants to develop a sense of belonging in Ottawa. Finally, ECM can provide information that can help to develop and maintain these helpful networks of interactions.

Potential to Support an Enabling Collective Imaginary

As discussed in Chapter Two, ECM can serve as ECM sphericules offering content and perspectives that are different from those found in the mainstream media. In this way ECM can provide broader, more nuanced, and more diverse representations of the community than the limited and limiting representations often found in the mainstream media (Brinkerhoff; 2006; Fleras, 2001; Fleras, 2009; Mitra, 2005; Ojo, 2006; Shi, 2009). In so doing, ECM can support the development and maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary by providing information that promotes community pride, such as content

celebrating community history, successes, achievements, and members; content showcasing community arts, music, and literature; and content respectfully covering community religious practices, beliefs, holidays, etc.

In some cases, ECM has also been known to function as a space where members of the community can discuss important issues in the broader city or country of settlement which are affecting the community, to articulate a collective position which reflects community interests and values, and to mobilize support in order to engage the broader community in such a way as to achieve a collective goal. This is when ECM is at its very finest, as it allows a community to genuinely deepen their integration in a city, province, or country by facilitating the process through which prejudicial, discriminatory, and exclusionary practices and barriers can be challenged and overcome.

A good example, which was presented in Chapter Two, is an instance in which the Latin American community in the United States effectively used Spanish language print and radio media in order to successfully stop a law that would have changed immigration policy in the country. Months before the plan broke out in the mainstream media, Latin American opponents had been busy disseminating information about the planned changes and mobilizing opposition in the community. By the time the story broke, the community was organized and ready to fight the proposed changes (Matsaganis & al., 2011).

Another great example took place in Ottawa. In 1984, Ewart Walters, a well-respected member of Ottawa's Jamaican community launched a newspaper called the Spectrum. Through this paper, Walters succeeded in giving a voice to Ottawa's Black community and to other visible minorities in the city (Fanfair 2010). The Spectrum increased the visibility of issues affecting these communities, and managed to garner respect from local leaders and organizations (Fanfair, 2010). As Walters explains in a CTV interview, "there are several things that should have been reported, or should have been reported in a different way, that were not visible" ("Community Paper Shuts down after Nearly 30 Years | CTV Ottawa News", 2013).

One of these involved the relationship between the Ottawa Police and the Black community. Complaints about racially biased police conduct, which had been an issue in Ottawa for years, and which continue to be of concern today, were growing more numerous. Further aggravating the situation was a sense in the Black community that reporting police misconduct was useless. Investigations could be long and costly, and generally exonerated the police of any misconduct.

The situation was made highly visible in 1991, when Constable John Monette shot Vincent Gardner during a drug raid on a house where black people socialized, and played and listened to reggae music. Gardner, a musician who played at the house, was holding his guitar when he was shot, and died of his injuries several weeks later. The officer who shot Gardner was later acquitted of manslaughter.

The incident caused an uproar in the city, especially among members of the black community, but was soon forgotten by the mainstream media. The Spectrum, however, kept on covering the story in every issue for five years. Though the members of the community never obtained a satisfactory resolution of the incident, the Spectrum was key in keeping the story alive until measures were taken to begin to improve police accountability in the Ottawa in the mid-1990s (“Community Paper Shuts down after Nearly 30 Years | CTV Ottawa News” 2013).

Unfortunately, the type of data gathered as part of the OMMI ECM content coding could not reveal this type of story. My content analysis of Somali community media yielded some promising practices, which will be presented in the section on Somali media, but I have not come across such stories about Ottawa’s Chinese and Spanish language media. It is entirely possible that further research would reveal promising stories from Ottawa’s Chinese and Spanish language media, but the analysis presented here will largely be limited to analysis of the OMMI content data.

Using this data, I assess an ECM’s potential by calculating the percentage of items in a given ECM that can support the development and maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary. Such items include, for example, those that can provide information

promoting community pride, such as content and ads celebrating community history, successes, achievements, and members; content and ads showcasing community arts, music, and literature; and content and ads respectfully covering community religious practices, beliefs, holidays, etc. I also explore the types of content and ads provided in order to gain insight into how a given ECM may support an enabling collective imaginary. Such content not only supports the development of an enabling collective imaginary that can enable community action, but also one that more basic aspects of integration by helping to meet affective and cultural needs of newcomers, established immigrants, and Canadians who needs are not met by mainstream media which predominantly caters to the needs of the dominant white Anglo-Christian community. For example, ECM can help immigrants to address feelings of nostalgia, to facilitate intergenerational bonding, to transmit cultural heritage from parents to children, to explore ethno-cultural roots and to develop a hybrid ethno-cultural identity, especially among those born and/or raised in Canada, to maintain a positive sense of ethno-cultural and national heritage, and to discover and to belong to a local ethno-cultural community.

Provision of Integrative Content and Ads

ECM can facilitate immigrant integration by providing information that can help to facilitate the basic settlement, civic and political engagement, and social integration and acculturation of immigrants. Regardless of the geographic and ethno-cultural focus of the items covering these topics, these could very well provide information which could facilitate a range of affective and cultural needs. In most cases, however, unless they are focused on Canada, Ontario and/or Ottawa they are not likely to provide the kinds of information that could facilitate settlement, engagement, integration, and acculturation in the receiving society. In order to assess the extent to which ECM provides this type of content, I calculate the percentage of content items and ads which can help to facilitate these three facets of integration.

Ottawa's Chinese Canadian Community

Chinese Language Media Use in Ottawa's Chinese Canadian Community

Thus far, the OMMI 2012 Survey data analysis has revealed that members of Ottawa's Chinese community consume a broad range of local, and Canadian mainstream media, and of local, Canadian, and country of origin Chinese language media. In Chapter Three, the analysis revealed that the great majority of respondents consumed either a combination of mainstream and Chinese language media, or mainstream media alone in order to access local and Canadian news content, but that 17 percent of Chinese respondents indicated that they relied exclusively on Chinese language media to access such content, and that the percentage rose to 40 percent among those with poor English language skills. These findings confirm that the question of integrative content in Ottawa's most popular Chinese language print publications is very salient.

The analysis presented in Chapter Four revealed that many Chinese respondents watched Chinese language media in order to meet a broad range of affective needs, and I explored how the ability to meet these needs through relevant media could indirectly facilitate their integration process. Specifically, I argued that Chinese respondents used Chinese language media to address feelings of nostalgia (30%), to facilitate intergenerational bonding (17%), to transmit cultural heritage from parents to children (22%), to explore ethno-cultural roots and to develop a hybrid ethno-cultural identity, especially among those born and/or raised in Canada (11%), to maintain a positive sense of ethno-cultural and national heritage (27%), and to discover and to belong to a local ethno-cultural community (29%).

Analysis of another OMMI 2012 Survey question (Part E, Questions 1 and 2), which enquired about respondents' broad Chinese language media use, revealed that members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community turn to Chinese language media in order to stay up to date on a wide variety of topics (see Chart 5.1). Confirming the results presented in Chapters Three and Four, the most commonly sought type of content is information related to various types of news, culture, and entertainment in China. Nevertheless, the

data reveals that a sizeable portion of Chinese respondents also used Chinese language media to access content about Canada, Ottawa, and Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community. In other words, they used local and Canadian Chinese language media as a bridging communication channel in ways that could help to facilitate integration.

Given the greater use of Chinese language media to access content from China, one might also have expected to find that the in-community focus continued in the local context. In other words, one might have expected that Chinese Canadian residents of Ottawa would be more likely to use local Chinese language media in order to access information about the local Chinese Canadian community than to access non-community specific information about Ottawa and Canada. The findings revealed that this is not the case. In fact, respondents were more or less as likely to consult Chinese language media to access information about Ottawa and Canada, as they were to access information about the local Chinese community (see Chart 5.1). For some categories of information, respondents were even more likely to make use of this media to access information about Canada than they were to access information about the local Chinese community; for example, 41 percent of respondents used Chinese language media to stay up to date with news in Canada, 25 percent for news in Ottawa, and 23 for news about the local Chinese community (see Chart 5.1). Chinese language media was a source of information for more than 30% of respondents for three categories that relate to local information: 31 percent of Chinese respondents reported using this media to access information about City of Ottawa services; 34 percent reported using it for information about Chinese community events; and 31 percent reported using it for information about culture and entertainment in the Chinese community.

Given that those with poor language skills are the most vulnerable and most likely to be completely dependent on Chinese language media for information about Ottawa and Canada, I also wanted to see how use differed among respondents with different levels of English language proficiency. As could be expected, those with poorer English language skills were more likely to use Chinese language media to access information across all of the categories, but this tendency was much more pronounced for some

categories than others (see Chart 5.2). One of the categories where those with poor English language skills were much more likely to rely on Chinese language media was to obtain information on City of Ottawa services; nearly half of the Chinese respondents who reported having poor English language skills indicated that they turned to local Chinese language media to access such information. These respondents were also much more likely to rely on local Chinese media in order to access information about Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community; half relied on local Chinese language media to access information about community events, 35 percent to access information on Chinese community organizations; and 28 percent to access information on Chinese community services (see Chart 5.2).

Overall, a sizeable portion of Chinese respondents reported using Chinese language media as a bridging communication channel in order to access information about Ottawa and Canada, including information about City of Ottawa services – information which is most likely to have integrative potential. This further confirms and emphasises that local Chinese language media has great potential to help facilitate integration.

The data also confirms that many respondents used Chinese language media in a way that could help them to develop and maintain a sense of belonging to the local Chinese Canadian community. Other than content focusing on the country of origin, and news in Canada, the next most popular focus was culture, entertainment, and events in the local Chinese Canadian community. This is especially the case for those who have poor English language skills, which suggests that these respondents might be likely to seek out local Chinese people, services, and events in the early stages of their integration process.

Content Analysis of Canada China News and Health Times

In this section, I analyse the content of Canada China News (CCN) and then the content of HT (HT). Specifically, I assess the extent to which CCN and HT contribute to each of the three elements of collective capacity: community information infrastructure, networks of interaction, and enabling collective imaginary. I begin by assessing the extent

to which the papers form an important communication channel within the community's broader information infrastructure. I then assess if, how, and to what extent the papers support the development and maintenance of networks of interaction by providing information which can help to connect members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community to each other and to existing community networks. Then I assess if, how, and to what extent the papers supports the development and maintenance enabling collective imaginary, which can contribute to immigrants' feelings of belonging and agency, and help to meet the affective and cultural needs of community members. Finally, I assess if, how, and to what extent the paper provides information that can help to facilitate immigrants' basic settlement, civic and political engagement, social integration and acculturation. Throughout, I refer back to the Ottawa Chinese Canadian media use profile provided above in order to gain a better understanding of the extent to which the papers provide information that matches the needs of their readers.

Canada China News

As discussed in Chapter Two, CCN has been serving Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community since the mid-1990s, and has been recognised as one of the best ECM outlets in Canada. The 2012 OMMI survey data suggests that it is one of the most widely read local Chinese language papers in the city. The 3 issues analysed in this section contained a combined total of 145 advertisements, and 158 non-advertisement items. Analysis of the publication revealed that it is composed largely of soft news, 72 percent of non-ad content fell in this category, of photo essays (16%), and of columns (10%). The majority of these items contain fewer than 200 words (59%), or between 200 and 400 words (28%). Of the issues included in the analysis, all items were written in Chinese (the coding did not distinguish between Mandarin and Cantonese).

CCN's Potential as a Communication channel

Below, I analyse the paper's content in order to explore how the paper's ratio of original content, the geographic origins and focus of its content, the ethno-cultural focus of its content, the variety of the voices that are represented, the topics that are covered, and the types of ads included affect the paper's potential effectiveness as a

communication channel within the Ottawa Chinese Canadian community's greater information infrastructure.

Content

Ratio of Original Content

CCN has a substantial percentage of original content. Nearly 40 percent of the content analysed consisted of original pieces produced for the paper (see Chart 5.3). It may be that more of the items were original pieces, but the origin of the content was unclear for the remaining items. With so much original content, CCN has the potential to speak to and reflect the lived reality of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community.

Geographic Focus of the Items

Also promising is the paper's geographic focus. The more a paper has a local, and to a lesser extent provincial or federal focus, the more it has potential to circulate information between members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community and from members of the broader society to the local Chinese community. Though the geographic focus of 33 percent of the content items analysed was either unclear, unspecified, or simply irrelevant, approximately half of the items focused on an area within Canada; specifically, 19 percent focused on the National Capital Region, 2 percent on Ontario, and 12 percent on Canada (see Chart 5.4). Only 8 percent focused on China, and 27 percent focused on other countries.

Item origins

This likelihood is further strengthened by CCN's proportion of Canadian and local content. Though items written elsewhere may serve to circulate information between members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community and people living in China, or elsewhere in the world, CCN's potential as a local communication channel increases as the papers' local content, and to a lesser extent Canadian content, increases. The OMMI coded writers as being located in or out of Canada, but did not specify if writers were located in Ottawa, specifically. Still we can obtain a hint as to the presence of local writers by combining the writer location data with the item geographical focus data. The more

the focus is local, the more it is likely that at least some of the writers are located in Ottawa, and the better the potential of the publication to serve as a local communication channel. The writer's location could not be identified for 61 percent of the items (see Chart 5.5). Of the rest, 29 percent were located in Canada, 9 percent were located in China, and 1 percent were located elsewhere (see Chart 5.5). When combined with the finding that 19 percent of the content items focused on the NCR, these findings suggest that at least some of CCN's writers are located in Ottawa, and this adds to the paper's potential as a local communication channel.

Ethno-cultural focus of the Items

The percentage of in-community and out-community focused content items in CCN is very promising; exactly half of the content in the three issues analysed had an in-community focus, and half had an out-community focus (see Chart 5.6). In-community focused items have the most potential to circulate information of particular importance to the community between community members, and so increase a paper's potential to be an effective bonding communication channel. From an immigrant integration perspective, however, it is also desirable that a paper provide content covering issues in the broader society, thereby forming a bridging communication channel between Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community and the broader society and its institutions. In this respect, CCN appears to strike a perfect balance.

Voices Included

Below, I analyse data on the sex, age, ethnicity, and geographic location of each item's writer, source(s), and actor(s) in order to assess the diversity of voices present in CCN. The findings will provide some insight into CCN's inclusivity as an in-community communication channel.

Sex

By looking at the ratio females and males included in CCN as writers, sources, and actors, we can gain some insight into the gender inclusivity of the paper as a communication channel. The sex of CCN item writers could not be identified for the great

majority of the content items. Of the 11 percent of items for which the writer's sex could be identified, 4 percent were female, and 7 percent were male (see Chart 5.7). The sex of news sources could only be identified in 7 percent of content items. Of these, 3 percent were female, and 5 percent were male (see Chart 5.8). The actor's sex could be identified in 20 percent of the items had an actor. Of these, 12 percent were female, and 16 percent were male (see Chart 5.9).

Given that writer's, source's, and actor's sex could not be identified for the great majority of the items, the findings have to be analysed with caution. Nevertheless, since women accounted for a smaller ratio in each category, the finding suggest that women are less represented and have less of a voice than men in CCN. It is important to note that the under-representation of women in media is very common, and is in no way particular to CCN (Morris, 2016).

Age

The age data can provide some insight into the age diversity and inclusivity of CCN as a communication channel. Of the 4 percent of items for which the writer's age could be identified, 2 percent were 18 or younger, 2 percent were between the ages of 19 and 64, and none were 65 or older (see Chart 5.10). Of the 6 percent of news sources whose age could be identified, 2 percent were 18 or younger, 2 percent were between the ages of 19 and 64, and 2 percent were 65 or older (see Chart 5.11). Of the 8 percent of items for which a news actor's age could be identified, 1 percent were 18 or younger, 4 percent were between the ages of 19 and 64, and 3 percent were 65 or older (see Chart 5.12).

Given that writer's, source's, and actor's ages could not be identified for the great majority of content items, the material must be analysed with caution. This is made slightly more complicated by the fact that, unlike the data for sex, no clear trend emerges. If the three issues are representative, it would appear that those who are 18 or younger are equitably included as writers and sources, but less so as actors; people between the ages of 19 and 64 are equitably included in all three categories; and those who are 65 or older are equitably represented as sources and actors, but not as writers. Overall then, it

would seem that each age category finds some representation, and has some voice in CCN.

Ethnicity

The writer's ethnicity could not be identified in 59 percent of the items; of the rest, 25 percent were identified as being in-group, and none were identified as being out-group (see Chart 5.13). Though all of the writers were in-group, many of the sources cited in the content items (15%) were out-group, meaning that at least some out-group voices reach members Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community through CCN. These findings confirm that CCN provides a forum where Chinese Canadian voices can be heard in Ottawa, and suggests that the paper, at least to some extent, both serves as a bonding communication channel and as a bridging communication channel.

Occupation

News sources' occupation could not be identified in the great majority of items, but most of the occupation options provided were represented by at least some sources or actors (See Chart 5.15). The most popular sources were experts (3%) and community leaders (3%), followed by members of the general public (1%), government (1%), and students (1%). Although the individual percentages are small, they do suggest that CCN, at least to some extent, bring the voices of community leaders to other members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community, and that it serves as a bridging communication channel between various experts and government official, and Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community, and also between community leaders and members of the local Chinese community.

Topic Covered

The three issues of CCN studied covered a broad variety of topics the most popular of which were those relating to the economy which accounted for 25 % of items (investment 7%, finance 4%, business 1%, other 12%), religious holidays/ religion/ spirituality (15%), education (12%), festivals/events/holidays/entertainment (10%), science and technology (9%), health (8%), and government (5%) (see Chart 5.16). Overall

then, CCN covers a broad range of in-community and broader society topics, meaning that the paper's potential as a binding and bridging communication channel is not limited in scope.

Ads

Advertisements account for 10 to 50 percent of the page space in the three issues of CCN meaning that they form an important component of the paper. All of the 145 ads were placed by members of the local Chinese Canadian community and all targeted people in the National Capital Region. This finding suggests that CCN is used by members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community to communicate with other members of the community, but not by members of the broader community to communicate with members of the local Chinese Canadian community. This is somewhat surprising given that CCN is a well-established paper which could provide the opportunity to advertise to a sizable population in Ottawa.

CCN's Potential to support Networks of Interaction

ECM can support the creation and maintenance of networks of interaction by providing information that can help to connect members of the Chinese Canadian community to one another and to existing Chinese community networks. Of all the topics covered in CCN, only two seem to have obvious potential to bring members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community together, these are: Chinese community festivals, holidays, event in Ottawa; and Chinese community entertainment in Ottawa. Together, content covering these topics accounted for 7 percent of all of the content in CCN (see Chart 5.16).

As established above, all of the ads in the three issues of CCN included in the study were placed by members of the Chinese community and were for businesses, services, centres, and events in the National capital region. As such, all can be said to contribute to the creation and maintenance of networks of interaction in Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community. For example, ads for real estate services offered by a member of the Chinese community can bring new and established members of the community in contact with at least one other community member. They can also facilitate the process of purchasing a

property close to Chinese community centres, or to neighbourhoods with a sizeable Chinese Canadian population. Ads for Chinese community centres, restaurants or grocery store can help bring community members' attention to places where they can run into other members of the community, and likely access more information about community business and events through the types of ads which are often found in such establishments. Similarly, ads for Chinese Community festivals, holidays, events, and entertainment can help to bring community members together and to form new in-community social and professional connections.

When combined, the ads and content account for 37 percent of CCN's items. This amounts to a very large percentage of the overall content, and confirms that CCN supports the creation and maintenance of in-community networks of interactions. In so doing, CCN also contributes to strengthening the Ottawa Chinese Canadian community's overall collective capacity, and has the potential to help facilitate immigrant integration by providing information that can help to bring newcomer and established members of the community together, and encourage interactions that can help to develop a sense of belonging in Ottawa.

CCN's Potential to Support an Enabling Collective Imaginary

In what follows, I assess CCN's potential to support the development and maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary among members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community. As stated in Chapter Two, ECM can support the development and maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary and support readers' affective and cultural needs by providing information that promotes community pride, such as content celebrating community history, successes, achievements, and members; content showcasing community arts, music, and literature; and content respectfully covering community religious practices, beliefs, holidays, etc. This is a very salient question, because as we saw in Chapter Four, the ability to access such content is one of the main reasons reported by Chinese respondents for consuming Chinese language media.

When combined, 7 percent of the items covered topics relating to in-community festivals, events, holidays, and entertainment in Ottawa. The data analysed in Chapter 4 revealed that 29 percent of Chinese respondent indicated that they consumed Chinese language media because it helps them to feel part of the Chinese community (Chart 4.25). Simply reading about these events could help newcomers to discover the local Chinese Canadian community. Reading about upcoming events and making plans to attend could connect newcomers to existing community networks, through which they could make friends and begin the process of forming a sense of belonging in the local community. It could also be an essential part of how settled immigrants maintain their sense of belonging in Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community.

If we include items focused on other geographical areas, the percentage of items covering these topics increases to 11 percent. Regardless of the geographical focus, such items can be helpful in immigrants' efforts to overcome feelings of nostalgia, to bond with parents and children, to transmit cultural heritage from one generation to another, and to explore and learn about their roots and ethno-cultural identity, all of which were mentioned as important motivations for consuming Chinese language media in Chapter 4.

15 percent of the items in the three issues of CCN focused on topics relating to religious holidays, religion, and spirituality, which could be helpful to the 7 percent of Chinese respondents who reported the desire to learn about religion as a motivation for consuming Chinese language media (Chapter 4, Chart 4.24). By providing coverage of such topics, CCN provides information which is likely missing in mainstream Canadian media, and in so doing may help these readers to feel more fully at home in Ottawa. Overall then 26 percent of CCN's content had the potential to support the creation and maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary.

As discussed in Chapter Three, Chinese people are underrepresented in mainstream media, and are often represented in a stereotypical fashion. This underrepresentation and stereotyped representation can undermine Chinese Canadian's sense of belonging in Canada, and their pride their ethno-cultural community and

heritage. By covering Chinese festivals, events, holidays, entertainment, and religious and spiritual practices, CCN can help members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community to maintain their pride in their ethno-cultural community and heritage. Community pride is necessary to the creation of an enabling collective imaginary, for without such pride community members could simply internalise the dominant ethno-cultural group's prejudices, and therefore lack the motivation to challenge the dominant society to be more equitable and inclusive.

CCN also contained many ads which could support the development and maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary. In fact, because they were all in-community most of the ads in CCN could be said to contribute to an enabling collective imaginary in some way. For example, ads about Chinese owned businesses, such as restaurants, supermarkets, grocery stores, travel agencies can help members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community to feel as though they are part of a vibrant and successful community, thereby boosting feelings of community pride. Ads for services offered by members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community, can help community members to take pride in the fact that fellow community members are establishing themselves in a wide variety of professions. Ads about Chinese community entertainment events can help community members to take pride in Chinese culture. A proud community that is aware of its strengths and accomplishments is an empowered community, and in this sense, all the ads support the maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary in Ottawa's Chinese community.

Some of the ads provided information which could also help Chinese immigrants to address their affective and cultural needs. Ads for local Chinese community entertainment could provide information enabling immigrants to participate in Chinese community events and maybe even to develop a sense of belonging in the community. Ads for religion and spirituality related events, practices, places, etc. could potentially help the 7 percent of Chinese respondents who sought this type of information in Chinese language media to feel more at home in Ottawa. Finally, ads for Chinese supermarkets or grocery stores could help newcomers to overcome culture shock through the familiarity

of their favourite foods, and this could help settled immigrants feel more at home in Ottawa.

CCN's provision of Integrative Content

As part of the Ottawa Chinese Canadian community's information infrastructure, CCN can help to facilitate immigrant integration by providing information that can facilitate the basic settlement, civic and political engagement, and social integration and acculturation of immigrants. In what follow, I engage in a more detailed analysis of CCN's content in order to gain a better understanding of if, how, and to what extent CCN provides this type of information.

Basic Settlement

Many reported that they turned to Chinese language media in order to stay up to date with a variety of topics which could be helpful in the process of basic settlement. For example, 41 percent of Chinese respondents, and 54 percent of Chinese respondents with poor English language skills reported that they used Chinese language media to obtain news about Canada; and 20 percent of Chinese respondents reported that they used it to keep up with economic trends in Ottawa (see Charts 5.1 and 5.2).

Of all the topics that could facilitate basic settlement, CCN covered topics relating to business, education and education services/policies/reforms, employment, finance, health and healthcare services/policies/reforms, investment, the economy, and welfare and social services/policies/reforms. The potential of items covering these topics to provide information which could facilitate immigrant settlement increases if the geographic focus of these items is on Ottawa, Ontario, and/or Canada. If we look at Chart 5.17, we see that: 6 percent of the items were about investments and finance in Canada (3% in Ottawa); 1 percent were about employment in Ottawa; none were about business in Canada, 4 percent focused on the economy in Canada, and none focused on Ottawa's economy. Though more information on employment in Ottawa would likely benefit Chinese immigrants to Ottawa, overall 11 percent of the items provide information on

various economy and employment related topics in Canada, and could therefore potentially provide helpful information on this important part of basic settlement.

Another important part of settlement and integration for many immigrant families is education. As we can see in Chart 5.18, although 12 percent of the items analysed covered education related topics, none of the items were about education in Canada. I find these findings somewhat surprising, because based on informal conversations that I have had with members of Ottawa's Chinese community over the years, I have been given to understand that that education in Ottawa and Canada receives considerable attention in Ottawa's Chinese language media, but more research would be necessary to verify whether or not this is the case.

Health care and social services are another important topic for immigrants to Canada, as many may not be familiar with the Canadian system. Three percent of the items covered various healthcare related issues in Ottawa, and 1 focused on healthcare issues in Canada more broadly. One percent focused welfare and social services in Ottawa.

While the percentages of items providing information that could be helpful in the process of basic settlement seem quite small when divided by topic, combined they amount to 17 percent of all items in the three issues of CCN, which represents significant integrative potential. Still, it should be underlined that most of this coverage was concentrated on topics related to the economy, and finance and investments, and while this was an important content category for Chinese respondents, other important topics were left with little coverage. In fact, some of the main types of information sought by Chinese respondents, such as information on City services and services offered by Chinese community organizations, received no coverage in the three issues studied.

Civic and political engagement

CCN also provided much less coverage of topics which could help to facilitate immigrants' civic and political engagement in Ottawa and Canada more broadly. This is unfortunate, as many of the Chinese respondents consume Chinese language media

specifically to keep up to date with politics in Ottawa and Canada. 16 percent of all Chinese respondents, and 20 percent of those with poor English language skills consume Chinese language media to keep up with politics in Canada, and 18 percent of all Chinese respondents, and 25 percent of those with low English language proficiency, consume Chinese language media to keep up with politics in Ottawa (Chart 5.2).

As discussed above, topics relating to education, healthcare, welfare and social services in Canada and Ottawa received little coverage in the issues included in the study. Knowledge of these topics is not only important in the process of basic settlement, but can also lead to civic and political engagement on the part of immigrants who may, for example, want to advocate for more inclusive and culturally appropriate services.

Coverage of topics related to the economy, investment and finance, and employment, and business could conceivably lead to civic and political engagement on the part of immigrants. For example, individuals involved in business, trade, finance, investment could wish to become engaged in order to influence policy makers, while others could choose to become involved in social justice causes to address exclusionary and discriminatory employment practices. One percent of the items were related to war and were focused on Canada; the issues surrounding war can sometimes lead people to become engaged with peace or humanitarian aid efforts, for example. While the case can be made that coverage of these topics facilitates civic and political engagement, the link seems somewhat tenuous and not as promising as the case for basic settlement.

The only topics that could potentially significantly increase engagement that received much coverage were festivals, events, and holidays in Ottawa and Canada, which were covered by 6 percent of the items (see Chart 5.19). The coverage on CCN would be unlikely to facilitate engagement in mainstream civic and political life as it was all for in-group events. Nevertheless, knowledge about festivals, events, and holidays could provide an initial entry into civic engagement, as many people choose to volunteer at such events.

Other topics which could favour civic and political engagement include elections, party politics and platforms, government policies and reforms, social movements, climate change, among others. Becoming aware of, and informed about various issues related to these topics is a necessary precursor to becoming engaged in change processes. The three issues of CCN included in this analysis contained no Canadian or Ottawa focused coverage of such topics. Overall then, the three issues studied did not provide much content which could facilitate immigrants' engagement in Canada's and Ottawa civic and political life.

Social integration and acculturation

As discussed above, much of the content found in CCN consists of original pieces written by Chinese Canadians, who live in Ottawa and Canada. All such content pieces could be said to help immigrants in the process of acculturation. By providing their readers with analysis from the perspective of members of the Chinese Canadian community, they can help newcomers to gain a better understanding of how these topics are treated in Canada. Some of the topics covered, however, have more potential to directly facilitate social integration and acculturation.

Coverage of other ethno-cultural groups' religious holidays, religions, and spiritual practices, for example, could help immigrants to gain a better understanding of the diversity present in Ottawa and Canada. Though 15 percent of the items in the three issues of CCN covered topics related to religion and spirituality, all were focused on the Chinese community. While these do have the potential to facilitate social integration and acculturation in the local Chinese Canadian community, they do not facilitate greater understanding of other Canadian ethno-cultural communities' beliefs and practices.

Similarly, coverage of out-group arts, literature and poetry, entertainment, festivals, events, and holidays can add to immigrants' knowledge and understanding of their city and country settlement. Coverage of upcoming events and festivals could also facilitate social integration by bringing immigrants in contact with Canadians from other ethno-cultural groups. Six percent of the items provided coverage of local festivals, event, and/or holidays, however all were focused on the Chinese community. Again, while these

items may provide information facilitating integration in the local Chinese Canadian community, they are unlikely to provide information which could directly facilitate broader social integration and acculturation. Again this is unfortunate, because 37 percent of Chinese respondents, and 52 percent of those with poor language skills, reported that they used Chinese language media to keep up to date with culture and entertainment in Canada (Charts 5.1 and 5.2). Many also used Chinese language media access information about culture and entertainment in Ottawa, 18 percent of all Chinese respondents, and 27 percent of those with poor language skills, reported doing so (Charts 5.1 and 5.2). By providing more of this type of content CCN would both increase its potential to facilitate social integration and acculturation, and better meet the preferences of its readers.

Ads

Advertisements were for a broad variety of local businesses, services, and professionals which could be helpful in the settlement, engagement, and integration of Chinese immigrants (see Chart 5.21).

Basic Settlement

Most of the ads were for businesses and services which could be very helpful in the process of basic settlement, a type of information which was sought out by many Chinese respondents, as we saw in Chapter 4. 22 percent of the ads were for real estate agents and services, 14 percent for financial and investment groups, and banks, 10 percent for auto sales, 7 percent for insurance services, and 7 percent for lawyers and law firms. All of these were posted by members of the Chinese Canadian community in Ottawa. The ability to conduct such important transaction in their first language is likely immensely helpful to the settlement of newcomers to Ottawa, and is likely to be appreciated even by immigrants who have an excellent mastery of English. Another 2 percent of the ads were for language training, which is an essential part of basic settlement for many newcomers. Two percent were for supermarkets and grocery stores, which is likely helpful for newcomers who want to know where to buy foods which may

be difficult to find in mainstream supermarkets. Overall then, 64 percent of the ads in CCN provided information which could facilitate the process of basic settlement.

Civic and political engagement

Only 2 percent of the ads could be said to provide information that could facilitate civic and political engagement; these consisted of ads about members of parliament (MP) and provincial parliament (MPP). Given the many services offered to constituents by MPs and MPPs, these could also lead to services facilitating the process of basic settlement.

Social integration and acculturation

Few of the ads could be said to have the potential to facilitate social integration and acculturation, which is unfortunate given that many Chinese respondents reported that they turned to Chinese language media for this type of information. Two percent of the advertisements were for Chinese community entertainment in Ottawa, and while these could potentially facilitate the social integration of newcomers into Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community, they are less likely to bring newcomers into contact with many members of other ethno-cultural communities, or to help newcomers gain a better understanding of their city and country of settlement.

Conclusion – CCN's Integrative Potential

The analysis provided above shows that CCN contributes to each element of the Ottawa Chinese Canadian community's collective capacity. The findings suggest that it serves as an effective communication channel within the Ottawa Chinese Canadian community's communication infrastructure. Much of its content supports the creation and maintenance of networks of interaction within the local Chinese Canadian community, and some of its content also promotes the development and maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary among its readers.

CCN's ratio of original content, the geographic origins and focus of its content, the ethno-cultural focus of its content, the variety of the voices that are included, the topics that are covered, and the types of ads included all positively contribute to the paper's potential effectiveness as a communication channel. Much of CCN's content consisted of

original pieces, which were written in Canada. Approximately half of the items were focused on Canada, and nearly one in five items were focused specifically on the National Capital regions. These factors significantly increase the paper's potential as an effective communication channel as they ensure that the paper is sufficiently local in content, focus, and perspective to provide information that is relevant to the local Chinese Canadian community.

The findings revealed that CCN has the potential to be effective both as a bonding and as a bridging communication channel. The ethno-cultural focus of the paper was divided almost equally between in-group focused items, which can best serve to bond the community, and out-group focused items, which can serve as a bridge to border local, Canadian, or international issues. Moreover, though all of the identified writers were in-group, which means that out-group writers are not using the paper to communicate with the local Chinese Canadian community, nearly 15 percent of the sources were from outside the Chinese community, meaning that outside voices and perspectives are reaching the local Chinese Canadian community through CCN. Finally, the paper cited sources from a broad range of sources, including community leaders, experts, academics, government employees, meaning that it has the potential to bridge important information from the broader community to Ottawa's Chinese Canadian Community.

The findings revealed the paper to have moderate potential to be an inclusive communication channel. Though both female and male people were included as writers, covered as actors, and cited as sources, men were included twice more often than women. Similarly, though the paper included people of each age category, none of the items were written by people over 65, and few of the actors were 18 or younger.

As indicated in the section on Integrative ECM Media Use in Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community, we know that CCN is a popular newspaper among members of the local community, and that they use ECM to access a broad range of information, including news, politics, economic trends, and culture and entertainment in their country of origin, Canada, Ottawa, and the local Chinese Canadian community. The

most popular topics about which respondents sought information in ECM were news about Canada and Ottawa, information about City of Ottawa services, news about the local Chinese Canadian community and of its cultures and entertainment. Overall then, although not perfect, there was a fairly good match between the information sought by readers and the topics covered by CCN, which range between strong coverage of issues relating to the economy, education, government services and policies on the one hand, and community entertainment, festivals, holidays, and events on the other.

Further confirming the salience of CCN as a bonding or in-community communication channel, all of the ads in CCN had been placed by members of the Chinese community and were intended for members of the local Chinese Canadian community. This suggests that many community members use CCN to advertise to other community members, which is an important form of in-community communication. The finding also suggests, however, that the broader community makes little to no use of CCN to advertise to Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community.

Finally, in addition to establishing CCN's salience as communication channel, the finding also revealed that 37 percent of the of the paper's items (including ads) supported the development and maintenance of networks of interacting in Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community, and that 16 percent of the content supported the development and maintenance of an enabling integrative network. Overall then, the finding confirm that CCN is an important communication channel in the community's broader communication infrastructure, and that it has strong potential to contribute to the community's collective capacity.

The analysis of the paper's integrative content and ads provided further confirmation that CCN functions as bridging communication channel. A large portion of CCN's content and ads provide information on topics, which can directly facilitate the integration process of Chinese immigrants, but it is much stronger in this respect in some areas than in others. The paper's general profile is promising. Nearly 40 percent of the paper consists of original content, most of which is written in Canada. Roughly half of the

content with an identifiable geographic focus covered issues relating to Canada, Ontario, and Ottawa, and the paper provided a nearly equal ratio of content focused specifically on the Chinese community and content focused on the broader community. In other words, the paper is sufficiently local and broad in focus to have direct integrative potential. However, analysis of the topics covered in the paper revealed that it stands to facilitate some facets of integration much more than others. A sizeable portion of the items, 17 percent, covered issues which could provide helpful information facilitating basic settlement, such as the economy and employment, but very few provided information that could be helpful in the process of civic and political engagement, and social integration and acculturation outside of the Chinese community. The advertisements mostly had the potential to facilitate aspects of basic settlement, and were less likely to facilitate the other two aspects of integration. 64 percent of the ads were for business and services such as real estate and insurance services, for example, which could facilitate the process of basic settlement. Only two percent of the ads had the potential to facilitate civic and political engagement; these consisted of ads placed by MPs and MPPs. None of the ads could be said to have the potential to facilitate social integration and acculturation outside of the local Chinese community.

As is, CCN has much potential to facilitate the integration of Chinese immigrants. The paper functions as a good local Chinese community bonding communication channel, providing information, which can help to connect newcomers with established Chinese immigrants who can provide insight into the integration process. The paper also provides much content, which can support an enabling collective imaginary in the community and help to meet the affective and cultural needs of Chinese immigrants and of their children. CCN also serve as an excellent bridging communication channel from the broader Canadian society to the local Chinese Canadian community. As such, it provides much information that can facilitate immigrant integration, especially their basic settlement.

There is some room for improvement. Thanks to the media consumption analysis provided at the beginning, we know that members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community turn to Chinese language media for news about Canada and Ottawa, for

information about politics and the economy in Canada and Ottawa, and for information about culture and entertainment in Canada and Ottawa. By providing more of this type of content, CCN would better be meeting the preferences of their readers, while also increasing coverage of topics that could facilitate civic and political integration, and social integration and acculturation.

Health Times

Health Times (HT), a weekly newspaper with sister editions in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver is also widely read in Ottawa's Chinese community. The 3 issues analysed in this section contained a combined total of 136 advertisements, and 41 non-advertisement items. Soft news items accounted for all of the non-advertisement items. These pieces ranged from fewer than 200 words to more than one thousand; 29 percent consisted of fewer than 200 words, 22 percent were between 200 and 400 words, 24 percent were between 400 and 600 words, 12 percent were between 600 and 1000 words, and 12 percent were 1000 words or more. Overall then, when compared to CCN, *HT* contained much fewer articles, but many of these were much longer. All of the items in the three issues were written in Chinese, as was the case with CCN. As we will see below, though very different from that found in CCN, the content and ads of *HT* also have the potential to make a significant contribution to the collective capacity of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community.

HT's Potential as a Communication channel

Below, I analyse HT's content so as to assess how the paper's ratio of original content, the geographic origins and focus of its content, the ethno-cultural focus of its content, the variety of the voices that are represented, the topics that are covered, and the types of ads included affect the paper's potential effectiveness as a communication channel.

Content

Ratio of Original Content

As was the case with CCN, a considerable portion of HT's content consists of original pieces written for the paper. Though the origins of the content could not be identified for 61 percent of the items, the remaining 39 percent were determined to be original pieces (see Chart 5.22). As we saw in the literature review, researchers have found many ECM to consist mostly of re-posted and re-printed materials produced in the country of origin, which lessens the probability that they will reflect the lived reality of their readers, and that they will be effective communication channels. The two publications analysed here are more promising in this respect.

Geographic Focus of the Items

The geographic focus of HT's content items is also promising. Overall 56 percent of HT's content focused on Canada, Ontario, or Ottawa, which is twice as much as was the case for CCN (see Chart 5.23). Even more promising is that nearly 40 percent of the content focused on the NCR, meaning that the paper has great potential to circulate information between members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community. Only 7 percent of the content was focused on China. Only 2 percent was focused on other countries, which is far less than was the case for CCN. No geographical focus could be identified for 34 percent of the content items.

Item origins

HT's potential as a communication channel is further increased by the high portion of items that originated in Canada. While CCN did well in this category, having 29 percent of its writers located in Canada, HT has an even greater ratio; over 60 percent of its writers are located in Canada (see Chart 5.24). Three percent of the writers were located in china. The location of the writer could not be determined for 34 percent of the items. These numbers may be slightly misleading, however, as the OMMI coding did not verify the number of writers contributing to each publication, which means that it could very well be that many of the items are written by the same people, which could lead to a distorted

perception of the number of Canadian contributors. Even if this is the case, however, the fact that such a large number of the items are written by someone in Canada is still promising, as it increases the paper's potential as a communication channel within Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community. This is especially the case since nearly 40 percent of the content focused on the NCR, meaning that at least some of the Canadian writers are likely to be located in Canada.

Ethno-cultural focus of the Items

When it came to the ethno-cultural focus of content items, HT's profile appears to be more in-group focused than CCN, which would seem to increase the paper's potential as an in-group communication channel, but limits its bridging potential. While CCN had an equal ratio of in-community and general or out-community focused content items, 54 percent of HT's items had an in-group focus, and none were identified as having a general or out-group focus (see Chart 5.25). Nevertheless, 27 percent were identified as having a focused which included both the Chinese community and the broader community, which means that the paper still has strong potential as a bridging communication channel. For example, such content could provide analysis on inter-community relations, or on the efforts of mainstream organizations to better meet the needs of members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community.

Voices Included

Below, I analyse data on the sex, age, ethnicity, and geographic location of each items' writer, source(s), and actor(s) in order to assess the diversity of voices present in HT. The findings will provide some insight into HT's inclusivity as an in-community communication channel.

Sex

The sex data revealed an interesting and unexpected dynamic. While the sex of the great majority of the writers, sources, and actors could not be identified, women were much more represented than men among those whose sex could be identified. As illustrated in Chart 5.26, of the 10 percent of items for which the writer could be

identified, all were female. Of the 7 percent of items for which the sex of news sources could be identified, all had both female and male sources. Of the 12 percent of items for which the sex of actors could be identified, 5 percent had female actors, 7 percent had both male and female actors, and none had only male actors. Given that the sex of writers, sources, and actors could not be identified in the great majority of content items, the findings have to be analysed with caution, however these do seem to suggest that women are more represented and have more voice than men in HT.

Age

As illustrated below, the age of writers, sources, and actors could not be identified in any of the HT items, meaning that it is impossible to assess the diversity of ages represented and given voice in the paper.

Ethnicity

As illustrated in Chart 5.32, the writer's ethnicity could not be identified in 44 percent of the items. Of the rest, 56 percent were coded as being in-group and none were coded as being out-group. News sources ethnicity could not be identified in 49 percent of the content items (see Chart 5.32). Of the rest, 51 percent were coded as in-group, and none were coded as out-group. The findings add to HTs potential effectiveness as an in-community communication channel, but not as a bridging communication channel.

Occupation

Analysis of news sources' profession can reveal if, and to what extent, different levels of government, public servants, experts, etc. have a voice in ECM, and of the extent to which ECM serves as a communication channel between people of various professions and members of the community. As illustrated in Chart 5.34, news sources' occupations could not be identified in the great majority of content items. Of the sources whose occupation could be identified, 2 percent were community leaders, 2 percent were experts/academics, and 2 percent were members of the general public. Overall then, while slightly less diverse than was the case in CCN, the findings for HT suggest that the paper serves both as a bonding, in-community communication channel between

members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community, and as a bridging communication channel bringing at least some expert voices to the community.

Topic Covered

Finally, as illustrated in Chart 5.35, HT covers a much narrower range of topics than CNN. Predictably, given the paper's name, the most frequently covered topic was health, which was the focus of 46 percent of the items. The next most frequently covered topics were festivals, events, and holidays (29%), and entertainment, including concerts, plays, performances, etc. (10%). Five percent of the articles related to history. Crime, employment, climate change and the environment each were the topics of 2 percent of the items. In the three issues included in the analysis, issues relating to governance (other than health), the economy (other than employment), education, science and technology, the arts, literature, poetry, and religious themes received no coverage. Nevertheless, the paper covered a sufficiently broad array of in-group and general topics to be said to function both as a bonding and as a bridging communication channel, albeit on a narrow range of topics. Moreover, the papers substantial coverage of festivals, holidays, events, and entertainment mean that the paper has great potential as a bonding communication channel.

Ads

Advertisements account for 50 to 90 percent of the page space in the three issues of HT, meaning that they form an even more important part of the paper than was the case in CNN. 98 percent of the 136 ads placed in HT were for businesses, services, goods, events, etc. located in the National Capital Region, the remaining 2 percent were Canada-wide in focus. Most of the ads in HT were posted by members of the Chinese community, but 2 percent were coded as general, meaning that they were posted by an out-group person, service, or business. These findings suggest that HT is used by members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community to communicate to other members of the community, and also used, to a very small extent, by the broader community to

communicate with members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community. In this respect, HT is ever so slightly more promising as a bridging communication channel than CCN.

HT's Potential to support Networks of Interaction

As stated in Chapter Two, ECM can support the creation and maintenance of networks of interaction by providing information helping to connect members of the Chinese Canadian community to one another and to existing Chinese community networks. Of all the topics covered in HT, only two seem to have obvious potential to bring members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community together – Chinese community festivals, holidays, and events in Ottawa; and Chinese community entertainment in Ottawa. These two topics, are among the most likely to bring community members together, and when combined items that cover these topics account for nearly 34 percent of the paper's content items.

As indicated above, 98 all of the ads in the three issues of HT analysed as part of this study were placed by members of the Chinese community and were for businesses, services, centres, and events in the National capital region. All of the ads that meet these criteria can be said to contribute to the creation and maintenance of networks of interaction in Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community.

When combined, ads and content that can support the creation and maintenance of networks of interaction among members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community account for 83 percent of HT's items. These finding confirm that HT strongly supports the creation and maintenance of in-community networks of interactions. In so doing, HT also contributes to strengthening the collective capacity of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community.

HT's Potential to support an Enabling Collective Imaginary

As discussed above, HT has limited potential to facilitate the basic settlement, civic and political engagement, or broad social integration and acculturation of Chinese immigrants. It does, however, provide considerable coverage of in-community entertainment, festivals, events, and holidays, which can support an enabling collective

imaginary and help to satisfy the affective and cultural needs of its readers. Members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community reported the desire to meet such needs as one of their main motivations for consuming Chinese language media (Chapter Four, Charts 4.17 to 4.25).

Overall, 31 percent of HT's content items covered local Chinese community entertainment, festivals, events, and holidays, and another 8 percent covered topics related to entertainment in China. The content provided in these items has the potential to help Chinese immigrants to develop and support an enabling collective imaginary in Ottawa, and to meet a broad range of affective and cultural needs. Reading about current entertainment in China can potentially help immigrants to deal with feelings of homesickness, or help parents and children to bond and to share their ethno-cultural heritage, for example. Reading about and/or making plans to attend event in Ottawa can help newcomers overcome feeling of isolation, loneliness, and culture shock. It can also help newcomers to discover the local Chinese Canadian community, to make friends, to develop a sense of belonging, and eventually to feel proud of their community.

Of all the topics covered in the content items of HT, only 2 had the potential to support an enabling collective imaginary: Chinese community festivals, holidays, and events which accounted for 29 percent of the content items; and Chinese community entertainment which accounted for 10 percent of the content. Overall then, nearly 40 percent of the content items provided information that can support the development and maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary.

As was the case with CCN, most of the ads in HT could be said to contribute to the development and maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary in some way. Much like CCN, HT contained ads for diverse Chinese owned businesses, such as restaurants, beauty and fashion related businesses, and travel agencies. Such ads can help community members to take pride in the fact that they are part of a vibrant and successful community. HT also contained ads for professional and labour services, such as real estate, law, and auto-repair services, which can help community members to take pride

in the fact that fellow community members work in a wide variety of fields, and to broaden the horizon of possibilities for their children. One percent of the ads were for community events, and these provide information that could enable readers to become engaged in the local Chinese Canadian community, to develop a sense of belonging in Ottawa, and to take pride in Chinese culture. This is particularly important given that such content is very rare in mainstream media. Another 10 percent of the ads were for topics related to religion and spirituality and could potentially help those who reported seeking this type of information to feel at more at home in Ottawa.

HT's Provision of Integrative Content

As an important communication channel within the Ottawa Chinese Canadian community's information infrastructure HT has the potential facilitate immigrant integration through the provision of integrative information that can facilitate the basic settlement, civic and political engagement, and social integration and acculturation of immigrants. In what follows, I explore the content items and ads of HT in order to gain a better understanding of if, how, and to what extent CCN provides this type of information.

Basic Settlement

Even before engaging in a more detailed analysis of the paper's content, it is immediately apparent that HT covers much fewer integrative topics for each facet than CCN. The clearest difference between the content of the two papers relates to content which could facilitate basic settlement. Of all the topics that could facilitate basic settlement the three issues included in the study only included coverage of two topics: health and healthcare services, policies, and reforms, which accounted for 46 percent of the items, and employment, which accounted for 2 percent of the items. In comparison, only 17 percent of CCN's content had- the potential to facilitate basic settlement, but it provided information on over ten topics, ranging from business to social services. While a greater portion of HT'S content, 48 percent, provides integrative content, its overwhelming concentration on the topic of health means its potential to facilitate basic settlement is rather narrow. As stated in the section on CCN, this type of content is among the most sought by Chinese respondents (Charts 5.1 and 5.2). By providing more coverage

of topics that can provide practical settlement information, HT could both improve its potential to facilitate immigrants' settlement process, and better meet the needs of its readers.

Civic and political engagement

Like CCN, HT provided little to no coverage of the many topics which could facilitate civic and political engagement. For example, topics which related to governance, elections, education, social services, the economy, etc. received no coverage. While these are more obviously important for basic settlement, they can also lead to civic and political engagement. As discussed above, health related issues were the subject of 46 percent of the items, but only 17 percent of these were Canada focused, and only 2 percent were Ottawa focused. Still, the paper could conceivably lead to civic or political engagement on health related issues. Other topics covered by the paper which could entice Chinese immigrants to become politically engaged in Canada and Ottawa were employment, which was the subject of 2 percent of the Ottawa focused items, climate change, which was the focus of 2 percent of the items.

Festival, events, and holidays received considerably more coverage in HT than in CCN, 29 percent in HT, compared to 6 percent in CCN. Moreover, all of these items were about events in Ottawa. As discussed in the section on CCN, while coverage of these topics is more likely to provide information leading to social integration and acculturation, it can also facilitate civic engagement, as many people choose to volunteer for these events, which can provide a first entry into Canadian civic life.

Overall then, while HT does provide some content which could facilitate their readers civic and political engagement, they likely do not provide as much as their readers would like. As stated in the section on CCN, nearly a fifth of Chinese respondents to the OMMI Survey reported that they consumed Chinese language media in order to stay up to date with politics in Canada and Ottawa (Charts 5.1 and 5.2). This means that providing more of this type of content HT would better meet the needs of their readers and would

improve their potential to help Chinese immigrants to become engaged citizens in Ottawa and Canada.

Social integration and acculturation

HT likely has the most potential when it come to the provision of information which could facilitate social integration and acculturation. As outlined above, much of HT's content consists of original content, written in Canada, and focused on Ottawa and Canada. All of these items which share these characteristics have the potential to facilitate acculturation in the sense that they can help reader to gain a better understanding of life in Canada and Ottawa, and of the issues facing Canadians and Ottawans. Moreover, HT's coverage of local entertainment, which accounts for 2 percent of the items, and its coverage of local festivals, events, and holidays, which accounts for 29 percent of the items has the potential to directly facilitate social integration by helping Chinese immigrants to meet other members of the community. All of these items covered Chinese community events, which means that they mostly stand to facilitate integration and acculturation within the local Chinese community, rather than broader integration and acculturation.

As was the case with CCN, while a large portion of HT's content consists of original, locally produced items that focus on Ottawa and Canada, very few focus on out-group focused topics which could facilitate broader integration and acculturation. Nearly 40 percent of the Chinese respondents, and more than 50 percent of those with poor English language skills indicated that they consumed Chinese language media to stay up to date with culture and/or entertainment in Ottawa, meaning that HT's readers would likely appreciate more coverage of the types of topics which can facilitate broader social integration and acculturation (Charts 5.1 and 5.2).

Ads

As illustrated in Chart 5.40, advertisements were for a broad variety of local businesses, people, and services which could be helpful in the settlement, engagement and integration of immigrants. The list below provides a quick overview of the ad subjects

which are most likely to provide information that could be helpful in facilitating three components of integration in HT.

Basic Settlement

As was the case in CCN, all of the ads in HT were posted by members of the Chinese Canadian community, and the majority (75%) were for businesses and services which could be helpful in the process of settlement. As was the case with CCN, adds for important professional and trade services were the most common; 20 percent of the ads were for real estate agents and services, 15 percent were for auto sales and repairs, 5 percent for bank and financial services and institutions, 4 percent for insurances services and providers, 2 percent for lawyers and law firms, and 1 percent for accounting services and accountants. Again, the ability to access such services in their mother tongue is likely to be invaluable for newcomers and well appreciated even by the most established of immigrants.

As might have been expected given the name of the paper, ads for health related services and products were also very popular, accounting for 10 percent of all the ads in the three issues. Thanks to recent research on the social determinants of health, we know that the health of immigrants tends to decline after they arrive in Canada (Dunn & Dyck, 2000). Given this reality, it is likely helpful for newcomers to be able to access familiar health services and products relatively early in their settlement process.

For many newcomers, finding employment is one the most important and challenging aspects of the settlement process. The ability to access information about job postings and employment services in their mother tongue can help to facilitate this process. HT has strong potential to help in this process, as 6 percent of the ads present in the paper were related to employment.

The provision of information on various types of training programs and education institutions also has the potential of helping newcomers to settle successfully. Altogether, 5 percent of HT's ads pertained to education and training; 2 percent were for immigration

consultant training, and 1 percent each were for tertiary institutions, language training, and art school.

10 percent of the ads in HT were related to religion and spirituality. This is somewhat surprising considering the low levels of religiosity among Chinese immigrants. Nevertheless, for those who accord much importance to religious and spiritual practice, finding a community and place of worship can form an essential part of their basic settlement process. Accordingly, the provision of information related to religion and spirituality in Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community can help to facilitate the settlement process of such individuals.

Civic and political engagement

As was the case with CCN, only 2 percent of the ads had the potential to facilitate civic and political integration; 1 percent consisted of ads for MPPs, and another 1 percent was for community events. The provision of information on MPPs could facilitate both basic settlement as well as political engagement. MPPs offer many services to their constituents, such as help with application for identification documents and help in navigating government services, which could be helpful in immigrant's basic settlement process. Interaction with MPPs and their staff could also alert immigrants to opportunities for political engagement. For example, it is not uncommon for immigrant to write to or to visit their MP or MPPs in order to share their thoughts on policies which may affect them, or which have to do with their country of origin. Providing information on community events, on the other hand, can facilitate the process of civic engagement, as many choose to volunteer in support of these events.

Social integration and acculturation

Many of the ads had the potential to facilitate social integration and acculturation in the local Chinese Canadian community, but none had an obvious potential to facilitate broader social integration and acculturation. One percent of the ads were for community events within Ottawa Chinese Canadian community. 10 percent of the ads were related to religion and spirituality. These could help newcomers to find communities of religious

or spiritual practice where they could also meet other people and form friendships. Because all of these ads were posted by members of the local Chinese Canadian community for in-group events, however, their potential to facilitate broader integration and acculturation.

Conclusion – HT's Integrative Potential

The analysis provided above shows that HT also contributes to each element of the Ottawa Chinese Canadian community's collective capacity, albeit in a different way than was the case with CCN. The findings suggest that HT is an effective in-community bonding communication channel, though on a narrower range of topics than was the case for CCN. They also suggest that the paper has considerable potential to support the creation and maintenance of in-community networks of interaction and of an enabling collective imaginary.

HT's ratio of original content, and the geographic origins and focus of its content positively contribute to the paper's potential as a communication channel. Nearly 40 percent of HT's content consisted of original pieces, the majority of which were written in Canada. More than half of the content focused on Canada and nearly 40 percent focused specifically on the NCR. To an even greater extent than was the case for CCN, these factors ensure that the paper is sufficiently local in content, focus, and perspective to provide information that is relevant to the local Chinese Canadian community, and to form an effective communication channel for the local community.

As was the case with CCN, HT has the potential to be both a bonding and a bridging communication channel, but its bonding potential far surpasses its bridging potential. The paper is more in-group focused than CCN. More of the items were focused solely on the Chinese community, all of the items writers identified were from the Chinese community, all of the sources identified were from the Chinese community, and nearly all of the ads in HT had been placed by members of the Chinese community. While all of these factors strengthen the paper's bonding potential, they do not contribute to its bridging potential.

Moreover, very few of the writers', sources', and actors' sex and age could be identified, making it difficult to assess the paper's potential to be an inclusive communication channel. All of the identified writers were women, and while the paper contained sources and actors of both sexes, the paper included nearly twice as many female actors. None of the writers', sources', and actors' age could be identified.

Still, nearly 30 percent of the content items were focused on both the Chinese community and the broader community, and 2 percent of the ads were placed by members of the broader or 'out-group' community, meaning that the paper also had some bridging potential. Analysis of the paper's integrative content and ads, however, revealed that HT's potential to facilitate integration rather uneven. Over 50 percent of the content focused on Canada, Ontario, or Ottawa, which is twice as much as was the case for CCN, and 27 percent of its content focused on both the Chinese community and the broader community, meaning that it had the potential to provide helpful integrative information. However, analysis of the topics covered in the paper revealed that HT covered a much narrower range of topics than CCN, and that it had much more potential to facilitate some components of integration than it did to facilitate others. While HT contained a much greater ratio of content that had the potential to facilitate basic settlement than CCN, 48 percent in HT compared to 17 percent in CCN, most of the content focused exclusively on health related topics, meaning that it only had the potential to help with a very limited range of topics. Moreover, as was the case for CCN, HT provided little coverage of many important topics that had the potential to facilitate immigrants' civic and political engagement such as governance, elections, education, social services, the economy, etc. As was the case with CCN, the advertisements in HT also provided much information that could facilitate basic settlement, but provided little information that could facilitate engagement and integration.

HT's strongest integrative potential seems to be in its provision of content supports networks of interactions, and enabling collective imaginary, and meet the affective and cultural needs of Chinese Canadians living in Ottawa. Nearly 30 percent of its content has the potential to do so. By providing content that supports networks of

interaction, HT can connect newcomers to more established Chinese immigrants, who can help to ease the process of integration through the provision of helpful advice. By supporting an enabling collective imaginary and providing content that can help to meet the affective and cultural needs of Chinese Canadians living in Canada, the paper can its readers to strengthen their sense of belonging in Ottawa.

Ottawa's Latin American Community

Spanish Language Media Use in Ottawa's Latin American Community

The data analysis carried out in Chapters Three and Four, revealed that members of Ottawa Latin American community also consumed a broad range of local, and Canadian mainstream media, and of local, Canadian, and country of origin Spanish language media. The analysis presented in Chapter Three revealed that members of the local Latin American community were even more likely than those of the local Chinese Canadian community to consume either mainstream media alone, or a combination of mainstream and Spanish language media. Only 5 percent relied exclusively on Spanish language media for news about Canada, and only 4 percent relied exclusively on Spanish language media for news about Ottawa (Chart 4.11). For those with poor English language skills however, exclusive reliance of Spanish language media to access news about Canada and Ottawa rose to 13 percent and 9 percent respectively (Charts 4.13 and 4.14). While this is much lower than was the case in the local Chinese Canadian community, the percentage of those who rely exclusively on Spanish language media is high enough to confirm that the question of direct integrative content in Ottawa's Spanish language media is salient.

The analysis presented in Chapter Four also revealed Latin American respondents were more likely than Chinese respondents to watch ECM media in order to meet a broad range of affective needs, in ways that could indirectly facilitate their integration process. Specifically, I argued that Latin American respondents used Spanish language media to address feelings of nostalgia (40%), to facilitate intergenerational bonding (23%), to transmit cultural heritage from parents to children (35%), to explore ethno-cultural roots and to develop a hybrid ethno-cultural identity, especially among those born and/or

raised in Canada (59%), to maintain a positive sense of ethno-cultural and national heritage (39%), and to discover and to belong to a local ethno-cultural community (29%) (Chapter 4, Charts 2.17 to 4.25). Combined with the finding, in Chapter Three, that it is those who have been here the longest who are the most likely to consume local Spanish language media, these findings suggest that local Spanish media may play a more important role in the longer term, less direct aspects of integration, such as the development of a hybrid sense of identity, for example, than in the processes of basic settlement.

Analysis of another OMMI 2012 Survey question (Part E, Questions 1 and 2), which enquired about respondents' broad Spanish language media use, revealed that members of Ottawa's Latin American community turn to Chinese language media in order to stay up to date on a wide variety of topics (see Chart 5.1). As was the case in the local Chinese Canadian community, the most commonly sought type of content is information related to various types of news, culture, and entertainment in Latin America. Nevertheless, the data also reveals that a substantial portion of Latin American respondents also used Spanish language media in order to access information about Ottawa, Canada, and the local Latin American community. Nearly one in three respondents indicated using Spanish language media to access news in Canada, 14 percent reported using it to access news in Ottawa, and 20 percent to access news in the local Latin American community. More than one in five used to access information about City of Ottawa services. Many also used Spanish language media to access information about culture and entertainment in Canada (28%), in Ottawa (11%), and in the local Latin American community (26%). It is worth noting that the percentage of Latin American respondents who reported using Spanish language media to these ends, though sizeable, is smaller than was the case in the Chinese community.

Given the greater use of Spanish language media to access news and information in the country of origin, it would have been reasonable to assume that Latin American respondents were more likely to use local Spanish language media to access in-community news and information about the local Latin American community, but that is

not what the data reveals. As was the case among members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian respondents, Latin American respondents were slightly more likely to use local Spanish language media to access news and information about Canada in general, than they were to use it to access news and information about the local Latin American community (see Chart 5.41).

Those with poor English language skills are likely to be the most vulnerable and to be completely dependent Spanish language media for information about Ottawa and Canada. With this in mind, I wanted to see if use increased among Latin American respondents with lower English language skills. Here, however, the findings were very different from those in the Chinese community. Contrary to what might have been expected, those with the poorest English language skills were not the most likely to use Spanish language media in order to keep up with news and information about Canada, Ottawa, or even the local Latin American community. In fact, as illustrated in Chart 5.42, they were the least likely to use local Spanish language media to access information about the local Latin American community. With the exception of information about City of Ottawa services, they were more or less equally likely to use it to access information about Ottawa as those with the highest English language skills. For reasons which are not immediately apparent, it was those with intermediate English language skills who were most likely to use Spanish language media to access news and information about Canada, Ottawa, and the local Latin American community, and it was those with the highest language skills who were the most likely to use Spanish language media to access news and information about their country of origin. Nevertheless, those with poor and intermediate English language skills were much more likely than those who were fluent in English to use Spanish language media in order to access news in Canada, between 43 and 46 percent did so, information on culture and entertainment in Canada, between 39 and 50 percent did so, and information on City of Ottawa services, between 30 and 35 percent did so. Overall then, the findings confirm that the presence of integrative content in local Spanish media remains very salient, and that local Spanish language media has

the potential to facilitate basic settlement, engagement, and integration to the extent that it provides integrative information.

The data on the use of local Spanish language media to access information about the local Latin American community is especially revealing. Those with intermediate language skills are by far the most likely to use this type of media to this end. Over 40 percent of those with intermediate language skills used local Spanish language media in order to access information about culture and entertainment in the local Latin American community. More than one in three used it to access information about local Latin American community events. Approximately one in five used it to access information about Latin American community organizations and the services they offer. Given that language skills tend to be poorest at the time of arrival and to improve as the settlement process progresses, these findings suggest that Latin American immigrants turn to local Spanish language media in order to discover the local Latin American community and to develop a sense of belonging in this community. The fact that those with the highest language skills are more likely to use local Spanish language media to access information about the local Latin American community adds further support to the notion that community members use this media to maintain a sense of belonging. If this is the case, in addition to its potential to facilitate direct integration, local Spanish language media has the potential to indirectly facilitate integration to the extent that it provides content that promotes knowledge about, and pride in the local Latin American community.

The analysis provided below will help to elucidate how and to what extent local Spanish language print and electronic media has the potential to serve as a significant communication channel in the local Latin American community and to facilitate the integration of Latin American immigrants.

Content Analysis of *Eco Latino* and *Mundo en Español*

In this section, I analyse the content of *Eco Latino* (EL) and then the content of *Mundo en Español* (MEE). Specifically, I the extent to which the papers form an important communication channel within the community's broader information infrastructure. I

then assess if, how, and to what extent the papers support the development and maintenance of networks of interaction by providing information which can help to connect members of Ottawa's Latin American community to each other and to existing community networks. Then I assess if, how, and to what extent the papers supports the development and maintenance enabling collective imaginary, which can contribute to immigrants' feelings of belonging and agency, and help to meet the affective and cultural needs of community members. Finally, I assess if, how, and to what extent the paper provides information that can help to facilitate immigrants' basic settlement, civic and political engagement, social integration and acculturation.

Throughout, I refer back to the local Spanish media use profile provided above in order to gain a better understanding of the extent to which the papers provide information which match the needs of their readers.

Eco Latino

EL has been serving Ottawa's Latin American community since June 1992, when it was launched by Jaime Marulanda. It is one of two local Spanish language publications, and the 2012 OMMI survey data suggests that it is widely read by members of Ottawa's Latin American community. The 3 issues analysed in this section contained a combined total of 129 advertisements, and 54 non-advertisement items. Analysis of the publication revealed that it is composed of soft news, 56 percent of non-ad content fell in this category, of columns (30%), of hard news (7%), and of photo essays (7%). Content items vary considerably in terms of their length: 22 percent contain fewer than 200 word, 19 percent between 200 and 400 words, 28 percent between 400 and 600 words, 15 percent between 600 and 800 words, 9 percent between 800 and 1000 words, and 7 percent contained more than 1000 words. Of the issues included in the analysis, the great majority (94%) of the items were written in Spanish, but the paper also contained items written in English (4%), and items written in both Spanish and English. As we will see below, EL has the potential to make a strong contribution to the collective capacity of Ottawa's Latin American community.

EL's Potential as a Communication channel

Below, I analyse EL's content in order to explore how the paper's ratio of original content, the geographic origins and focus of its content, the ethno-cultural focus of its content, the variety of the voices that are represented, the topics that are covered, and the types of ads included affect the paper's potential effectiveness as a communication channel.

Content

Ratio of Original Content

As illustrated in Chart 5.43, all of EL's content consisted of original pieces written for EL. In an age when even the most well-known mainstream media sources regularly reprint and report stories that have appeared elsewhere, this represents quite an achievement, especially for newspaper that is essentially produced by one person. The presence of so much original content in a local publication considerably increases EL's potential to circulate information between members of the local and broader Canadian Latin American community, and that its content speaks to and reflect the lived realities of the local population.

Geographic Focus of the Items

The geographic focus of EL's content items is also very promising. When combined 67 percent of the content items focused, at least in part, on Canada, and 35 percent focused specifically on the NCR. 17 percent of content items were identified as having a mixed geographic focus, meaning that they covered issues relating to Canada and another country. Only 4 percent of the items focused on a Latin American country, and only 2 percent focused on countries outside of Canada and Latin America. Geographic focus was found to be non-applicable in 28 percent of the items. Overall then, the EL can be said to have a very strong Canadian and local focus, which maximises paper's potential to serve as a communication channel in the local and broader Canadian Latin American community.

Item origins

This likelihood is further strengthened by the fact that all of EL's content items were written by people located in Canada. When analysing the item origin data for local Chinese language media, I was constrained to guess at the location of writers in Canada. Identifying the location of the writers in EL was made much easier by the facts that I have basic Spanish language skills and could identify several of the writers as being residents of Ottawa, and that the paper's producer, Mr. Jaime Marulanda, was very forthcoming and generous in answering questions about the paper. Thanks to these two factors, I was able to establish that nearly all of the content items in the paper are written by people located in Ottawa, which considerably adds to the paper's potential to function as a communication channel within the local Latin American population.

Ethno-cultural focus of the Items

Also very promising are EL's percentage of in-community and out-community focused content items. As illustrated in Chart 5.46, 44 percent of the items were identified as having an in-group focus. 26 percent of the items had an out-group focus. 17 percent of the items focused on both the Latin American community and the broader community. 13 percent of the items did not have a clear ethno-cultural focus. Overall then, the paper is sufficiently focused on the Latin American community to serve as a bonding, in-community communication channel, and sufficiently focused on the broader community and on the intersections of the Latin American and broader community to also serve as a bridging communicational channel between the local Latin American community and the broader community.

Voices Included

Below, I analyse data on the sex, age, ethnicity, and geographic location of each items' writer, source(s), and actor(s) in order to assess the diversity of voices present in EL. The findings will provide some insight into EL's inclusivity as an in-community communication channel.

Sex

By looking at the ratio females and males included in EL as writers, sources, and actors, we can gain some insight into the gender inclusivity and equity of the paper as a communication channel. As illustrated in Chart 5.47, 20 percent of the writers were female, and 80 percent were male. Of the 4 items that had sources, 1 was female, 2 were male, and 1 had both female and male sources. Of the 14 items that were about people, 7 percent were about females, 29 percent were about males, and 64 percent were about both females and males. Overall, though the paper is inclusive of both men and women, the findings suggest that women are less represented and have less of a voice than men in EL. Once again, it is important to note that this dynamic not particular to EL, but is found in most media (Morris, 2016).

Age

By looking at the age of EL's writers, sources, and actors, we can gain some insight into the age inclusivity of the paper. No age could be identified for 69 percent of the writers. Of those whose age could be identified all were estimated to be between the ages of 19 and 65. Of the 4 items that had sources, 2 had sources who were estimated to be between the ages 19 and 64, and 2 had sources whose age could not be identified. Of the 14 items that were about people, 7 percent were about people who were younger than 18, 29 percent were about people whose ages were estimated to be between the ages of 19 and 64, none were about people who ages were estimated to be 65 or more, 57 were about multiple people falling in different age categories, and 7 percent were about people whose ages were unclear. Overall then, if these issues are representative of the paper, EL cannot be said to be very inclusive of youth and senior voices. Though it is slightly more inclusive in terms of the actors that it represents, the paper also cannot be said to provide much content about youth and seniors.

Ethnicity

As illustrated in Chart 5.53, the great majority (91%) of the writers were identified as being part of the Latin American community. Still, 9 percent of the writers were identified as being 'out-group', that is as being part of the broader community. The

majority (75%) of the news sources were identified as being part of the Latin American community, but a large portion (25%) were identified as being part of the broader community. These findings bode very well for EL's potential of functioning as an effective bonding, in-community communication channel. The findings are also quite promising in terms of the paper's potential to function as a bridging communication channel, because they reveal that the paper includes the voices of people in the broader community as writers and sources, and that members of the broader community use the paper in order to communicate with members of the local Latin American community. One of the regular contributors to the paper, for example, is mayor Jim Watson who has a column on issues, policy changes, and services related to the City of Ottawa. His column usually appears in English but is sometimes translated to Spanish. Among the other out-group contributors were lawyers, accountants, real estate agents, and immigration consultants. This is quite an accomplishment for a relatively small ethno-cultural newspaper and speaks to the producer's ability to maximize the impact of his paper, including its contribution to the local Latin American community's collective capacity, with very few resources.

Occupation

As illustrated in Chart 5.45, of the 4 news sources which could be identified, one was coded as a community leader, one was coded as a spokesperson, and two were coded as other. Given that there were only four sources, I was able to return to the items in order to obtain more detailed information on who the sources were. The first was the Executive Director of the Canadian Film Institute; he was discussing the popularity of Argentine Cinema at a series of workshops on Argentine cinema organized conjointly by the Argentine Embassy in Canada, the Canadian Film Institute, and the University of Ottawa's Spanish program. The second was a Spanish speaking author whose book, which was co-authored with an Ottawa based writer, had made the 2013 shortlist for the International Book Awards. The third was a curator who was speaking at the 2013 Ottawa Latin American Art Exhibition, organized by the Embassies of Honduras, Ecuador, and Paraguay. The fourth was a Uruguayan painter speaking about the Canadian influences in

his art as part of his Art exhibition in Ottawa. These four examples reveal an impressive cultural vibrancy in Ottawa's Latin American community and of its place in Ottawa, all of which is communicated to other community members through EL, and reveal the paper's salience as an in-community communication channel.

Topic Covered

As we can see in Chart 5.56, the three issues of EL studied covered a variety of topics. The most popular of these were those relating to festivals, events, and holidays, which accounted for 22 percent of the content items, followed by those relating to literature and poetry (15%), immigration services, policies, reforms (9%), art (6%), horoscopes (6%), healthcare services, policies, reforms (4%). The paper also contained items covering welfare and social services, policies, reforms (2%), climate change and the environment (2%), social movement mobilizations, protests, social activism (2%), crime (2%), religion and spirituality (2%). Overall, the paper covers topics which can help to connect members of Ottawa's Latin American community by circulating information about community art, culture, events, and religious practices. With over 50 percent of the items covering such topics, the paper appears to function as a strong in-community bonding communication channel. At least 20 percent of the content items also covered important topics relating to the broader societal, economic, and political context, such as crime, social movements, and immigration policy reform, meaning that the also functions as a bridging communication channel.

Ads

Advertisements form an important component of EL, accounting for 10 to 50 percent of the page space in EL. All of the 129 ads in the three issues of EL targeted people in the NCR. As we can see in Chart 5.57, 64 percent of the ads were placed by members of the Latin American community, 22 percent were placed members of the broader community, and 13 percent were of mixed source, most of which were placed by members of the Latin American community working for non-community specific businesses. The findings suggest that the paper is used as an in-community communication channel by members of the Latin American community who wish to

advertise to others members of the community. They also suggest that the paper is used by members of the broader community who wish to advertise to the members of the local Latin American community, and to a much larger extent than was the case in the two Chinese language papers.

EL's Potential to support Networks of Interaction

As discussed above, the OMMI 2022 Survey revealed that it is those with intermediate language skills who are most likely to use local Spanish language media in order to obtain information about local Latin American culture and entertainment, events, and community organizations and services. This suggest that immigrants use local Spanish language media in order to discover and engage with the local Latin American community, which necessarily connects them to existing networks of interaction, and in so doing supports and reinforces these networks. The content analysis of EL provided above demonstrates that much of the paper's content and ads provide information that responds to these needs. Three of the topics covered by EL had obvious potential to bring members of Ottawa's Latin American community together; these were festivals/holidays/events, entertainment, such as concerts, plays, performances, etc., which bring community members together, and religion and spirituality, which bring community members' attention to the local parish. Combined, 30 percent of the items in the three issues covered these topics. All of the ads which were placed by members of the local Latin American community for businesses owned by community members, and services provided by community members can be said to support the creation and maintenance of in-community networks of interaction, because they have the potential to bring community members in contact with each other. Overall, 64 percent of the ads met these criteria. Some of the ads had more potential than others. For example, while ads for community businesses of professional services offered by members of the community have the potential to bring individual community members in contact with each other, ads for community events and entertainment, which accounted for the 12 percent of the ads in the three issues, have the potential to bring many members of the local Latin American community together in a setting that facilitates interaction. Ads for

community business associations, community associations, and community parishes, which accounted for 12 percent of the ads in EL, have even more potential to support community networks of interactions in that they bring readers attention to existing networks. Overall, these findings confirm that EL strongly supports the creation and maintenance of networks of interaction in Ottawa's Latin American community.

EL's Potential to support an Enabling Collective Imaginary

EL has great potential to support the development and maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary among members of Ottawa's Latin American community, and to help meet their affective and cultural needs. This is particularly promising given that the ability to access such content is one of the main reasons reported by members of the local Latin American community for consuming Spanish language media.

Regardless of its geographical focus, content on in-community art, poetry and literature, entertainment, festivals, events, and religion and spirituality, which accounted for 51 percent of the content items in EL, can be helpful in supporting and enabling collective imaginary and in meeting a broad variety of affective and cultural needs. The ability to meet such needs can facilitate the immediate and long-term, intergenerational process of integration. Helping readers to overcome feelings of nostalgia, to facilitate intergenerational bonding, to explore one's ethno-cultural roots and to develop a hybrid ethno-cultural identity, and to maintain a positive sense of one's cultural and national heritage. All of these were selected as motivations for consuming ECM by a significant portion of the Latin American respondents (Chapter 4, Charts 4.17 to 4.25).

When such content also focuses on the local community, it can help newcomers to discover the local Latin American community and to begin the process of forging ties in this community. Such content can also help established immigrants to maintain a sense of belonging and pride in the local Latin American community. For example, the article about the local authors who were shortlisted for a literary award showcases successful community members, and the articles about the Latin American Art Exhibition and the Argentine Film workshops highlights the community's cultural vibrancy. These articles can

help to remedy the underrepresentation of the Latin American community in Canadian and local mainstream media. Items covering religion and spirituality can offer a space where community members can see their religions and religious practices portrayed in positive light, which is important considering that many Latin American Canadians report being religious. Here too, EL has much potential as 26 percent of the content items covered these topics with a local focus. Such topics are unlikely to receive much coverage in the mainstream media, so by covering these topics EL fills an informational gap for its readers, and in this way can help them to feel more at home in Ottawa.

As was the case in the Chinese language media, many of the ads placed in EL have the potential to support an enabling collective imaginary. The ads are for a broad variety of businesses owned by members of the local Latin American community, such as auto repair shops, restaurants, grocery stores, and law firms. These allow members of the local Latin American community to see successful local Latin American entrepreneurs. Ads about local Latin American professionals such as accountants, lawyers, and real estate agents allow community members to see community members in a range of professions. These types of ads help to broaden the generally narrow representation of Latin American people found in Canadian media, and may help to remedy the extremely biased representation of Latin Americans in mainstream American news and television programming. Finally, ads about religion and spirituality, local Spanish Language radio programs, community art, community associations, and community events and entertainment offer a positive and celebratory portrayal of the community which can boost community pride. These also have the potential of bringing community members together, which could help community members to overcome feelings of nostalgia and loneliness, to maintain a positive sense of the Latin American community, to bond with their children in a context which also facilitates the intergenerational transmission of cultural heritage. Ads for arts and crafts, book stores, multicultural radio channels, and religion and spirituality, can boost community pride, help immigrants to find the resources to teach their children about their cultural heritage, and can help the children of immigrants to explore their heritage and to develop a hybrid identity that feels right to

them. Ads for restaurants, supermarkets, and grocery stores, can help newcomers to overcome culinary culture shock, and more established immigrants to feel more at home in Ottawa. Such ads account for 64 percent of the ads placed in the paper, meaning that a majority of the ads have the potential to support an enabling collective imaginary in Ottawa's Latin American community.

EL's Provision of Integrative Content

As an important part of the Ottawa Latin American community's communication infrastructure, EL can facilitate immigrant integration by providing information that can facilitate the basic settlement, civic and political engagement, and social integration and acculturation of immigrants. In what follow, I engage in a more detailed analysis of EL's content in order to gain a better understanding of if, how, and to what extent EL provides this type of information.

Basic Settlement

Many respondents to the 2012 OMMI survey reported that they turned to Spanish language media in order to stay up to date with a variety of topics which could be helpful in the process of basic settlement. For example, 31 percent of Latin American respondents, and 43 percent of those with basic language skills reported that they used Spanish language media to obtain news about Canada (Charts 5.41 and 5.42). 21 percent of Latin American respondents, and 30 percent of those with poor English language skills reported consuming Spanish language media in order to obtain information about City of Ottawa services (Charts 5.41 and 5.42). To the extent that EL provides this type of information, it could help to facilitate Latin American immigrant's basic settlement.

Of all the topics which could facilitate basic settlement, EL covered topics relating to health and healthcare services/policies/reforms, immigration services /policies /reforms, welfare and social services/policies/reforms, and religion and spirituality. Items covering issues relating to these topics have the potential to facilitate basic settlement to the extent that they are focused on Ottawa, Ontario, or Canada.

As illustrated in Chart 5.59, of the 4 percent of items on health and healthcare services/policies/reforms, all were focused on the NCR; of the 9 percent of items on immigration services/policies/reforms, all focused on Canada; of the 2 percent of items on welfare and social services, all focused on Canada. When combined, 15 percent of the items in EL covered topics relating to health, immigration, and welfare and social services/policies/ reforms. These are important government services and providing information on how these services are provided in Canada, even if this is not the main topic of the item, can help newcomers to better understand how things work in their country and city of settlement, and in so doing facilitate their basic settlement. For example, the paper contained an article on the citizenship test, which could be very helpful to newcomers and international students who are considering becoming Canadian citizens. Another article address family class sponsorships and what women can do if they are victims of violence against women. The paper also contained a very helpful article on how to prepare one's home for the winter months.

As illustrated in Chart 5.60, of the 9 percent of items on religion and spirituality, 2 percent were focused on the NCR. In a community with a relatively high degree of religiosity, it is likely that the need to find a religious community and a place of worship figures prominently in the early settlement stages of many Latin American immigrants. EL contained articles on local Christmas celebrations and on the Virgin of Guadalupe Festival, for example. In providing information on these topics, EL can facilitate this aspect of immigrant settlement.

The three issues covered provided not coverage of many topics that could be helpful in the basic settlement process. Namely, the three issues provided no coverage of issues relating to the economy business, employment, finance and investment, or education. If the three issues are representative of the types of topics covered by the paper, there is some room for improvement. By providing coverage of a broader range of topics, EL would increase its potential to facilitate immigrant integration. Nevertheless, the findings confirm that 17 percent of EL's content items provide information which could be helpful in the process of basic settlement.

Civic and political engagement

Many of the topics that covered in EL that could facilitate basic settlement could also help to facilitate civic and political engagement. Coverage of issues relating to health, immigration, welfare and social services, policies, and reforms, for example, could encourage immigrant to become involved in promoting reforms, or in volunteering to meet needs at the local level.

In addition to these topics, EL also covered many others which could encourage civic and political engagement. The most obvious of these is coverage of issues relating to social movement mobilization, protest, and social activism, which accounted for 2 percent of the content items. Unfortunately, these were not focused on social activism in the NRC or Canada. Another topic likely to encourage civic and political engagement is that of climate change and the environment, which was covered by 2 percent of the content items. Though these items did not focus specifically on Canada and Ottawa, because of the borderless nature of the impact of climate change, this coverage could be said to facilitate engagement.

Other topics which could conceivably facilitate engagement are those relating to local festivals, holidays, and events. Of the 22 percent of content items covering this topic, 20 percent focused on the NCR. Most focused on in-community events, which diminishes their potential to facilitate engagement in the broader society. Nevertheless, many people volunteer at these types of events, meaning that these items could potentially serve as a catalyst toward civic engagement.

The Mayor's regular column was the source of most of the civically and politically engaging items. For example, the Mayor discussed plans for City led green initiatives, the Lansdown development project, the municipal transportation infrastructure, and the municipal budget. All of these topics have great potential to engage members of the local Latin American community.

Many topics which could facilitate civic and political engagement, such as those relating to the economy, to employment, and to education did not receive any coverage

in the three issues included in the study. While this suggest that there is room for improvement in this regard, the overall profile of the paper is still strong. When added together, nearly 40 percent of EL's content items had the potential to facilitate engagement.

Social integration and acculturation

As discussed above, all of the content items in EL were original pieces, the great majority of which were written by members of the local Latin American community. To some extent, all such content pieces can be said to have the potential to help immigrants in the process of social integration and acculturation, because these provide readers with analysis from the perspective of established members of the local Latin American community, thereby helping newcomers to gain a better understanding of how these topics are treated in Canada. Be that as it may, some of the topics covered in the paper have much more obvious potential to contribute to immigrant's social integration and acculturation.

The arts, literature and poetry are intimately related to a community's and to a place's culture. 21 percent of the items in the three issues of EL touched on these topics, and 7 percent related to local art and the broader community in Ottawa. While all local art can be said to help in the process of acculturation, art that includes out-group artists has more potential to facilitate learning about the cultures of other local communities.

Festivals, events, holidays, and entertainment are also closely related to the culture of a community and of a place. 28 percent of the items in EL covered these topics, but only 7 percent focus on the NCR and include a partial focus on the broader community. As is the case with art, while all local festivals, events, holidays, and entertainment can be said to facilitate acculturation to some extent, those that focus on the NCR and which include a focus on the broader community have a greater potential to facilitate acculturation to the broader community, and to foster social integration by bringing Latin American immigrants in contact with members of the broader community.

Items covering issues relating to other ethno-cultural groups' religious holidays, religions, and spiritual practices, could help Latin American immigrants to gain a better understanding of other ethno-cultural groups living in Ottawa and Canada. 9 percent of the items present in EL covered topics related to religion and spirituality, but only 2 percent were inclusive of the broader community and had a local focus.

As we saw in the section on Spanish language media use among members of the local Latin American community, nearly 30 percent of Latin American respondents, and 50 percent of those with intermediate English language skills reported using Spanish language media in order to stay up to date with culture and entertainment in Canada. With 17 percent of the items in the three issues of EL included in the study covering these topics, the paper has considerable potential to meet this need, and to contribute to the social integration and acculturation of Latin American immigrants.

Ads

As illustrated in Chart 5.62, advertisements in EL were for a broad variety of local businesses, services, and professionals which could be helpful in the settlement, engagement, and integration of Latin American immigrants. The list below provides a quick overview of the types of ads found in the paper, and of the aspects of integration that these are most likely to facilitate.

Basic Settlement

Overall then, 57 percent of the ads in EL provided information which could facilitate the process of basic settlement, which is a type of content that was sought by many in the Latin American community, especially by those with poor English language skills. 13 percent of the ads were for Lawyers and law firms. 7 percent of the ads were for real estate agents. Accounting, auto sales and repairs, immigration consultants, insurance companies and agents, and health related services each accounted for 2 percent of the ads. The ability to consult professionals, such as lawyers, real estate agents, and accountants, and to conduct important transactions such as the purchase of a home or

automobile in their first language is likely to be appreciated and helpful in the settlement process of Latin American newcomers.

The paper also included ads placed by organizations and members of the broader community, which could be helpful in the process of settlement. 3 percent of the ads were for language training schools. These can be especially helpful, as learning to communicate in one or both official languages is an essential part of the settlement process of many newcomers. 1 percent of the ads were for tertiary education institutions. These ads can be very helpful for those who opt to pursue more education once they arrive in Canada. 4 percent of the ads were placed by members of parliament, and members of provincial parliament; given that elected representatives provide many helpful services to their constituents, these have the potential to facilitate immigrant settlement.

Other ads placed by community members had the potential to facilitate settlement by bringing newcomers' attention to established immigrants who could help them to settle in Ottawa. 2 percent of the ads were for business associations; these could potentially help newcomers to find employment. 2 percent of the ads were for community associations; these could help newcomers to meet settled immigrants who could provide them with help and advice on a wide range of topics, such as finding a family doctor or registering their children for school, for example. 8 percent of the ads related to religion and spirituality; these could help newcomers to find a place of worship. Finally, 5 percent of the ads were for supermarkets and grocery stores. As stated earlier, we know that immigrants' health and nutrition declines after they arrive in Canada. By providing the foods with which immigrants are familiar, these can help newcomers to stay adjust to life in Ottawa more smoothly and to stay healthy as they do so.

Civic and political engagement

Overall, 25 percent of the ads had the potential to facilitate engagement of Latin American immigrants. Ads for federal and provincial elected representative, which accounted for 4 percent of the ads in EL, bring readers attention to Canadian and provincial politics, and in so doing have the potential to facilitate engagement. Ads for

charities, which accounted for 2 percent of the ads, also have some potential to engage readers in service of a cause in their community. Other ads, such as those for community associations, community events, and religion and spirituality, which when combined accounted for 19 percent of the ads also have some potential to facilitate engagement, as they bring readers' attention to organizations that tend to be civically engaged.

Social integration and acculturation

Though many of the ads had the potential to facilitate in-group integration and acculturation, few could be said to have the potential to facilitate social integration with and acculturation to members of the broader community. Ads for arts and crafts, book stores, community associations, community events, entertainment, and religion and spirituality, for example, have much more potential to facilitate broad integration and acculturation if they bring readers attention to the broader community than if they focus specifically on the Latin American community. Nevertheless, some of the ads had integrative potential. Ads for multicultural radio channels, which accounted for 2 percent of the ads in EL, even if they are for Spanish language programs, bring readers attention to a resource that could provide them with information and insight on other ethno-cultural groups in Ottawa and Canada. Ads for night clubs, which accounted for 1 percent of the ads in EL, have the potential to bring readers into contact with members of the broader community, and in a social setting which strongly promotes social interaction.

Conclusion – EL's Integrative Potential

EL's general profile is very promising. One hundred percent of the paper's content consists of original, locally produced content. 50 percent of the content focused on the NCR, Ontario, or Canada, and it contains a very promising ratio of content focused specifically on the Latin American community, of content focused on the broader community, and of content focused on both. The finding presented above suggest that EL contributes to each element of the local Latin American community's collective capacity and has considerable potential to facilitate immigrant integration.

The ratio of original content, the geographic origin and focus of the content, the ethno-cultural focus of the content, and the topics that are covered all positively contribute to the paper's potential effectiveness as a local Latin American community communication channel, and as a bridging communication channel from the broader community to the local Latin American community. All of the content consisted of original and locally written pieces, of which 35 percent were focused on the NCR. This ensures that the paper is sufficiently local in content, focus, and perspective to be relevant to the local Latin American community. Moreover, the ethno-cultural focus of the content items consisted of a promising *mélange* of items focusing on the Latin American community, of items focusing on the broader community, and of items focusing on both. Adding to the paper's dual potential is the fact that thought most of the writers were from the Latin American community, which adds to the paper's potential as an in-community communication channel, 9 percent of the articles were written by members of the broader community, which bodes well for the paper's potential as a bridging communication channel. Also promising on both counts is that, of the 4 sources cited, 3 were from the Latin American community, which is promising for bonding, and 1 was from the broader community, which is promising for bridging. The fact that high profile members of the broader community, such as the Mayor of Ottawa, use the paper to communicate with members of the local Latin American community speaks volumes to the salience of the paper as a communication channel.

Further confirming the salience of EL as an in-community communication channel was that most of the ads were placed by members of the local Latin American community, meaning that community members use the paper to advertise to other community members. Also promising however, was that members of the broader community used the paper to reach members of the local community, meaning that it is also being used as a bridging communication channel, which, as will be discussed in more detail below, adds to the paper's potential to facilitate settlement.

The findings revealed that EL has a moderate potential to be an inclusive communication channel. Though both men and women were included as writers, sources,

and actors, men were much more represented in all three categories. In terms of age diversity, all of the writers and sources whose ages could be identified were between the ages of 19 and 64, and the great majority of news actors fell in this age category too. Overall then, the paper could stand to be more inclusive and equitable in terms of the age and sex of the people whose voices are presents and who are represented in the paper.

EL also supports the development and maintenance of in-community networks of interaction. 30 percent of the content and 64 percent of the ads supported the creation and maintenance of in-community networks of interaction. This is important because it helps newcomers to discover the local Latin American community, and gives them opportunities to be in contact with more established Latin American immigrants who can provide them with helpful information about the integration process.

47 percent of the content, and 64 percent of the ads were found to promote community pride, to provide a more nuanced representation of the community and of its members, and thereby to support an enabling collective imaginary among members of the community. This content also has the potential to help meet some of the readers' affective and cultural needs. In so doing, the paper can ease the process of integration and help Latin American immigrants and their children to feel more at home in Ottawa.

Moreover, analysis of the topics covered by the paper revealed that a much of the paper's content and ads provided information which could directly facilitate basic settlement, civic and political engagement, and social integration and acculturation. 17 percent of the content items and 57 percent of the ads provided information on a range of topics (health and healthcare, immigration, welfare and social services, and religion and spirituality) which could facilitate the process of basic settlement. Nearly 40 percent of EL's content items and 25 percent of its ads had the potential of facilitating engagement by providing information on government reforms, social movements, and community associations, for example. 17 percent of the content items and 3 percent of the ads covered topics such as the arts, entertainment, festivals, etc., which could help to facilitate immigrants' social integration and acculturation. Finally, the findings revealed

that the paper has tremendous potential to smooth and facilitate the process of integration by providing content which responds to Latin American immigrants affective and cultural needs; over 50 percent of the content and almost all of the ads did so in some way.

The three issues analysed provide much information which can directly and indirectly facilitate each aspect of integration, and thanks to the media consumption analysis provided at the outset, we know that many members of the local Latin American community do seek out this type of content in their local Spanish language media. While there is some room for improvement, for example the three issues did not cover issues related to the economy or to educations, and did not provide much information on broader Canadian culture, as a whole there is a very good match between the community's needs and the paper's content.

Mundo en Español

Produced by Cesar Antonio Bello, Mundo en Español (MEE), is a semi-monthly Spanish language electronic newspaper, and is also popular among members of Ottawa's Latin American community. The three issues analysed in this section contained a total of 112 ads, and 29 content items. Soft news accounted for 66 percent of the content items. The rest was composed of analysis and features (14%), hard news (10%), letter to the editor (3%), and photo essays (3%). Content items ranged from fewer than 200 words to more than a thousand; 10 percent consisted of fewer than 200 words, 41 percent were between 200 and 400 words, 14 percent were between 400 and 600 words, 7 percent were between 800 and 1000 words, and 7 percent were 1000 words or more. Overall, when compared to EL, MEE contained fewer articles, which were on average shorter than those in EL. 97 percent of the content items were written in Spanish, and 3 per were in English.

MEE's Potential as a Communication channel

Below, I analyse MEE's content so as to assess how the paper's ratio of original content, the geographic origins and focus of its content, the ethno-cultural focus of its

content, the variety of voices that are represented, the topics that are covered, and the types of ads included affect the paper's potential effectiveness as a communication channel.

Content

Ratio of Original Content

As illustrated in Chart 5.63, whether items consisted of original pieces or were reprinted materials could not be ascertained for 86 percent of content items. 7 percent of the content items were determined to be reprinted material, and 3 percent were determined to consist of original pieces. It may be that more of the content items were original pieces, but requests for clarification were declined. If the paper really does contain so little original content, it has limited potential to serve as an effective communication channel within the local Latin American community.

Geographic Focus of the Items

The geographic focus of MEE's content was also much less promising than EL's. Combined, 28 percent of the content items focused, at least in part, on Canada, and 14 percent focused specifically on the NCR. 7 percent had a mixed geographic focus, meaning that they covered issues relating to Canada and another country. 17 percent of the items focused on Latin America or on a Latin American country, and 14 percent focused on an area outside of Canada and Latin America. Geographic focus was found to be unclear or irrelevant in 37 percent of the content items. Overall then, though weaker than that found in EL, MEE can be said to have a moderate Canadian and local focus, which is promising in terms of the paper's relevance as a local communication channel.

Item origins

As was the case with content items' origin, the location of most content writers (96%) could not be determined, and requests for clarification were declined (see Chart 5.65). None of the items were determined to have been written in Canada or Latin America. 4 percent were determined to have been written in a country other than Canada and Latin America. Given that 14 percent of the items focused on Ottawa, and that 7

percent focused on Canada, it is likely that at least some of the writers were located in Ottawa or elsewhere in Canada.

Ethno-cultural focus of the Items

MEE's ethno-cultural focus was promising. As illustrated in Chart 5.66, 21 percent of the content items had an in-community focus, 10 percent had a mixed focus which included both members of the Latin American community and members of the broader community, and 62 percent had a broader community focus. The ethno-cultural focus was either unclear or irrelevant in 3 percent of the content items. Overall, the paper is sufficiently focused on the Latin American community to serve as a bonding, in-community communication channel, and more than sufficiently focused on the intersections of the Latin American community and the broader community to serve as a bridging communication channel.

Voices Included

Below, I analyse data on the sex, age, ethnicity, and geographic location of each item's writer, source(s), and actor(s) in order to assess the diversity of voices present in MEE. The findings should provide some insight into MEE's inclusivity as an in-community communication channel.

Sex

The ratio of females to males included as writers, sources, and actors in MEE can provide some insight into the gender inclusivity and equity of the paper as a communication channel. As illustrated in Chart 5.67, 39 percent of the item writers were female, and 57 percent were male. Of the 6 items that had sources, 4 had exclusively male sources, none had exclusively female sources, 1 had sources of both sexes, and 1 had a source whose sex was not specified. Of the 6 items that were about people, 3 were about women, and three were about men. Overall, the findings suggest that, much as is the case in most mainstream media, women are less represented and have less voice than men in MEE.

Age

The age of MEE's writers, sources, and actors can provide some insight into the paper's age inclusivity. No age could be identified for 96 percent of the writers. Of those whose age could be identified, all were between the ages of 19 and 65. Of the 6 items that had news sources, 5 had sources whose age could not be estimated, and the other had more than one source falling in more than one age category. Of the 6 items that were about people, 1 was about people who were younger than 19, 3 were about people between the ages of 19 and 64, none were 65 or older, and 3 were about people whose ages were unclear. If these three issues are representative of the paper, then MEE cannot be said to be very inclusive of youth and senior voices.

Ethnicity

As illustrated in Chart 5.73, the great majority of MEE's writers were identified as being part of the Latin American community, and 4 percent of the content items' writers were identified as being part of the broader community. Of the 6 items that had news sources, 2 had in-group sources, 2 had out-group sources, 1 had both in-group and out-group sources, and 1 had sources whose ethnicity could not be identified.

These findings are promising both in terms of MEE's potential to function as an effective in-community communication channel, as well as in terms of the paper's potential to function as an effective bridging communication channel, because they confirm that the paper is used by both in-group and out-group sources to communicate with members of Ottawa's Latin American community. Unlike EL, the three issues of MEE analysed here did not contain any high profile contributors or sources from Ottawa or Canada.

Occupation

As illustrated in Chart 5.75, of the 6 items with sources, one was coded as having more than one source, one was coded as being a member of the general public, 2 were coded as being from the government, and 2 were coded as unclear or unspecified. Given that there were only 6 items with sources, I was able to study them in more detail. The

majority of the sources were parts of summarized news stories from Canada, and other countries; for example, an item cited a speech made by the Colombian president, and another cited an American scientist who had been interviewed by the Daily Mail in the U.K. Another item cited comments made on Facebook in reference to an American news story. One item cited Canadian sources; these included a Fraser Institute report on immigrant sponsorship of parents and grandparents, and comments made by well-known Toronto politician and social activist Olivia Chow. None of the sources had been interviewed specifically by writers for MEE, and none of the sources were local, two facts that limit the paper's potential as a local communication channel.

Topic Covered

As we can see in Chart 5.76, MEE covered a more limited range of topics than EL, which was to be expected since the paper contains fewer articles on average. 28 percent of the items were on literature and poetry, of which 3 percent had an in-group focus; 10 percent covered issues relating to health, of which 3 percent had an in-group focus; 10 percent covered international relations, all of which had an in-group focus; 3 percent covered topics relating to religion and spirituality, none of which had an in-group focus; 7 percent covered topics related to science and technology, none of which had an in-group focus; 3 percent covered festivals, events, and holidays, none of which had an in-group focus; 3 percent of the articles covered topics relating to tertiary education, none of which had an in-group focus; and 3 percent covered issues relating to immigration services, policies, and reforms, none of which had an in-group focus.

Overall, if the three issues studied are representative of the content found in the paper, MEE has far less potential than EL to function as a local in-community communication channel. Almost none of the content items focused on the local Latin American community. Of all the items, only 4 focused on the NCR; these consisted of a poem by the producer of MEE, thoughts on the challenges of midlife written by a member of the community who lives in Ottawa, thoughts on the challenge of having children in Ottawa far away from family and friends in Latin America, and photos of the annual Santa Clause Parade. The first three items serve to connect and circulate content between

members of the local Latin American community, but only in a very superficial way. Unlike the articles which covered film festivals or art exhibitions in EL, MEE contains one poem. The two other items, while they address very important topics, consist of very short and very personal musings by members of the community. The last item serves to bridge information from the broader community to the local Latin American community, and as such is part of the 62 percent of content items that covered important topics relating to the broader societal, economic, and political context, such as education, health, international relations, and science and technology.

Ads

As was the case with EL, advertisements form an important component of MEE; in one issue ads accounted for 10 to 50 percent of the page space, in the other two ads accounted for 50 to 90 percent of the page space. 98 percent of the ads in the three issues targeted people in the NCR. As illustrated in Chart 5.77, 53 percent of the ads were placed by members of the Latin American community, 21 percent were placed by members of the broader community, and 17 percent were mixed (were placed by members of the Latin American community working for non-community specific businesses). The findings suggest that MEE is used as an in-community communication channel by members of the Latin American community who wish to advertise to other community members. They also confirm that the paper is used a bridging communication channel by people, organizations, and businesses in the broader community to advertise to members of the local Latin American community

MEE's Potential to support Networks of Interaction

As discussed earlier, many members of the Latin American community, especially those with intermediate language skills, use Spanish language media in order to obtain information about local Latin American culture and entertainment, events, and community organizations and services. While MEE does provide coverage of all of these topics, none of the content items have the potential to bring community members into contact with each other. The only item covering a local event was for the Santa Clause parade, a broader community event, where members of the Latin American community

may not necessarily run into each other. Many of the ads, however, had the potential to connect community members. All those posted by community members, including those who work for out-community organizations and businesses, which accounted for 70 percent of the ads in MEE, had the potential to connect individual community members. Those for local Latin American events, entertainment, places of worship, and restaurants, which accounted for 13 percent of the ads, had the potential of bringing many community members together, thereby strengthening existing networks, and connecting newcomers to these networks. Overall then, despite the fact that few of the content items supported the formation and maintenance of networks of interaction, so many of the paper's ads did that the paper can be said to support local Latin American networks of interaction.

MEE's Potential to support an Enabling Collective Imaginary

Some of MEE's content has the potential to support the development and maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary among Ottawa's Latin American community, and to help meet their affective and cultural needs. Though the paper does not provide much coverage of issues that pertain specifically to the local community, a love poem written by the producer of MEE, could have the potential to contribute to community pride. Items relating to international relations can help to develop a local Latin American take on international issues or can help to provide information on Latin American conflicts which may not receive much coverage in mainstream news. For example, MEE contained an article discussing the spying scandal involving the United States' National Security Agency and the Brazilian government, and another discussed a conflict between Colombia and Nicaragua. Such coverage could potentially help readers to develop a more nuanced understanding of international issues. Another item consisted of a short piece about the challenge of raising children far away from family and friends, and the feeling of isolation that can accompany parenthood in Canada. While it is written as a personal musing, it likely resonates with many Latin American immigrant parents. For this reason, it has the potential to ease the long process of integration by letting other parents know that they are not alone. Together, these items accounted for roughly ten percent of the content items in the three issues included in the study.

Much as was the case in EL, many of the ads placed in MEE have some potential to support the development and maintenance of an enabling collective imaginary among members of the local Latin American community. 70 percent of the ads were placed by members of the Latin American community, and these were for a broad range of businesses, services, entertainment, and events. Such ads broaden the media representation of members of the local Latin American community and can add to community members' perception of who is part of the community and of what fellow Latin Americans do in Ottawa. Ads for in-community events, entertainment, religious holidays, and religion and spirituality invite readers to see their ethno-cultural community in a positive and celebratory light, and illustrate how the community is thriving in Ottawa. Ads for Latin American bookstores, events and entertainment, places of worship, and restaurants have the potential of bringing community members together. In so doing they can help immigrants to address a broad range of needs, such as the needs to overcome loneliness and isolation, to feel proud of their heritage, to bond with their children while teaching them about their cultural heritage, and to feel more at home in Ottawa. Ads for book stores can provide information through which the children of immigrants can explore their cultural heritage and form a hybrid cultural identity. Ads for restaurants can help newcomers and established immigrants to find comfort in familiar

MEE's Provision of Integrative Content

Even though MEE's focus is more international than Canadian or local, as part of the Ottawa Latin American Community's communication infrastructure, it can still facilitate immigrant integration to the extent that it provides integrative information, and that it provides information that can indirectly support the short and long terms integration of immigrants and of their children. Below, I assess MEE content in order to gain a better understanding of if, how, and to what extent MEE provides this type of information.

Basic Settlement

As stated above, the findings of Chapters Three and Four confirm that many members of the Local Latin American community, especially those with poor or

intermediate language skills, turn to Spanish language media to obtain information which could potentially facilitate their basic settlement, such as news about Canada, and information about City of Ottawa services. Because it has an international focus, MEE does not really provide much of these types of information.

Of all the topics that have the potential to facilitate basic settlement, MEE covered two which had the potential to facilitate basic settlement: health, and Canadian immigration policy reform. Combined, these accounted for 6 percent of the content items (see Chart 5.79). The item on health was a short piece consisting of personal musings about the identity crises which can accompany mid-life. It was coded as a health related item because it is related to mental health, but it does not provide any information on the Canadian health system, and has little potential to facilitate settlement. The item on immigration policy was about reforms being made to the Parent and Grandparent Immigration program, and contained information which could be valuable to newcomers and more established immigrants who may wish to bring family members to Canada. As such, it may have some potential to facilitate some of the decisions that newcomers make in their early settlement process. In the three issues analysed, 1 item had the potential to facilitate social integration and acculturation.

Civic and political engagement

Of all the topics which could facilitate the civic and political engagement of Latin American immigrants, MEE covered two: Canadian immigration policy reform, and one which was categorized as other, violence against women. Immigration policy reform became a heated topic during the years of Conservative government under former Prime Minister Stephen Harper, and meant that this topic had the potential to engage immigrant members of the Latin American community. Though not focused specifically on Canada or Ottawa, violence against women is a global issue, and has strong potential to encourage civic and political engagement. In the three issues analysed, 2 items had the potential to facilitate social integration and acculturation.

Social integration and acculturation

Of all the topics which could facilitate social integration and acculturation, MEE covered two: local festivals, events, and holidays; and local and Canadian literature and poetry. Combined, these accounted for 10 percent of the content items. One item covered the annual Ottawa Santa Claus parade, which can facilitate social integration and acculturation because it shows how the season is celebrated in Ottawa and brings members of the Latin American community in contact with members of the broader community. One item consisted of a poem by the producer and had limited potential to facilitate social integration and acculturation. Finally, one item consisted of an article about Alice Munro receiving the Nobel Prize in Literature. This article exposes readers to one of Canada's most renowned authors, and as such has the potential to facilitate acculturation. In the three issues analysed, 2 items had the potential to facilitate social integration and acculturation.

Ads

As was the case in EL, advertisements in MEE were for a broad variety of local businesses, services, and professionals which could be helpful in the settlement, engagement, and integration of Latin American immigrants (see Chart 5.83). The list below provides a quick overview of the types of ads found in the paper, and of the aspects of integration that these are most likely to facilitate.

Basic Settlement

In sharp contrast to the content items, 68 of the ads in MEE provided information which could facilitate the process of basic settlement. Among these, 6 percent of the ads were for art school, 10 percent auto sales and repairs, 3 percent for banks/financial and investment groups, 8 percent driving school, 13 percent for lawyers and law firms, 1 percent for real estate, 3 percent were for translation services.

All of these ads, regardless of who posted them can be helpful in the process of settlement, as they inform readers about where to obtain important basic services, such as banking, real estate services, and auto repairs for example. Most of these ads are

placed by members of the local Latin American community, meaning that they have the added benefit of steering readers toward people who can offer these services in Spanish, which is likely to be very helpful in the early stages of settlement.

Other ads can indirectly facilitate the process. For example, ads for community events, places of worship, Spanish language book stores, and Latin American restaurants can help to bring Latin American newcomers in contact with more established Latin American immigrants, who in turn can provide newcomers with valuable information which could help in their settlement process.

Civic and political engagement

7 percent of the ads had the potential to facilitate the civic and political engagement of Latin American immigrants. Among these, 1 percent were for charities, 4 percent were for community events, and 2 percent were for religion and spirituality. Seeing an ad for a charity can facilitate engagement by encouraging readers to become involved. Ads for community events can also facilitate engagement, as such events often require many volunteers. Finally, ads for religion and spirituality often consist of ads for places of worship, and such places are often involved with charitable works in the community.

Social integration and acculturation

23 percent of the ads in MEE had the potential to facilitate the social integration and acculturation of Latin American immigrants. Among these 6 percent were for art school, 3 percent for a Latin American book store, 4 percent for community events, 2 percent for entertainment, 6 percent for night clubs, and 2 percent for religion and spirituality. All of these ads have the potential to bring readers into contact with members of the local Latin American community or with members of the broader community. In so doing, they facilitate the process of social integration and acculturation. In these places, and at these events, readers can meet others with whom they can strike friendships and begin to feel as though they belong in Ottawa.

Conclusion – MEE Integrative Potential

True to its name, which translates as ‘The World in Spanish’, MEE’s focus is more international than local. The findings suggest that the paper’s content has very limited potential to contribute to the local Latin American community’s collective capacity or to facilitate immigrant integration. The paper’s ads, however, were as promising as those found in EL.

The origins of the content items and the location of the writers were very difficult to assess, as these were not indicated in the paper and requests for additional information were turned down. Nevertheless, the geographic focus of the content items can provide some insight. 14 percent of the content items focused on the NCR, and 7 percent focused on Canada. While much lower than that found in EL, the percentage of local and Canadian content remains promising in terms of the papers potential to contribute to the community’s collective capacity.

The findings also suggest that at least some of the content consists of original pieces written in Canada, which is promising for the paper’s potential to support an enabling collective imaginary. Also promising was the paper’s ethno-cultural focus. While much less focused on the Latin American community than EL, MEE contained enough items covering the Latin American community and the broader community to serve as both an in-community and bridging communicational channel. Adding to this dual potential is the fact that the paper included in-group (96%) and out-group (4%) writers, cited in-group (33%) and out-group (33%) sources, and covered many broader community topics relating to subjects such as health and education. It is important to note, however, that none of the sources were local, and that few of the in-group focused items focused on the NCR, all of which seriously limits the paper’s potential to be an effective local communication channel.

The findings suggest that MEE has some potential to be an inclusive communication channel. Women and men were included as writers, sources, and actors, but except in the case of actors, men were much more represented and had more voice.

It was impossible to assess the age inclusivity of the paper, because too few of the writers' and sources' ages could be determined. Actors' ages were easier to determine, and suggest that the paper more inclusive of people between the ages of 19 and 64 than it is of youth and seniors. Overall, the paper has room to be more inclusive in terms of age and gender inclusivity.

In sharp contrast to the content items, the ads present in MEE were much more promising in terms of the paper's potential to function as an effective local Latin American community communication channel. The ads, which formed an important component of the paper, were nearly all local, and more than half were placed by members of the local Latin American community, meaning that community members use the paper to advertise to others in the community. Also very promising was that over 20 percent of the ads had been placed by members of the broader community, which suggests that the paper is also used a bridging communication channel. Overall, MEE does, to some extent, seem to function as a local in-community communication channel, but because it has a more international focus, its effectiveness as a communication channel is likely somewhat limited.

The findings suggest that the paper's potential to support the development and maintenance of local in-community networks of interaction is more or less limited to its advertisement content. Over 70 percent of the ads had the potential to connect individual members of the local Latin American community, for example, by bringing Latin American Newcomers in contact with a Latin American real estate agent. 13 percent of the ads had the potential of bringing many members of the local Latin American community together and of connecting readers to existing local in-community networks of interaction, for example, by alerting newcomers to the existence of a local Spanish language parish.

The data also suggests that some of the paper's content and 70 percent of its ads has the potential to contribute to an enabling collective imaginary and to help to meet some of its readers' affective and cultural needs. In so doing, the paper not only strengthens the community's collective capacity, but also has the potential to ease the

process of integration and to help Latin American Canadian to feel more at home in Ottawa.

Overall, the finding suggests that while MEE likely does to some extent support each element of the local Latin American community's collective capacity, its contribution is much more limited than EL's. While the ads have as much potential as those in EL, the content is simply not sufficiently focused on the local Latin American community for the paper to serve as an effective in-community communication channel, to promote the development and maintenance of local in-community networks of interaction, or to support an enabling collective imaginary.

Overall, the integrative potential of the content is fairly small, as very little of the content focuses on Canada and Ottawa. Three percent of the content items had the potential to facilitate basic settlement, 6 percent had the potential to facilitate civic and political engagement, 10 percent had the potential to facilitate social integration and acculturation, and 6 percent had the potential to indirectly ease the process of integration. Combined, and accounting for some overlap in the topics listed for each aspect of integration, 22 percent of the content had potential to facilitate immigrant integration.

The advertisement placed in the paper, however, had integrative potential. 68 percent of the ads were for services and events that could facilitate basic settlement, 7 percent were for events, charities, and organizations which could facilitate the process of civic and political engagement, and 23 percent were for businesses, events, and organizations which could facilitate social integration and acculturation. All of the ads placed by members of the local community, which amounted to 70 percent of the ads, had the potential to boost community pride, because they speak to a thriving Latin American community in Ottawa. Feeling proud of one's community and heritage can help to counter the stereotypes and underrepresentation often found in mainstream media. In so doing, these ads can help readers to feel like they belong in Ottawa. Within this 70 percent of ads, 16 percent had the added potential to bring community members

together, which can help reader to overcome a host of affective and cultural needs, such as the need to overcome loneliness, to bond with and transmit their cultural heritage their children, and explore their cultural identity. Even with so little local content, then, MEE has some integrative potential.

Ottawa's Somali Canadian Community

Somali Media Use in Ottawa's Somali Canadian Community

Chapter Three and Four revealed that member of Ottawa's Somali Canada community, much like those of Ottawa's Chinese and Latin American communities, consume a broad range of mainstream and Somali media. The analysis carried out in Chapter Three revealed that that members of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian community are the least likely to consume Somali media alone; with the exception of cultural and religious programs, they were far more likely to consume mainstream media alone. They were also more likely to consume a combination of mainstream media and Somali media, than they were to consume Somali media alone. Only 4 percent relied exclusively on Somali media for news about Canada, and only 5 percent relied exclusively on Somali media for news about Ottawa (Chapter 3, Chart 3.15). Among those with poor English language skills, exclusive use of Somali media did not increase to access news about Canada, but it did rise to access news about Ottawa; 13 percent of Somali respondents exclusively used Somali media to access news about Canada, which is high enough to make the question of integrative content in Somali media relevant (Chapter 3, Chart 3.15).

The analysis presented in Chapter Four revealed that Somali respondents were the most likely to consume Somali media in order to meet affective and cultural needs, which could indirectly ease their process of integration, especially since they tend to be the most severely underrepresented and misrepresented of the three communities in mainstream media. 36 percent of Somali respondents used Somali media to address feelings of nostalgia, 40 percent to facilitate intergenerational bonding, 41 percent to transmit cultural heritage from parents to children, 42 percent to explore ethno-cultural roots and to develop a hybrid ethno-cultural identity, especially among those born and/or

raised in Canada (54%), 40 percent to maintain a positive sense of ethno-cultural and national heritage, and 34 percent to discover and to belong to a local ethno-cultural community (Chapter 4, Charts 4.17 to 4.25). Somali respondents were also much more likely than those of the Chinese and Latin American communities to use Somali media because it helped them to practice the Somali language (37%), and to access religious content (25%) (Chapter 4, Charts 4.23 and 4.24).

Analysis of another OMMI 2012 Survey question (Part E, Questions 1 and 2), which enquired about respondents' broad Somali media use, revealed that members of Ottawa's Somali Canadian community turn to Somali media in order to stay up to date on a wide variety of topics (see Chart 5.1). To an even greater extent than was the case in the Chinese and Latin American communities, the most popular types of content sought in Somali media was information about Somalia. This might to some extent reflect the fact that mainstream media provides even less news about Somalis than it does for China and Latin America. Nevertheless, the data also reveals that a substantial portion of Somali respondents also used Somali media in order to access information about Ottawa, Canada, and the local Somali Canadian community. Nearly a quarter of Somali respondents indicated that they used Somali media to stay up to date with news about Canada, 14 percent to obtain news about Ottawa, and 12 percent to obtain news about the local Somali Canadian community. Many also used Somali media to obtain information about culture, entertainment, and event. 17 percent of Somali respondents used Somali media to obtain information about culture and entertainment in Canada, 20 percent to obtain information about culture and entertainment in the local Somali community, and 19 percent to obtain information about events in the local Somali community. Only 7 percent reported using Somali media to access information about City of Ottawa services. Though not insignificant, the portion of Somali respondents who reported using Somali media to these ends was much smaller than those in the Chinese and Latin American communities. Nevertheless, as was the case in the two other communities, Somali respondents were more likely to use Somali media to access news

about Canada than they were to access any type of information about Ottawa's Somali community.

Those with poor English language skills are the most vulnerable in terms of access to information in Ottawa, and are the most likely to be completely dependent on Somali media. Given this reality, I wanted to verify if use of Somali media to access different types of content increased among those with poor English language skills. As was the case in the Chinese community, those with poor and intermediate English language skills were much more likely than those with advanced English language skills to turn to Somali media in order to obtain information about Somalia, Canada, and Ottawa (see Chart 5.85). 67 percent of those with poor English language skills, and 80 percent of those with intermediate language skills, used Somali media to stay up to date with News in Somalia, compared to 63 percent of those with advanced English language skills. 42 percent of those with poor English language skills, and 40 percent of those with intermediate language skills turn to Somali media to access news in Canada, compared to 19 percent of those with advanced English language skills. 25 percent of those with poor English language skills, and 32 percent of those with intermediate language skills turn to Somali media to access news in Ottawa, compared to 11 percent of those with advanced English language skills. These findings confirm the salience of integrative content in Canadian Somali media.

When it came to obtaining information about the local Somali Canadian community, however, use of Somali media was higher among those with advanced English language skills than it was among those with poor English language skills. 11 percent of those with advanced English language skills used Somali media to obtain news about the local Somali Canadian community, compared to 24 percent of those with intermediate skills, and 8 percent with poor English language skills. 19 percent of those with advanced English language skills used Somali media to obtain about culture and entertainment in the local Somali Canadian community, compared to 32 percent of those with intermediate skills, and 17 percent with poor English language skills. 19 percent of those with advanced English language skills used Somali media to obtain information

about local Somali community events, compared to 24 percent of those with intermediate skills, and 17 percent with poor English language skills. 13 percent of those with advanced English language skills used Somali media to obtain information about local Somali community organizations, compared to 12 percent of those with intermediate skills, and 8 percent with poor English language skills. Finally, 14 percent of those with advanced English language skills used Somali media to obtain information about services offered by local Somali organizations, compared to 12 percent of those with intermediate skills, and only 4 percent with poor English language skills. These findings suggest that interest and engagement with the local Somali community is stronger among those who have been here longer. As was the case in the Latin American community, it is those with intermediate language skills who were most likely to use Somali media in order to obtain information about local Somali events, entertainment, and culture. The fact that those with higher English language skills are more likely to use Somali media in order to access information about the local Somali community than those with poor English language skills suggests that community members use this media to discover the local Somali community, and to develop and maintain a sense of belonging to this community.

Content Analysis of Integration TV

I was very fortunate to have access to OMMI produced content coding for popular local Chinese and Spanish language media, but, to my knowledge, no such analysis was produced for Ottawa's Somali media. As stated in the introduction, there are a number of local Somali media productions serving the Ottawa Somali Canadian community. In 2012, these included two locally produced online news blogs, Hiiraan Online and Safari Post. Though I do not have access to content coding for these two blogs, a cursory review revealed that they both mostly consist of platforms to circulate news about Somalia and Djibouti, and that there does not appear to be any local content. Though it is clear that these fill an informational void for the local Somali Canadian community, and it is possible that such sites contribute to the development of an enabling collective imaginary in the community, these are not very likely to contribute to the local community's collective capacity, or to facilitate integration in Ottawa and Canada in any meaningful way.

Ottawa's Somali Canadian community is also served by Rogers TV program called Dhagan Somali, and by two radio programs: The University of Ottawa's Community Radio (CHUO), and Carleton University's Ottawa Community Radio Station (CKCU). Content analysis of these programs was not available, and lacking Somali language skills, I was unable to carry an analysis of my own, meaning that I unfortunately do not have access to any local Somali media content analysis.

Instead of forgoing any analysis of Somali media, I chose to analyse the content of an English language Somali program produced in Toronto, *Integration: Building A New Cultural Identity* (ITV). I was alerted to its existence by a member of the Ottawa Somali community who said that it was very popular. Given that Somali television media is much more popular among members of Ottawa's Somali community than other types of Somali media such as newspapers, online news blogs, or radio program, it is likely more relevant to focus on television media than on print media for this community (Charmakeh 2012). In what follows, I analyse the content of ITV. I begin by assessing the extent to which the papers form an important communication channel within the community's broader information infrastructure. I then assess if, how, and to what extent the papers support the development and maintenance of networks of interaction by providing information which can help to connect members of Ottawa's Somali Canadian community to each other and to existing community networks. Then I assess if, how, and to what extent the papers supports the development and maintenance enabling collective imaginary, which can contribute to immigrants' feelings of belonging and agency, and help to meet the affective and cultural needs of community members. Finally, I assess if, how, and to what extent the paper provides information that can help to facilitate immigrants' basic settlement, civic and political engagement, social integration and acculturation. Throughout, I refer back to the Ottawa Somali Canadian media use profile provided above in order to gain a better understanding of the extent to which the papers provide information that matches the needs of their readers.

Integration: Building A New Cultural Identity

ITV was launched by Hodan Nayaleh on March 1, 2015. The program airs every Saturday evening on City TV, and all episodes are available online. Each episode is composed of three to four segments, and 9 to 13 advertisements. The 3 episodes analysed contained a total of 33 advertisements, and 11 segments. The fourth segment of each episode is reserved for various topics on Islam. The first three segments general consist of interviews on a mix of hard and soft news subjects with members of the Canadian and international Somali community and with members of the broader community in Canada. Segments varied in lengths: 36 percent of the segments were between 0 and 5 minutes long, 55 percent were between 5 and 10 minutes long, and 9 percent were longer than 10 minutes. 45 percent of the segments were exclusively in English, and the other 55 percent were predominantly in English with some Somali.

ITV's Potential as a Communication channel

Below, I analyse ITV's content in order to explore how the paper's ratio of original content, the geographic origins and focus of its content, the ethno-cultural focus of its content, the variety of the voices that are represented, the topics that are covered, and the types of ads included affect the paper's potential effectiveness as a communication channel.

Content

Ratio of Original Content

As illustrated in Chart 5.86, all of ITV's content consisted of original segment, produced by and for ITV. This is very promising as it means that the content has more potential to be relevant to Somali Canadians and to contribute to different elements of their collective capacity.

Geographic Focus of the Item

Though none of the content focuses specifically on the NCR, the geographic focus of ITV is also very promising. 55 percent of the content had a Canadian focus, and another 27 percent had an Ontarian focus. While the focus is unlikely to support a local Somali

community communication infrastructure, it could support the development of a communication channel between members of Ottawa's Somali Canadian community and those of other Canadian cities, especially in Toronto. The focus is also promising in terms of the program's potential to support an enabling collective imaginary and to facilitate Somali immigrant integration, as the program's name would suggest.

Item origins

All of ITV's content is produced by a Somali Canadian woman and the great majority of the segments are produced in Toronto. This is very promising for the programs potential as a Toronto Somali Canadian communication channel, and for the programs integrative potential. It does not however contribute to the programs potential as an Ottawa Somali Canadian community communication Channel.

Ethno-cultural focus of the Items

The program's ethno-cultural focus is promising for both the programs potential to serve as a Somali Canadian in-community, bonding communication channel, and a bridging communication channel from the broader community to the Somali Canadian community. 55 percent of the segments had an in-group focus, and 45 percent had a mixed focus.

Voices Included

Below, I analyse data on the sex, age, ethnicity, and geographic location of segment hosts, source (s), and actor(s) in order assess the diversity voices present on ITV. The findings will provide some insight into the program's inclusivity as an in-community communication channel and as a bridging communication channel.

Sex

By looking at the ratio females and males included on ITV as hosts, sources, and actors we can gain some insight into the program's gender inclusivity and equity as a communication channel. As illustrated in Chart 5.90, 73 percent of the segments were hosted by a female, Hodan Nayaleh, and 27 percent were hosted by a male. 50 percent of the segments had exclusively female sources, 25 percent had exclusively male sources,

and 25 percent had both female and male sources. There was only one segment about someone; it covered the story of a young Somali man who was murdered. Women had more voice and were more represented than men in the three episodes analysed, but these numbers are slightly skewed by the fact that the program is hosted by a woman. Nevertheless, the program appears to be relatively inclusive.

Age

By looking at the age of ITV's hosts, sources, and actors, we can gain some insight into the program's age inclusivity. All (100%) of the programs hosts, sources, and actors were between the ages of 19 and 64. If the three episodes analysed are representative of the program, it cannot be said to be inclusive of youth and senior voices.

Ethnicity

As illustrated in Chart 5.96, all of the program's host were Somali Canadian. 75 percent of the news sources were Somali, and 25 percent were part of the greater community. These finding are very promising in terms of the program's potential to serve as an effective in-community bonding communication channel, and to serve as an effective bridging communication channel from the broader community to the Somali Canadian community. Since the beginning of the program, out-group sources have included high profile interviewees such as Toronto Police Chief, Bill Blair, the Premiere of Ontario, Kathleen Wynne, and well know Toronto politician and mayoral hopeful Olivia Chow, and MP Dr. Kirsty Duncan. This is truly remarkable for such a young programme, and speaks to a general perception of the program's quality and importance in the Somali Canadian community.

Occupation

ITV included sources from a wide range of occupations. As illustrated in Chart 5.98, in the three episodes analysed in detail, 25 percent of the sources were determined to be community leaders, 13 percent were determined to be of the government, and 13 percent were determined to be students. A broader review of the people included in the program as interviewees revealed urban, provincial, and federal political candidates,

members of parliament, members of provincial parliament, high ranking public servants, mental health professionals, a nutrition expert, members of the Canadian Somali community, including two Somali Canadians who live in Ottawa, Somali Canadian community leaders, and Somali artists and poets. Again, the presence of all these people on the program show that the program has very quickly come to be perceived as being of high quality and as being a good way of communicating with the Canadian Somali population, especially in Toronto. In other words, the program seems to be used and recognised as a strong bonding and bridging communication channel.

Topic Covered

As we can see in Chart 5.99, the three episodes of ITV analysed covered a range of important topics. The most popular were those relating to the challenges that Somali people face in Canada, education, and Islam, each of which were covered in 27 percent of the segments. Other topics which were covered once in the three episodes analysed include, celebrating successful Somali people, relations between Toronto's Somali community and the Toronto police, business, employment, finance, federal politics, home ownership, immigration and migration, integration, social activism, and Somali proverbs. This is an impressive array of topics to cover in just three episodes, and suggest that the program has considerable potential to serve as a Somali Canadian communication channel, and as a bringing communication channel. Moreover, a cursory review of the topics covered since the show began to air revealed many other topics which add to the programs potential as a communication channel, these include: Somali Canadian leaders; Somali music and poetry; the political, economic, and social situation in Somalia; the role of media in exacerbating the situation in Somalia; life as a Somali woman in Somalia and in Canada; the contributions of Somali women to the revitalization of Somalia, the beauty of Somalia, and of Somali food and culture; parenting and motherhood in Somali families, gender equality and inequality in the Canadian Somali community, polygyny, addiction issues in the Somali Canadian community, and a Somali museum in Minnesota. As will be discussed further below, in addition to circulating important information to members of the Canadian Somali community, discussions of these topics can be very helpful in the

development of an enabling collective imaginary, as they provide a much more nuanced and rich representation of the Somali community and of Somalia.

Ads

Advertisements form an important component of ITV, with episode containing approximately 11 ads presented in two or three ad segments. Given that the show is produced in Toronto, most (88%) of the ads targeted people in Toronto. Hinting at the popularity of the program in Ottawa, however, 12 percent of the ads targeted people in the NCR. As illustrated in Chart 5.100, 55 percent of the ads were placed by members of the Somali community, 21 percent were placed by members of the broader community, and 24 percent were placed by members of the Somali community working for broader community businesses or organizations. The finding suggest that the paper is used as an in-community communication channel, mostly by members of the Toronto Somali community, but also to some extent by members of Ottawa's Somali community. They also suggest that the paper is used by members of the broader community to advertise to members of the Somali community.

ITV's Potential to support Networks of Interaction

The program showcases and offers a platform to many leaders, professional, and artists in the Toronto's Somali community, nearly 80 percent of the ads are placed by members of the Toronto Somali community, and over 50 percent are placed for businesses own by members of Toronto's Somali community, meaning that the program definitely has the potential to support networks of interaction within Toronto's Somali Canadian community. 12 percent of the ads were for Ottawa-based Somali Canadian lawyers. These ads have some potential to bring Ottawa viewers into contact with other members of the local Somali community, but this potential is relatively limited compared to that of local ECM productions. Overall, because the program is produced in Toronto and does not include much Ottawa focused content or ads targeting Ottawa residents, ITV has very limited potential to support the development and maintenance of local Somali Canadian networks of interaction. Nevertheless, the program may very well support the maintenance of Canadian Somali networks of interaction and of international

networks of interaction in the Somali diaspora. At the very least, the program brings prominent Somali Canadians, Toronto Somali businesses and organizations, and prominent members of the international Somali diaspora to the attention of Ottawa viewers.

ITV's Potential to support an Enabling Collective Imaginary

This is one of the areas where ITV really shines. The show is hosted and produced by a successful Somali Canadian woman, which is bound to make viewers, especially young Somali women, proud. Most of the content focuses on the Toronto and broader Canadian Somali community which provides viewers with access to much more nuanced representations of Somalis, Somali Canadians, Somali Canadian communities, and Somali culture than is available on mainstream media. Below I present four types of topics covered in ITV, which stand out as having great potential to contribute to the development of an enabling collective imaginary among the program's viewers, and to help meet their affective and cultural needs.

The first topic, which is included in nearly every episode of the program, is religion and spirituality, specifically Islam. Canada, along with many other western countries, has seen the rise of islamophobia. Popular culture is rife with vitriol about Islam and Muslims, often suggesting that the religion is one of violence and that most, if not all, Muslim people support terrorist violence. Real Time with Bill Maher and The O'Reilly Factor are two prominent examples. Islamophobia is also increasingly leveraged, by politicians in Canada, the United States, and Europe to rally supporters. Examples include the 2015 Canadian federal election campaign, where the Conservative government led by Stephen Harper used anti-Muslim sentiment to galvanize support among its base, and the lead up to the 2016 United States presidential campaign, in which Donald Trump, in his bid to win the republican nomination, appealed to anti-Muslim sentiment, going as far as to suggest that all Muslims should be banned from entering the United States until the government 'figures out what is going on'. In such a climate, access to positive representations of their faith is likely essential to Somali Canadian's ability to maintain a positive sense of their religion and community. In addition to the three segments on Islam included in the three

episodes analysed, a later episode included a segment on hijab fashions. Once again, for young women who live and grow up in a Canada where Muslim head coverings are the subject of growing suspicion and contentious debates, having access to positive and celebratory stories about the hijab is likely to be positive for their sense of self and pride in their ethno-cultural identity. The importance of such content, and the desire on the part of members of Ottawa's Somali Canadian community to access such content was confirmed by the 2012 OMMI Survey; Somali respondents were the most likely of the three communities to seek out religious content, making the provision of this type of content all the more important.

While the program does not shy away from difficult issues facing the community, it also regularly showcases very successful and inspiring Somalis and Somali Canadians, and Somali culture, which forms the subject of the second type of topics. As mentioned earlier, one of the three episodes analysed contained a segment about a successful Somali Canadian financial advisor who advises the rich and famous in Los Angeles. Another segment in the program's first episode aired an interview with a woman who left her work as a respected community organizer in London England to become Somalia's first female foreign minister. Later episodes showcased a successful Somali American entrepreneur, and other prominent Somali women who are contributing to rebuilding Somalia.

Thirdly, the program includes many segments showcasing and celebrating Somali culture and Somalia. These include a segment on the building of a Somali museum in Minnesota, and another in which a prominent Somali scholar discusses the beauty and wisdom of Somali proverbs. There are also segments on Somali music and poetry. In the summer of 2015 the host and producer of the program travelled to Somalia where she continued to produce episodes showcasing the beauty of Somalia, the vibrancy of Mogadishu, and the richness of Somali food. For those who fled the country as refugees and for Somali Canadians who have never been to Somalia, such programming provides a rare opportunity to see Somalia portrayed in a positive and hopeful manner. Such representations are very rare in mainstream Canadian and American media, where the focus is on pirates, civil war, violence, and famine.

Fourth, the program does not shy away from challenging issues, but when it does delve into more difficult issues, it is done in a more nuanced, compassionate, and culturally relevant way than is the case in mainstream media. For example, ITV provided coverage of the murder of a young Somali man in Toronto in which it spoke with the mother of the victim, and with then Chief of Toronto Police, Bill Blair. The segment addressed the issue of violent crime and drug violence in neighbourhoods where many Somali people live in Toronto. These stories are often covered in dismissive ways in the mainstream media, with quick references to gang violence and so on. ITV covered the story in a very different manner. The host spoke to the victim's mother, emphasizing that she is a well-educated woman who holds a Master's Degree in Social Work and who is well respected within the community. The mother spoke of the problems affecting the community, and about the lack of government actions. Chief Bill Blair spoke to some of the challenges involved in policing these neighbourhoods and about the efforts being made to improve these efforts. The segment included footage of a large march organized by the families and friends of murdered young men in Toronto; they were holding signs demanding an end to the violence. Other examples of very difficult issues affecting the Somali Canadian community in Canada covered in the paper include a segment on polygyny in the Somali community, and another on the difficult relations between the Somali Canadian community and the Children's Aid Society.

During her time in Somalia, Hodan Nayaleh also produced more challenging episodes on the social, political, and economic situation in Somalia. These included segments on poverty, on the absence of proper mental health services, and on life as a woman in Somalia. These offer viewers a chance to see much more nuanced representations of the challenges present in Somalia than is available in mainstream media, and the best episodes also offer a sense of hope and a way for viewers to get involved in the effort.

Finally, as was the case in the media of the other two communities, many of the ads placed in ITV have the potential to support an enabling collective imaginary and to help meet their affective and cultural needs. The ads were for a Somali community centre,

Somali community events, a Somali flea market, and Somali restaurants (see Chart 5.99). Such ads could potentially help viewers to feel proud of the place that the Somali community is making for itself in Toronto, to bring members of the Ottawa Somali Canadian community into contact with members of the Toronto Somali Canadian community, and to enjoy culturally relevant events with their family, thereby helping them to feel less nostalgic, to bond with their children, to share their cultural heritage, and to take pride in their ethno-cultural and national heritage.

ITV's Provision of Integrative Content

Though ITV does not form an important part of the local Somali Canadian community's information infrastructure, it can still facilitate integrations through the provision of integrative information – in fact, as the program's title suggests, this goal is at the core of Hodan Nayaleh's vision. In what follows, I explore the content of ITV in order to assess how, and to what extent the program is true to its vision.

Basic Settlement

Though less widespread than was the case in the other two communities, many Somali respondents reported that they turned to Somali media in order to access information about topics which could be helpful to the process of integration. 23 percent of Somali respondents, and 42 percent of those with poor English language skills reported using Somali media to stay up to date with news about Canada. 14 percent of Somali respondents reported using Somali media to stay up to date with news about Ottawa; the percentage rose to 25 percent among those with poor English language skills, and 32 percent among those with intermediate language skills. To the extent that ITV provides this type of information, it can help to facilitate the Somali immigrants' integration process.

ITV covered many topics which could help to facilitate the process of basic settlement; these included: business, challenges facing the Somali community in Canada, employment, finance and investment, health, home ownership, immigration and migration, integration, tertiary education, and food and nutrition in Canada. These topics

have the potential to provide helpful integrative information to the extent that they are focused on Canada.

As illustrated in Chart 5.101, of the 9 percent of segments that covered issues related to business, all focused on Canada, and of the 9 percent of segments on employment all focused on Canada. These segments provide information which could help Somali immigrants as they look for work or develop career strategies.

As illustrated in Chart 5.102, of the 27 percent of segments which covered education related topics, 18 percent had a Canadian focus. Of the percent of segment that covered topics relating to health, and had a Canadian focus. Of the 9 percent of segment which covered immigration related topics, all had a Canadian focus. Coverage of such topics can provide Somali newcomers and immigrants with valuable information about how these important services work in Canada.

As illustrated in Chart 5.103, 27 percent of the segments covered topics relating to religion and spirituality, all of which were related to Islam. None of the segments had a Canadian focus, meaning that they had little potential to facilitate basic settlement.

In addition to these topics, the three episodes of ITV analysed contained three segments on the challenges faced by Somali Canadians in Canada. These touched on topics such as health, education, and crime. These segments can be very helpful to Somali newcomers and immigrants because provide information on how to navigate these challenges.

Many of these topics were covered in other ITV episodes, which were not subjected to the detailed analysis. An especially important topic which was covered in a later episode of the program was the challenges of maintaining a healthy diet in Canada. The host spoke with Somali women, and a nutritionist was present to answer questions and to provide information. Given that the health and nutrition of immigrants often declines after they settle in Canada, this type of information can help Somali newcomers to avoid common mistakes during the basic settlement phase.

Overall, ITV does exceedingly well in providing a broad range of information on Canada which can facilitate the process of basic settlement. In total, 63 percent of the segments covered topics with the potential to facilitate basic settlement. In so doing, ITV is responsive to the reported preferences of Somali immigrants, especially of those with poor English language skills.

Civic and political engagement

ITV also does exceedingly well in providing coverage of topics which can encourage the civic and political engagement of Somali Canadian immigrants and of their children. The three episodes which were analysed in detail contain coverage of a broad range of topics with such potential; these included: one segment on police community relations; one segment which included the topic of social activism, one segment dedicated to federal politics, and 3 segments on religion and spirituality. Combined, 55 percent of the segment in the three episode analysed covered topics which had the potential to facilitate civic and political engagement. Below I discuss a few segments which have particularly high potential to promote engagement. The first three examples are taken from the three issues analysed, while the last two were taken from later episodes.

One of the most stunning examples is developed over the course of several episodes. In the first episode on this topic Ms. Nayaleh reports on the complete absence of adequate mental health facilities in Somali, even in Mogadishu, and on what this means for those with severe mental health conditions. In a later episode we learn that efforts are underway to help build a mental health hospital in Mogadishu. Many episodes later, we hear from a doctor in Mogadishu thanking Ms. Nayaleh and ITV for making his dream of building a mental health hospital in Mogadishu a reality. It is beautiful and inspiring, and it must give Somali Canadian viewers such an empowering sense of possibility.

Another segment, which has already been discussed above, covered the murder of a young Somali man in Toronto. In its coverage of the issue, ITV underlined some of the root causes of gun violence in Toronto, such as poverty, lack of employment, etc. It also

showcased community mobilization demanding that the government address these issues and do more to prevent violence crime in the city. In so doing, the program encouraged community engagement by showing people how it is done and how to get involved.

Yet another segment which showcased a very successful Somali financial advisor addressed the efforts being made by members of the international Somali diaspora to help rebuild Somalia. The guest discussed her own efforts, as well as those of others, and listed many ways in which the diaspora is contributing to the effort, including raising awareness about Somalia around the world. In this way, the segment supported engagement by providing examples of how Somali Canadians could get involved.

In another segment which aired before Toronto's 2014 municipal election, the host interviewed mayoral hopeful Olivia Chow, who spoke of her desire to effect positive change in Toronto and of plans to address issues affecting members of the Somali community, such as employment, health, and education. Though the story does not affect members of Ottawa's Somali Canadian community, it does support their engagement adding to their knowledge of municipal politics by showing the kinds of change which can be sought from municipal governments.

Finally, an entire episode was devoted to discussing planned changes to the sexual education curriculum in Ontario schools. The issue was very controversial and was opposed by many, especially in religious communities. The show managed to secure a 15-minute interview with Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne in which she discussed the reasons behind the changes being made and answered questions about the types of changes being made to the curriculum. The interview touched on the topics of gender identity, sexual orientation, family configurations, unwanted pregnancies, and sexually transmitted diseases. The episode directly engaged Somali viewers on the changes being made, and did so in a way that welcomed further engagement. The interview was truly a remarkable feat for such a young program.

Social integration and acculturation

True to its name, *Integration: Building a New Cultural Identity*, the programs provide a veritable wealth of coverage of issues at the heart of cultural acculturation, especially as it pertains to the development of a hybrid cultural identity among Somali Canadian immigrants and their children. Rather than providing coverage of Canadian culture topics, or of events that promote interaction between members of the Somali Canadian community and members of the broader community, as was done in the other ECM productions studied, the program dives right into some of the most sensitive and contentious issues that emerge in this process.

27 percent of the segments in the three episodes analysed addressed issues such as health, education, crime, employment which were framed as challenges affecting the Somali Canadian community. These segment presented the problems and invited guest to discuss the issues and to suggest ways forward. Most of these segments have already been mentioned above, for example the segments on violent crime, and nutrition.

Another segment taken from the three episode analysed openly addressed some of the barriers to integration for Somali Canadian youth. The segment had two guests, a young woman who spoke of the lack of Somali Canadian role models, and a young man who spoke of the difficulty of finding employment after completing college and university programs. The two spoke of these issues and offered suggestions as to how the situation could be improved, and tips for other youth.

A cursory review of ITV's other episode revealed that the program has covered many difficult subjects, such as gender equality and inequality in Somali Canadian families, parenting and motherhood in Somali Canadian communities, including issues with the Children's Aid Societies, out-marriage, and polygyny. All of these are important topics which can cause friction within couples as they settle in Canada, and between parents and their children as children develop a hybrid cultural identity. Moreover, these topics are often considered taboo, and may not be discussed openly in the Somali community, let alone in mainstream media. By covering these issues and inviting experts

to share their insights, ITV provides information which could help Somali Canadian immigrants and their children to broach these subjects and to begin to address these issues.

Ads

As illustrated in Chart 5.105, advertisements in ITV were for a relatively narrow range of businesses, services, organizations, and events, all of which, with the exception of three ads for an Ottawa-based law firm, targeted people in Toronto. The list below provides a quick overview of the types of ads found in the paper, and of the aspects of integration that these are most likely to facilitate.

Basic Settlement

Only 12 percent of the ads present in the three episodes analysed had any potential to facilitate the basic settlement of Somali immigrants in Ottawa. These consisted of one ad per episode for a Somali owned law firm. While the integrative potential that this represents is very small, it may be indicative of the program's popularity among members of Ottawa's Somali Canadian community that there are any ads placed in the program by Ottawa businesses given that the program is produced in Toronto.

Civic and political engagement

None of the ads had any clear potential to promote civic or political engagement among members of Ottawa's Somali Canadian community.

Social integration and acculturation

None of the ads had any clear potential to promote social integration and acculturation among members of Ottawa's Somali Canadian community.

Conclusion – ITV's Integrative Potential

ITV has a terrific profile as a Canadian ECM production. With the exception of a summer in Somalia, all of its content is produced in Canada by a Somali Canadian woman. Much of the content has a Canadian focus: 55 percent of the content was focused on Canada, and another 27 percent was focused on Ontario. It contains a great balance of

content focusing on the Somali community (55%) and content focusing on both the Somali community and the broader community (45%). The majority of the interviewees (75%) are from the Somali community, but the program also includes important voices from the broader community (25%). It also secures a terrific *mélange* of interviewees including important voices at the urban, provincial, and federal levels of government, Somali community leaders, and Somali professionals. It is inclusive of both female and male voices. It covers an impressive array of meaningful topics of salience to the Somali Canadian community, such as celebrations of successful Somali people, a Somali museum, the importance of education in the community, questions of gender equity in the Somali community, parenting in the Somali community in Canada, relations between the Children's Aid Society and the Canadian Somali community, mental health services in the Canadian Somali community, etc.

All of these characteristics mean that the program has tremendous potential to support the development and maintenance of a positive and enabling collective imaginary among members of the Somali Canadian community. As an in-community, bonding Somali Canadian communication channel, ITV effectively circulates information which helps to meet some of the most pressing affective and cultural needs of Somali Canadians, thereby easing and supporting their process of integration.

Because so little of the content and of the ads focus on the NCR or on Somali Canadians in the NCR, however, the program has very little potential to serve as an effective communication channel between members of the local Somali Canadian population, or to support the development and maintenance of networks on interaction in in this community.

Nevertheless, in many respects ITV exemplifies how ECM can facilitate immigrant integration through the provision of integrative information. In addition to supporting the development of an enabling collective imaginary and to helping to meet some of the affective and cultural needs of its viewers, the finding suggest that the program serve as an excellent bridging communication channel from the broader Canadian society to the

Somali Canadian community. Over 80 percent of its content has a Canadian focus, and most of the content explicitly seeks to provide information which can facilitate integration; over 60 percent of the content had the potential to facilitate basic settlement, over 50 percent had the potential to facilitate civic and political engagement, and nearly 30 percent had the potential to facilitate the social integration and acculturation of Somali immigrants. Finally, the programs ability to attract high profile interviewees speaks to its quality as a bridging communication channel and to the respect that it has gained from the broader community.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

With this thesis, I set out to demonstrate that using a bottom-up, relationship-centred collective capacity framework would reveal much more of the potential of ECM to help immigrants in the process of settling-in, of taking root, and of developing a sense of belonging, than the more top-down approach currently favoured. I set out to gain insight into how the ECM of Ottawa's Chinese Canadian, Latin American, and Somali Canadian communities had the potential to contribute to the collective capacity of these communities to facilitate the process of becoming part of a community and forming a sense of belonging among immigrants to Ottawa.

In order to keep this exploration grounded in a more bottom-up and relationship-centered understanding of the process of integration, the thesis is guided by the following questions:

1. How can ECM contribute to the collective capacity of ethno-cultural communities by supporting their communication infrastructure, networks of interaction, and collective imaginary?
2. How can improved collective capacity (improved community communication infrastructure, networks of interactions, and collective imaginary) facilitate the process by which immigrants settle-in, take root, and develop a sense of belonging in their local ethno-cultural community and in Ottawa?
3. How can ECM help newcomers to connect with, and to benefit from, their local ethno-cultural communities as they settle-in, take root, and develop a sense of belonging?

In order to build on the insight gained, the thesis also explored to how media use, media content, and the potential benefits derived from ECM may be different between respondents of the three communities and between different demographic segments in these communities.

In exploring these questions, the main contribution of this thesis lies in offering a new lens through which to assess the integrative potential of ECM. The post-anarchist lens that influences the collective capacity framework developed for this thesis invites us

to approach the questions listed above from a bottom-up, relationship and community-centred perspective, as opposed to a top-down, bureaucratic, state-centred one. Accordingly, rather than using the integrative goals that are usually employed by integration researchers, goals which tend to be narrowly focused on socio-economic outcomes, as a starting point, I approached the questions from the point of view of what people engaging in the process of immigration might need and want as they go through this process. From this perspective, the needs associated with basic settlement, civic and political engagement, and social integration and acculturation remain of central importance to the process, but they are joined by others, which include: affective and cultural needs, such as the need to overcome homesickness, the need for community and belonging, the need to maintain a positive sense of oneself and of one's culture, the need to practice one's culture and religion, the desire to transmit one's culture, language, and religion to one's children, etc. (see intro framework section). Moreover, this lens invites us to recognize the fundamental importance of inter-personal relationships, mutual aid practices, and community in the lives of people. Accordingly, rather than focusing exclusively on the role of governments and organizations in facilitating the process of settling-in, taking root, and developing a sense of belonging, I also focus on the ways in which communities and inter-personal relationships can facilitate this process.

The choice to limit the thesis to a broad exploration of the types of insights which could be gained by using the proposed lens, reflected the type of data that was available. Qualitative data and analysis are usually favoured when engaging in bottom-up methodologies, as these enable the researcher to ground their analysis in the experiences, knowledge, perspectives, and understandings of research participants. Quantitative data is not as well suited for this type of approach, but given the presence of existing qualitative research which indirectly addresses some of the questions addressed in the thesis, the data employed was sufficient to draw general insights, and to make the case for the use of a bottom-up, relationship-centered lens. Nevertheless, the findings are meant to provide insight into the potential of ECM, rather than to provide conclusions about its use and benefits.

This approach yielded very different findings than those reported in most Canadian ECM studies. At the outset I had hypothesised that the ECM of these three communities formed communication channels within the three local communities' broader ethno-cultural communication infrastructures, and as such contributed to the overall collective capacity of these three communities to facilitate the process of becoming part of a community and forming a sense of belonging among newcomers to Ottawa. When combined, the findings presented in Chapters Three, Four, and Five strongly support this hypothesis. Though the specific ways in which ECM could contribute to each community's collective capacity varied significantly depending on the media use of each community and on the content of each of the ECM productions analysed as part of the thesis, the potential of these media to strengthen collective capacity and to facilitate integration, as defined above, remained a constant. All three communities used ECM in ways that had the potential to facilitate the process of settling-in, taking root, and developing a sense of belonging, and even the most basic ECM, including those that included no traditional integrative content and little local content, still had the potential to facilitate the process, because these provided content which could help to meet the affective and cultural needs of their readers. Exploring, and comparing how different communities and demographic groups employ ECM to meet their affective and cultural needs is one of the thesis' contributions.

Some media productions were more in-community focused. These had more potential to meet the affective and cultural needs of their readers, and to foster a sense of community and belonging by connecting immigrants to other members of their local ethno-cultural community, and by fostering pride about the local community and their culture more generally. Others had a more non-community specific focus. These had less potential to respond to affective and cultural needs, but, in some cases, had more potential to provide the type of bridging information which could facilitate the basic settlement, political engagement, and to a lesser extent acculturation of their readers. These differences in the content of the three communities' ECM to some extent were found to reflect the different histories, sizes, cohesiveness, and wealth of the three

communities. Moreover, the differences in content were matched with different media consumption habits and preferences in the three communities. For example, being relatively well established, local the Chinese Canadian community had a greater variety of media and were more likely to use these media to access non-community specific information about Ottawa and Canada. Being much smaller and fragmented along national lines, the Latin American community had less developed media, which contained much more of the community specific cultural content that could be helpful in building a sense of community and meeting the affective and cultural needs of their readers. Finally, being the least likely to see themselves reflected in mainstream media, members of the local Somali community were by far the most likely to turn to ECM to access religious and cultural content, and to do so in order to teach their children about their culture. The thesis revealed a wealth of such differences which are too numerous to list here, but which begin to call attention to, and to nuance our understanding of, how different communities may use ECM to meet their needs. Though it was not possible to do so with the data at hand, it would be interesting to explore these practices in more depth using qualitative data in the future.

Another contribution of this thesis lies in its exploration of the ads found in the ECM of the three communities. Much like I did for the content, I analysed the ads with the aim of assessing if and how these had the potential to contribute to each community's collective capacity to facilitate the process by which immigrants settle-in, take root, and develop a sense of belonging. This is a somewhat novel approach, because the ads found in ECM are generally not studied in this way. They are mostly studied in terms of their marketing value (Dávila, 2001; Levine, 2001; Rodriguez, 1996; Valle, 2005), and in terms of their role as revenue streams (Murray & al., 2007). The findings presented in Chapter Five establish that advertisements placed by community members and ads placed by members and institutions of the broader community have the potential to be helpful in the process of immigration. All in-community ads have the potential to connect readers to other community members, and many ads, such as those for ethno-cultural community events, had the potential to connect immigrant readers with the local community, which

could, in turn, help them to become part of the community and develop a sense of belonging. Other ads, regardless of who had posted them, had the potential to facilitate various aspects of basic settlement, political engagement, and broader social integration. For example, ads for real estate agents have the potential to help readers find housing, ads for language classes can get readers started in improving their language skills, ads for MPs can provide a first contact with federal and provincial politics, and ads for broader community events can help readers to become aware of and participate in broader community events in Ottawa. In one case (*Mundo en Español*), most of its potential to contribute to the process was to be found in its ads. This is another area where there is much potential for further research; it would be very interesting to reach out to those who place the ads, and to ECM consumers to gain more insight into how these ads contribute to the creation and maintenance of networks of interaction in local ethno-cultural communities.

Another major finding came as somewhat of a surprise. Given what I had read about the content of ECM in other Canadian cities, I had expected to find that the ECM included in the thesis would contain little local, provincial, or Canadian non-group specific content, the type of content which is usually posited to have more integrative potential, but that these media could still facilitate immigrant integration if we adopted a broader notion of what counts as integrative content. For most the ECM included in the thesis, this assumption proved to be false. While all provided integrative content when defined in the broader sense, most also included integrative content as defined in the narrower sense. There was significant variation in terms of the amount of content and the types of content that could facilitate basic settlement, engagement, and acculturation between the media studied, but the content analysis revealed far more integrative content than I had anticipated.

Not only did the media studied provide integrative content, but members of the three communities were found to seek such content. The findings revealed that most consumers of ECM use these media in ways that have the potential not only to support their affective and cultural needs, but also to support their basic settlement, civic and

political engagement, and social integration and acculturation. Many reported that they used such media to access local and Canadian news, information about local and Canadian politics, information about the economy in Ottawa and Canada, information about City of Ottawa services, and information about culture and entertainment in Ottawa and Canada. In other words, the findings suggest that they used these media as an informational bridge from their ethno-cultural community to the broader Ottawa and Canadian society. In fact, the content analysis provided in Chapter Five revealed that though most of the ECM included in the thesis provided this types of information, all would need to provide much more, and on a much broader variety of topics than is currently the case in order to meet consumer demand for such information. This is particularly true when it comes of information about culture and entertainment in Ottawa and Canada. Such content has the potential to be very helpful in that it can facilitate the processes of acculturation and of social integration in the broader Canadian society, and though many reported wanting to access this type of information, nearly none was provided in the media studied.

One of the most noteworthy contributions of the thesis to research on the integrative potential of ECM is that the findings cast doubt on the notion that ECM may form ethno-cultural bubbles which could provide their readers with unrepresentative and misleading notions of the city and country they live in. This is only a risk to the extent that consumers rely on ECM as their chief or sole sources of information about the city and country they live in. The findings presented in Chapter Three demonstrate that most of Chinese Canadian, Latin American, and Somali Canadian survey respondents who consumed ECM had a varied diet of mainstream Canadian and American media, ECM, and country of origin media. Consequently, even if they consume ECM that contains absolutely no integrative information, or that provides an extremely misleading representation of Ottawa and Canada, they are protected by the fact that they access information from a variety of sources, providing a variety of perspectives. Moreover, I found that many media consumers, especially those that were further along in the settlement process, made differentiated use of media depending on the type of content

that they sought; so, for example, they were somewhat more likely to turn to country of origin news for international news, and more likely to turn to mainstream Canadian and local media for news about Ottawa and Canada. Although the findings only represent the media consumption habits of OMMI 2012 Survey respondents, they hint at the possibility that this may be the case for other ECM consumers in other communities and in other cities. If this is the case, not only are consumers of ECM not likely to be stuck in a narrow informational bubble, they are likely less vulnerable of being under-informed and misinformed than those who consume mainstream Canadian and American media alone. At the very least, these findings confirm the importance of balancing content analyses with data about consumer's media consumption practices. It would be really interesting to explore the survey data in more depth to gain a fuller understanding of just how varied multilingual respondents media diet is.

The major exception to these positive findings involved those with poor English language skills, seniors, and to a lesser extent, parents. Those with basic English language skills were predictably much more likely to rely exclusively on ECM in order to access information about Ottawa and Canada. This tendency was more pronounced among members of the local Chinese Canadian community, which is likely attributable to the fact that the local Chinese Canadian community has access to a variety of daily and weekly local Chinese language newspapers, while the other two communities do not. Seniors in all three communities were also found to be much more likely to rely on ECM than younger members of the three communities, being more likely to turn to these media to access a wide variety of information on Ottawa and Canada. This is partly attributable to the fact that seniors tended, on average, to have much lower language skills, but the findings suggest that other factors are likely at play, because seniors were even more likely to rely exclusively on ECM than those who simply had poor English language skills. One again, it would be interesting to analyse the survey data more rigorously in order to gain a clearer understanding of the factors involved, and to supplement this survey research with qualitative interview and focus data to gain a better understanding of what other factors might explain seniors' greater reliance on ECM. The findings regarding

parents' media consumption habits were less worrying, in that most included mainstream sources to access news about Ottawa and Canada. Nevertheless, Somali Canadian and Chinese Canadian parents were much more likely than those without children to rely exclusively on ECM for news about Ottawa and Canada. The desire to share their ethno-cultural roots with their children, and the greater ease of accessing news in their mother tongue may to some extent explained why parents are more likely to turn to ECM, but it would be interesting to interview parents to gain a fuller understating of why they are more likely to rely on ECM. These three demographic groups are made more vulnerable by any shortcomings present in the media that they consume, and have the most to gain from higher quality ECM, and from broader community and governmental efforts to use ECM to communicate important information to ethno-cultural communities.

One content category that struck me because of its complete absence in the Spanish language and Somali media analysed (I could not obtain the data for the Chinese language papers), is any kind of content relating to indigenous peoples in Canada, to other ethno-cultural minority populations in Canada, or to Canada's official bilingualism. Given Canada's multicultural make-up and formal commitment to multiculturalism, this is a large omission. Now that the federal government of Canada has made a commitment to engage in reconciliation with indigenous peoples whose lands are located within the territorial boundaries of the Canadian state, the inclusion of more historical context and of more information on this process would be particularly important, especially considering the tense relationship between these communities and Canadian governments, and the negative stereotypes about First Nation, Métis, and Inuit people that are pervasive in mainstream media. Similarly, there is a role for ECM producers who perceive public education to be part of their mandate, which many do, to provide their target audiences with information and stories that help them to better understand Canada's other ethno-cultural groups, and francophone population. Further research is needed to explore why such content is absent, and how its inclusion could be encouraged.

Media producers are not the only ones with a role to play. For the most part, the welcoming society, its community and political leaders, and its institutions, have yet to

reach out to ECM to provide important information to their consumers. Some have begun to do so in Ottawa; for example, some Members of Parliament and of Provincial Parliament, various language school, post-secondary institutions, and community health and resource centres placed ads in the local Spanish language newspapers included in the study, and Mayor Jim Watson has a regular column in *Eco Latino*, one of the two Spanish language newspapers, but much more could be done. Over the past decade, political parties have certainly begun to take advantage of these media as part of their campaign strategies, but less has been done by governments and the public service to share important information. There are some indications that local governments are beginning to turn to ECM to facilitate integration in other Canadian cities; for example, the City of Brampton, Ontario, has started to work with local ECM to disseminate information to its large Punjabi and Portuguese communities (Lindgren, 2016). There are also promising signs in Ottawa where the city government has shown interest in the potential benefits of including ECM in its communication strategy.

Finally, the thesis revealed one finding that should be cause for concern. While the data analysed in Chapter Three suggested that concerns over local and Canadian news source diversity may not be warranted, it also showed that a high percentage of survey respondents in each community reported that they did not consume any news about Ottawa and Canada of any kind. This is a significant finding, because the topic does not seem to be addressed by any of the media researchers whose works were reviewed as part of this thesis. Non-consumption is liable to leave people even more vulnerable to being under-informed and misinformed than lack of source variety and the question merits further research. Specifically, more research is needed to discover if immigrants and members of ethno-cultural minority populations are less likely, on average, to consume news about their city and country of settlement than Canadians who consider themselves part of the dominant ethno-cultural group in their province. According to research released by Press Progress in 2016, there is reason to believe that this is the case, as only 13 percent of Canadians reported that they never followed the news in 2013, compared to nearly half of the respondents to the 2012 OMMI Survey (“Extra, Extra!

More Canadians than Ever Don't Even Follow the News" 2016). It may be that consumption of Canadian and local news increase as affective ties to Canada and Ottawa increase, but more, research is needed to confirm why this is the case. Such research could provide insight not only into the process of integrations, but also into potential problems of inclusivity and representation in mainstream media.

What I hope is retained from this thesis is the rich potential of ECM that becomes visible when we adopt a bottom-up, relationship and community-centred perspective. While it is certainly true that such media can be useful in providing integrative information, and that there is huge untapped potential for different levels of government to employ ECM in order to reach newcomers, ECM has the potential to do so much more. By expanding beyond a narrow, instrumental understanding of how ECM can be used to provide integrative information, it becomes clear that ECM has the potential to make a vital and long-term contribution to the lives of the people who come to live in Canada, and to the lives of their descendants – ECM can help newcomers to become part of a local community, and most importantly it can contribute to the collective capacity of minority Canadian ethno-cultural communities to take root in Canada.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – Tables

Chapter 3 Tables

Table 3.1 Chinese Community - 353 Respondents				
Variable	Total N	Categories	Number	Percent≈
Sex	351	Female	195	56
		Male	156	44
Age	333	18-30	171	51
		30-60	97	29
		60+	65	20
Education	350	Less than High School	14	4
		High School Graduate*	76	22
		College/Vocational Training/ Post-Secondary/University**	166	47
		Graduate and/or Professional Degree	93	27
		Other	1	<1
Employment	348	Homemaker	13	4
		Student	146	42
		Employed	104	30
		Out of Work	19	5
		Retired	65	19
		Unable to Work	1	<1
Income	338	\$0 – \$19,999	209	62
		\$20,000 - \$39,999	35	10
		\$40,000 - \$59,999	18	5
		\$60,000 - \$79,999	24	7
		\$80,000+	52	15
Marital Status	352	Married/Common law relationship	172	49
		Single	168	48
		Separated or Divorced	5	1
		Widowed	4	1
		Other	3	<1
Children	351	No	193	55
		Yes	158	45
Place of Birth	348	Canada	10	3

		Other	338	97
Arrival in Canada	340	Before 1990	10	3
		1990 – 1999	50	15
		2000 – 2009	153	45
		After 2010	117	34
		Not Applicable	10	3
Immigration Category	318	Economic Immigrant	74	23
		Family	117	37
		Refugee	2	<1
		Other	115	36
		Not Applicable	10	3
Immigration Category	318	Estimated Number of International Students***	65	20
Canadian Citizen	350	No	230	66
		Yes	120	34
Language Spoken at Home	351	English	9	3
		French	0	0
		English and/or French and Other	22	6
		Other	320	91
Level of English	351	Elementary to No Knowledge of English	91	26
		Intermediate Level of English	116	33
		Advanced or Fluent Level of English	144	41
Level of French	345	Elementary to No Knowledge of French	332	88
		Intermediate Level of French	8	2
		Advanced or Fluent Level of French	5	1

Note:

***High school graduate includes those who answered that they have completed some post-secondary education, but who did not complete their studies.**

****College/Vocational Training/ Post-Secondary/University includes those who completed some graduate studies, but who did not complete their program.**

*****Estimated Number of International Students represents all those who responded that they were students, minus those who indicated that they are not Canadian citizens and those who indicated that they had arrived in Canada in the 'Other' immigration category.**

(Source: 2012 OMMI Survey)

Table 3.2 Spanish Speaking Latin American Community - 281 Respondents				
Variable	Total N	Categories	Number	Percent≈
Sex	281	Female	168	60
		Male	113	40
Age	269	18-30	78	29
		30-60	185	69
		60+	6	2
Education	275	Less than High School	7	3
		High School Graduate*	66	24
		College/Vocational Training/ Post-Secondary/University**	70	25
		Graduate and/or Professional Degree	127	46
		Other	5	2
Employment	279	Homemaker	29	10
		Student	78	28
		Employed	146	52
		Out of Work	23	8
		Retired	1	<1
		Unable to Work	0	0
		Other	2	<1
Income	255	\$0 – \$19,999	78	31
		\$20,000 - \$39,999	52	20
		\$40,000 - \$59,999	30	12
		\$60,000 - \$79,999	37	15
		\$80,000+	58	23
Marital Status	280	Married/Common law relationship	189	68
		Single	69	25
		Separated or Divorced	18	6
		Widowed	3	1
Children	280	No	107	38
		Yes	173	62
Place of Birth	272	Canada	10	4
		Other	262	96
Arrival in Canada	278	Before 1990	15	5
		1990 – 1999	58	21
		2000 – 2009	128	46
		After 2010	68	24

		Not Applicable	9	3
Immigration Category	276	Economic Immigrant	70	25
		Family	71	26
		Refugee	46	17
		Other	79	29
		Not Applicable	10	4
Immigration Category	276	Estimated Number of International Students***	16	6
Canadian Citizen	277	No	127	46
		Yes	150	54
Language Spoken at Home	274	English	10	4
		French	0	0
		English and French	2	<1
		English and/or French and Other	71	26
		Other	191	70
Level of English	280	Elementary to No Knowledge of English	23	8
		Intermediate Level of English	46	16
		Advanced or Fluent Level of English	211	75
Level of French	275	Elementary to No Knowledge of French	184	67
		Intermediate Level of French	44	16
		Advanced or Fluent Level of French	47	17

Note:

***High school graduate includes those who answered that they have completed some post-secondary education, but who did not complete their studies.**

****College/Vocational Training/ Post-Secondary/University includes those who completed some graduate studies, but who did not complete their program.**

*****Estimated Number of International Students represents all those who responded that they were students, minus those who indicated that they are not Canadian citizens and those who indicated that they had arrived in Canada in the 'Other' immigration category.**

(Source: 2012 OMMI Survey)

Table 3.3 Somali Community - 280 Respondents				
Variable	Total N	Categories	Number	Percent≈
Sex	280	Female	206	74
		Male	74	26
Age	271	18-30	185	68
		30-60	77	28
		60+	9	3
Education	278	Less than High School	28	10
		High School Graduate*	123	44
		College/Vocational Training/ Post-Secondary/University**	104	37
		Graduate and/or Professional Degree	23	8
Employment	277	Homemaker	22	8
		Student	124	45
		Employed	110	40
		Out of Work	12	
		Retired	4	1
		Unable to Work	3	1
		Other	2	<1
Income	268	\$0 – \$19,999	89	33
		\$20,000 - \$39,999	68	25
		\$40,000 - \$59,999	56	21
		\$60,000 - \$79,999	35	13
		\$80,000+	80	7
Marital Status	280	Married/Common law relationship	69	25
		Single	188	67
		Separated or Divorced	16	6
		Widowed	7	3
Children	280	No	192	69
		Yes	88	31
Place of Birth	264	Canada	79	30
		Other	185	70
Arrival in Canada	266	Before 1990	39	15
		1990 - 1999	125	47
		2000 - 2009	10	4
		After 2010	16	6
		Not Applicable	76	29

Immigration Category	268	Economic Immigrant	24	9
		Family	49	18
		Refugee	107	40
		Other	12	4
		Not Applicable	76	28
Immigration Category	268	Estimated Number of International Students***	2	<1
Canadian Citizen	271	No	21	8
		Yes	250	92
Language Spoken at Home	273	English	15	5
		French	4	1
		English and/or French and Other	188	69
		Other	66	24
Level of English	279	Elementary to No Knowledge of English	25	9
		Intermediate Level of English	25	9
		Advanced or Fluent Level of English	230	82
Level of French	276	Elementary to No Knowledge of French	158	57
		Intermediate Level of French	34	12
		Advanced or Fluent Level of French	84	30
Note:				
*High school graduate includes those who answered that they have completed some post-secondary education, but who did not complete their studies.				
**College/Vocational Training/ Post-Secondary/University includes those who completed some graduate studies, but who did not complete their program.				
***Estimated Number of International Students represents all those who responded that they were students, minus those who indicated that they are not Canadian citizens and those who indicated that they had arrived in Canada in the ‘Other’ immigration category.				

(Source: 2012 OMMI Survey)

Table. 3.4 Chinese Community Age and Language Skills		
Age	Basic Level of English Language Skills	
	#	%
Seniors (60+) 67R	59	88
Non-seniors (60-) 266R	29	11

(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1 and 12)

Table 3.5 Latin American Community Age and Language Skills		
Age	Basic Level of English Language Skills	
	#	%
Seniors (60+) 8R	2	25
Non-seniors (60-) 273R	21	8

(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1 and 12)

Table 3.6 Somali Community Age and Language Skills		
Age	Basic Level of English Language Skills	
	#	%
Seniors (60+) 13R	6	46
Non-seniors (60-) 267R	18	7

(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1 and 12)

Chapter 4 Tables

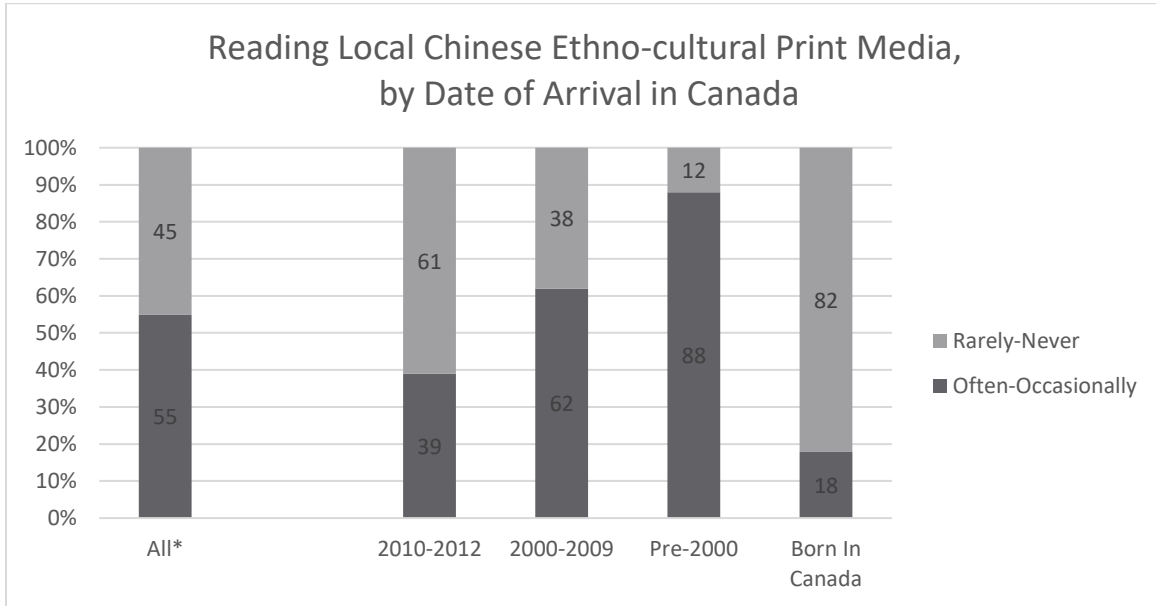
Table 4.1		
	Female T=410	Male T=300
Homemaker	15%	1%

(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, QA2, QA6)

Appendix 2 – Charts

Chapter 3 Charts

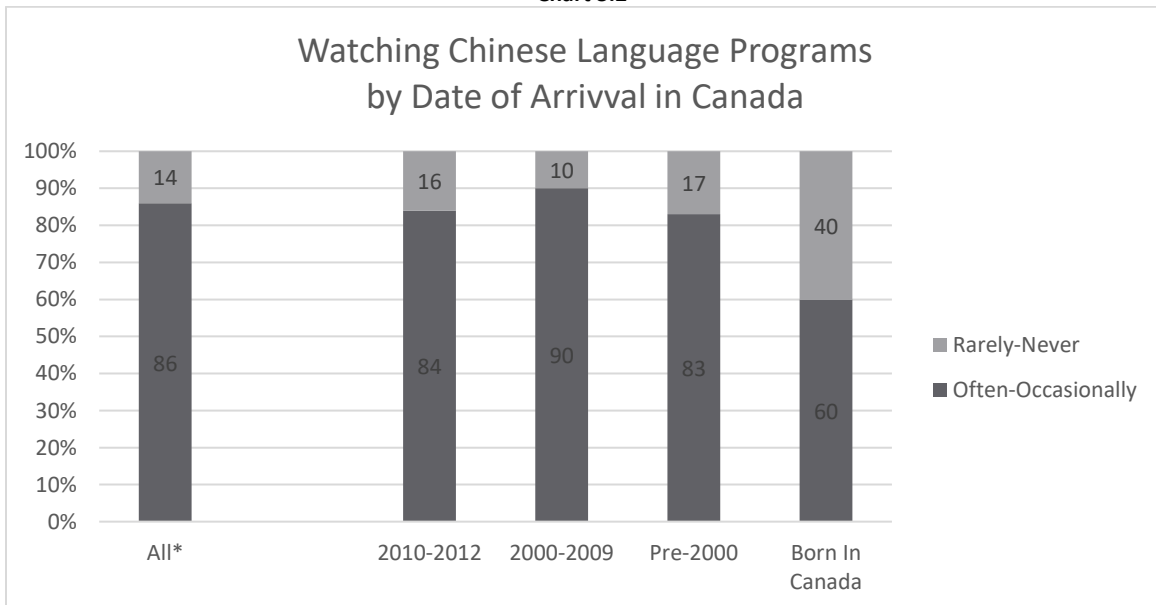
Chart 3.1



(Source: OMMI Survey 2012, Part A, Question 14, and Part C, Question 7; 313 respondents;

*Part C, Question 7 only, 334 respondents)

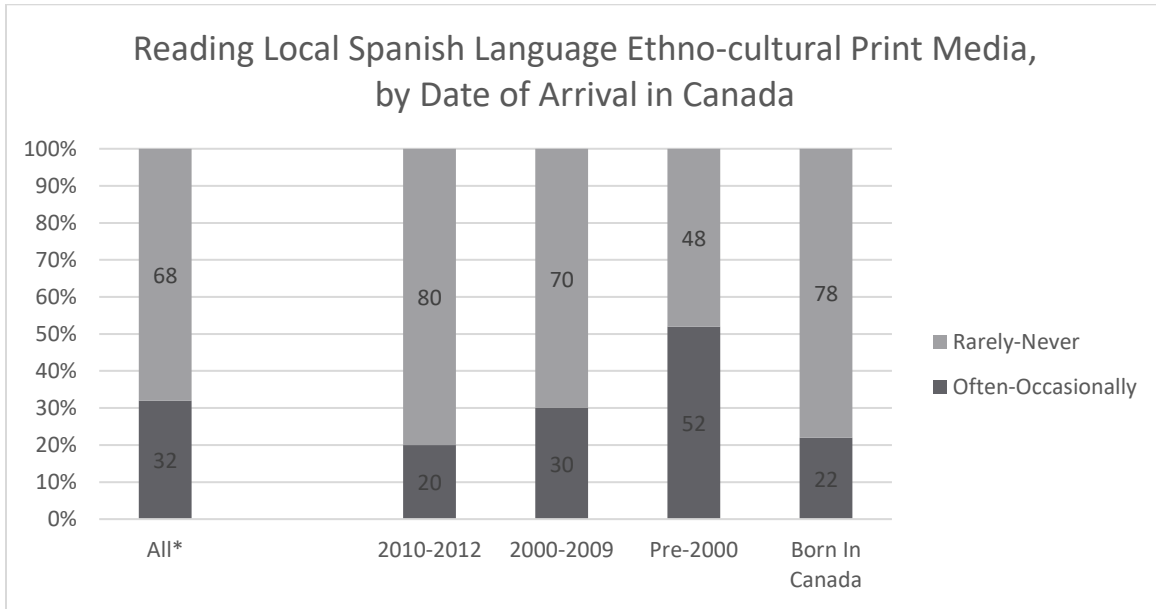
Chart 3.2



(Source: OMMI Survey 2012, Part A, Question 14, and Part C, Question 2; 267 respondents;

*Part C, Question 7 only, 289 respondents)

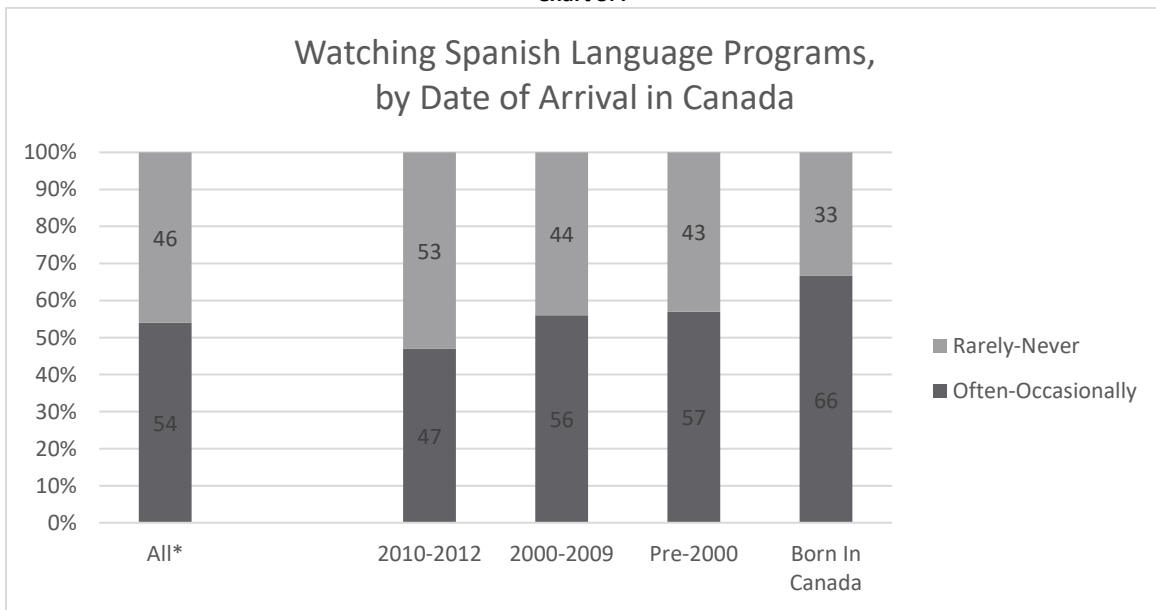
Chart 3.3



(Source: OMMI Survey 2012, Part A, Question 14, and Part C, Question 7; 256 respondents;

*Part C, Question 7 only, 271 respondents)

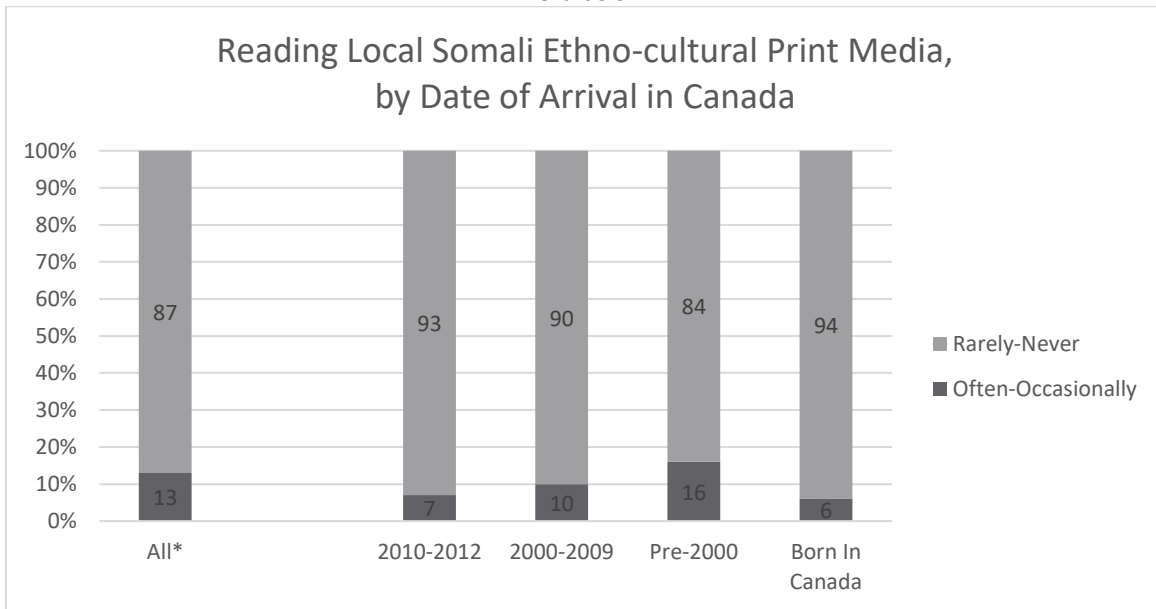
Chart 3.4



(Source: OMMI Survey 2012, Part A, Question 14, and Part C, Question 2; 271 respondents;

*Part C, Question 7 only, 274 respondents)

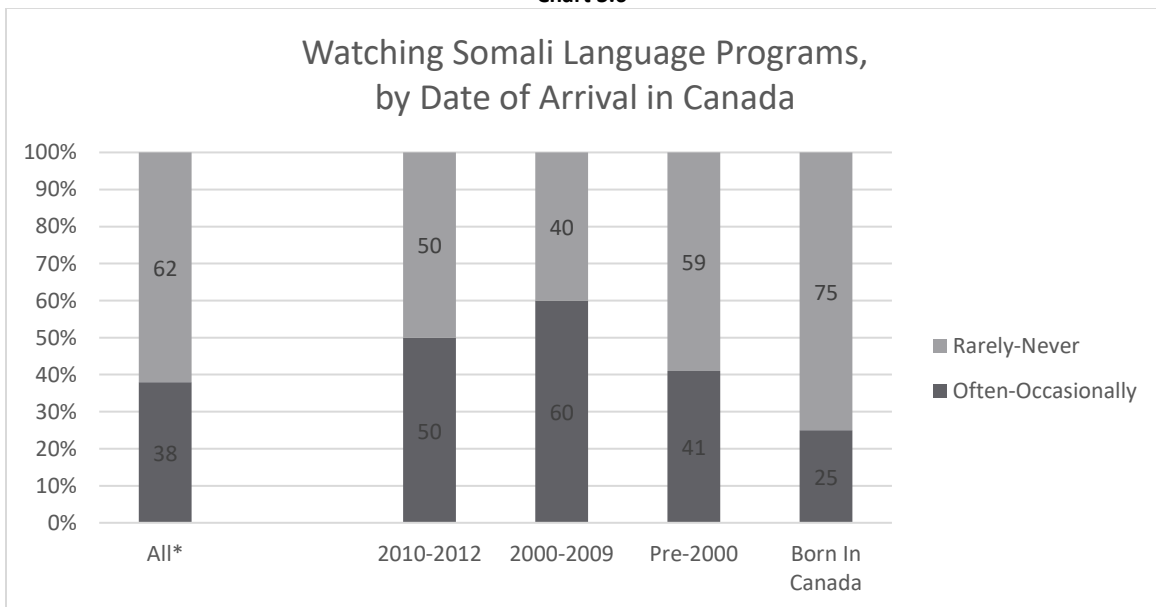
Chart 3.5



(Source: OMMI Survey 2012, Part A, Question 14, and Part C, Question 7; 249 respondents;

*Part C, Question 7 only, 259 respondents)

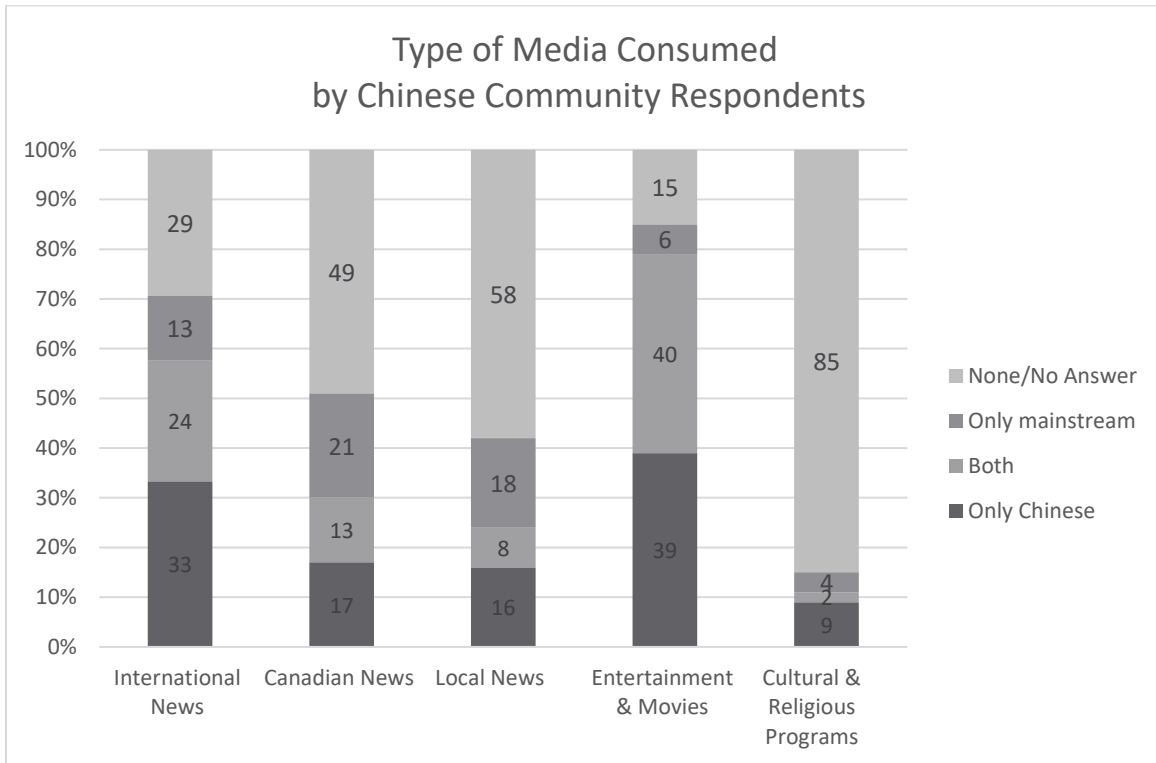
Chart 3.6



(Source: OMMI Survey 2012, Part A, Question 14, and Part C, Question 2; 265 respondents;

*Part C, Question 7 only, 279 respondents)

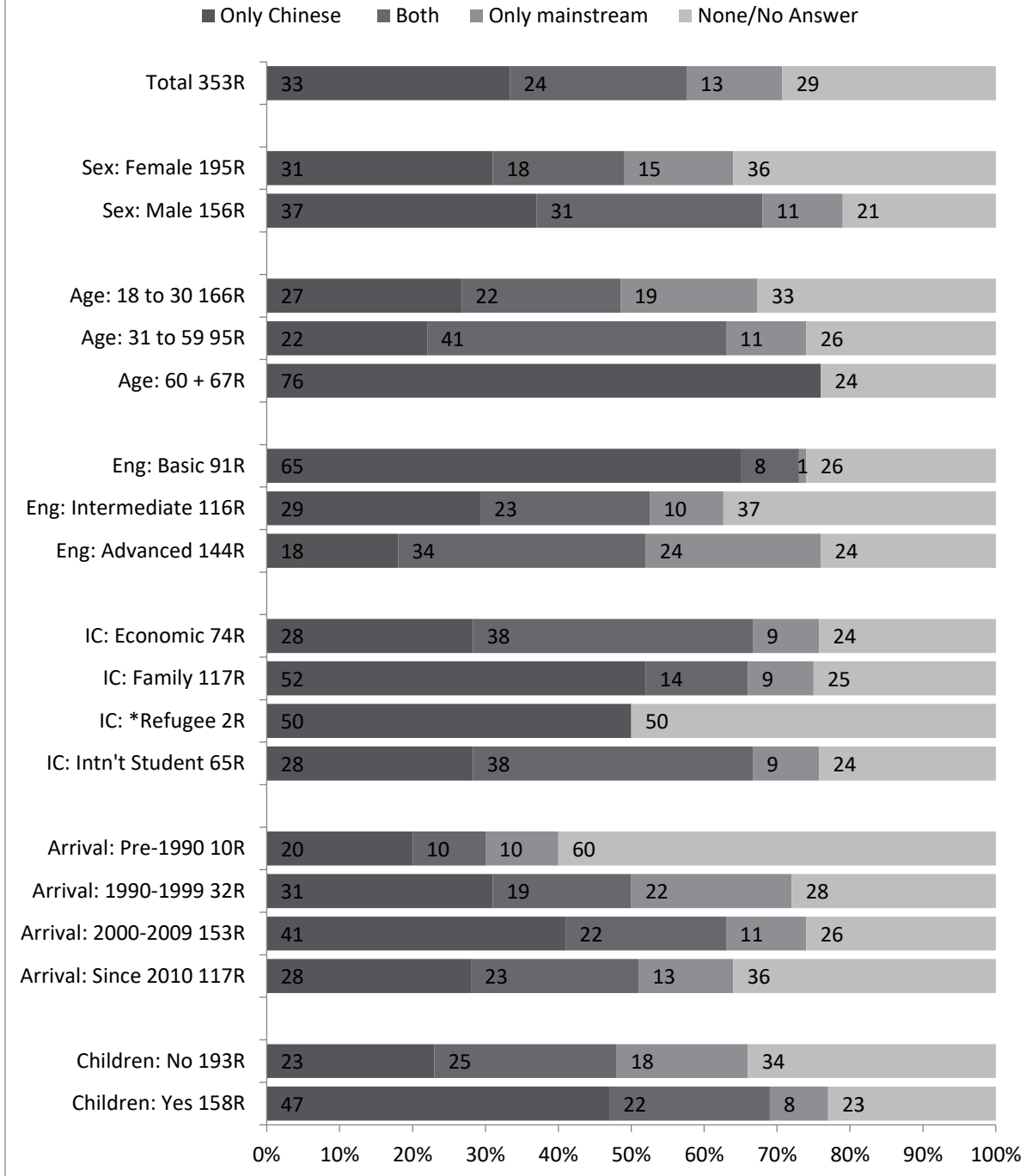
Chart 3.7



(Source: OMMI Survey 2012, Part C, Question 5, and Part D, Question 3, 353 respondents)

Chart 3.8

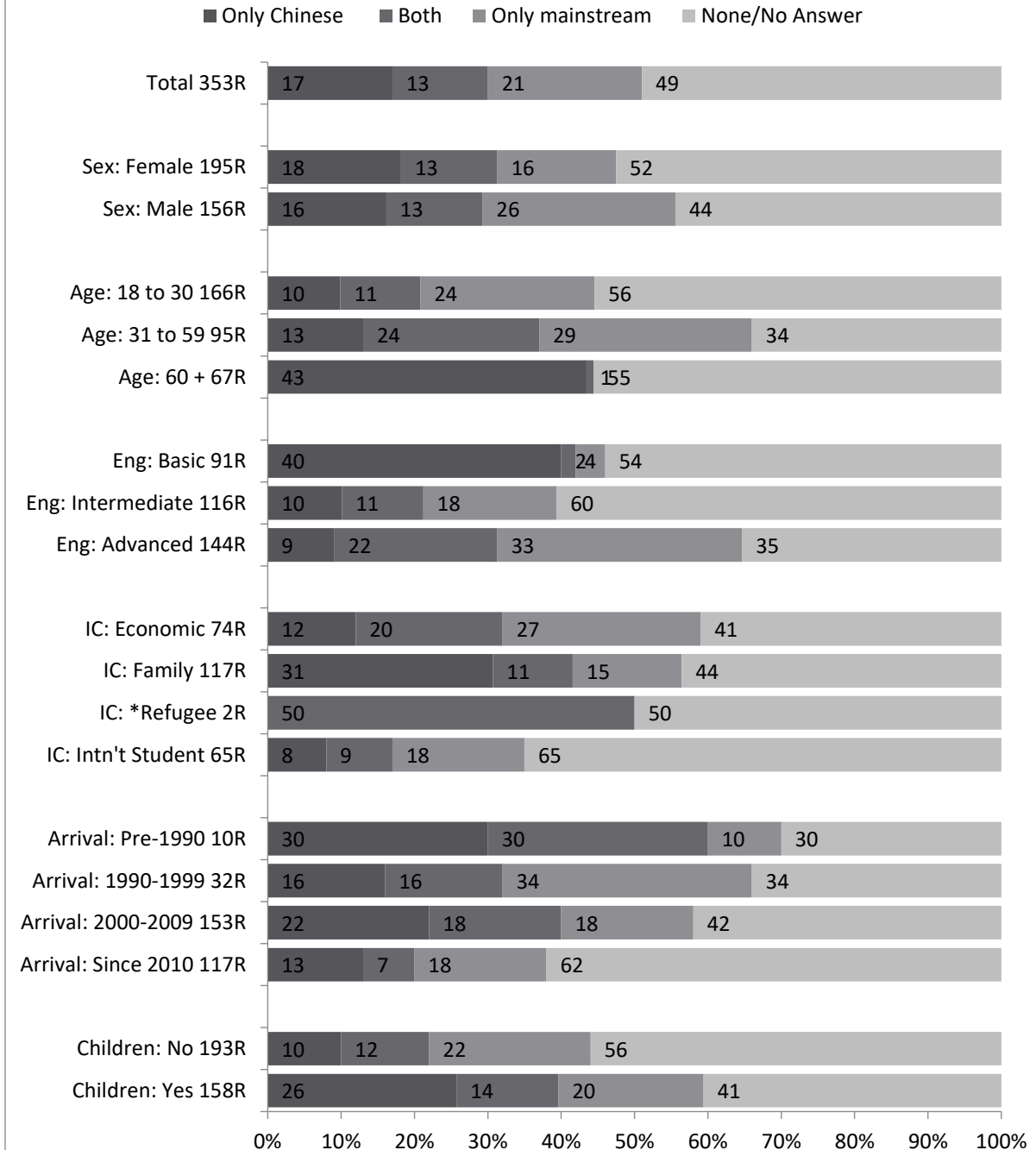
Consumption of International News in Ottawa's Chinese Community



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 16, and 15; Part C, Question 5; and Part D, Question 3)

Chart 3.9

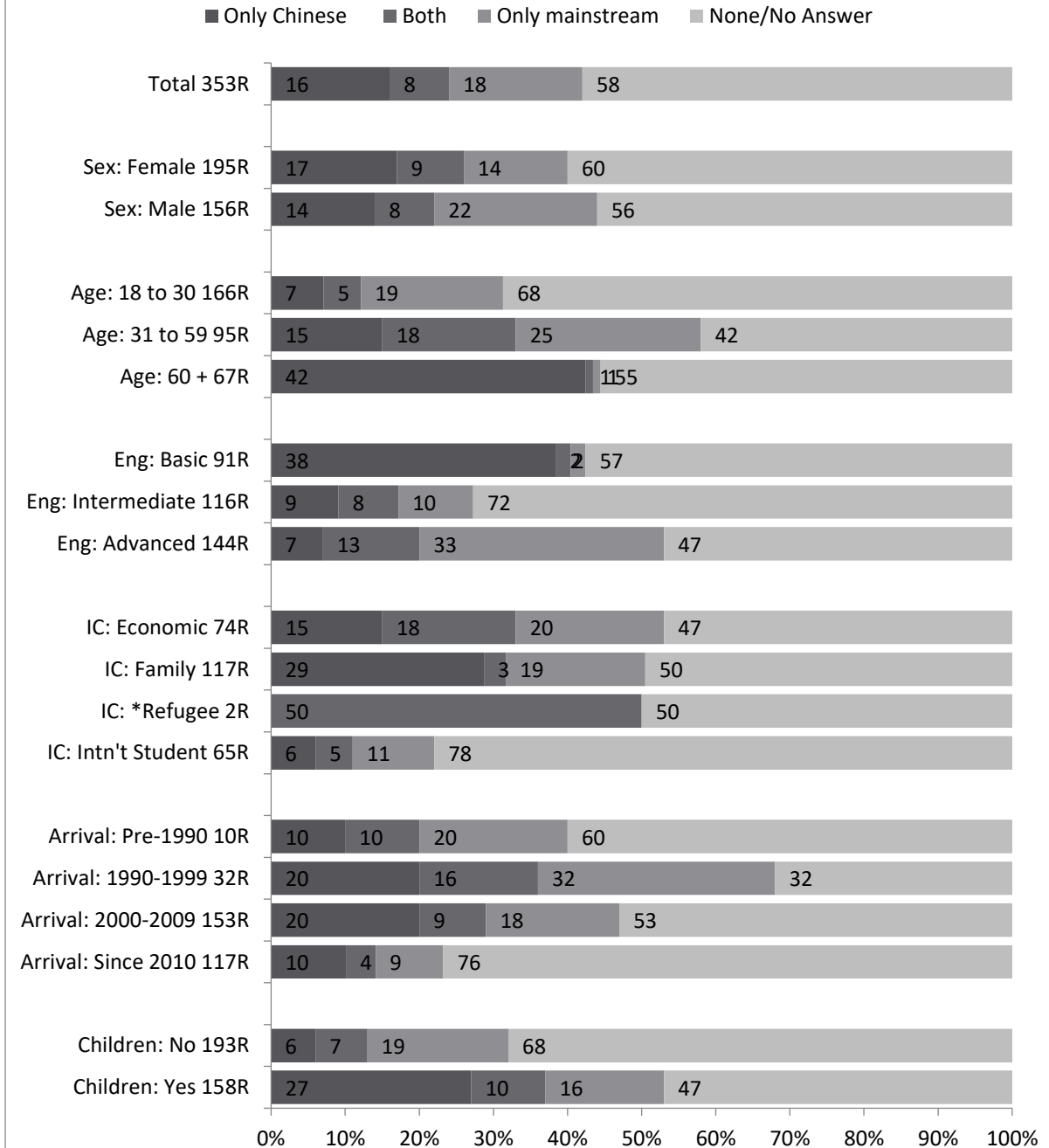
Consumption of Canadian News in Ottawa's Chinese Community



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 16, and 15; Part C, Question 5; and Part D, Question 3)

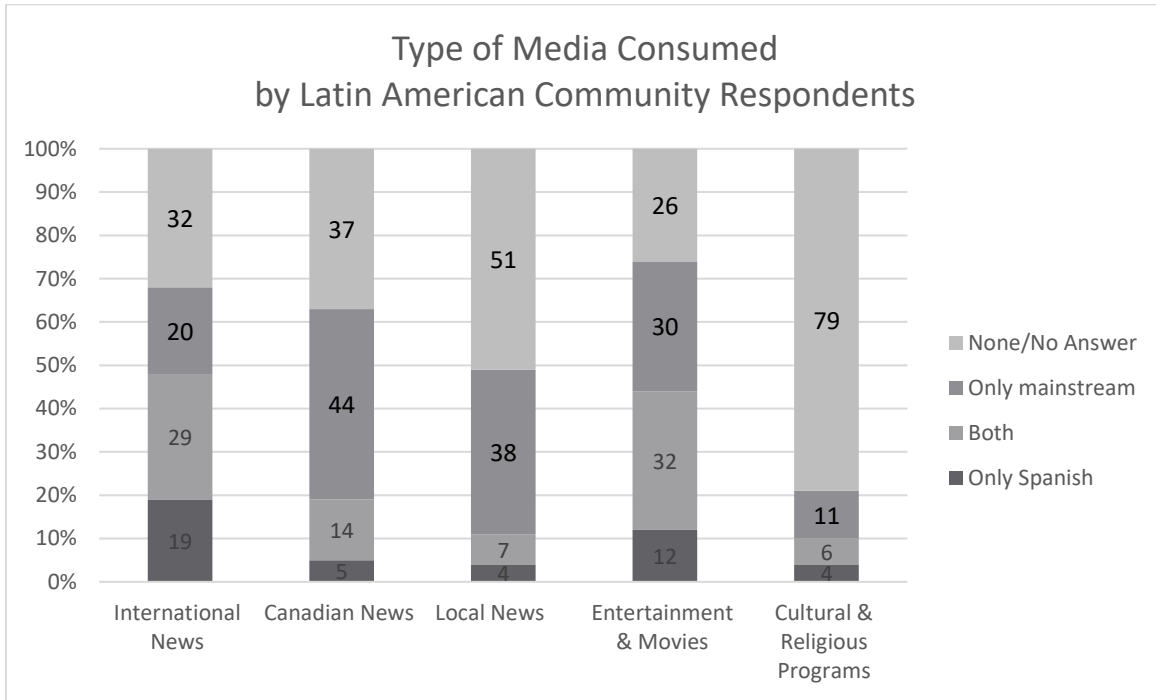
Chart 3.10

Consumption of Local News in Ottawa's Chinese Community



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 16, and 15; Part C, Question 5; and Part D, Question 3)

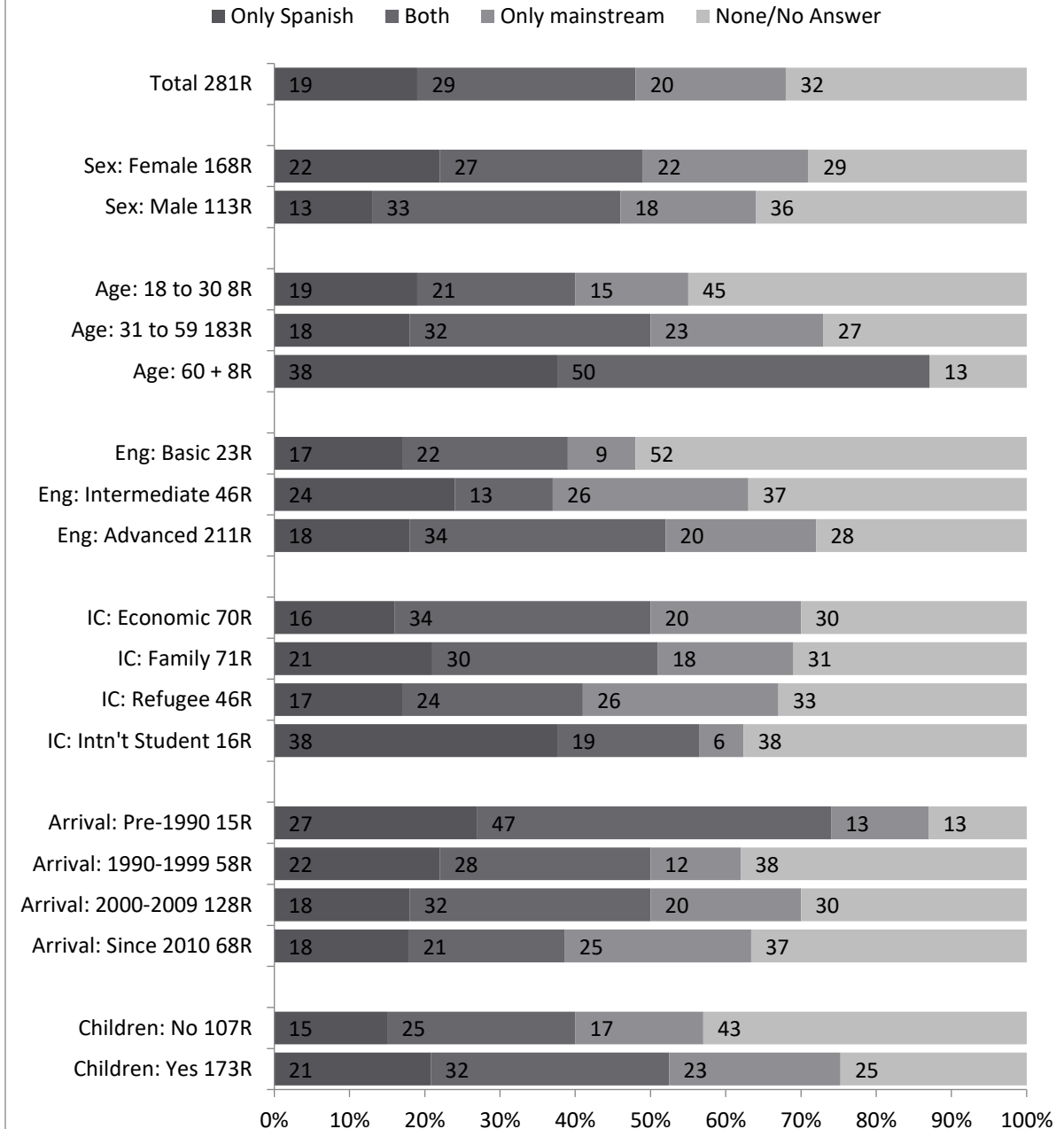
Chart 3.11



(Source: OMMI Survey 2012, Part C, Question 5, and Part D, Question 3, 281 respondents)

Chart 3.12

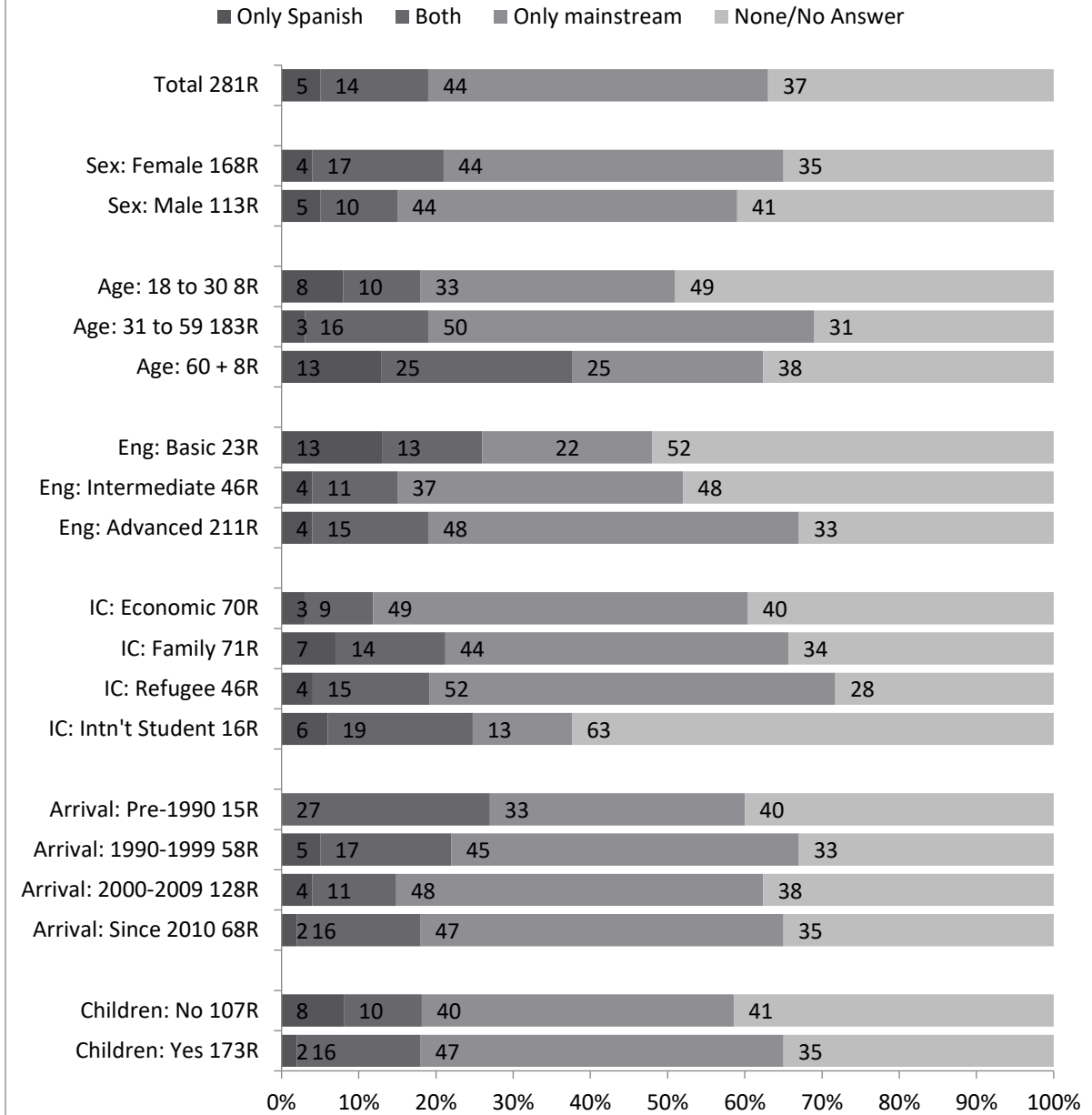
Consumption of International News in Ottawa's Spanish Speaking Latin American Community



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 16, and 15; Part C, Question 5; and Part D, Question 3)

Chart 3.13

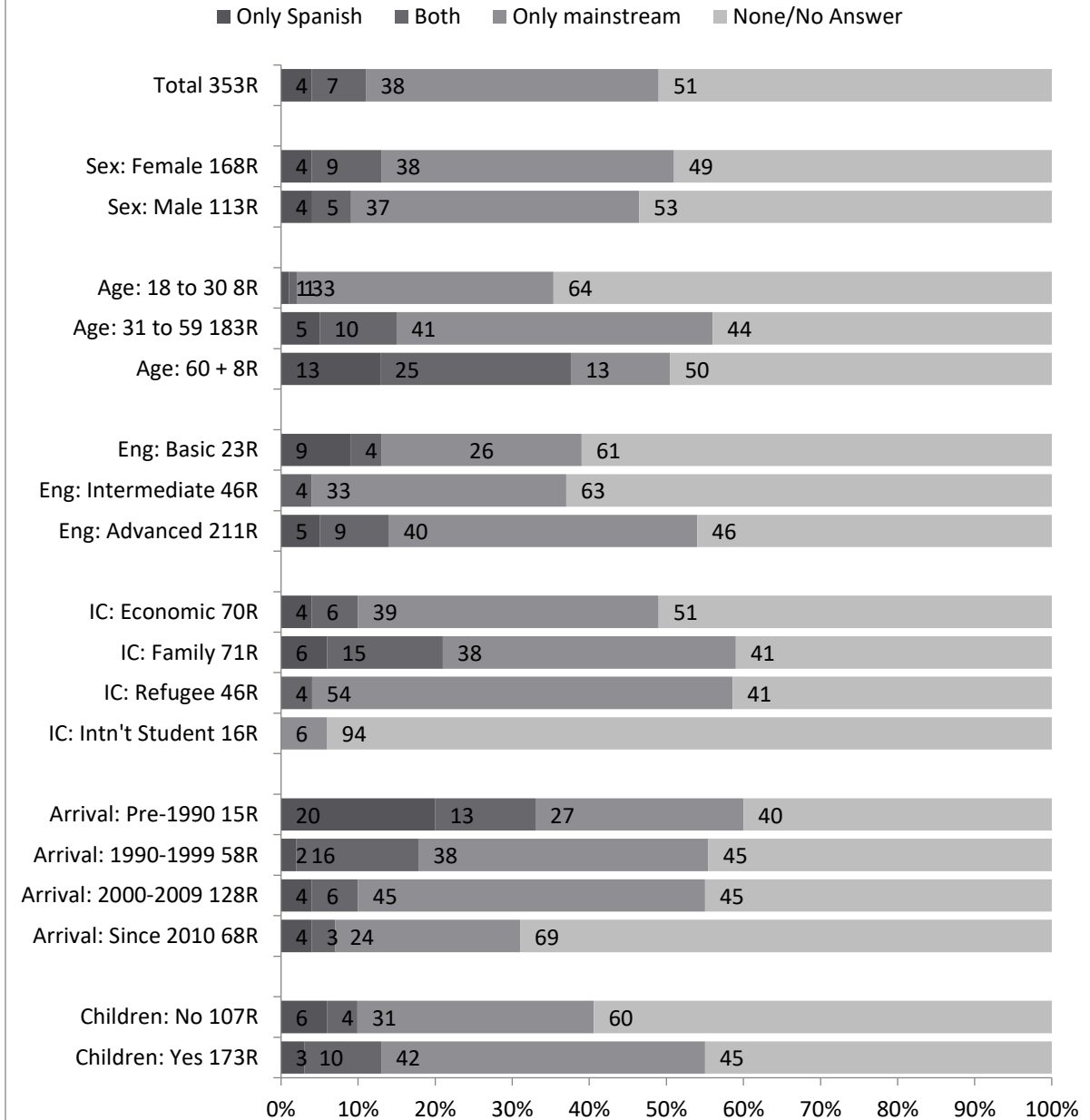
Consumption of Canadian News in Ottawa's Spanish Speaking Latin American Community



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 16, and 15; Part C, Question 5; and Part D, Question 3)

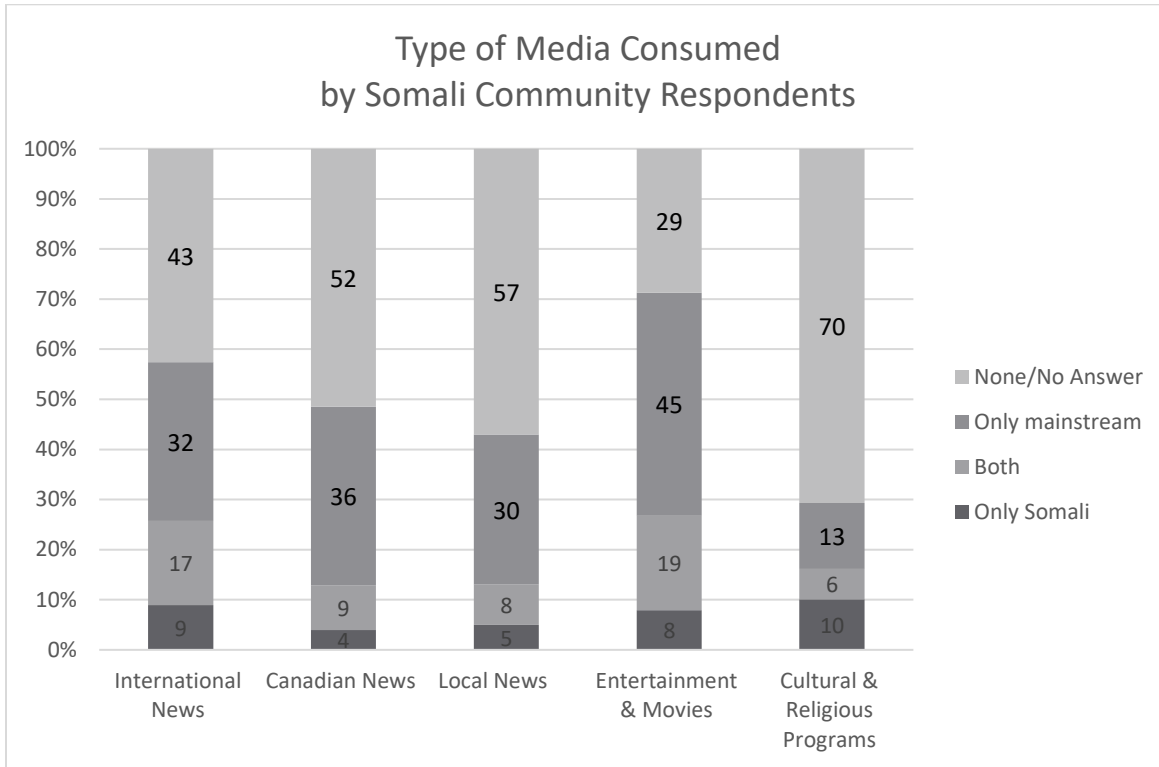
Chart 3.14

Consumption of Local News in Ottawa's Spanish Speaking Latin American Community



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 16, and 15; Part C, Question 5; and Part D, Question 3)

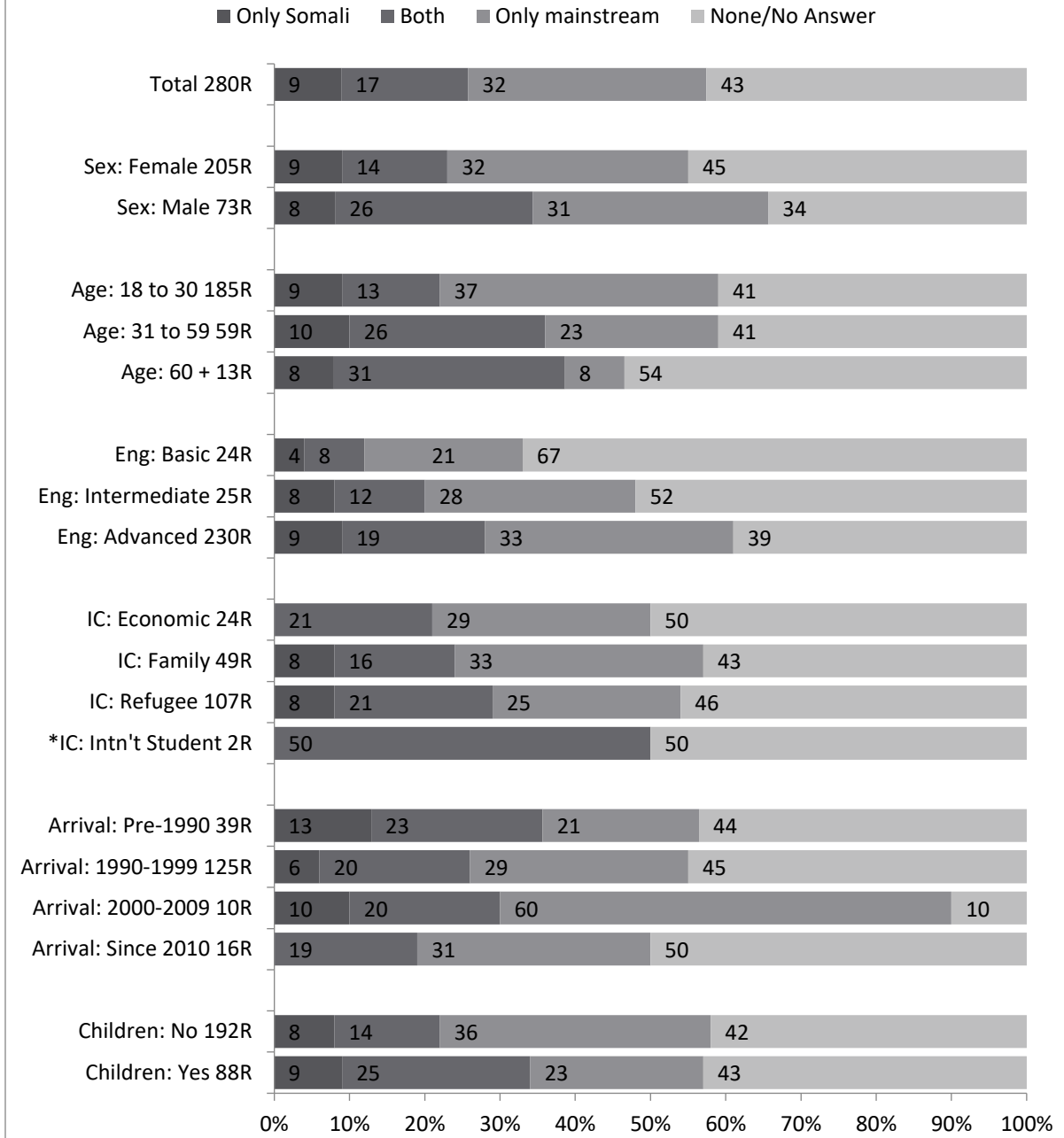
Chart 3.15



(Source: OMMI Survey 2012, Part C, Question 5, and Part D, Question 3, 280 respondents)

Chart 3.16

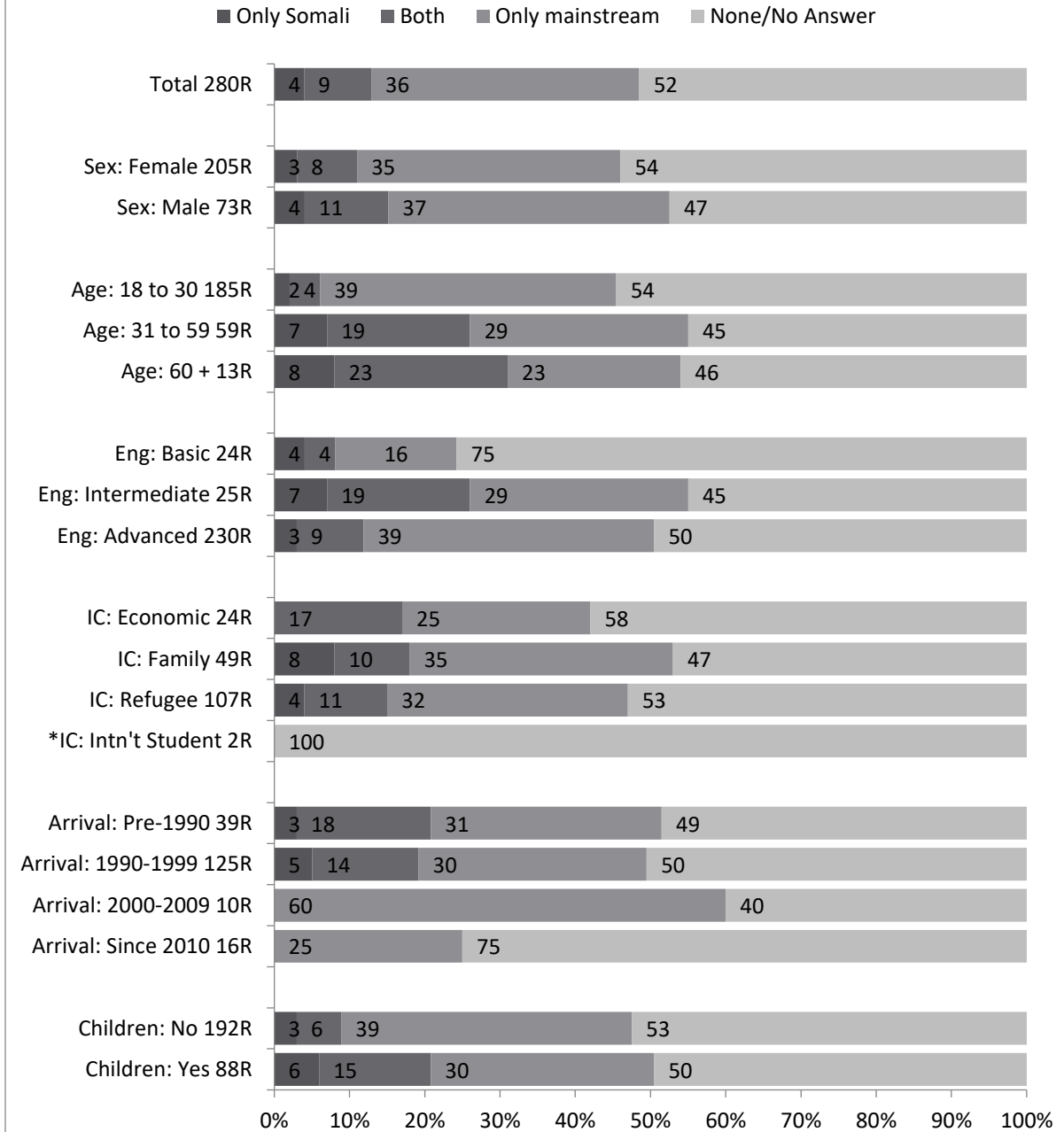
Consumption of International News in Ottawa's Somali Community



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 16, and 15; Part C, Question 5; and Part D, Question 3)

Chart 3.17

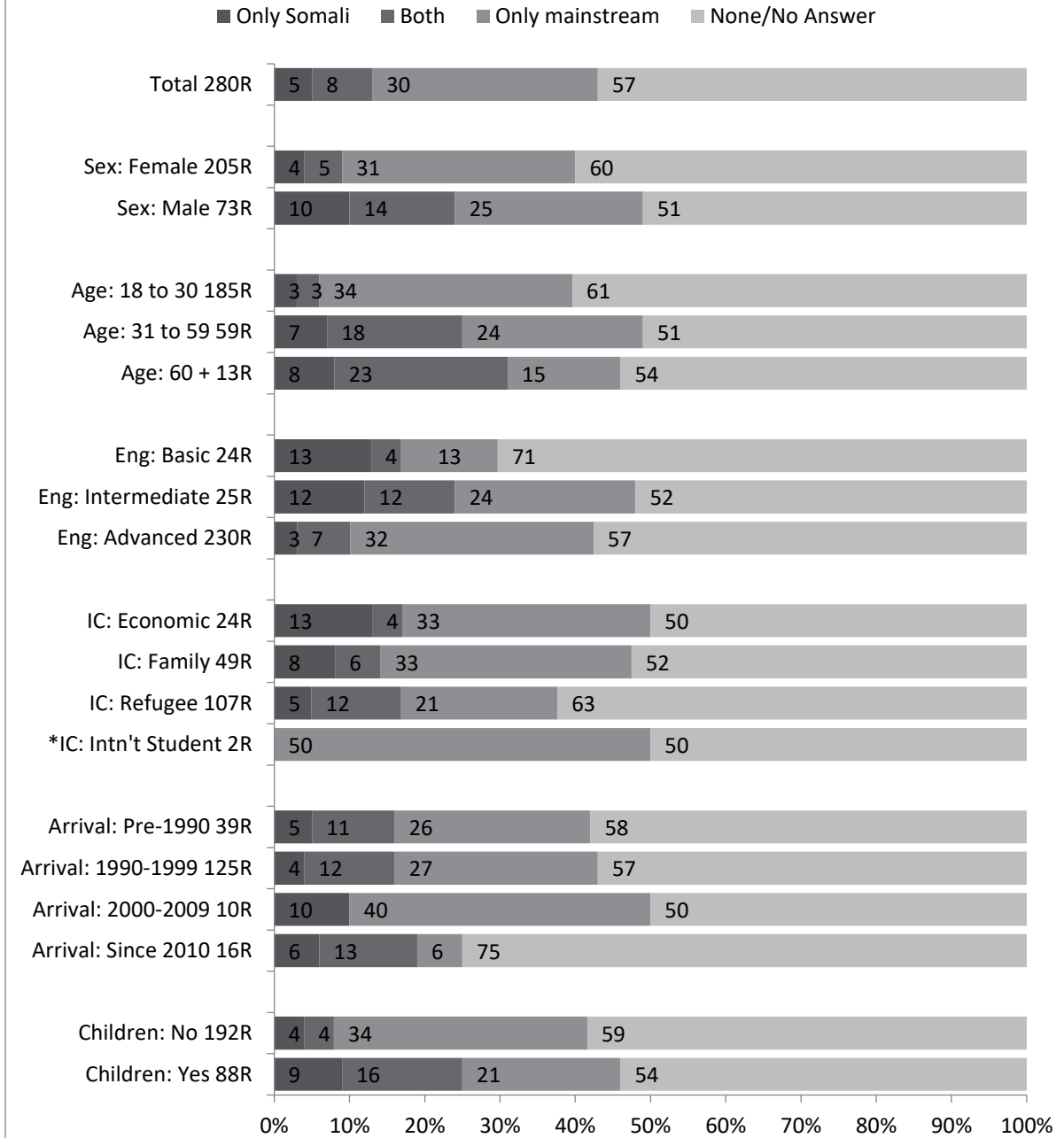
Consumption of Canadian News in Ottawa's Somali Community



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 16, and 15; Part C, Question 5; and Part D, Question 3)

Chart 3.18

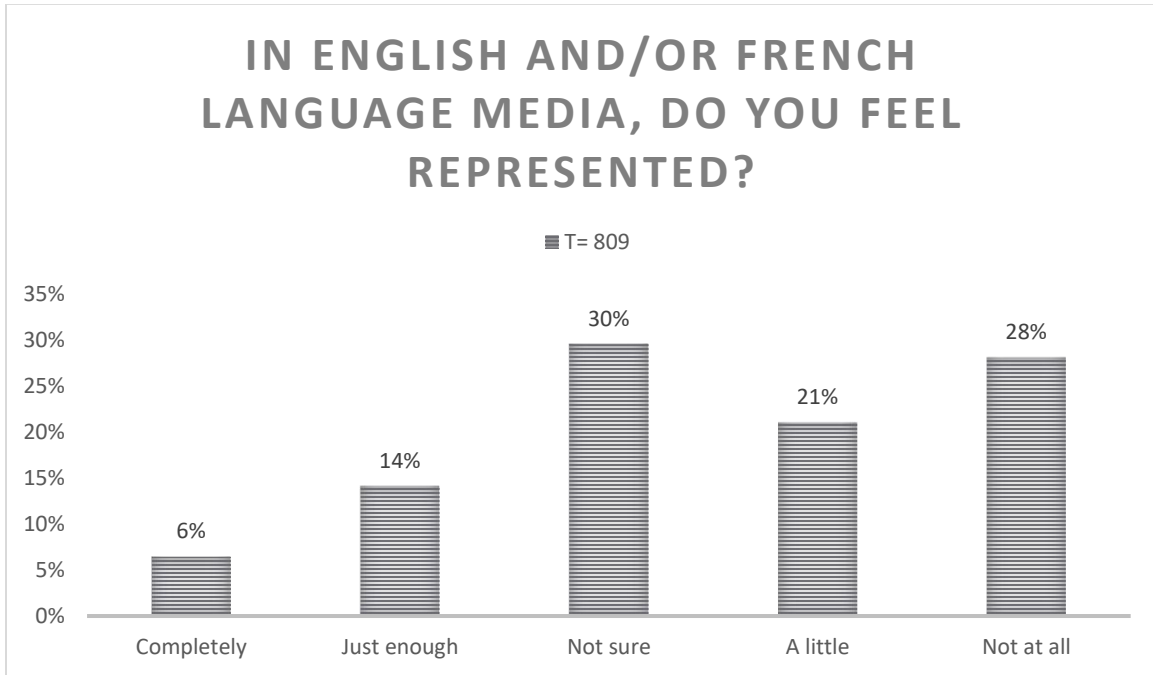
Consumption of Local News in Ottawa's Somali Community



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 16, and 15; Part C, Question 5; and Part D, Question 3)

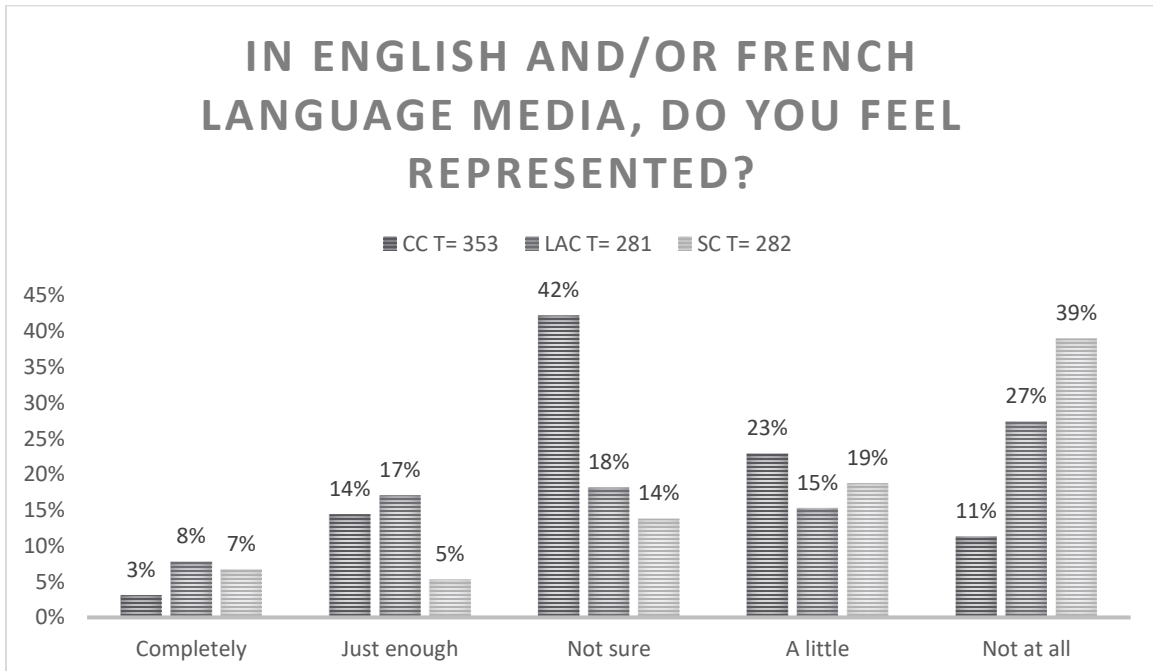
Chapter 4 Charts

Chart 4.1



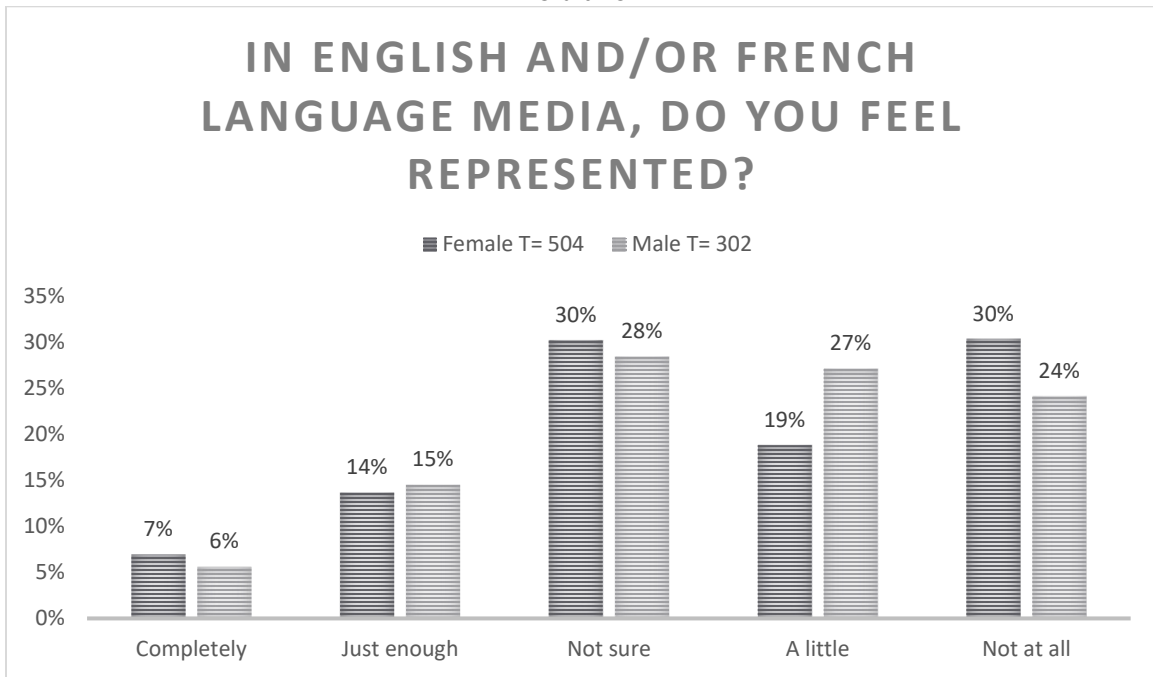
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part D, Question 4)

Chart 4.2



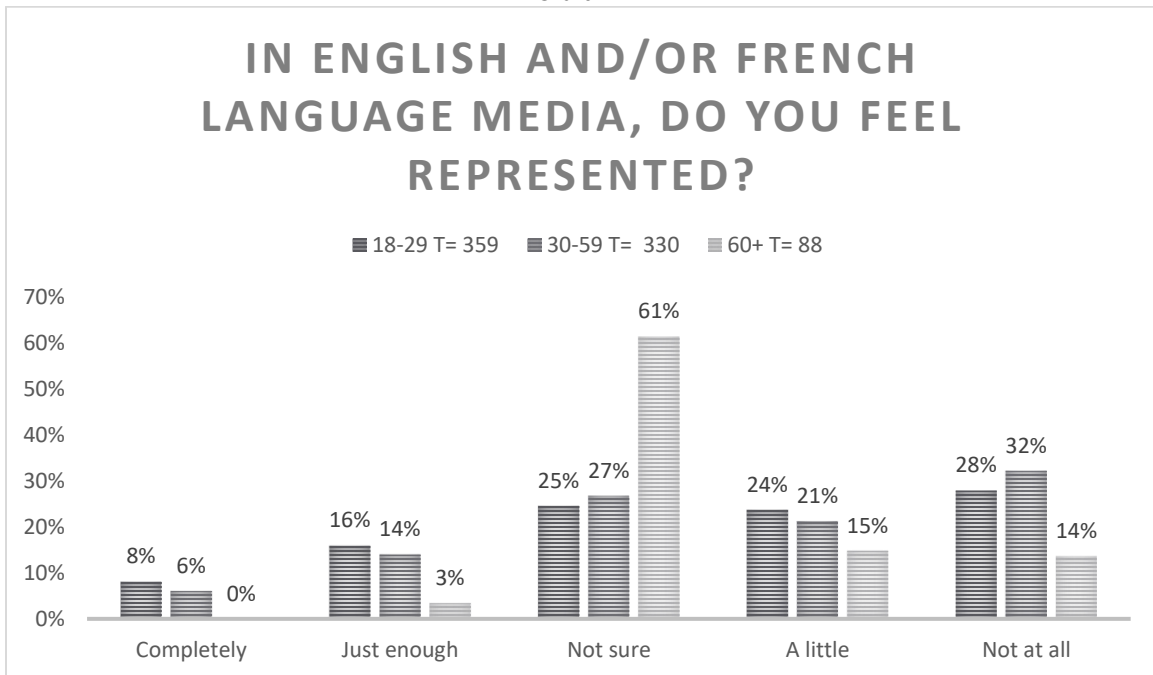
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part D, Question 4)

Chart 4.3



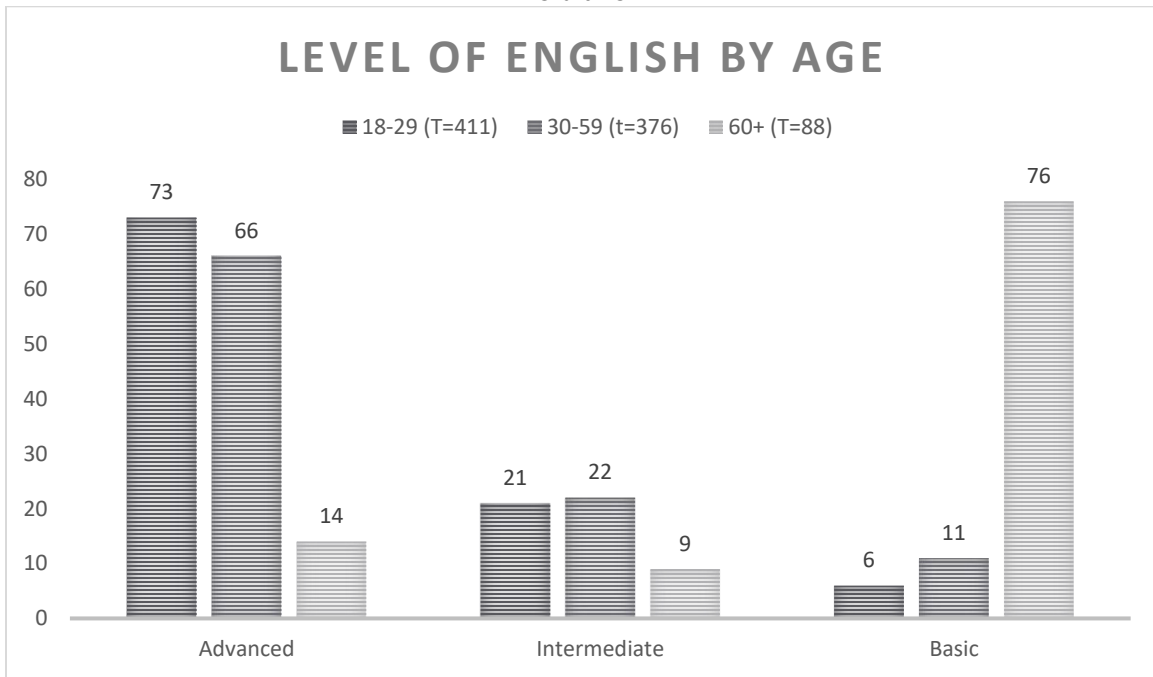
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part D, Question 4)

Chart 4.4



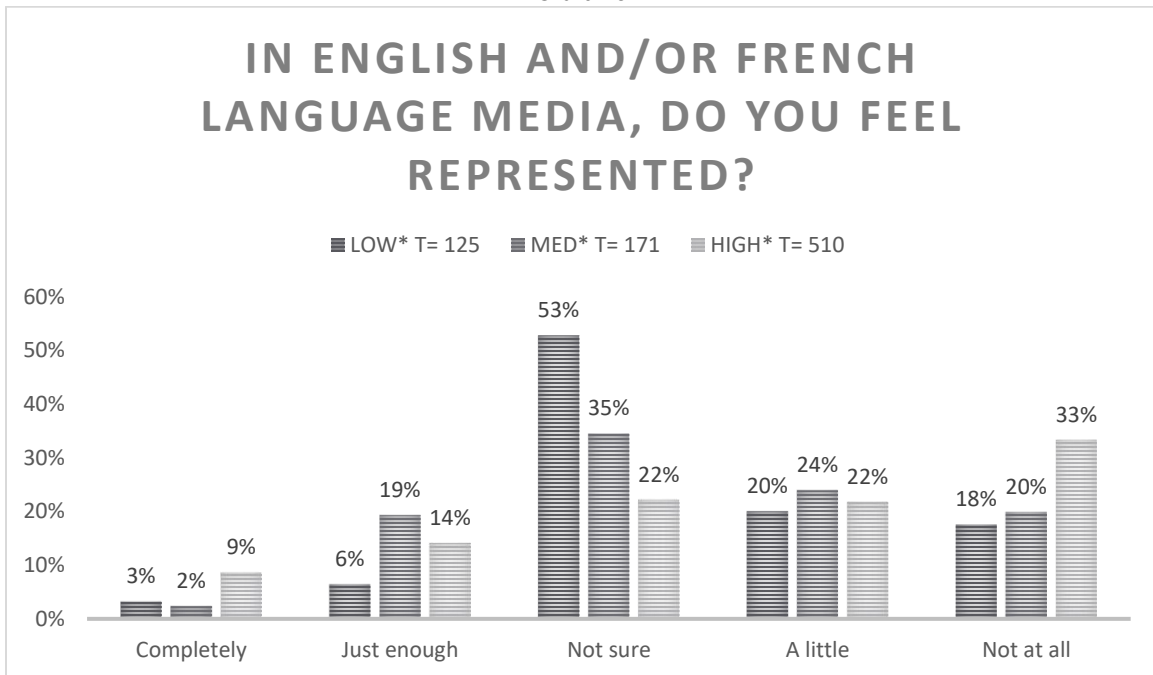
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part D, Question 4)

Chart 4.5



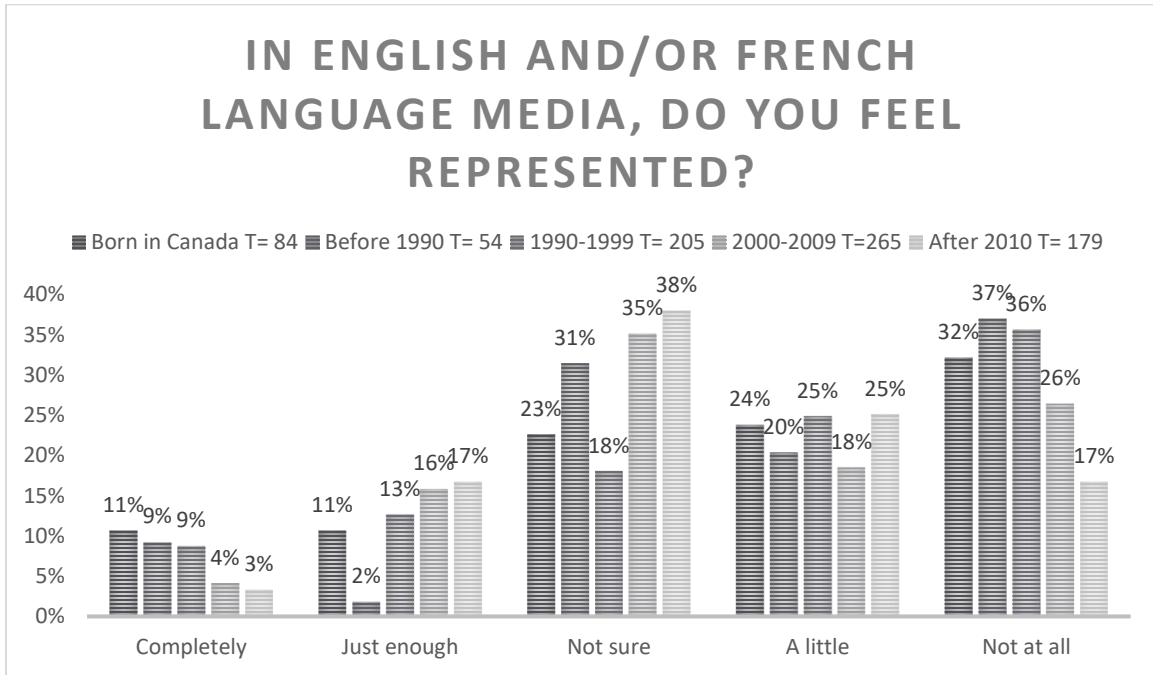
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part A, Questions 1 and 12)

Chart 4.6



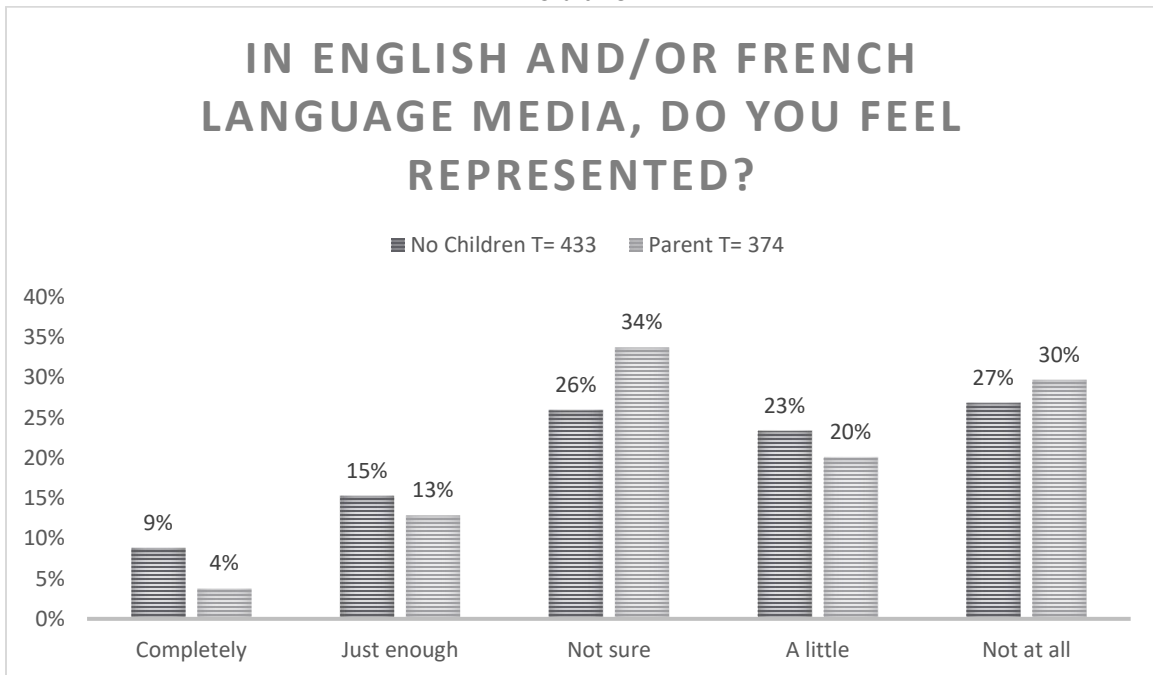
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part D, Question 4)

Chart 4.7



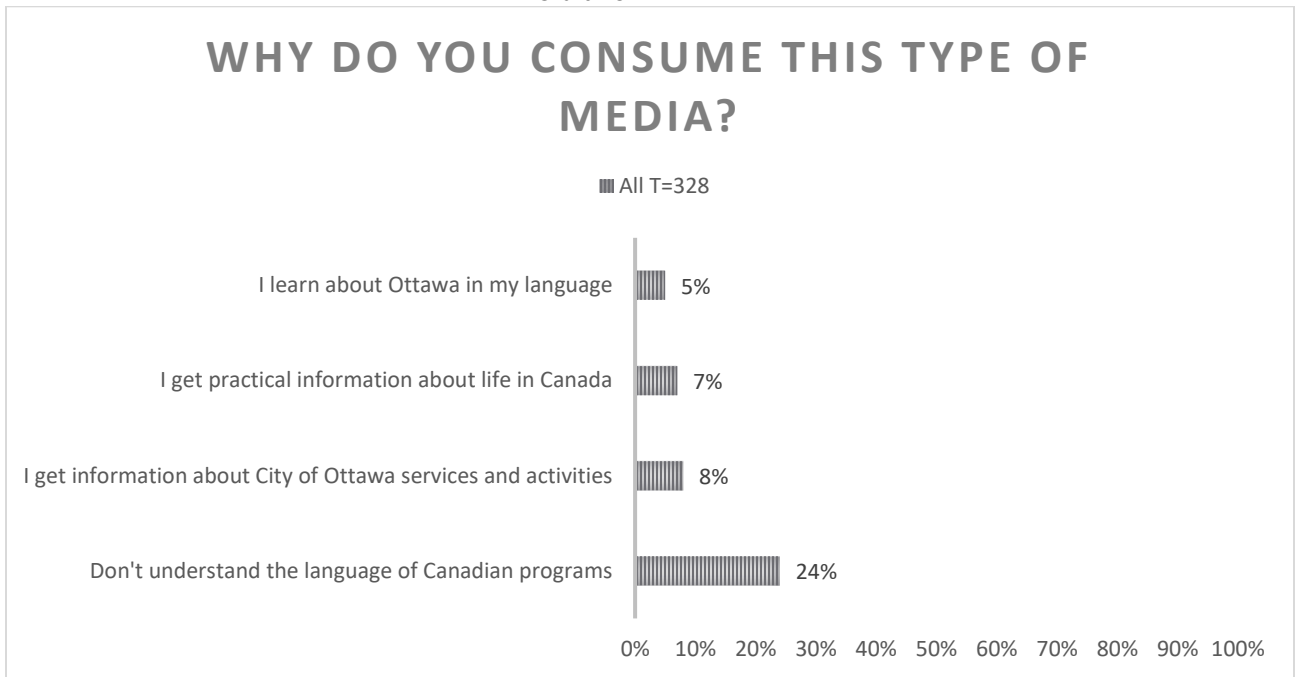
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part D, Question 4)

Chart 4.8



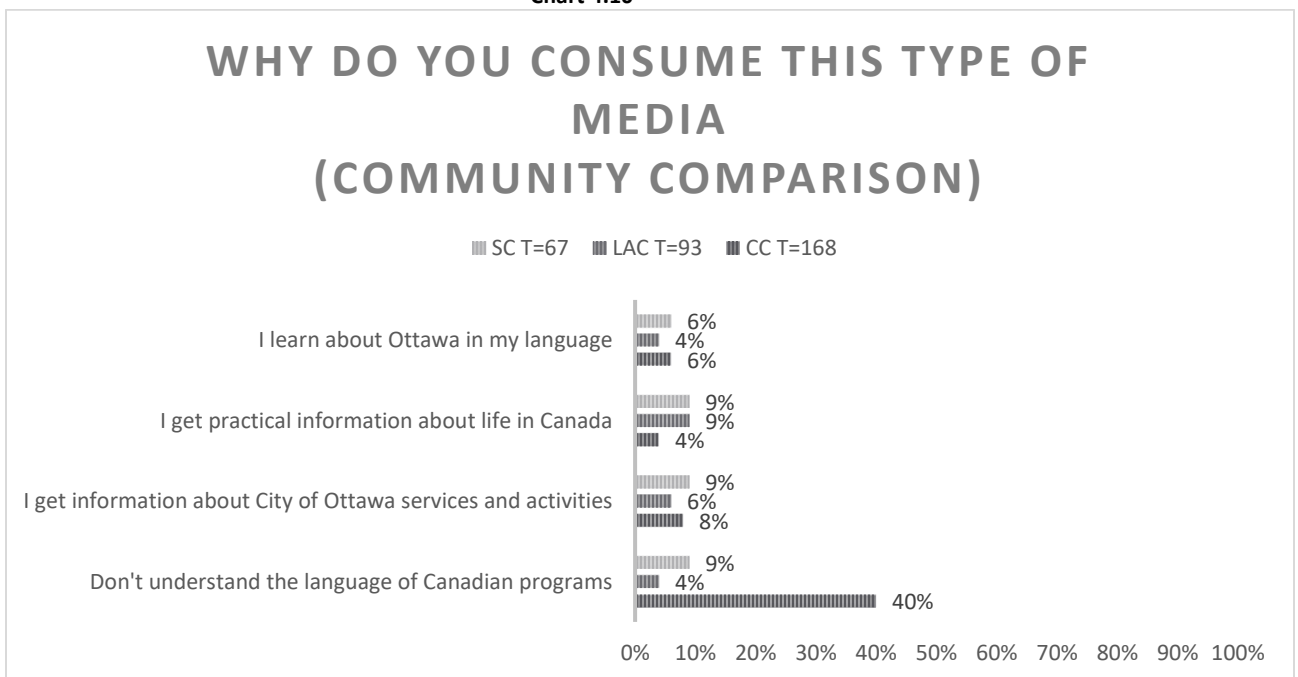
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part D, Question 4)

Chart 4.9



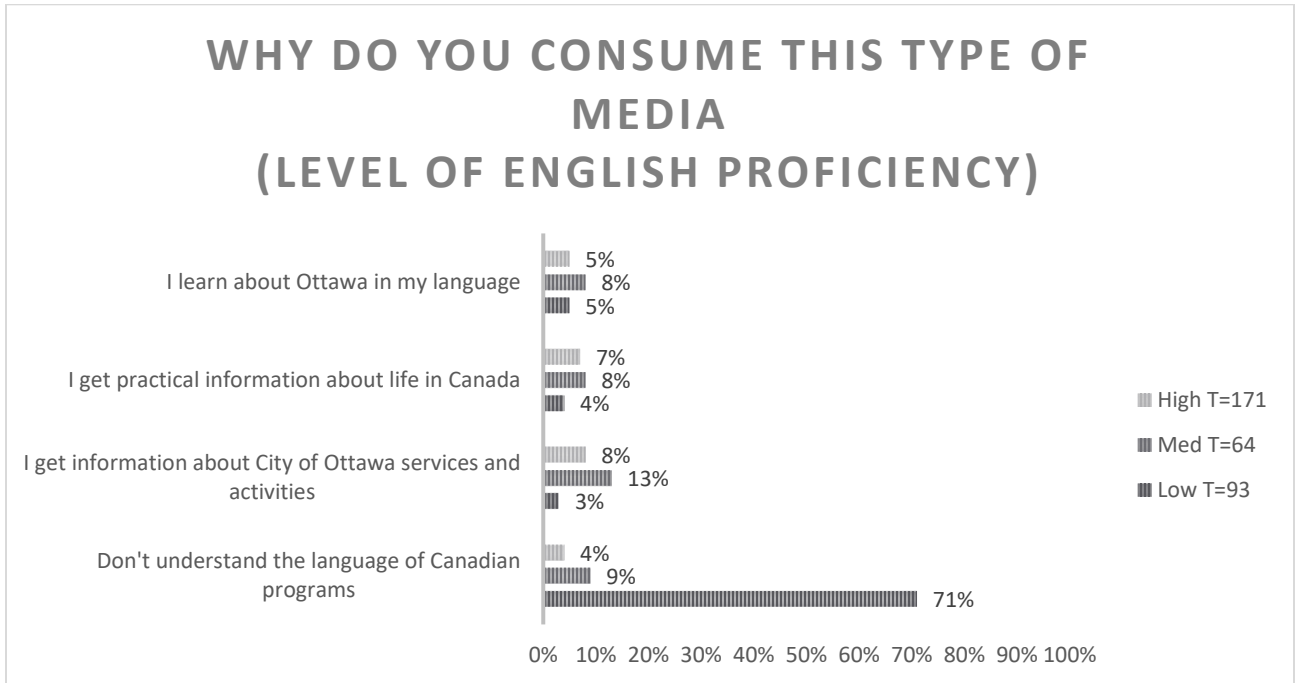
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 4.10



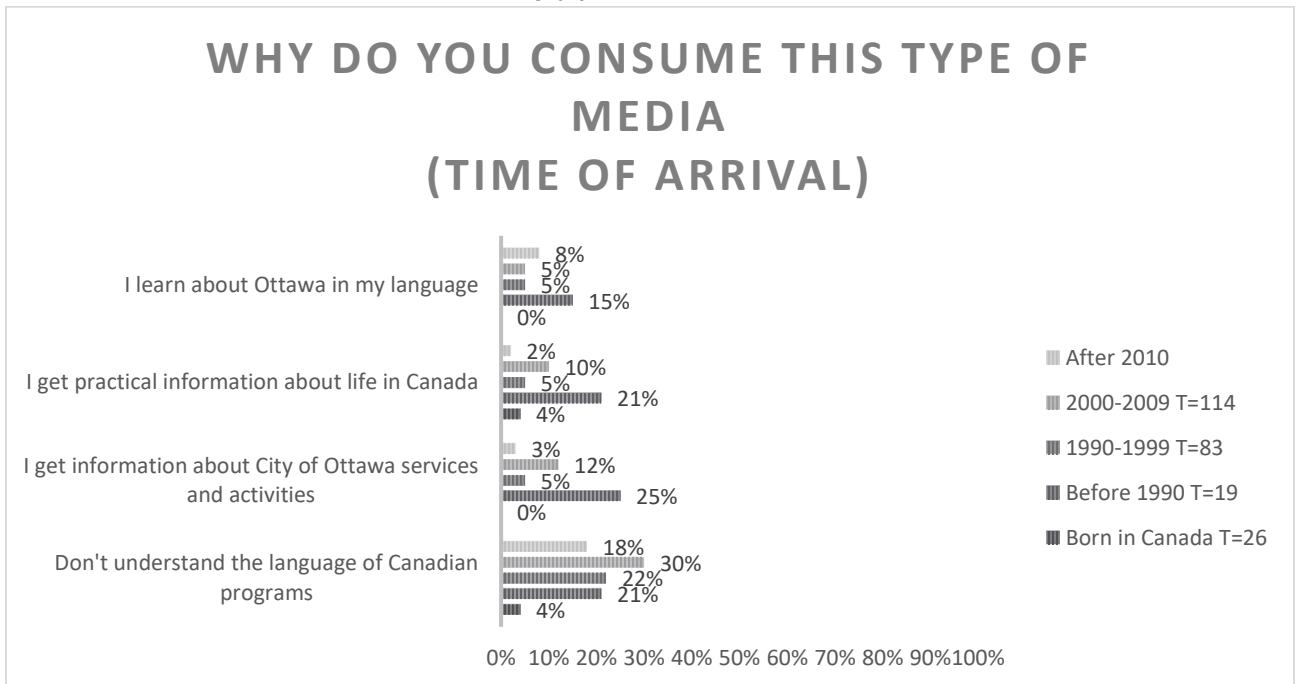
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 4.11



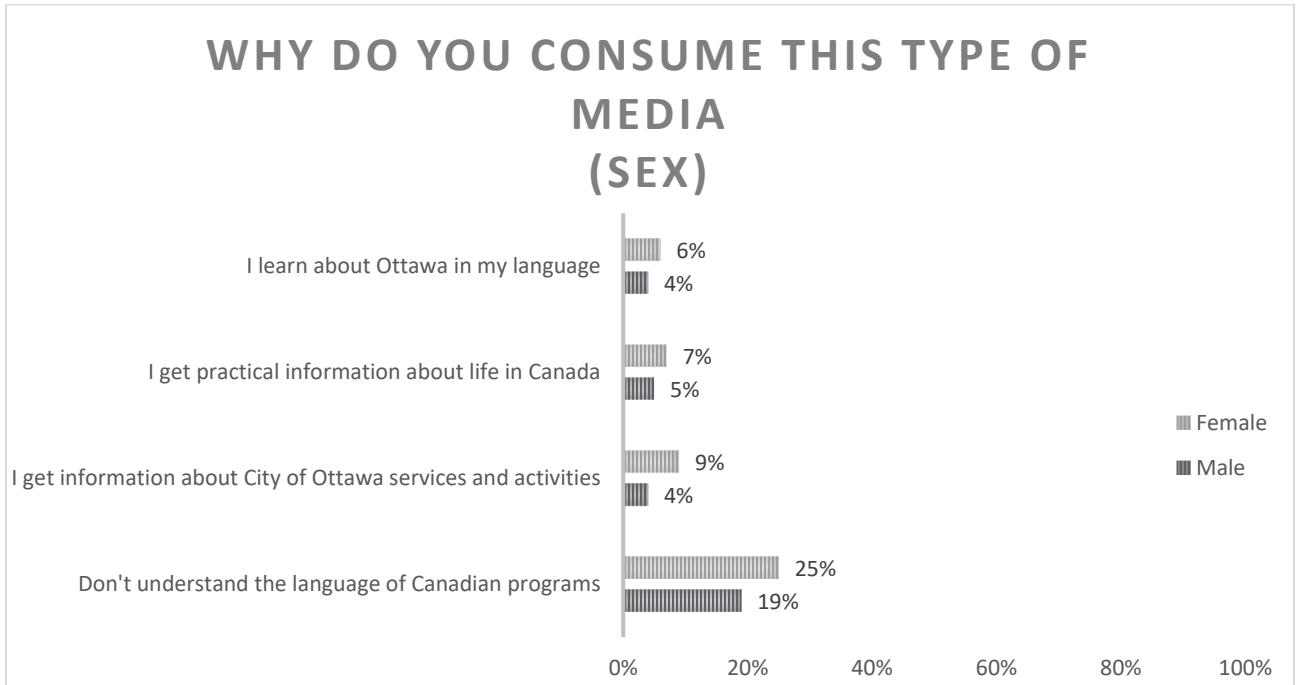
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 4.12



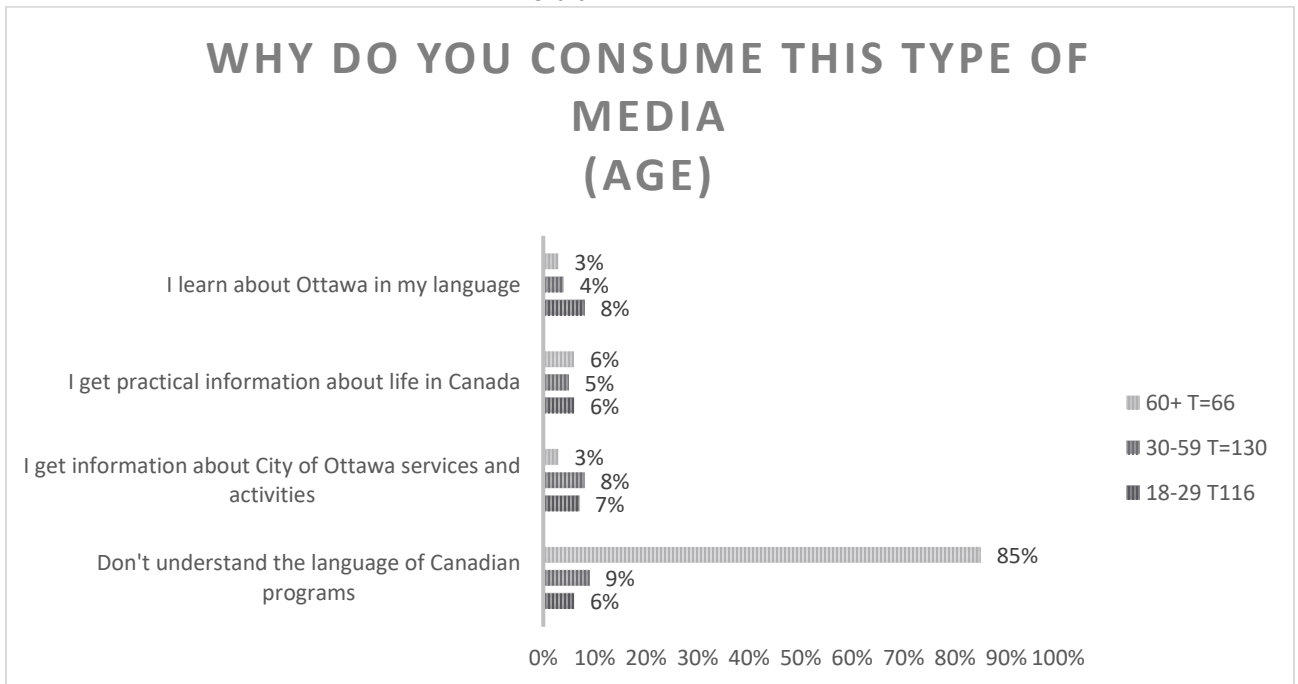
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 4.13



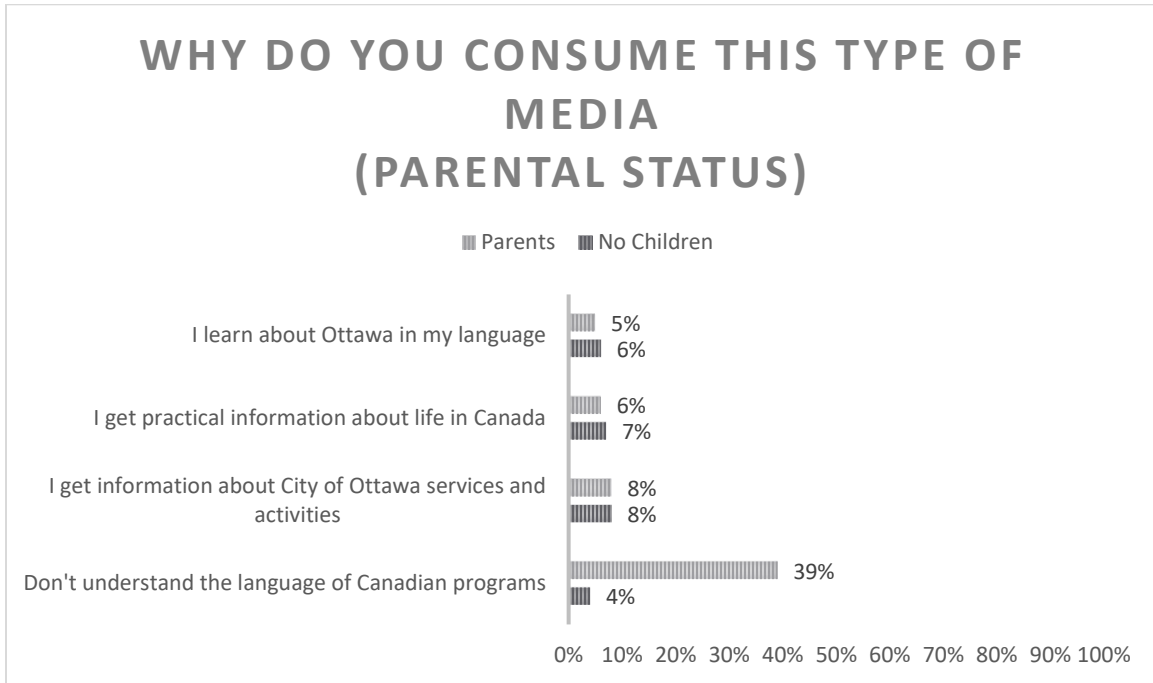
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 4.14



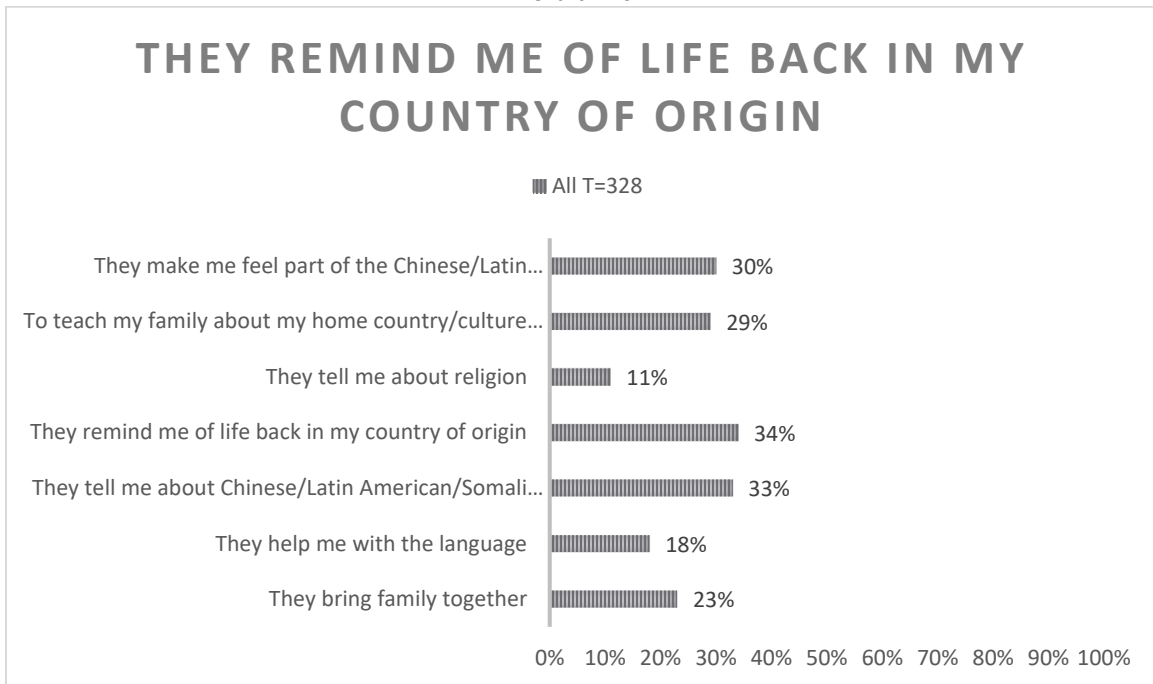
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 4.15



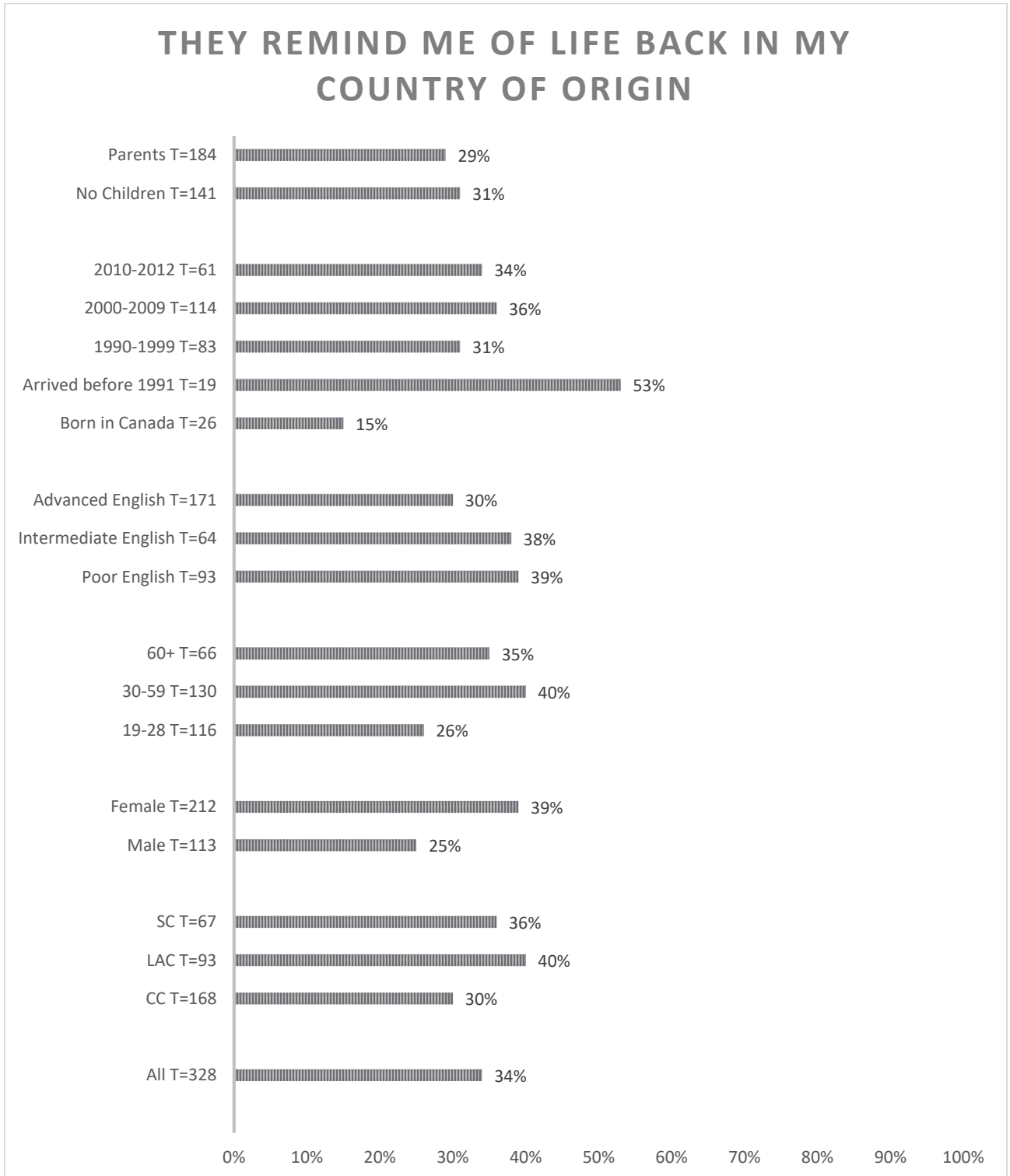
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 4.16



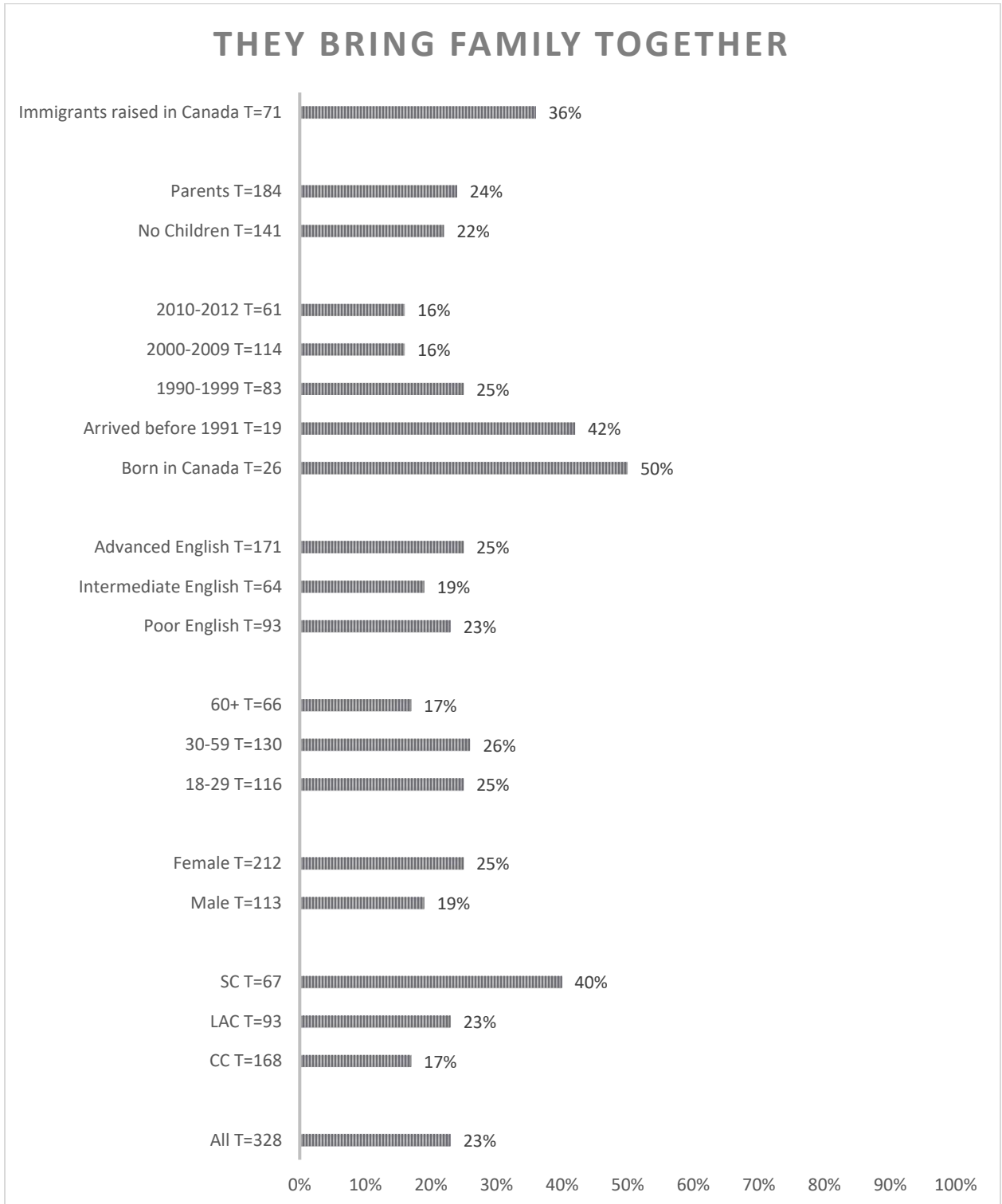
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 4.17



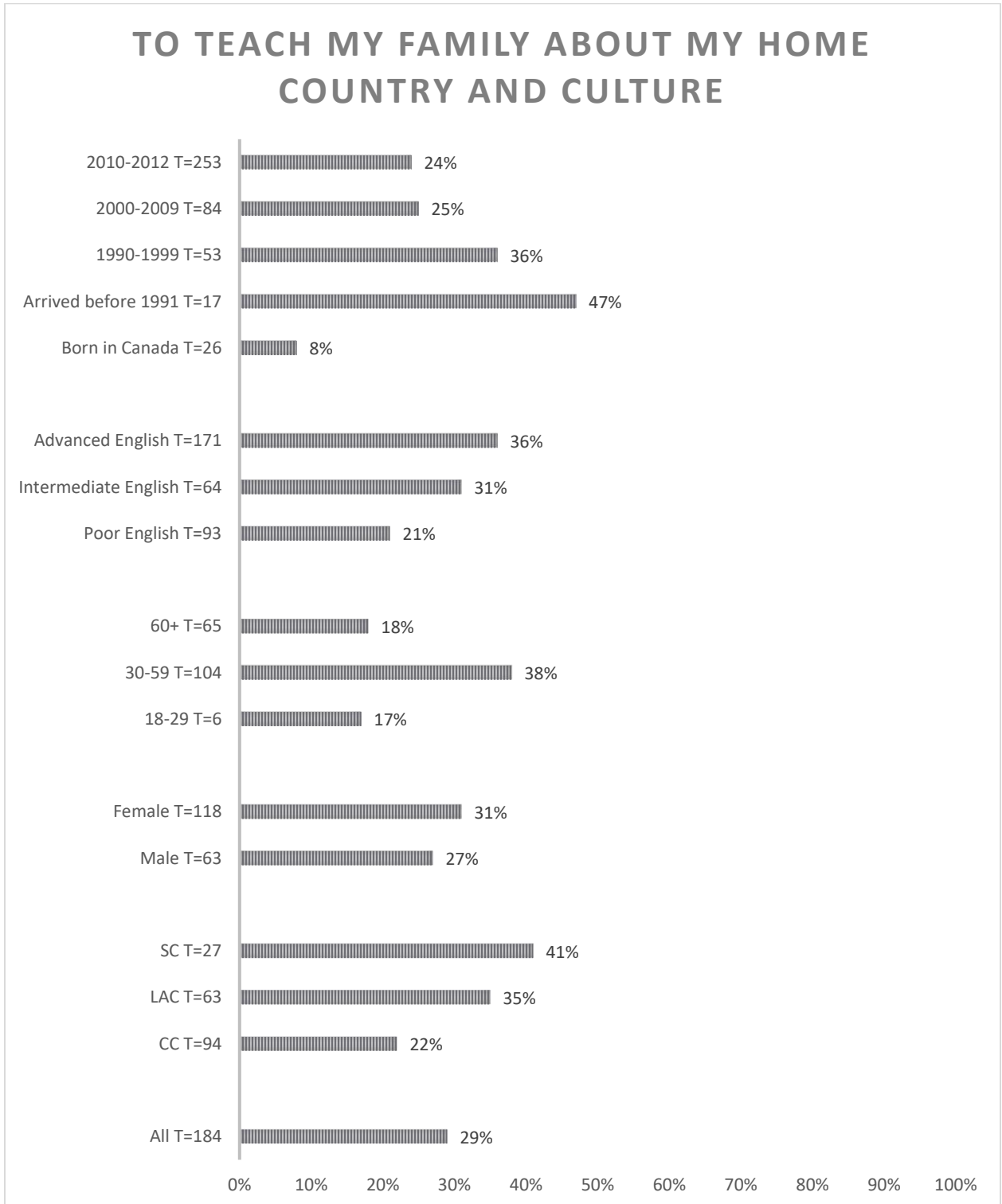
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 4.18



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

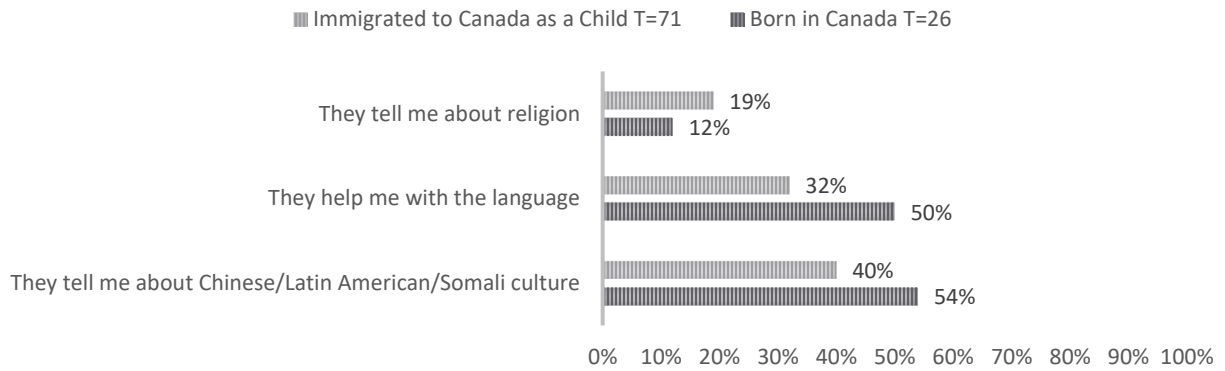
Chart 4.19



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 4.20

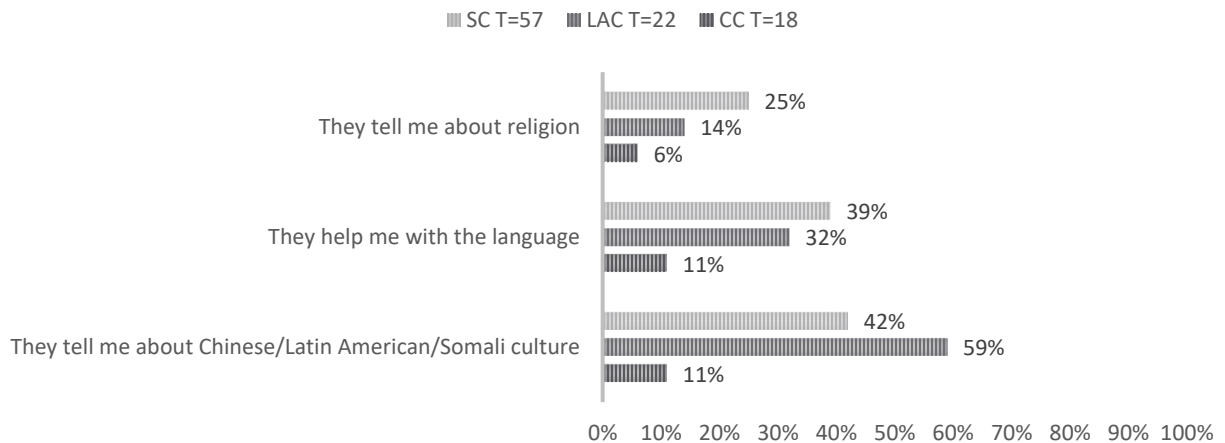
EXPLORING ROOTS AND IDENTITY FORMATION AMONG THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

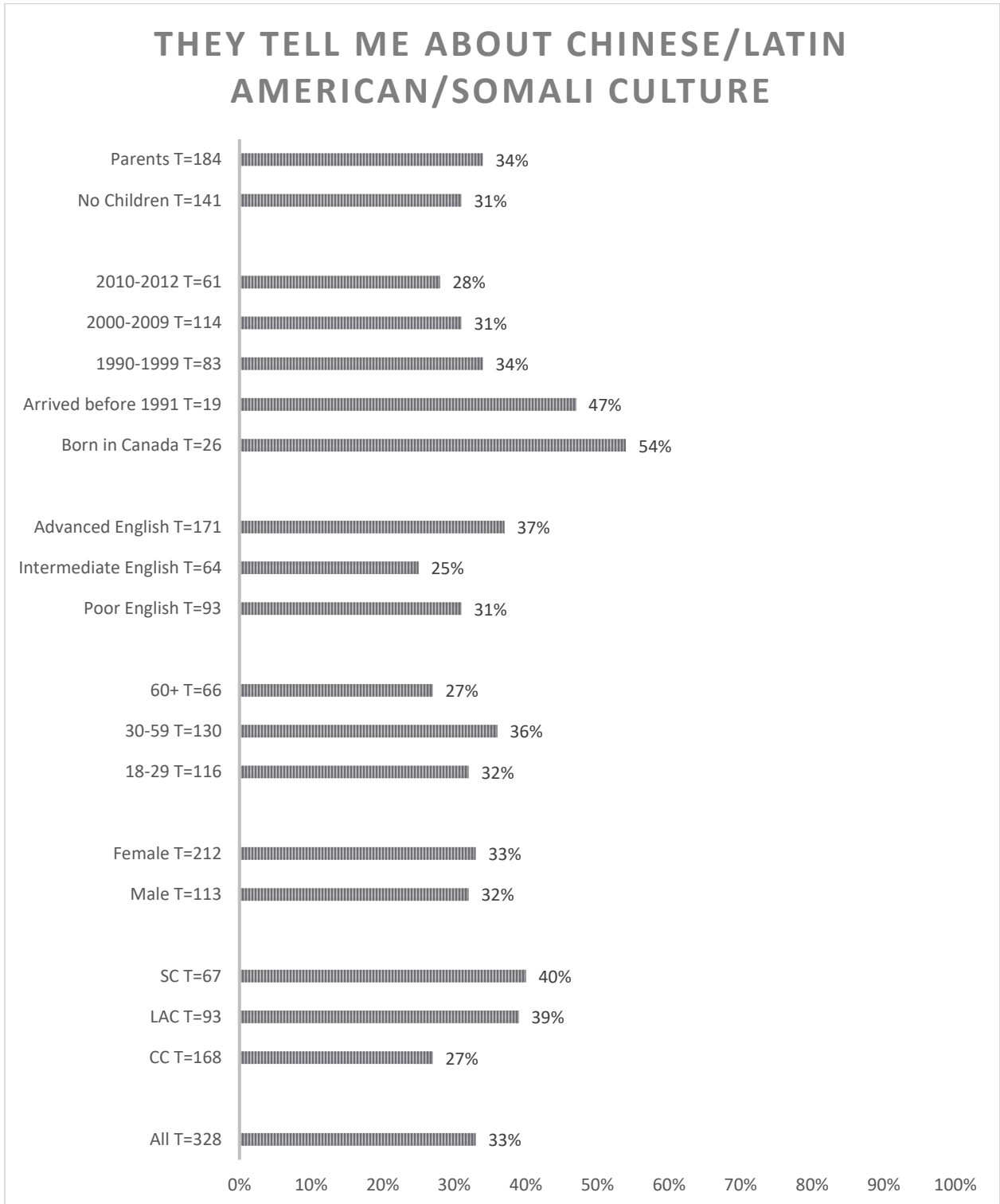
Chart 4.21

EXPLORING ROOTS AND IDENTITY FORMATION AMONG THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS



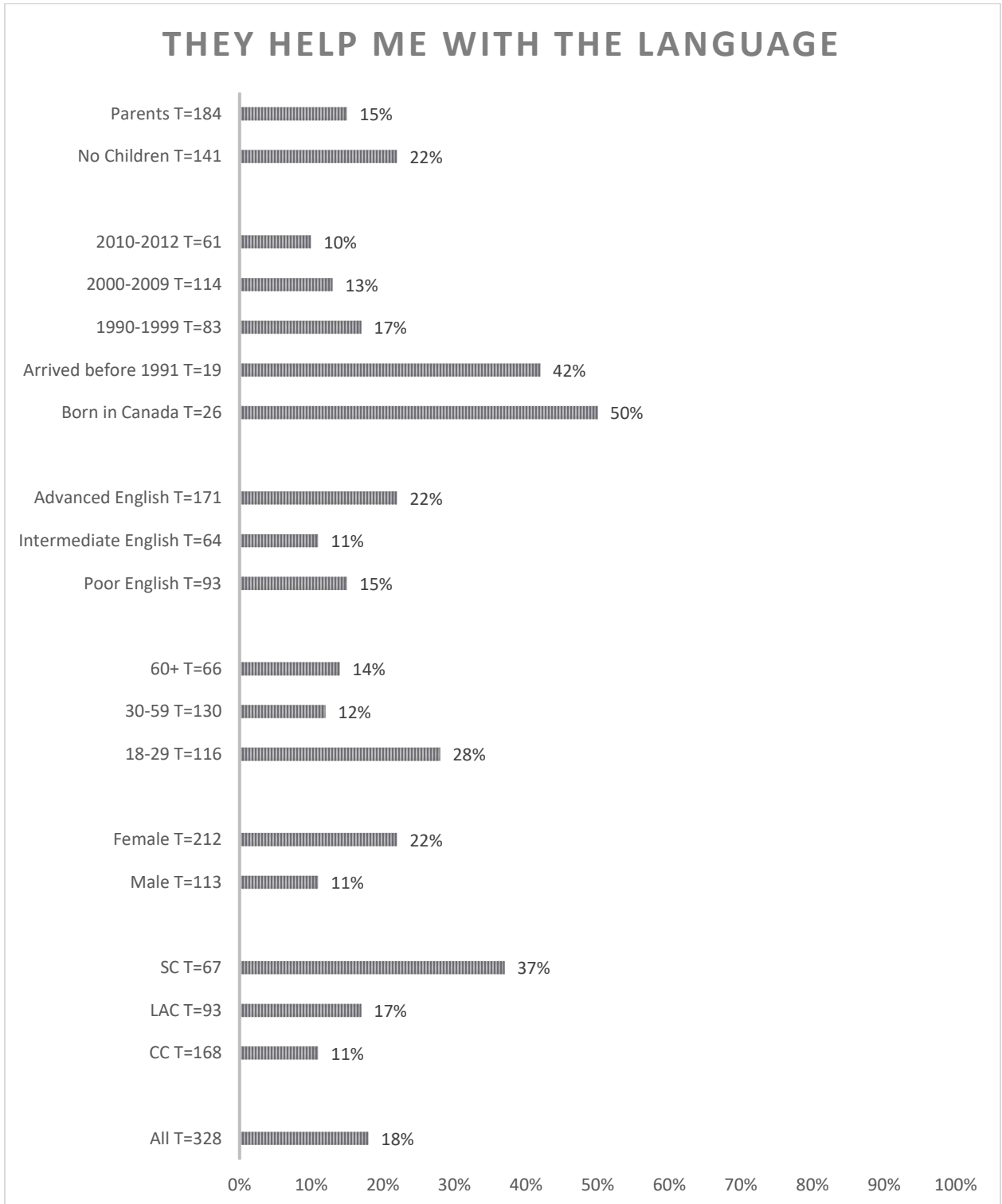
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 4.22



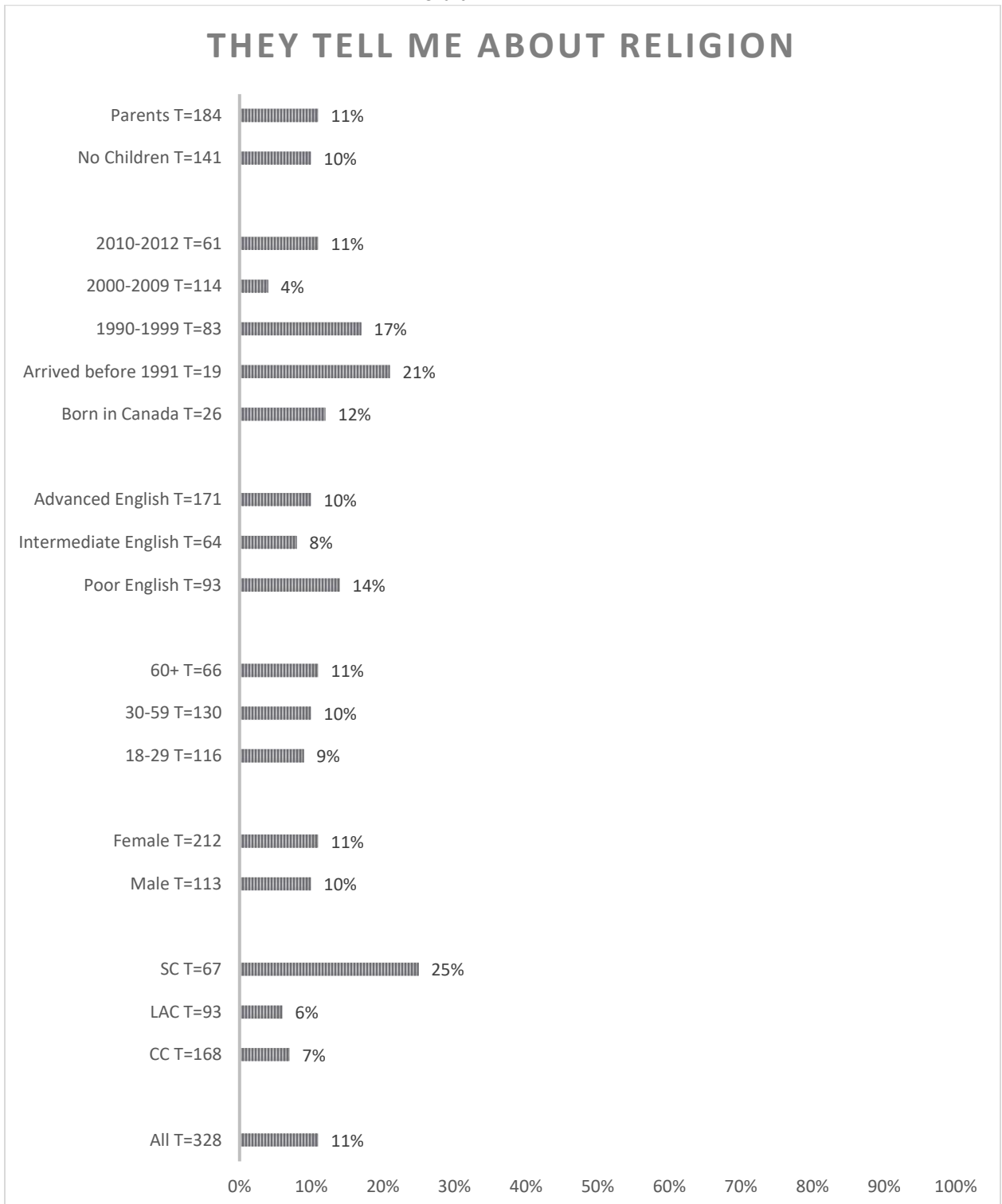
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 4.23



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

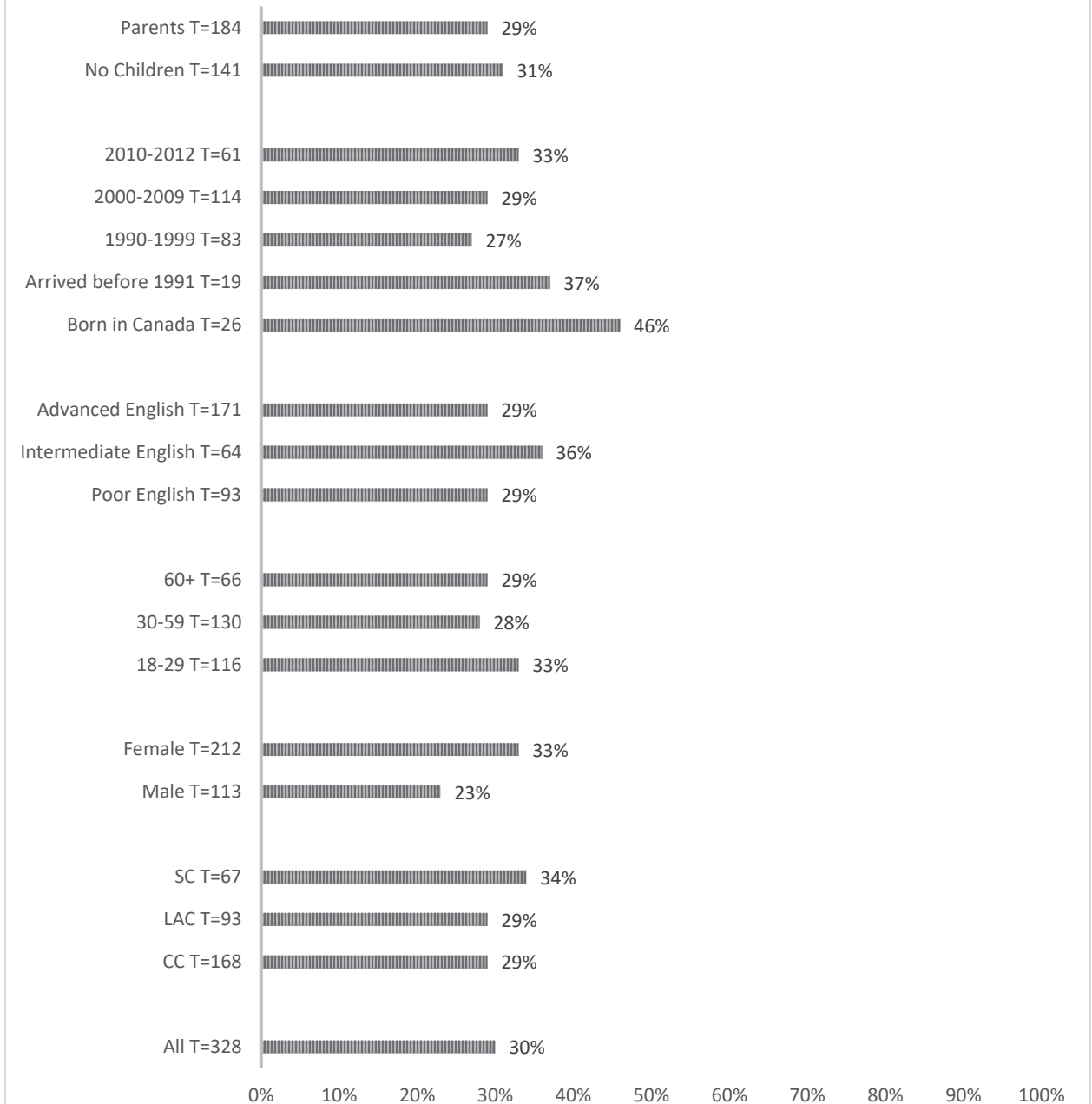
Chart 4.24



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

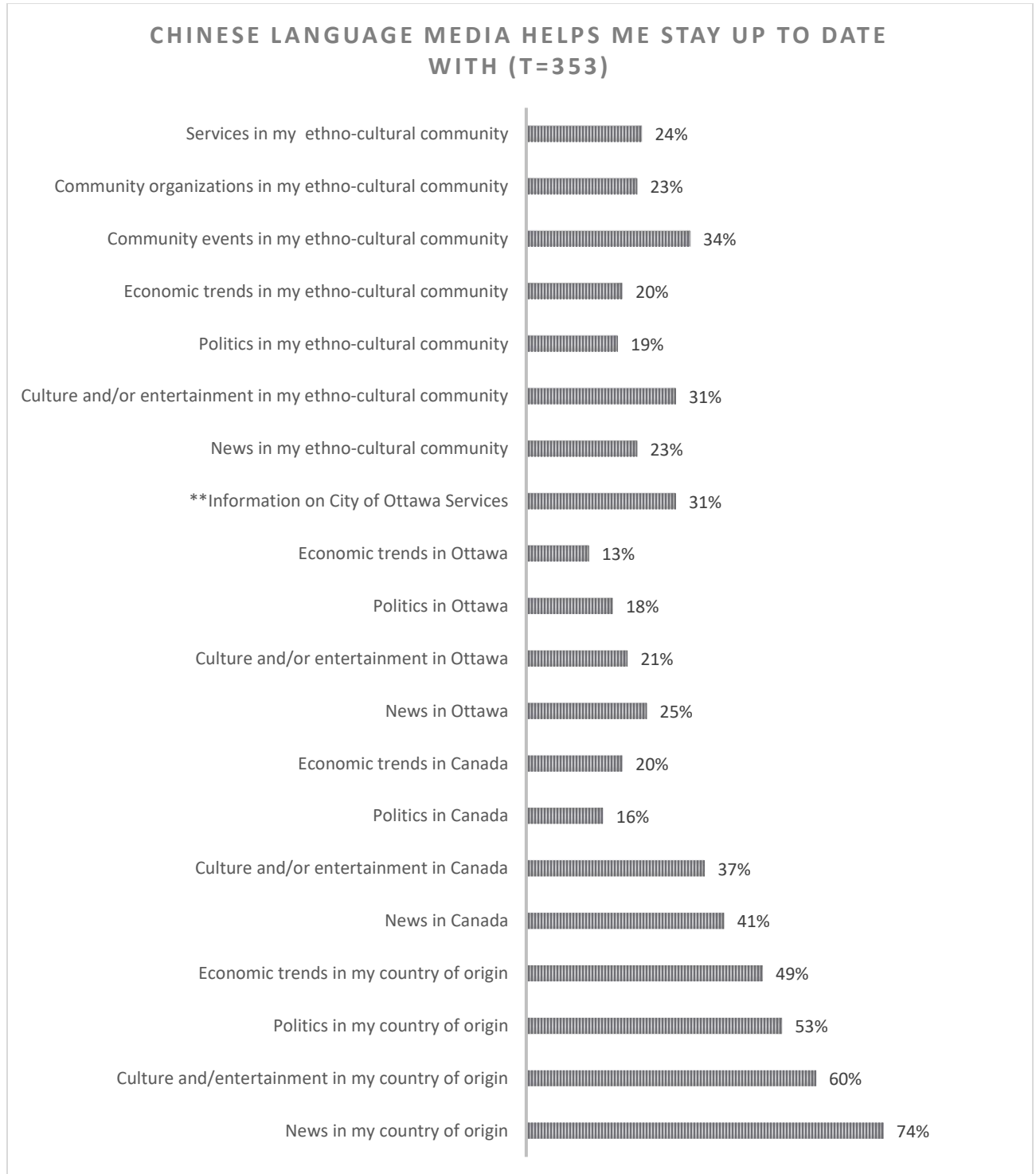
Chart 4.25

THEY MAKE ME FEEL PART OF THE CHINESE/LATIN AMERICAN/SOMALI COMMUNITY



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part C, Question 1b)

Chart 5.1

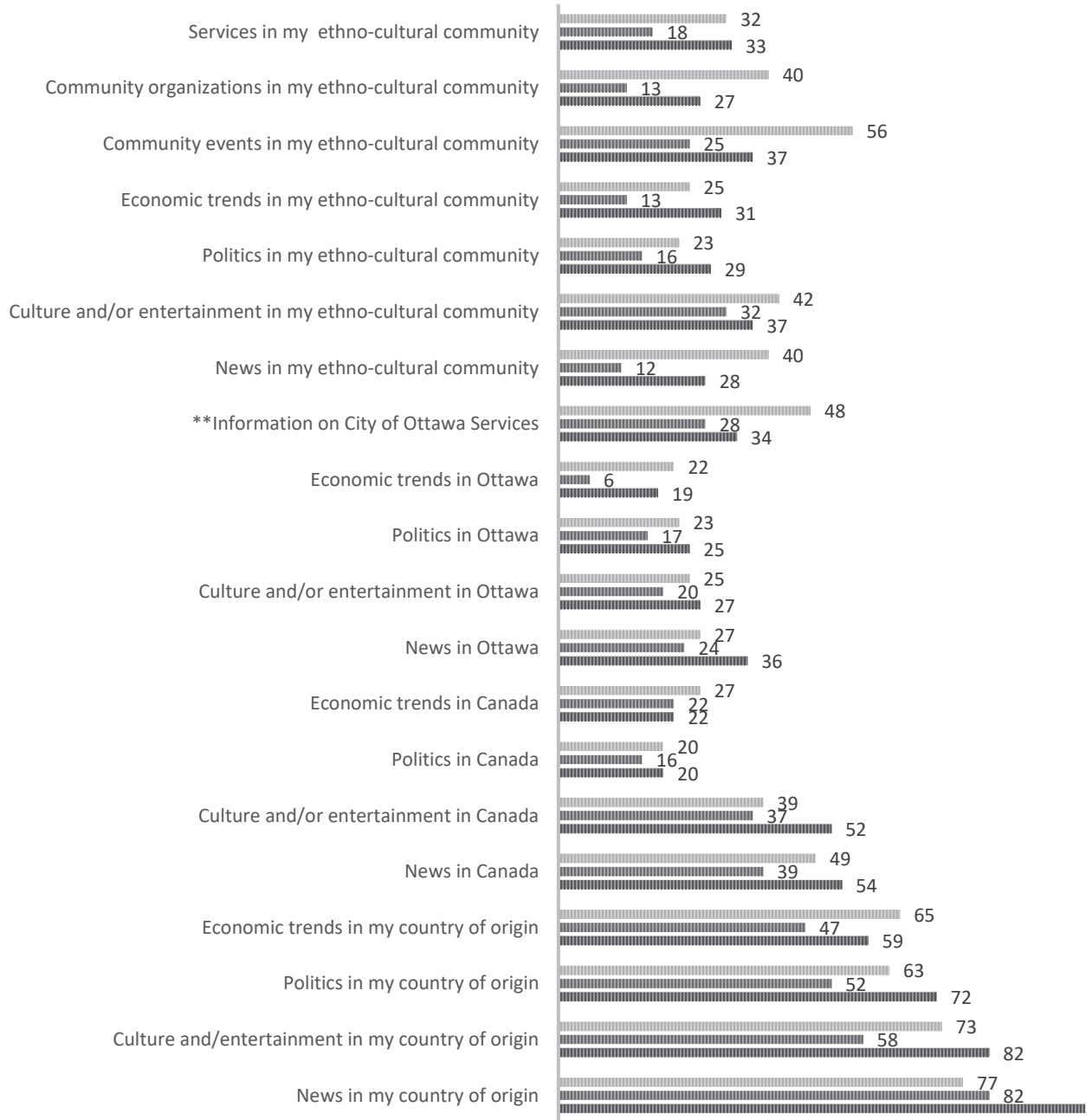


(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part E, Question 1, 2c)

Chart 5.2

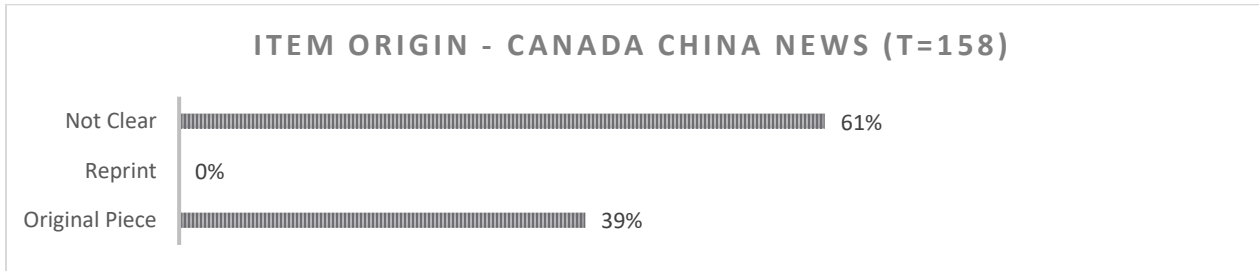
CHINESE LANGUAGE MEDIA HELPS ME STAY UP TO DATE WITH

■ LOW (T=91) ■ MED (T=116) ■ HIGH (T=144)



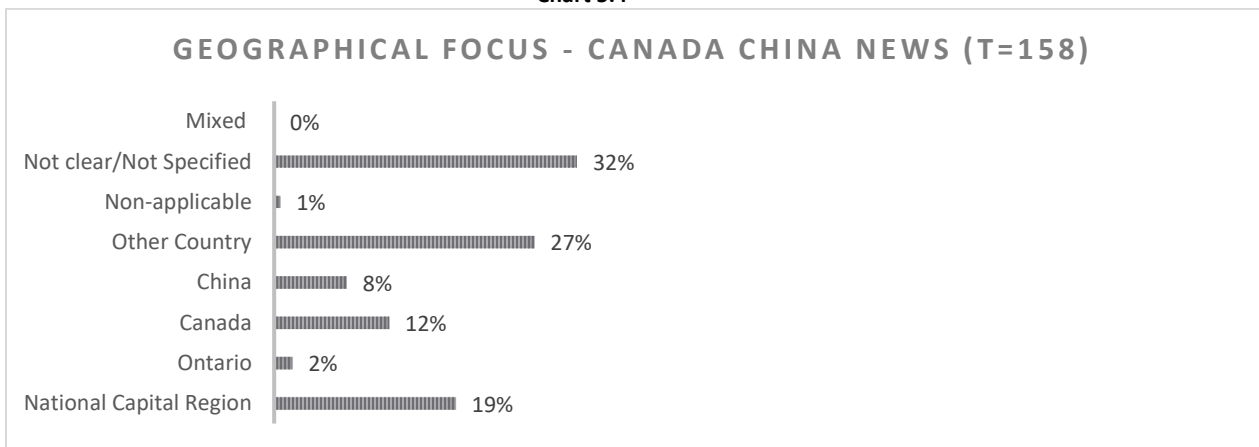
(SOURCE: OMMI 2012 SURVEY, PART E, QUESTION 1, 2c)

Chart 5.3



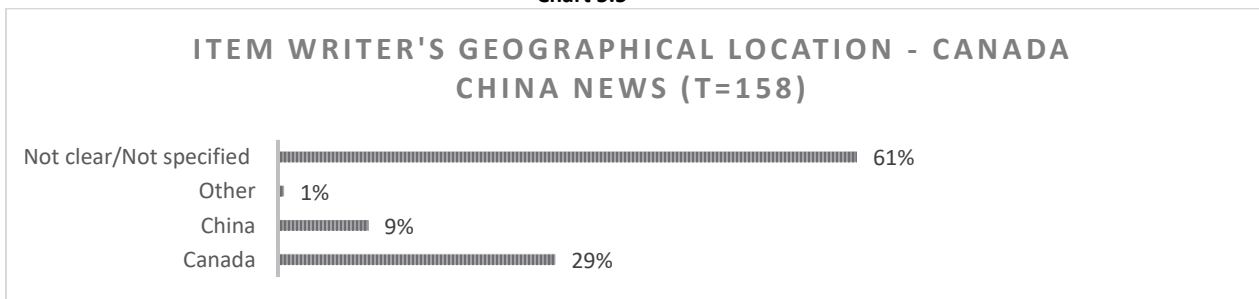
(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.4



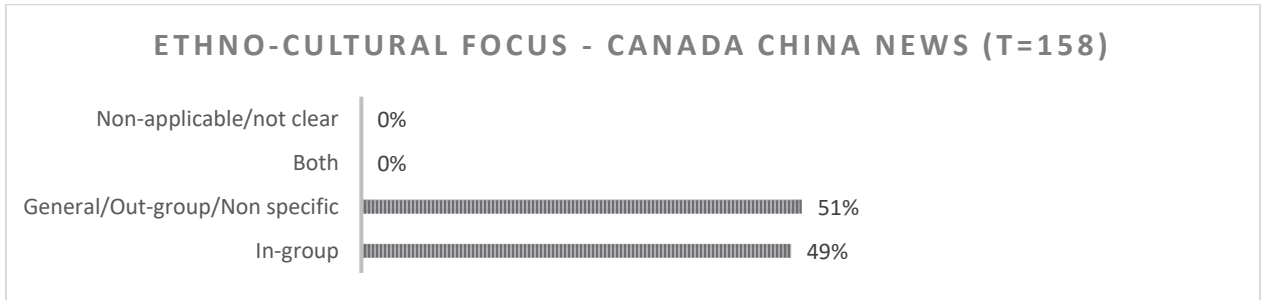
(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.5



(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.6



(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.7

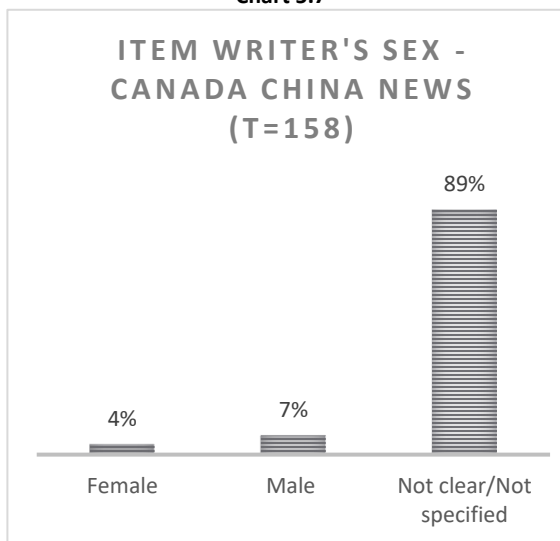


Chart 5.8

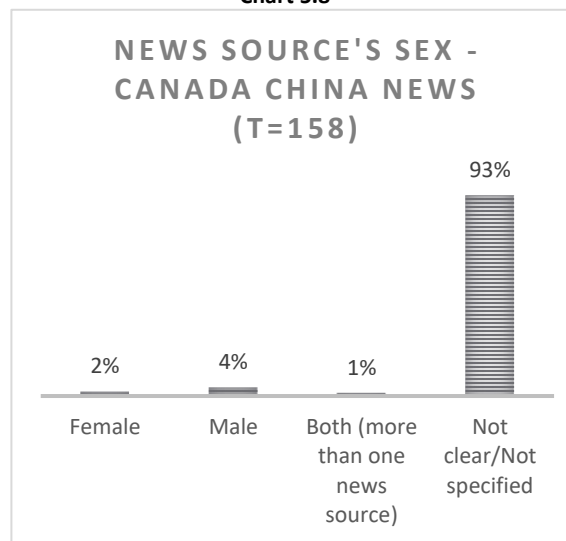
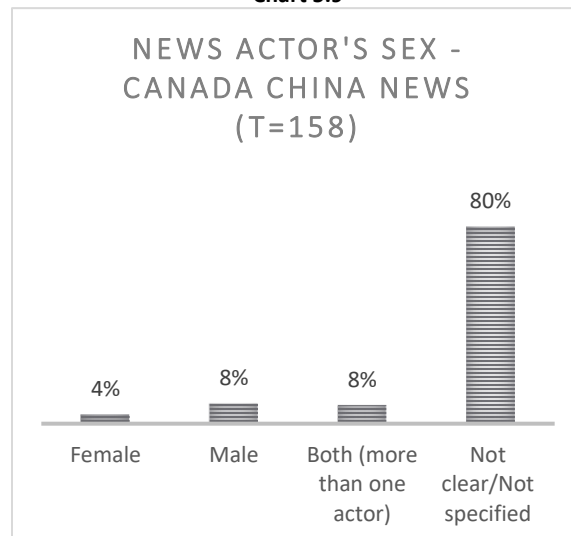


Chart 5.9



(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.10

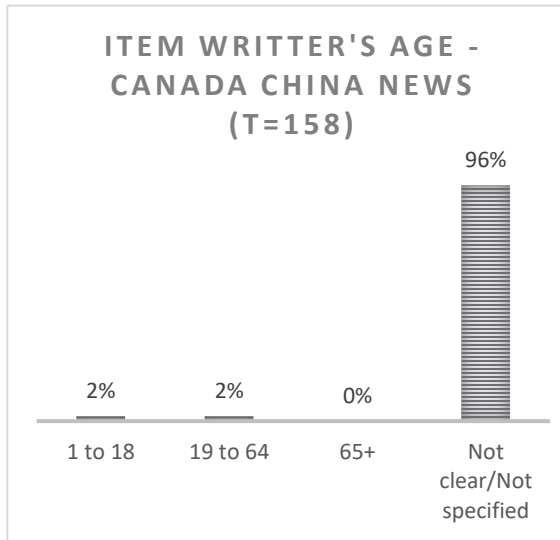


Chart 5.11

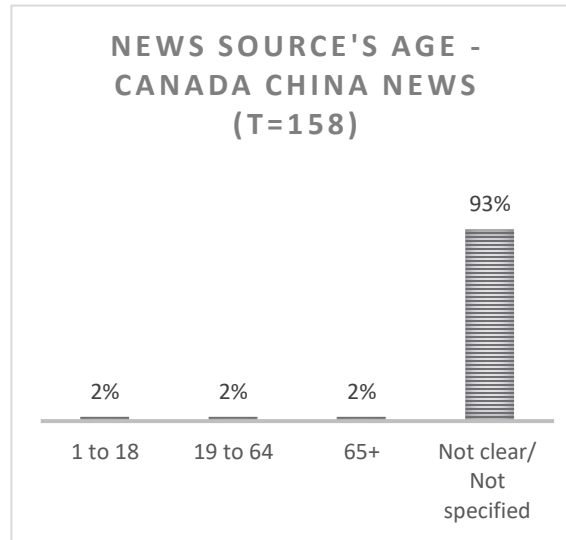


Chart5.12

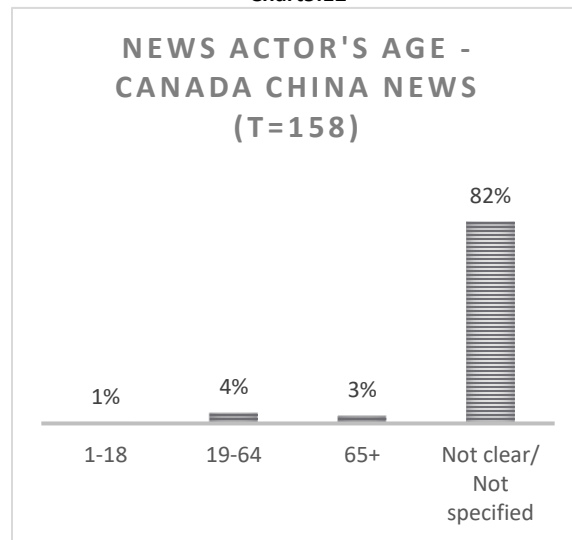


Chart 5.13

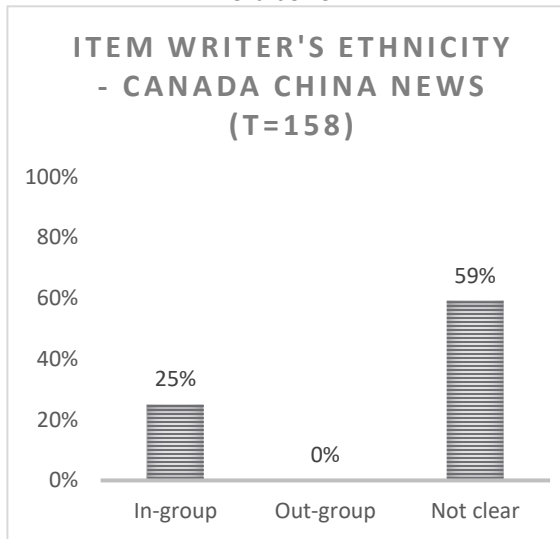


Chart 5.14

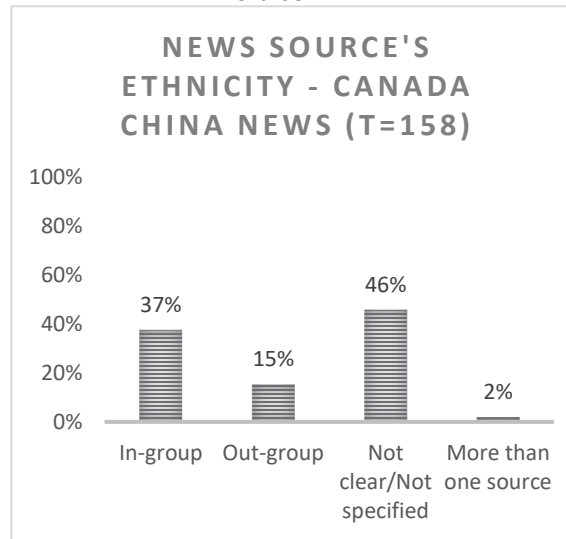
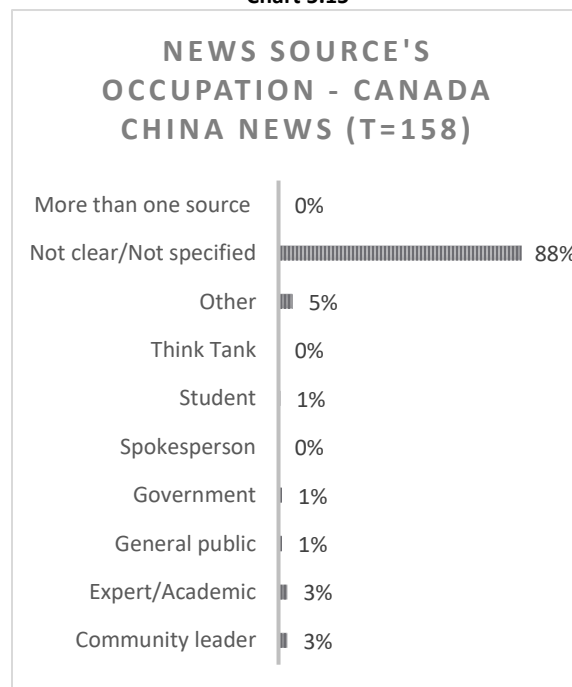
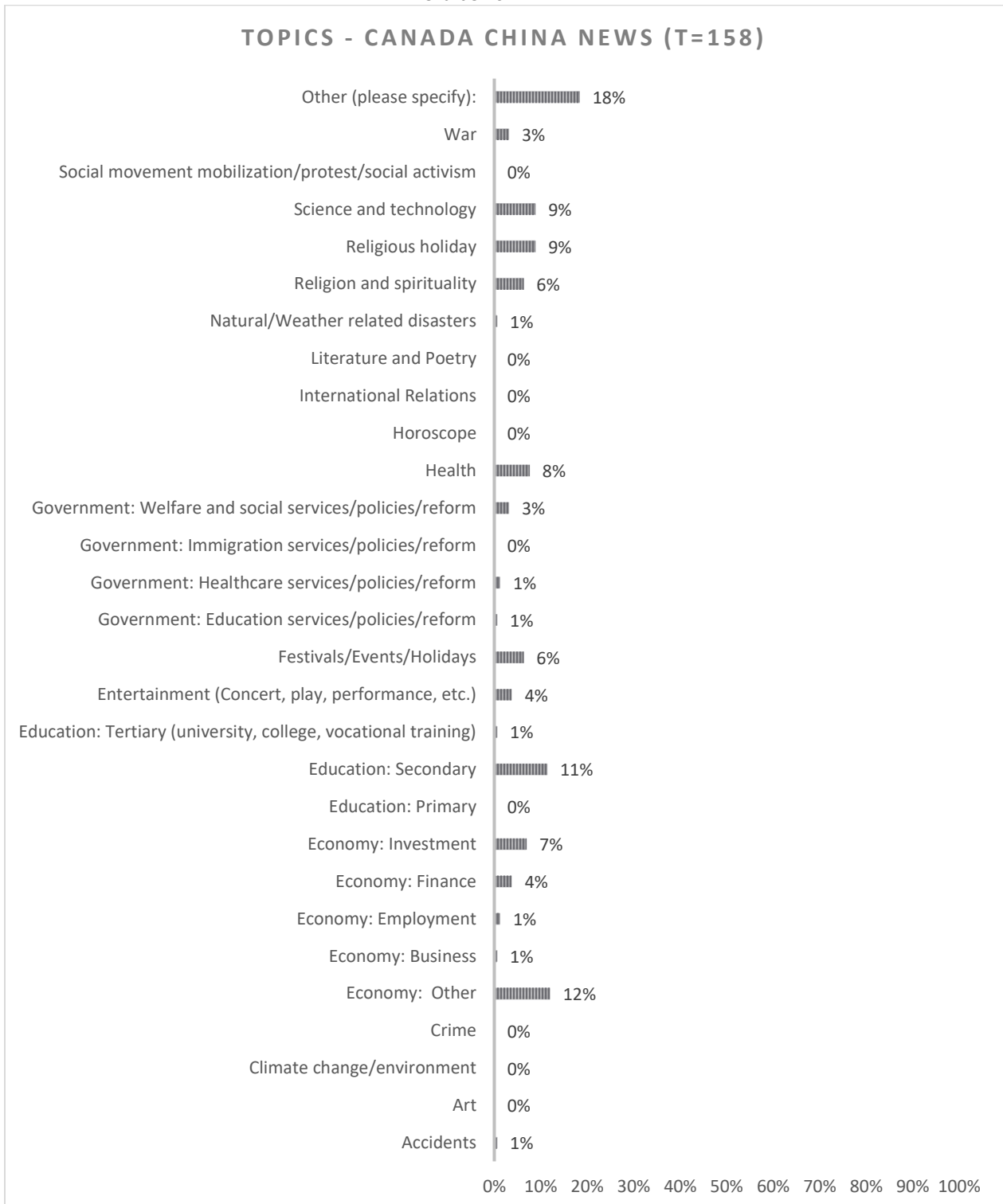


Chart 5.15



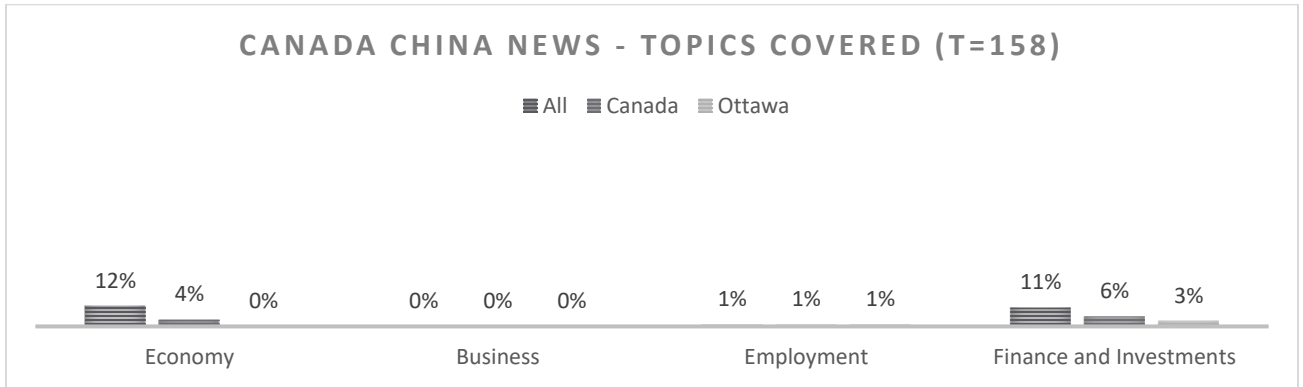
(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.16



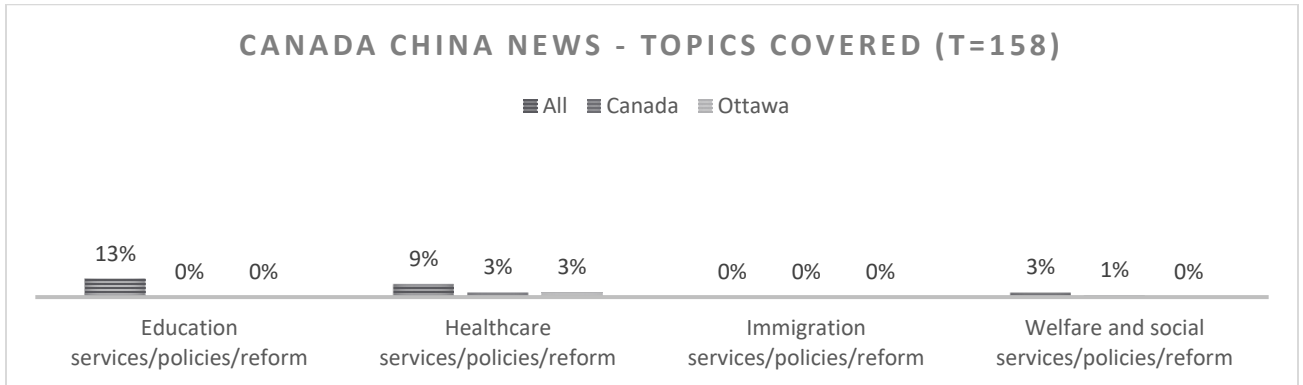
(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.17



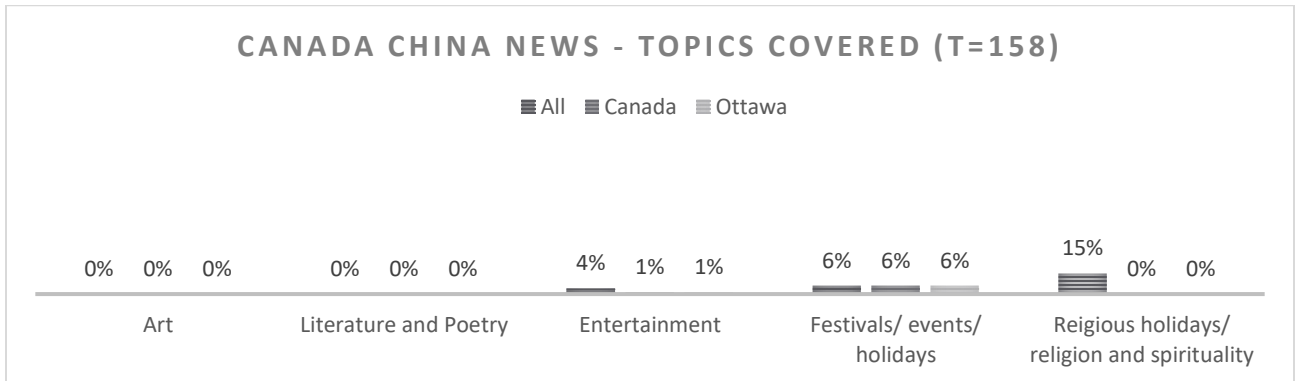
(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.18



(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.19



(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

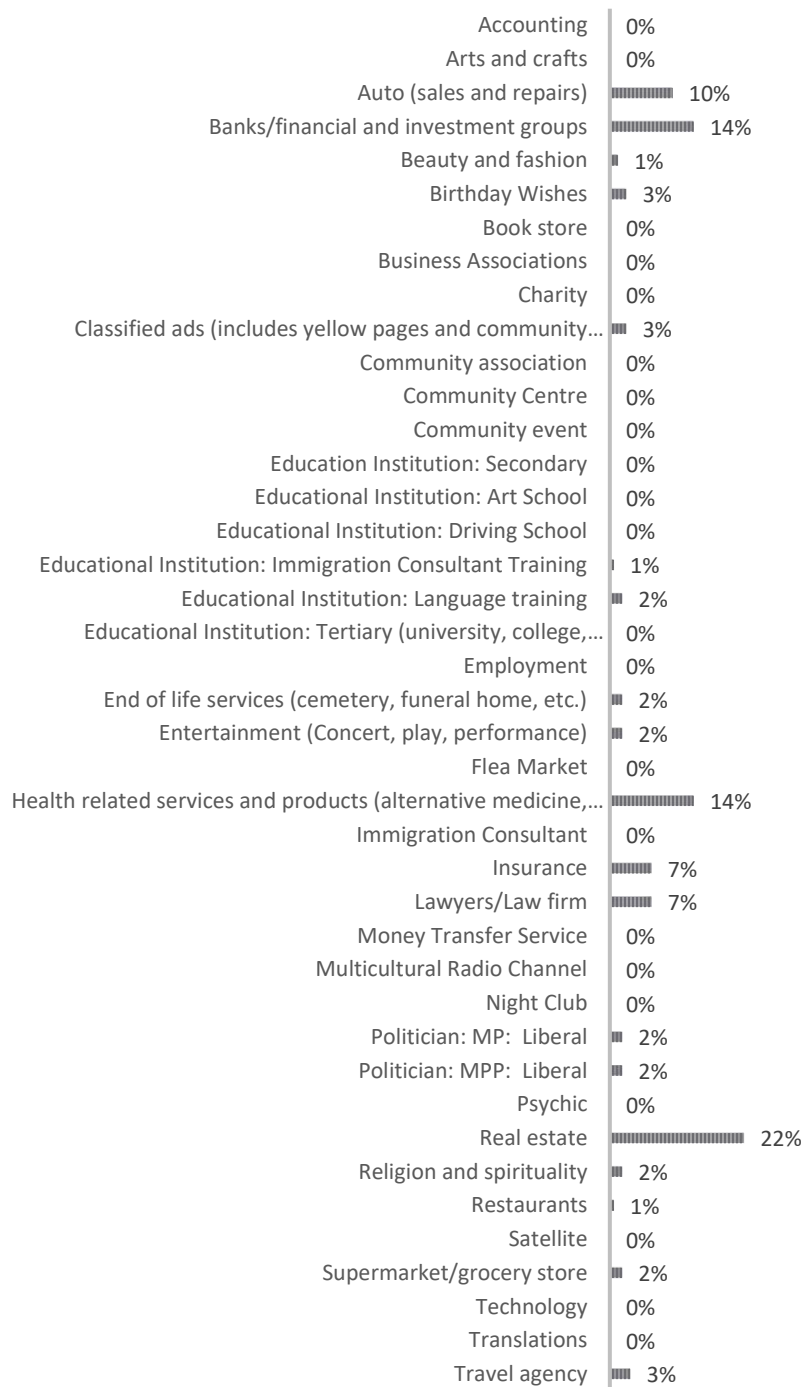
Chart 5.20



(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

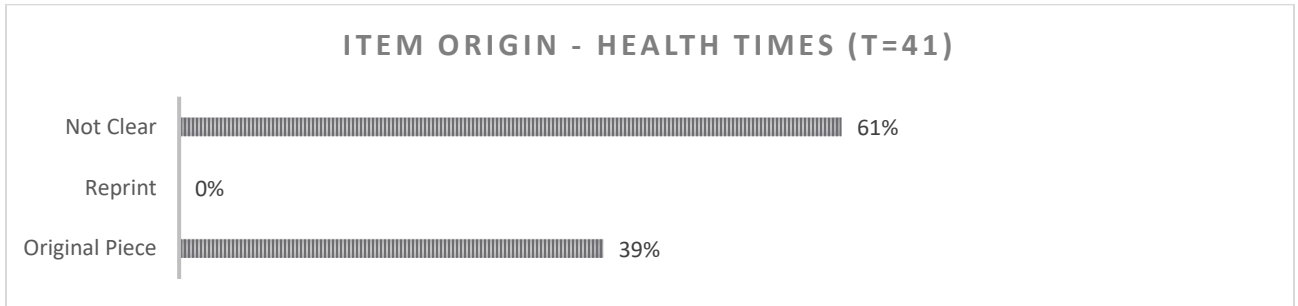
Chart 5.21

AD SUBJECT - CANADA CHINA NEWS (T=145)



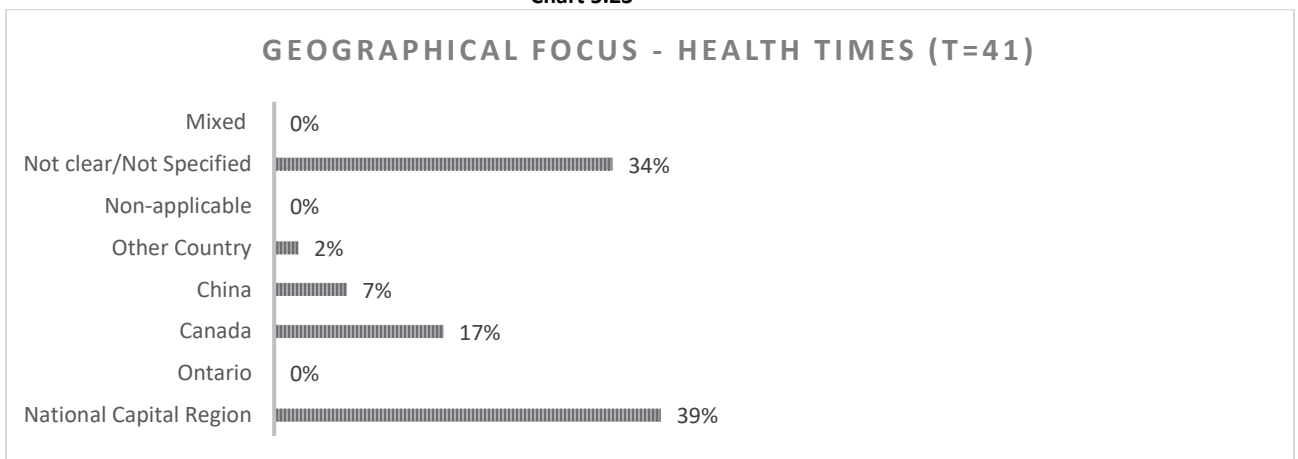
(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.22



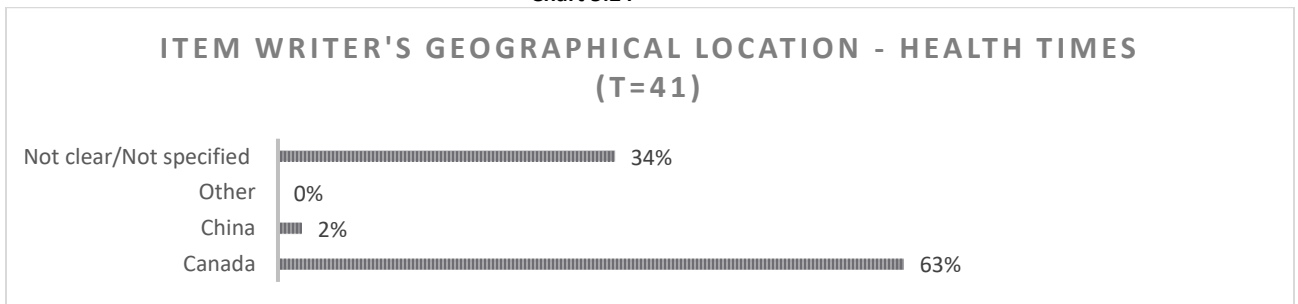
(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.23



(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

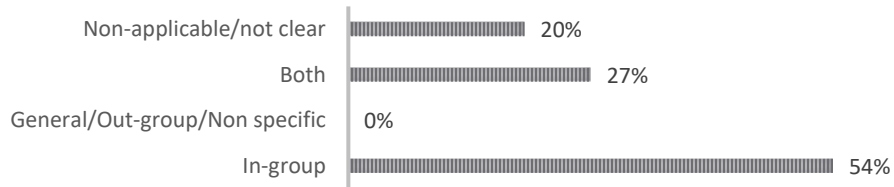
Chart 5.24



((Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.25

ETHNO-CULTURAL FOCUS - HEALTH TIMES (T=41)



(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.26

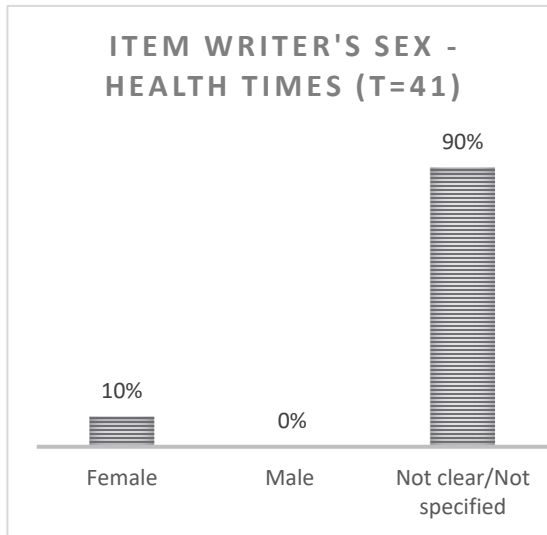


Chart 5.27

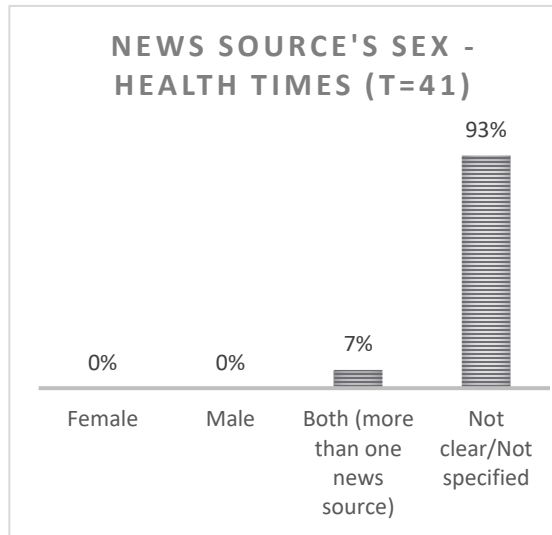
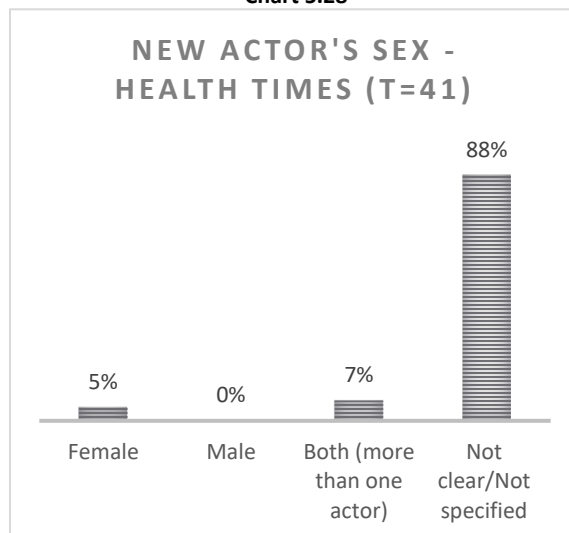


Chart 5.28



(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.29

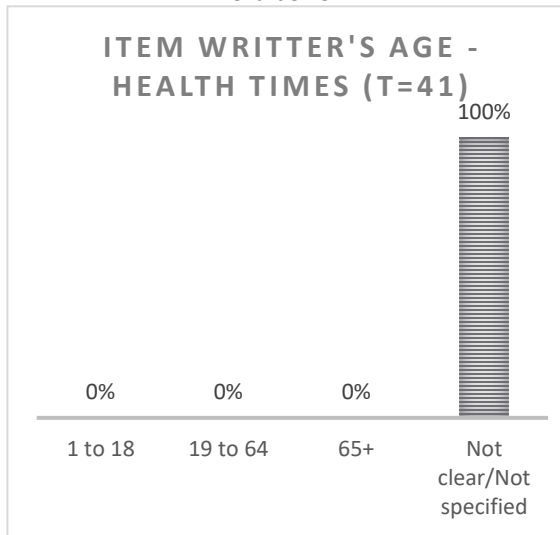


Chart 5.30

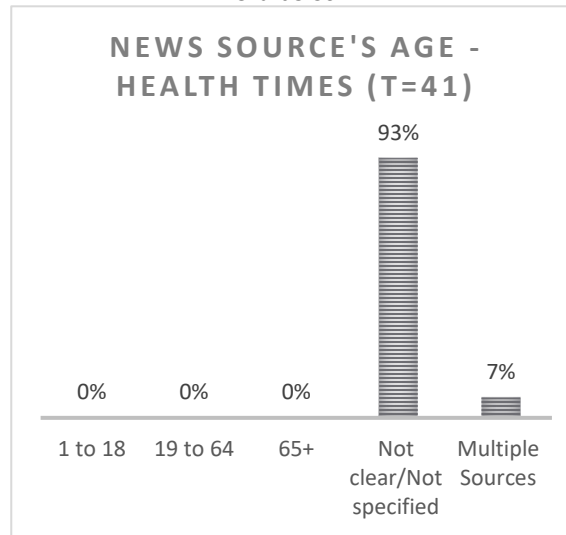
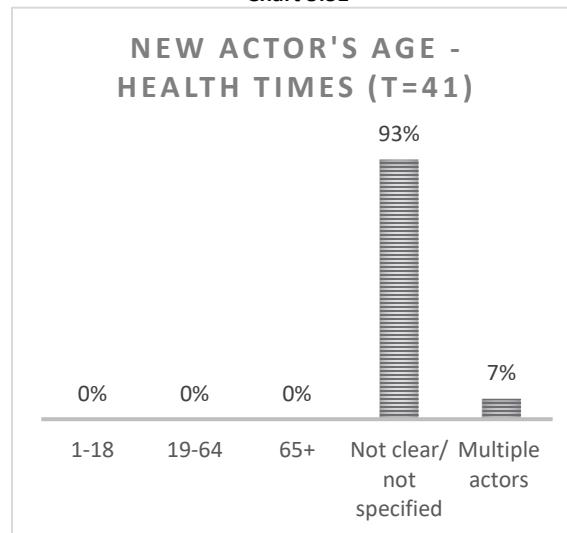


Chart 5.31



(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.32

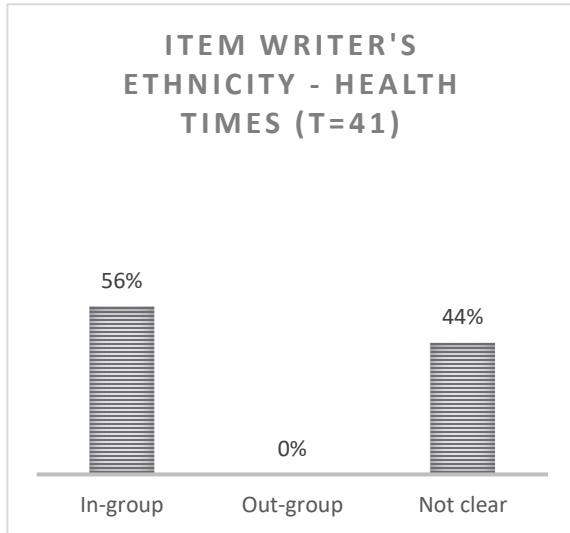


Chart 5.33

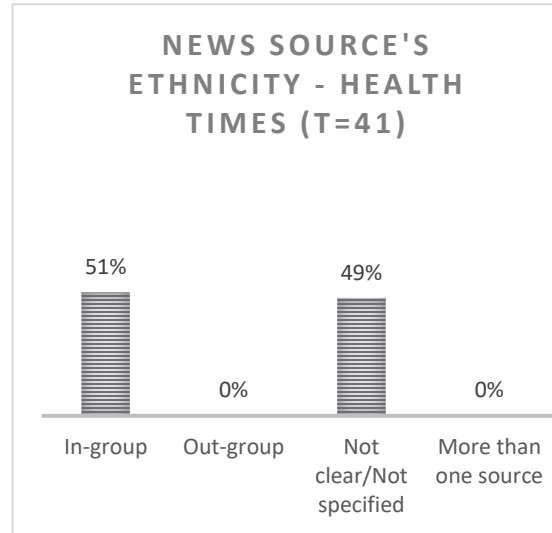
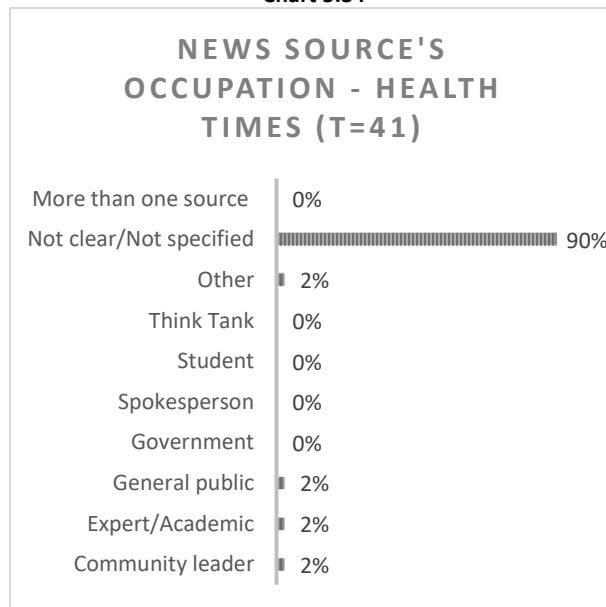
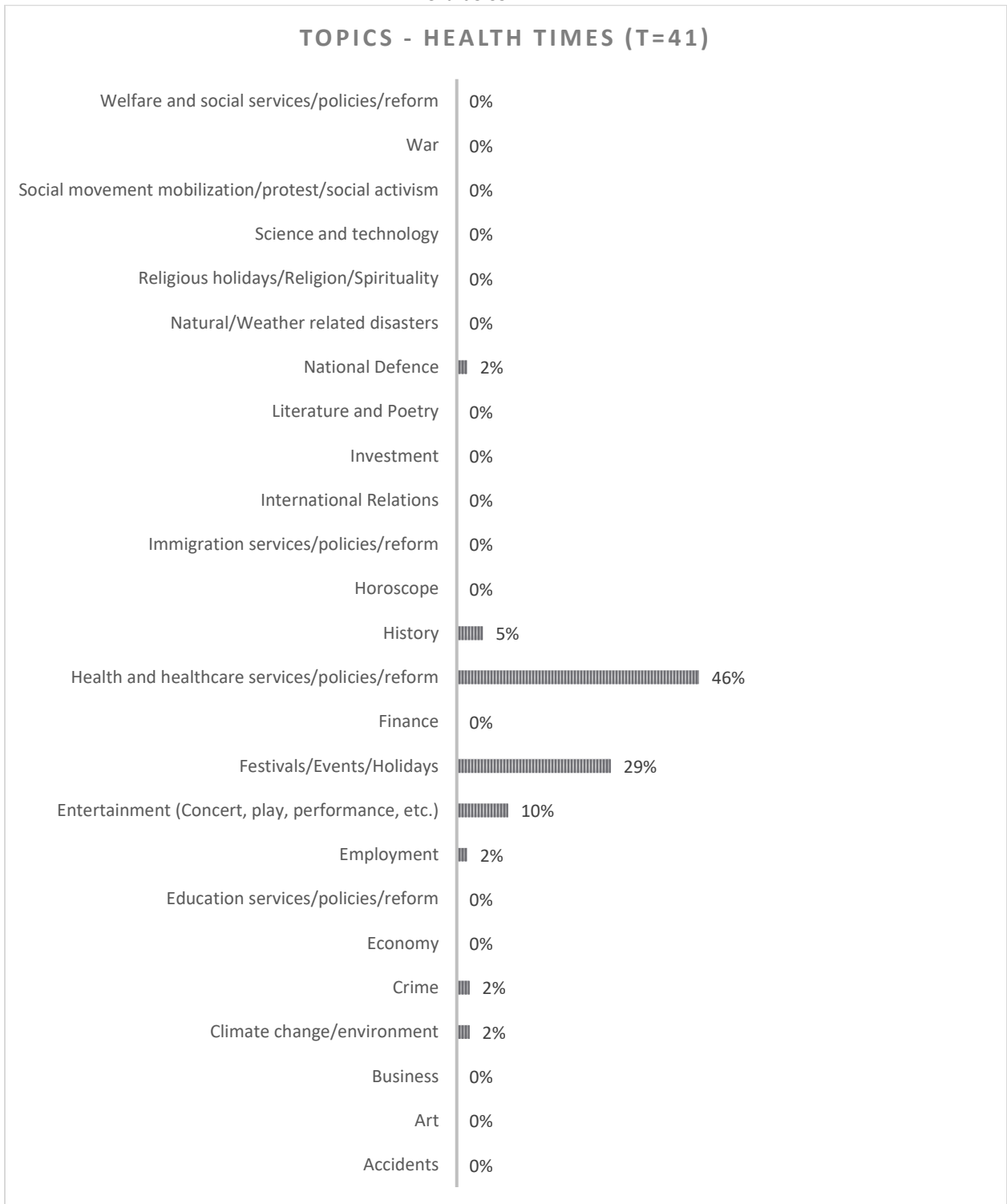


Chart 5.34



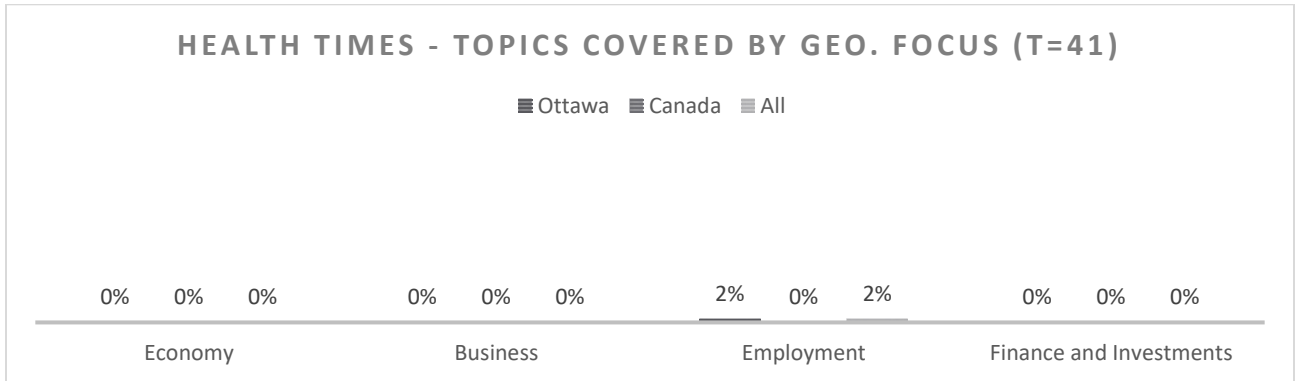
(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.35



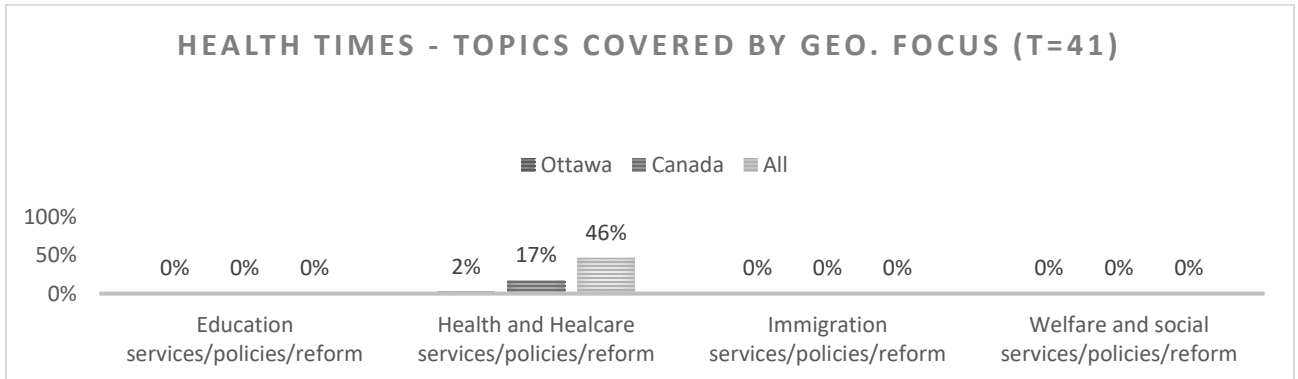
(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.36



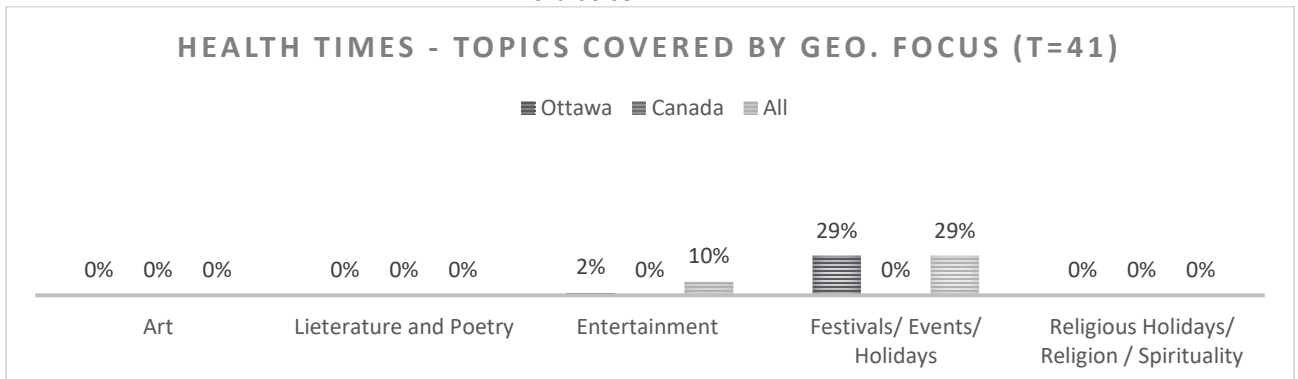
(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.37



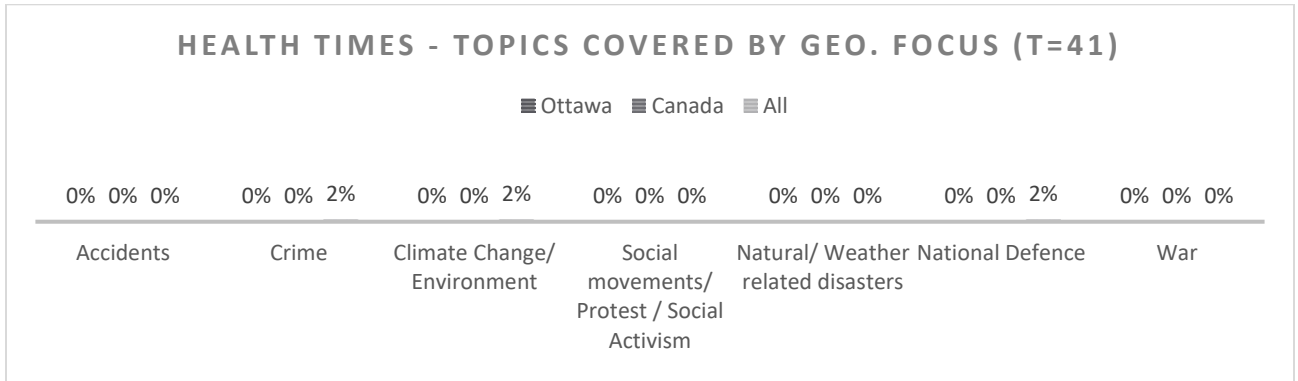
(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.38



(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

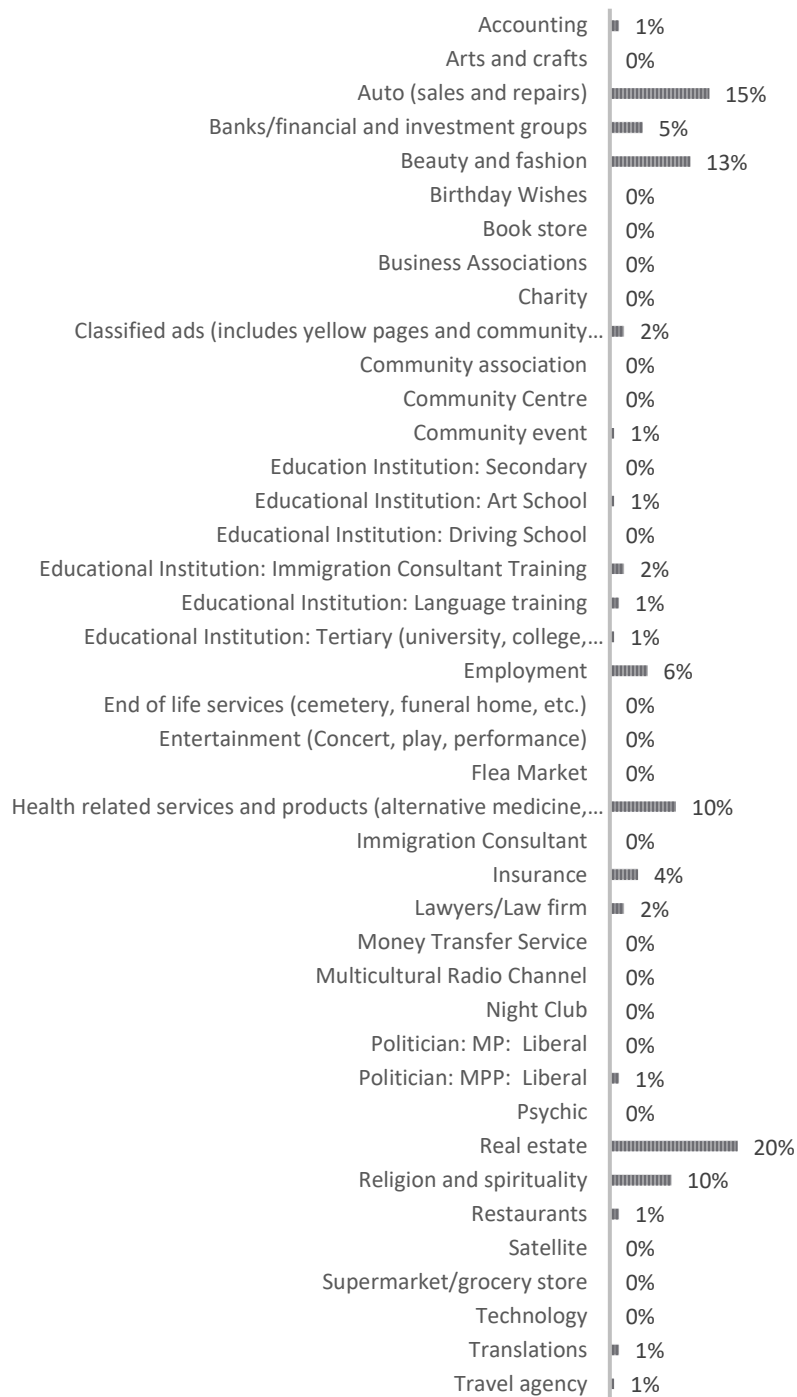
Chart 5.39



(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.40

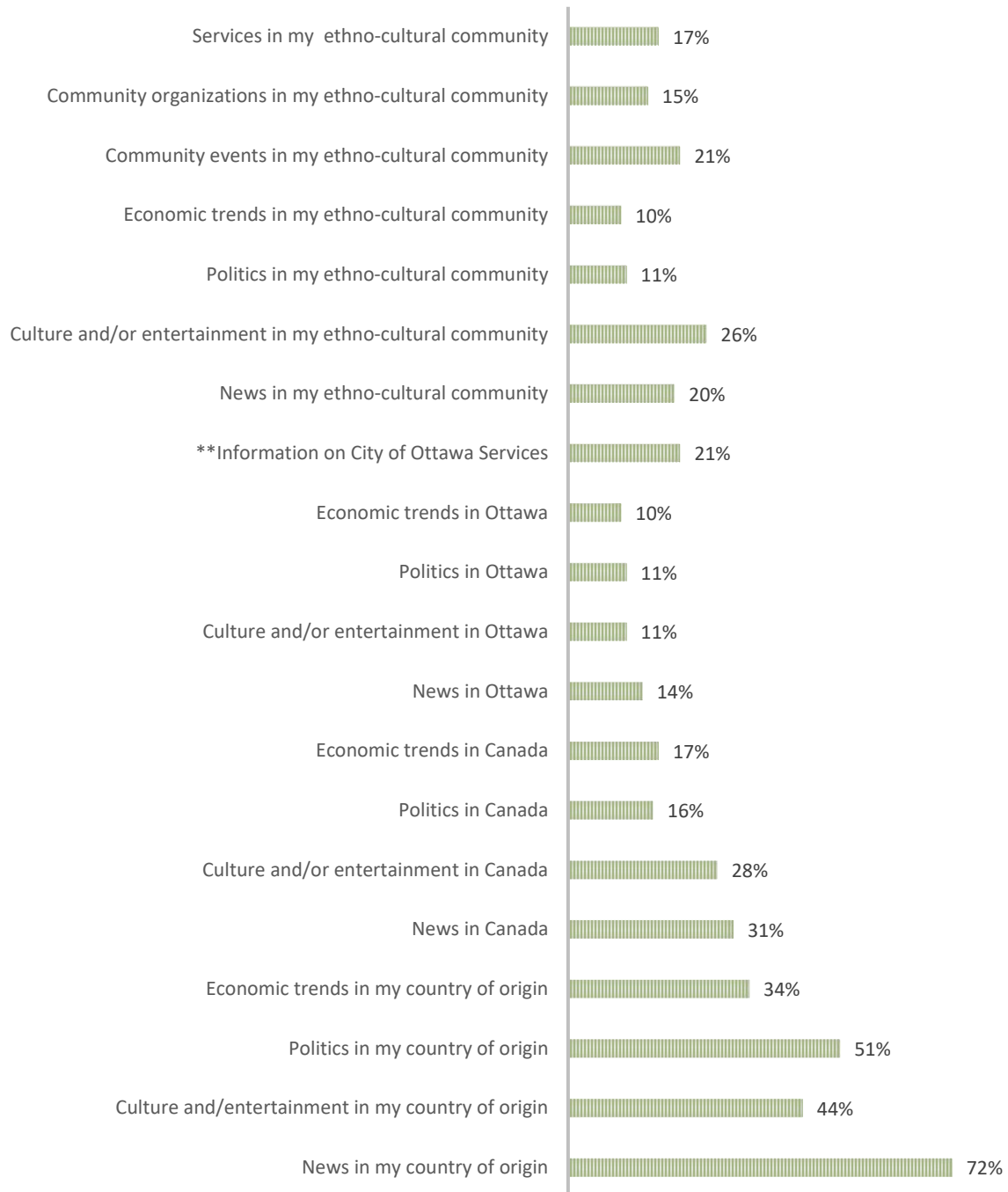
AD SUBJECT - HEALTH TIMES (T=136)



(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.41

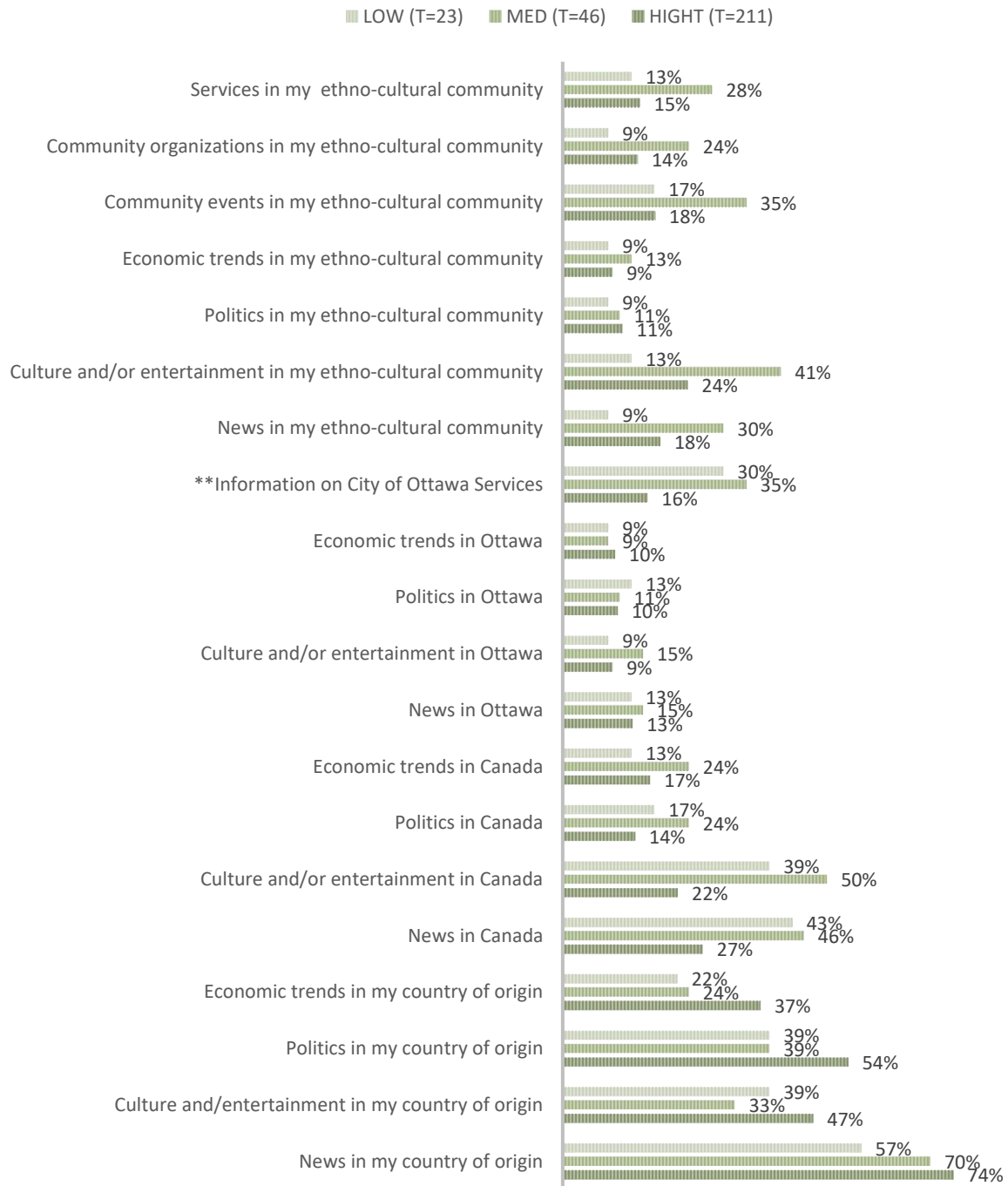
**SPANISH LANGUAGE MEDIA HELPS ME STAY UP TO DATE
WITH (T=281)**



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part E, Question 1, 2c)

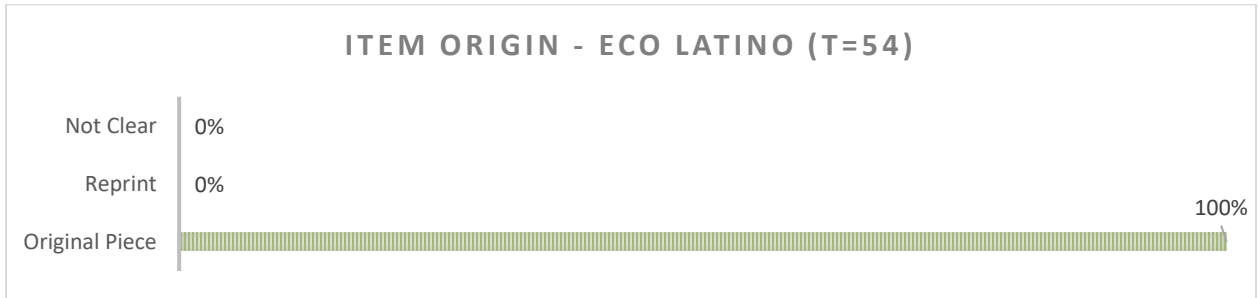
Chart 5.42

SPANISH LANGUAGE MEDIA HELPS ME STAY UP TO DATE WITH



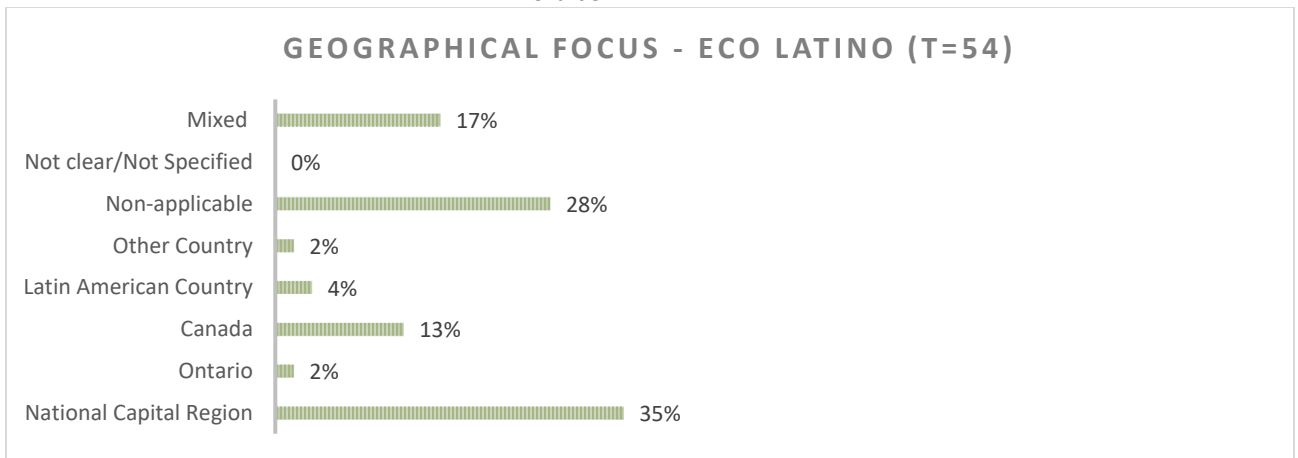
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part E, Question 1, 2c)

Chart 5.43



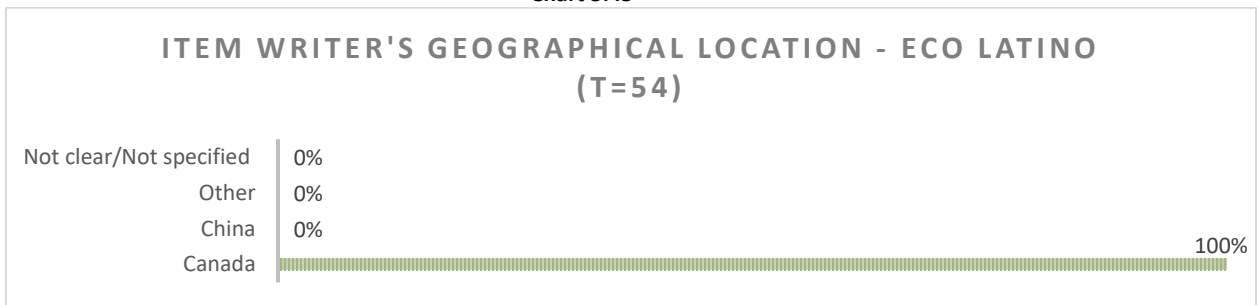
(Based on OMMI content coding of Eco Latino issues published in October, November, and December, 2013)

Chart 5.44



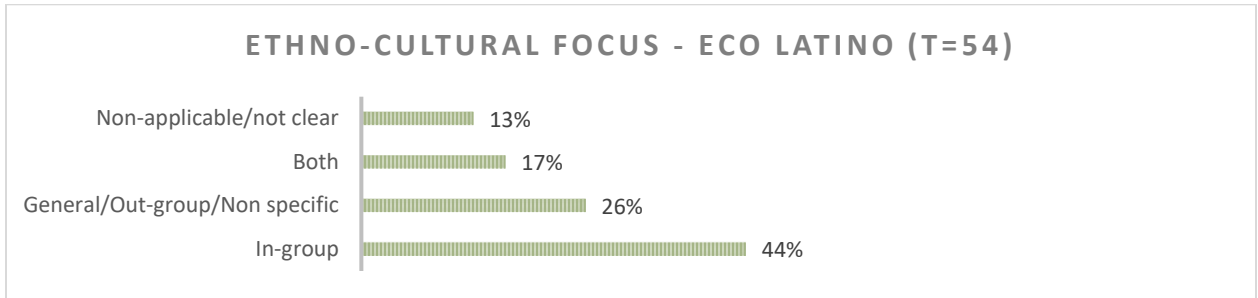
(Based on OMMI content coding of Eco Latino issues published in October, November, and December, 2013)

Chart 5.45



(Based on OMMI content coding of Eco Latino issues published in October, November, and December, 2013)

Chart 5.46



(Based on OMMI content coding of Eco Latino issues published in October, November, and December, 2013)

Chart5.47

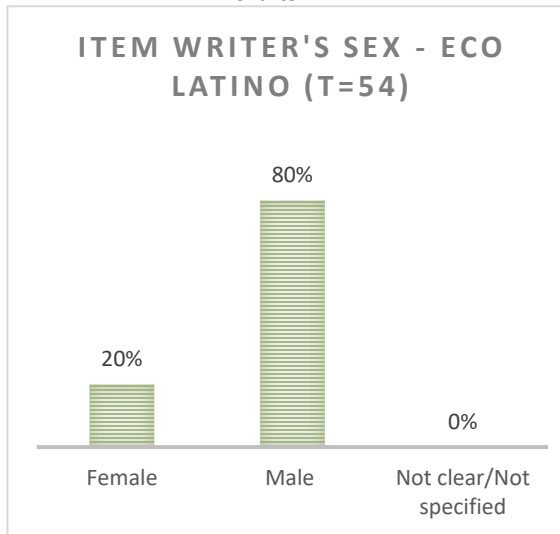


Chart 5.48

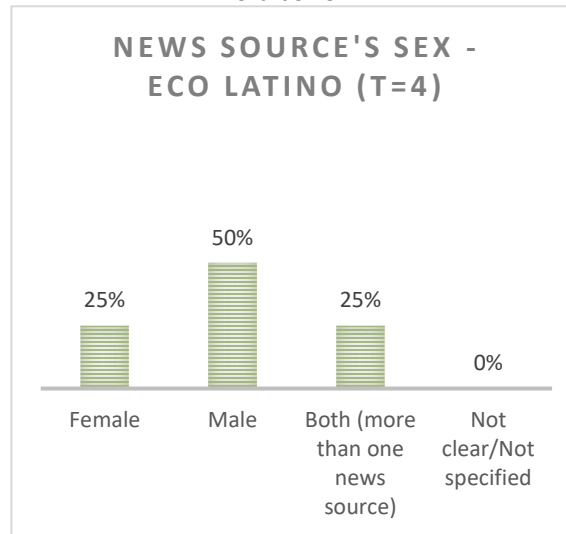
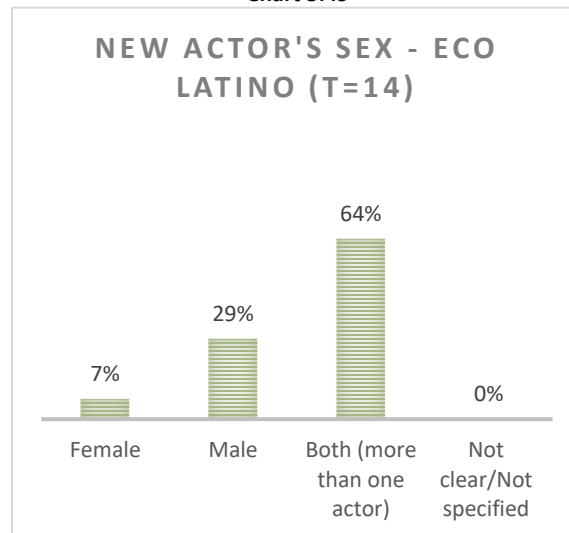


Chart 5.49



(Based on OMMI content coding of Eco Latino issues published in October, November, and December, 2013)

Chart 5.50

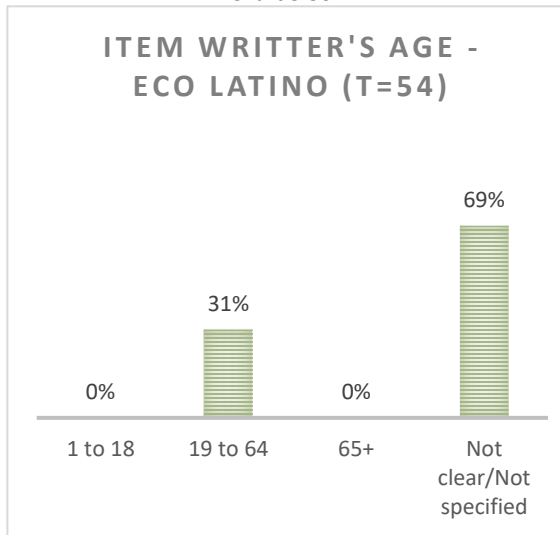


Chart 5.51

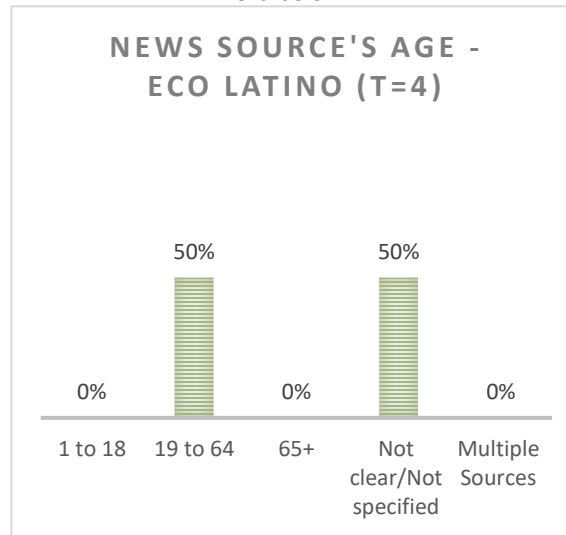
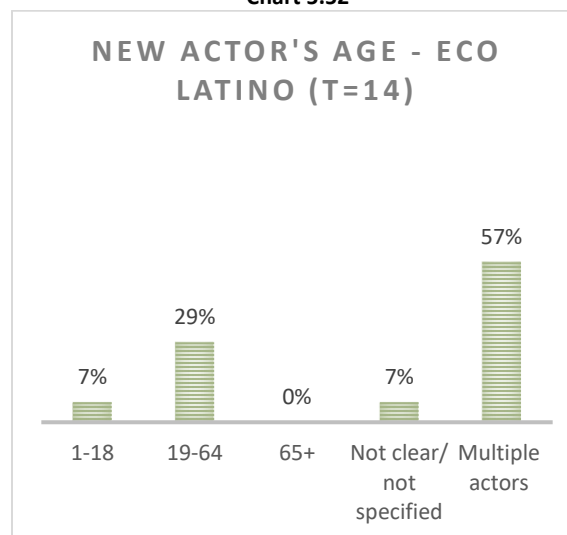


Chart 5.52



(Based on OMMI content coding of Eco Latino issues published in October, November, and December, 2013)

Chart 5.53

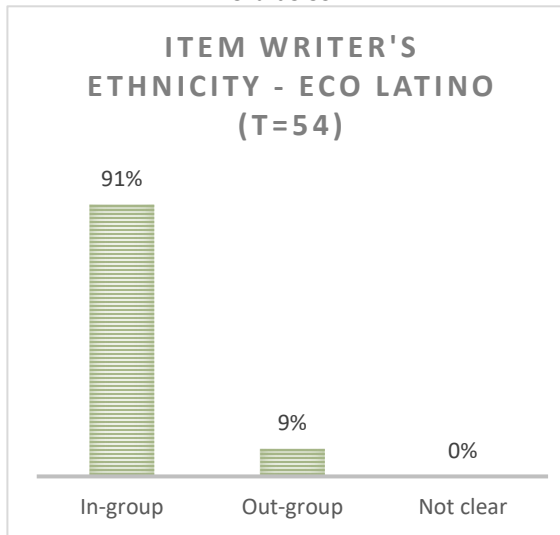


Chart 5.54

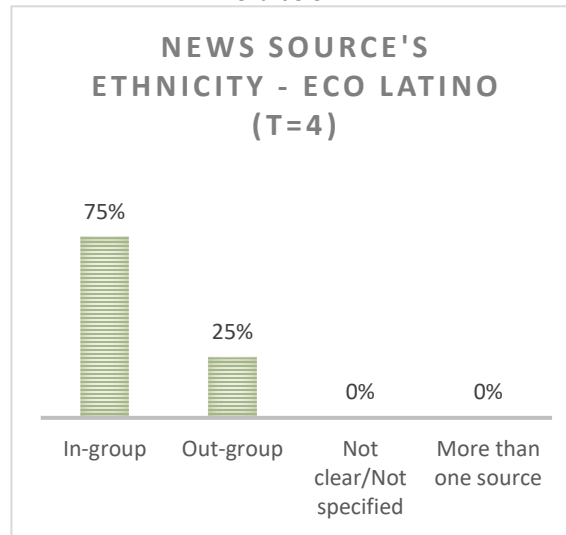
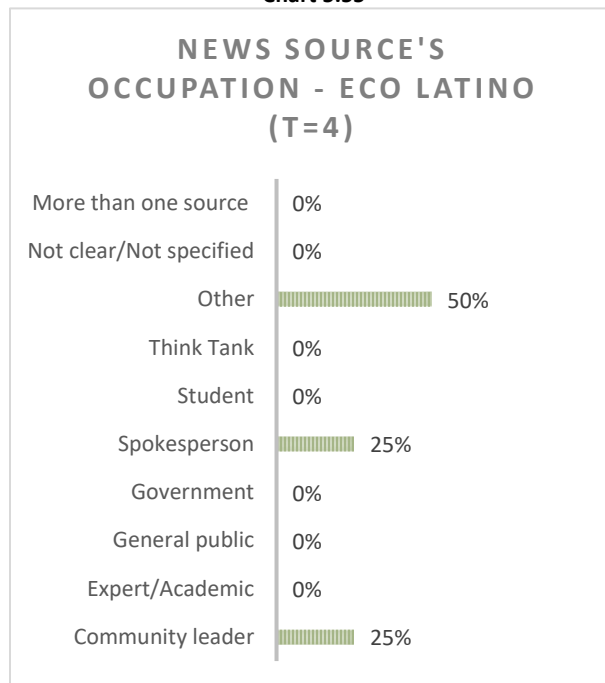
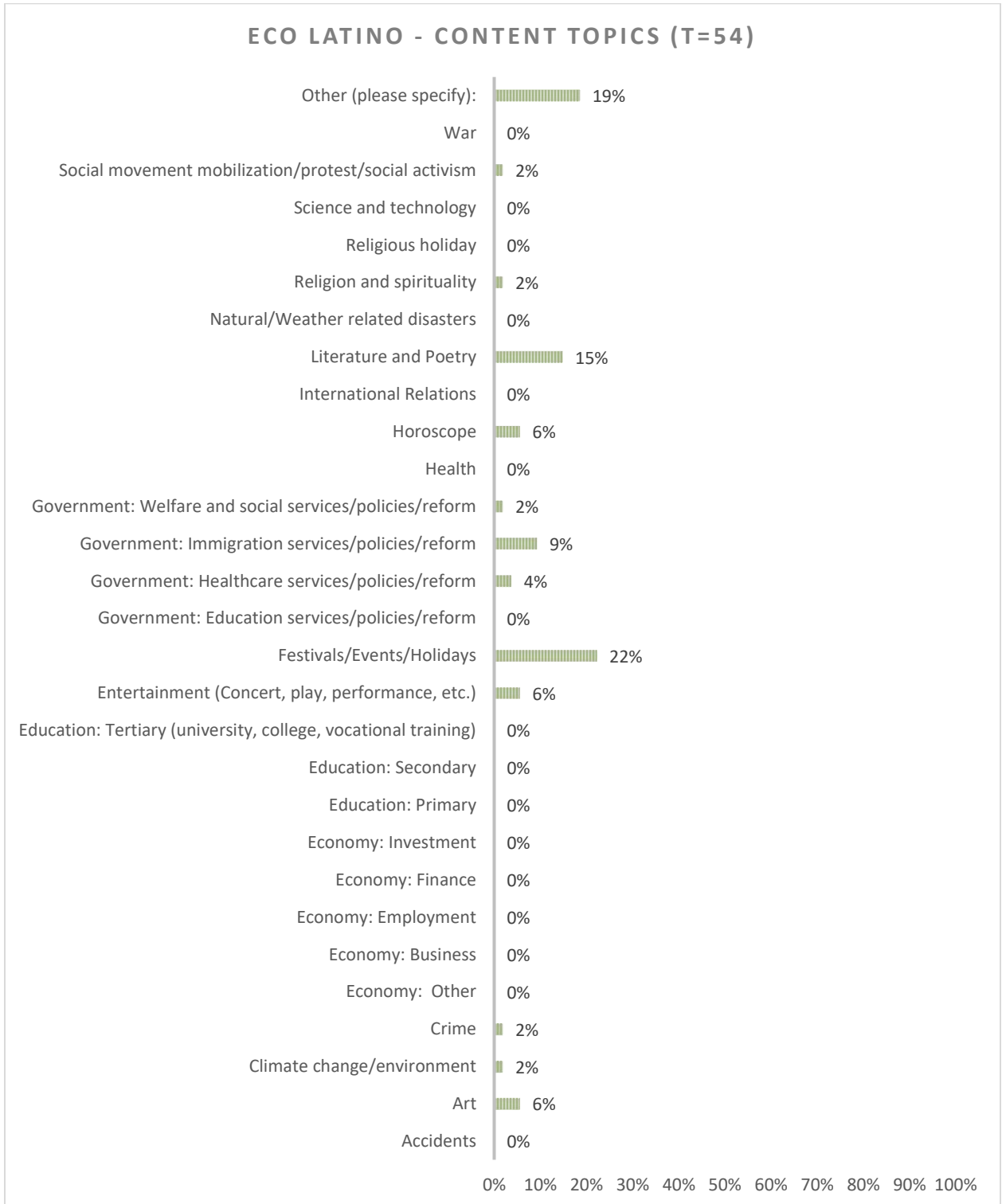


Chart 5.55



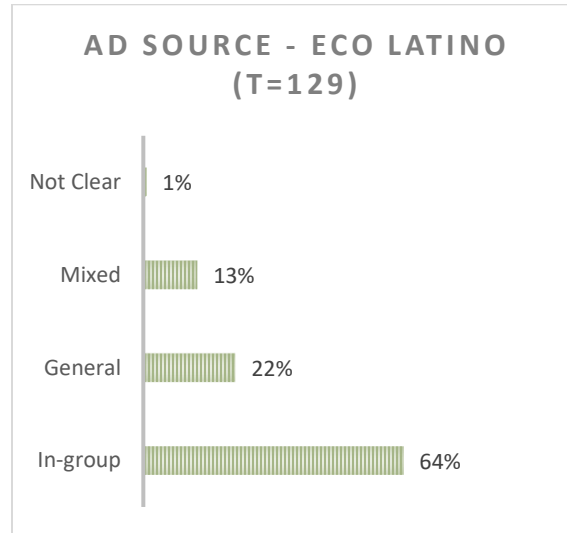
(Based on OMMI content coding of Eco Latino issues published in October, November, and December, 2013)

Chart 5.56



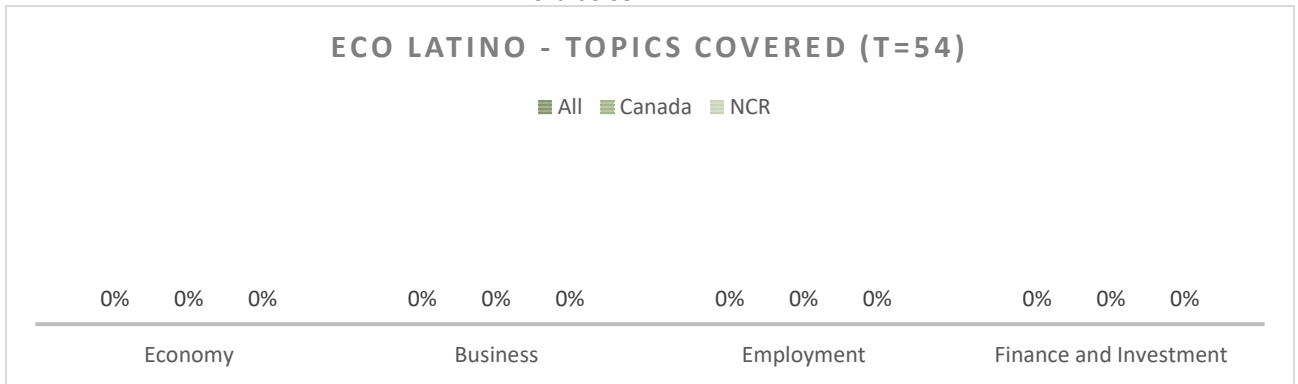
(Based on OMMI content coding of Eco Latino issues published in October, November, and December, 2013)

Chart 5.57



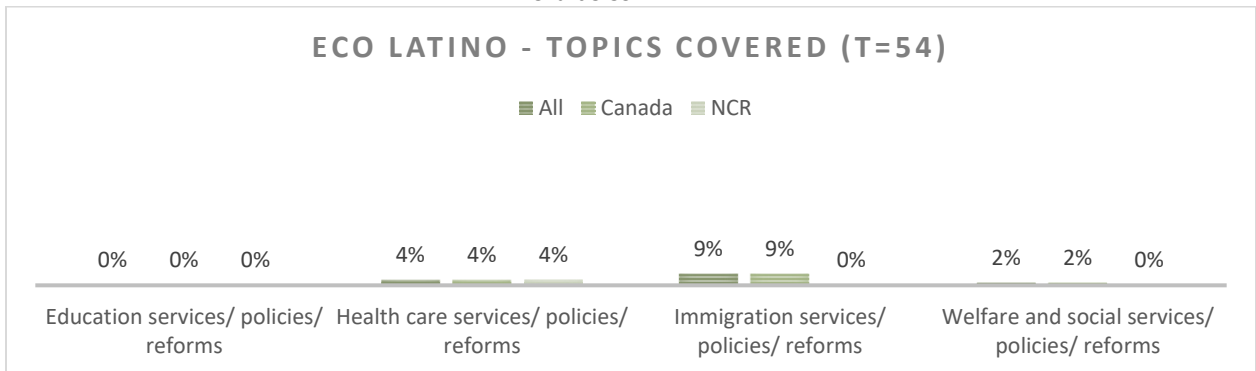
(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.58



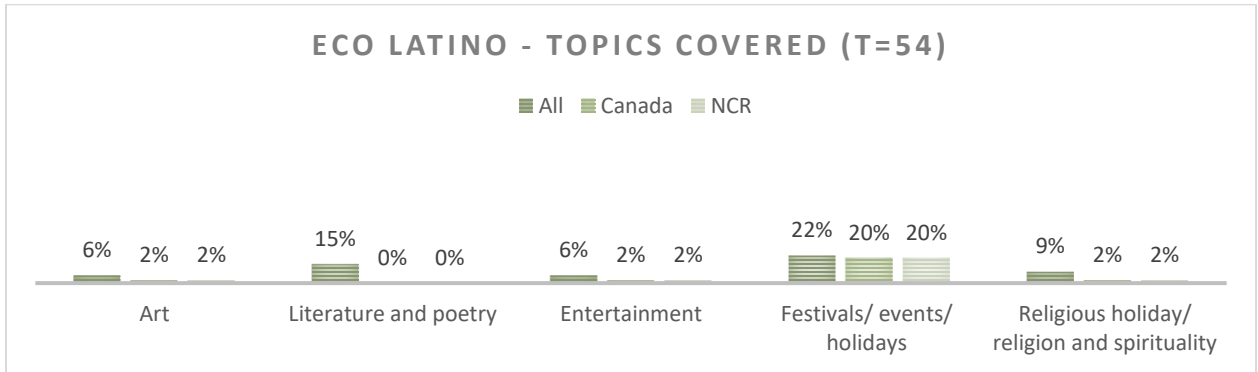
(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.59



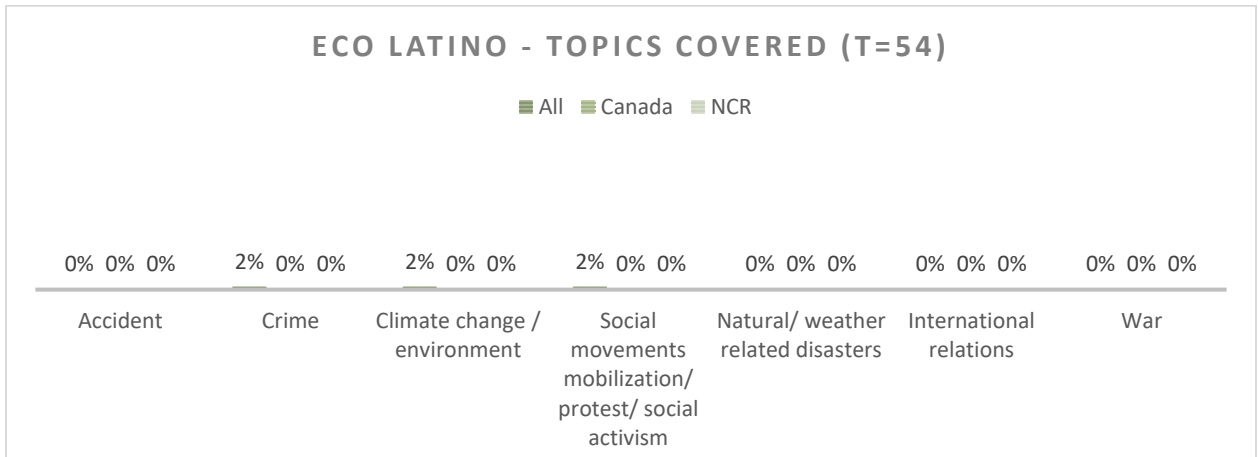
(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.60



(Based on OMMI content coding of HT issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

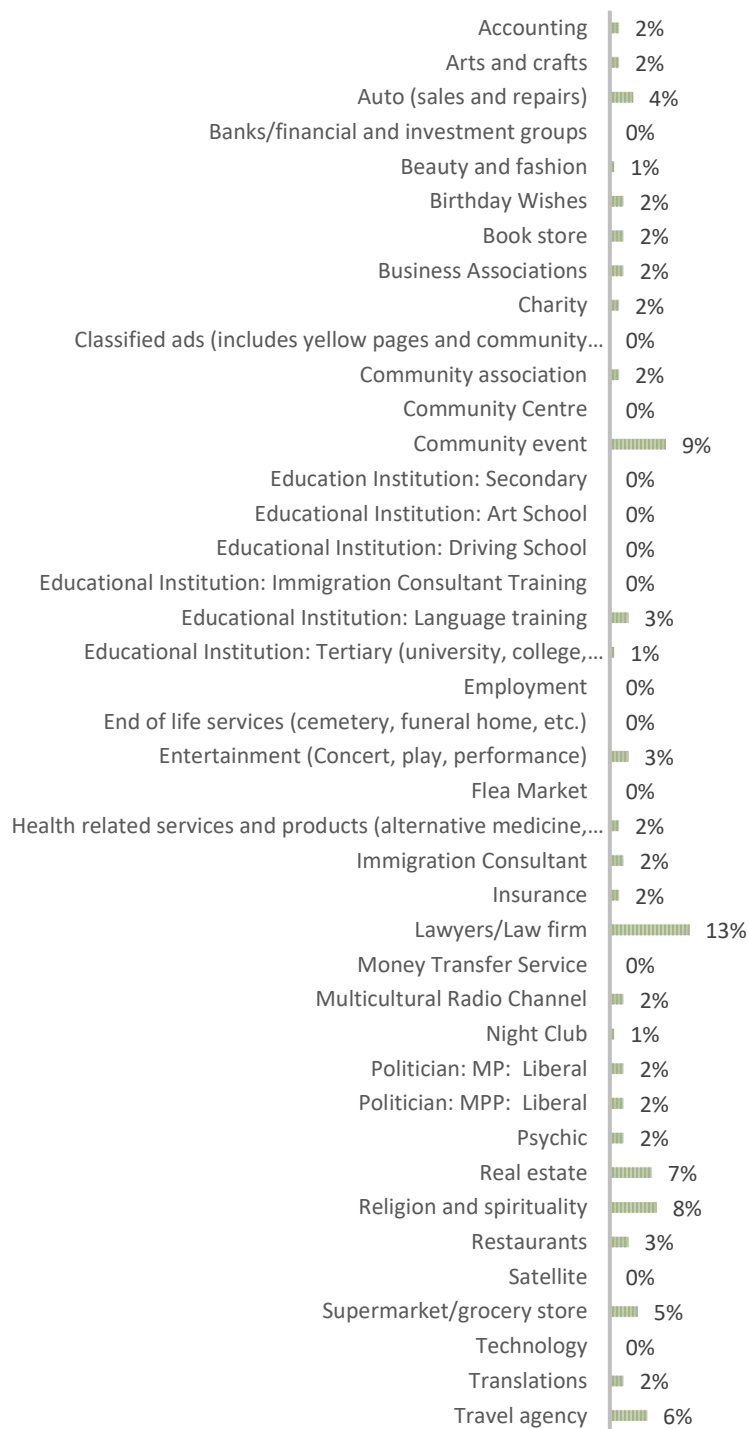
Chart 5.61



(Based on OMMI content coding of Eco Latino issues published in October, November, and December, 2013)

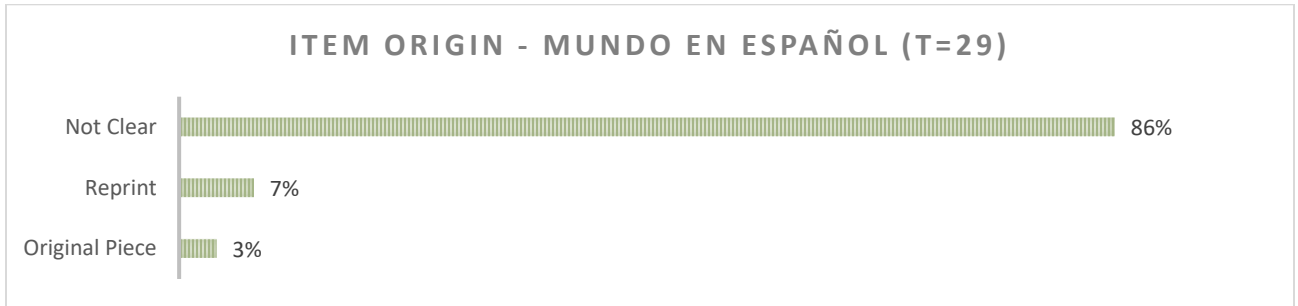
Chart 5.62

AD SUBJECT - ECO LATINO (T=129)



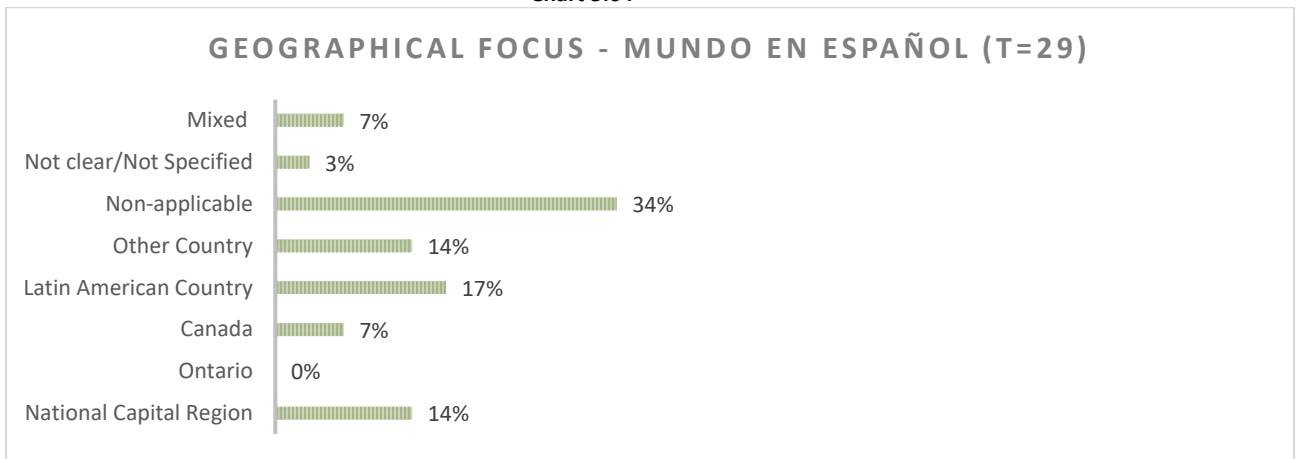
(Based on OMMI content coding of Eco Latino issues published in October, November, and December, 2013)

Chart 5.63



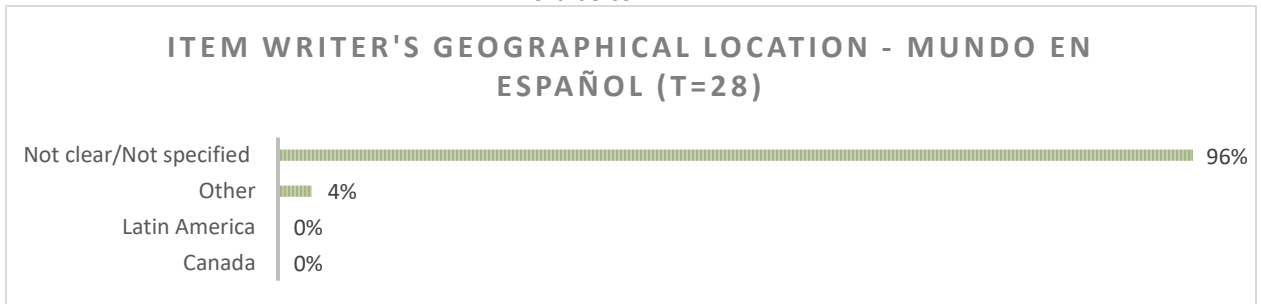
(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.64



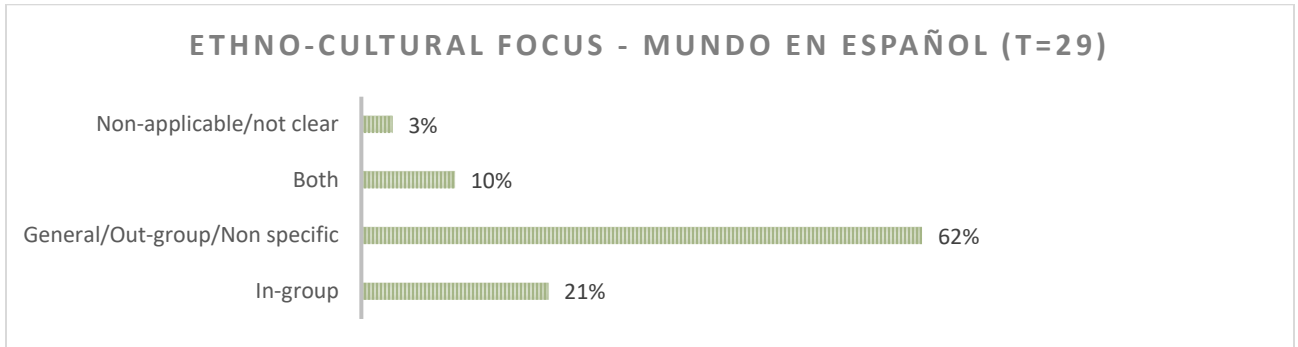
(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.65



(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.66



(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.67

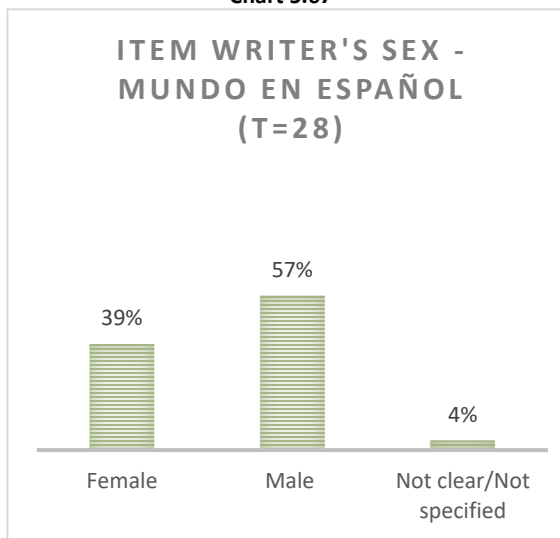


Chart 5.68

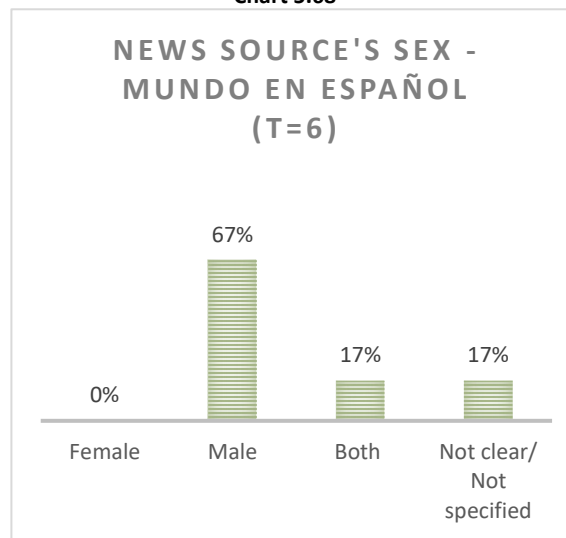
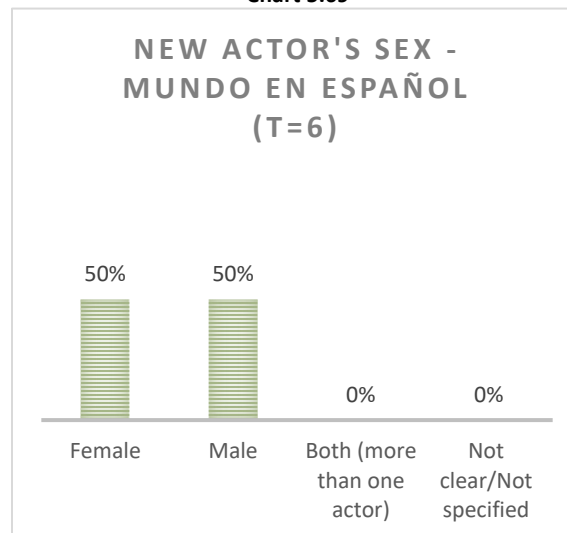


Chart 5.69



(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.70

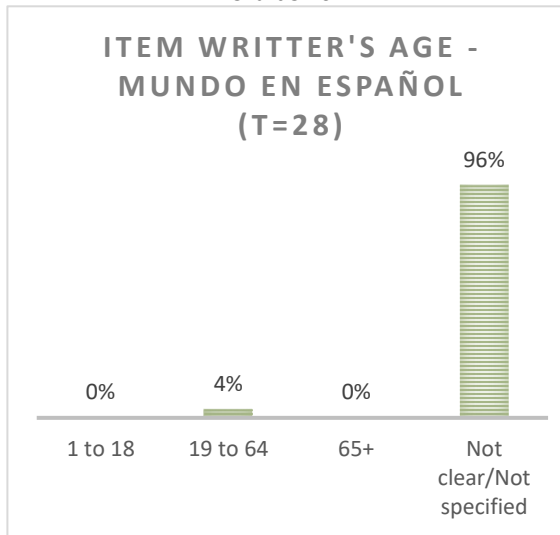


Chart 5.71

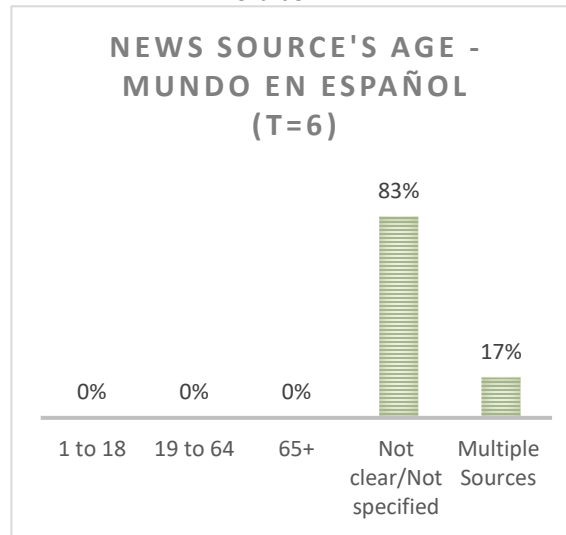
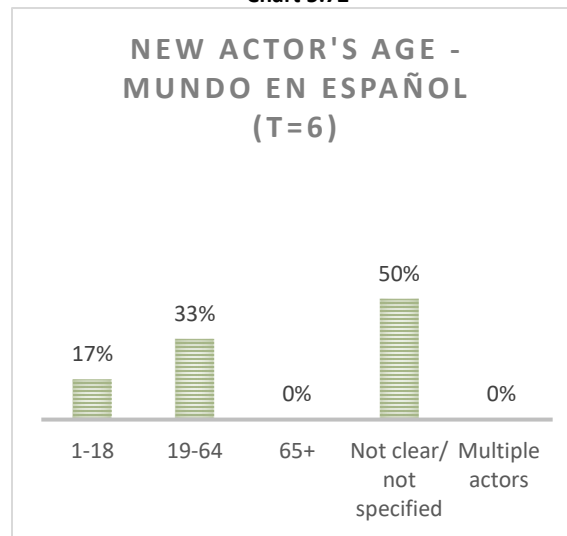


Chart 5.72



(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.73

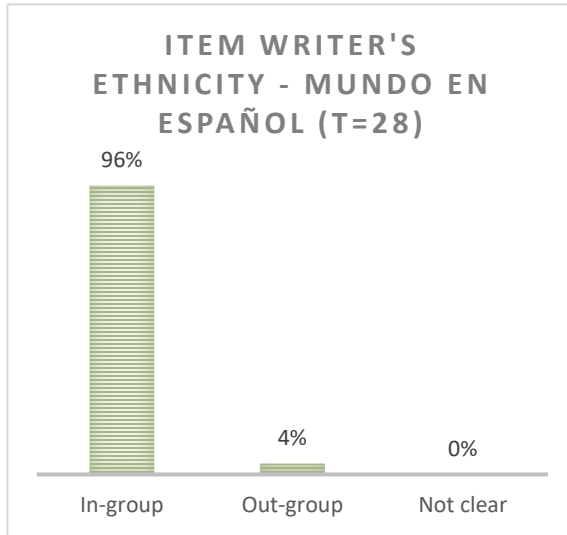
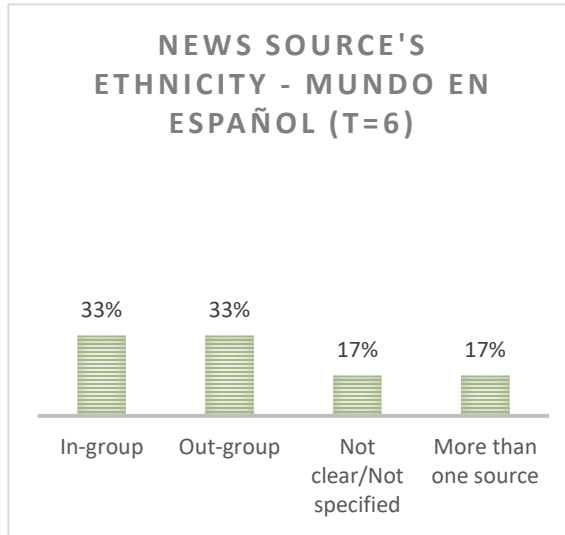
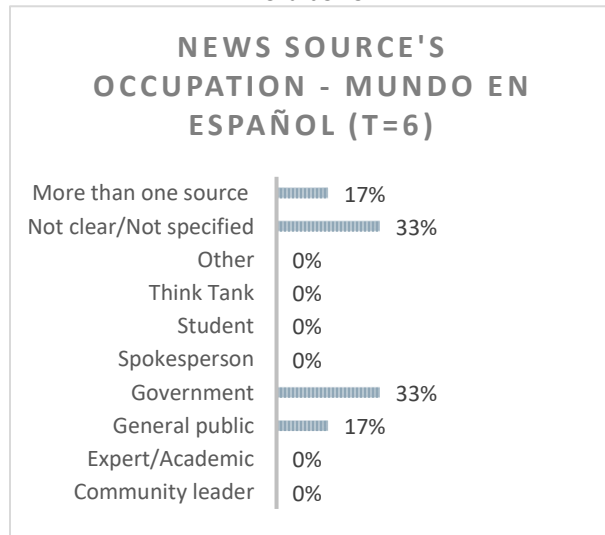


Chart 5.74



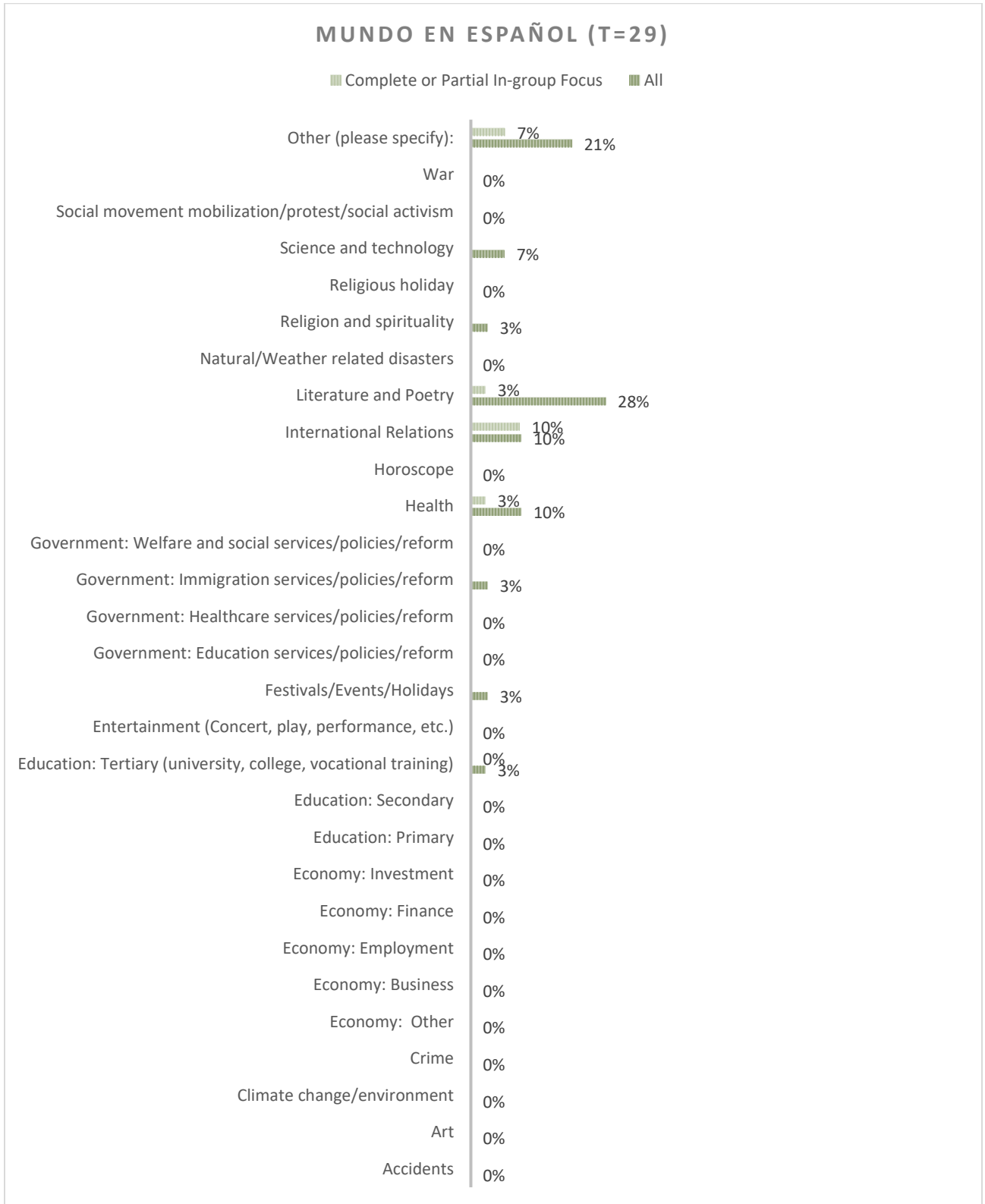
(Based on OMMI content coding of Canada China News issues published on October 4th, November 1st, and December 6th, 2013)

Chart 5.75



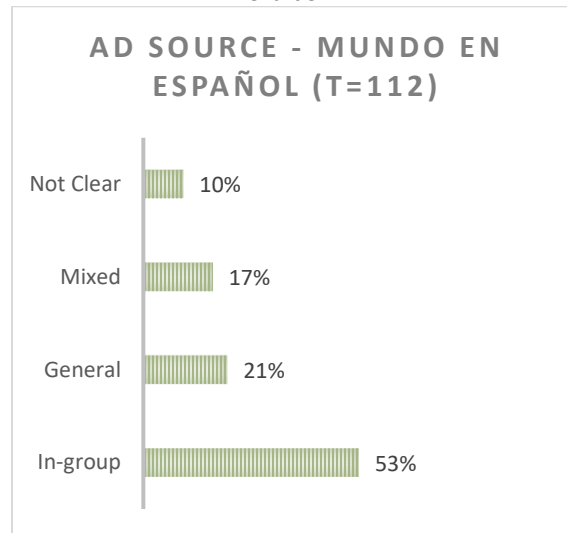
(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.76



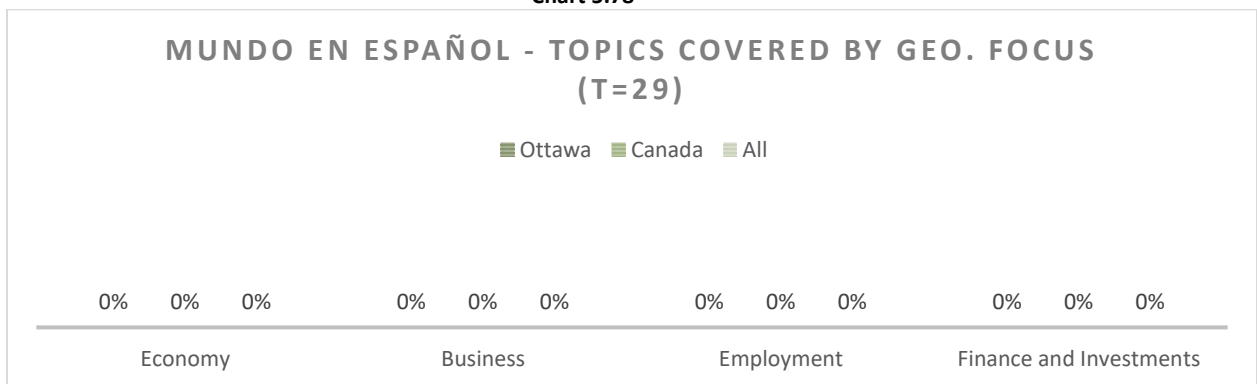
(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.77



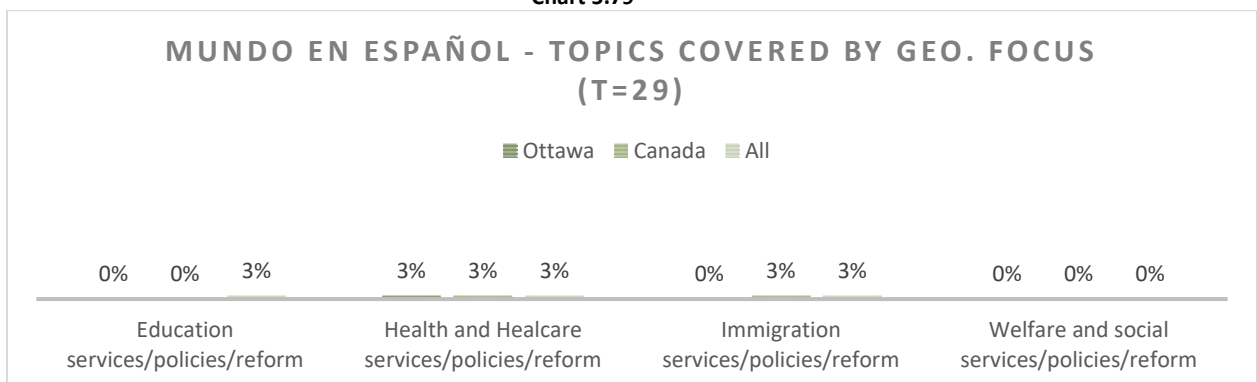
(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.78



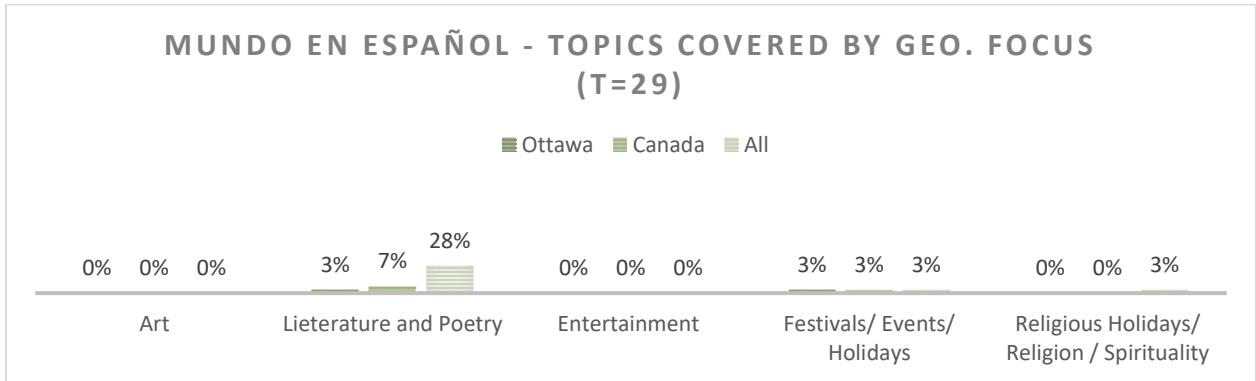
(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.79



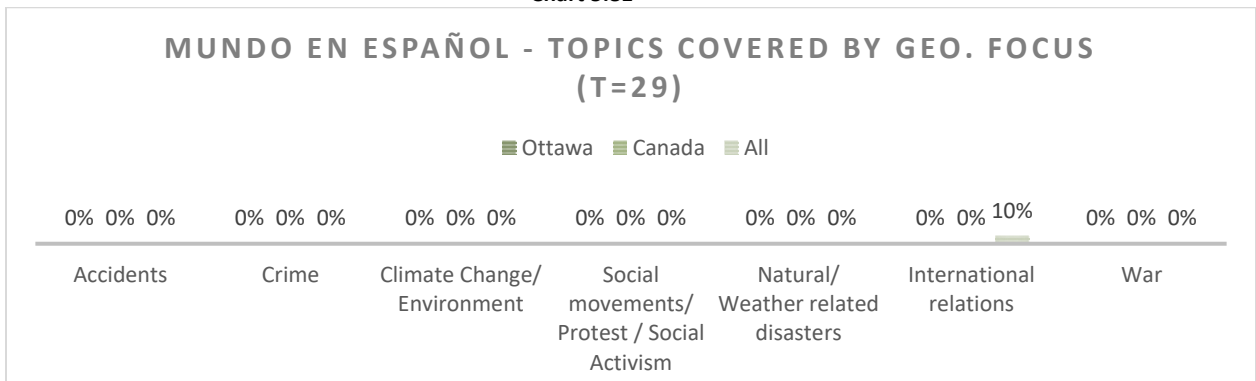
(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.80



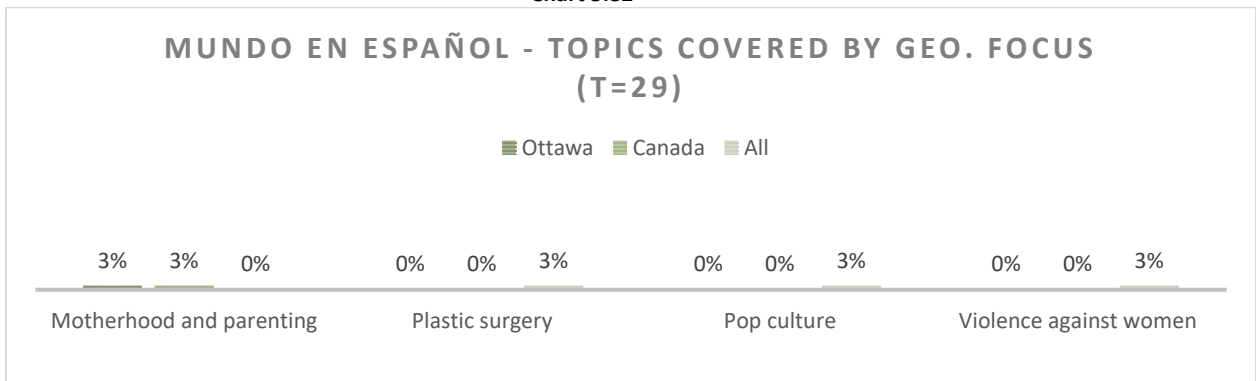
(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.81



(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

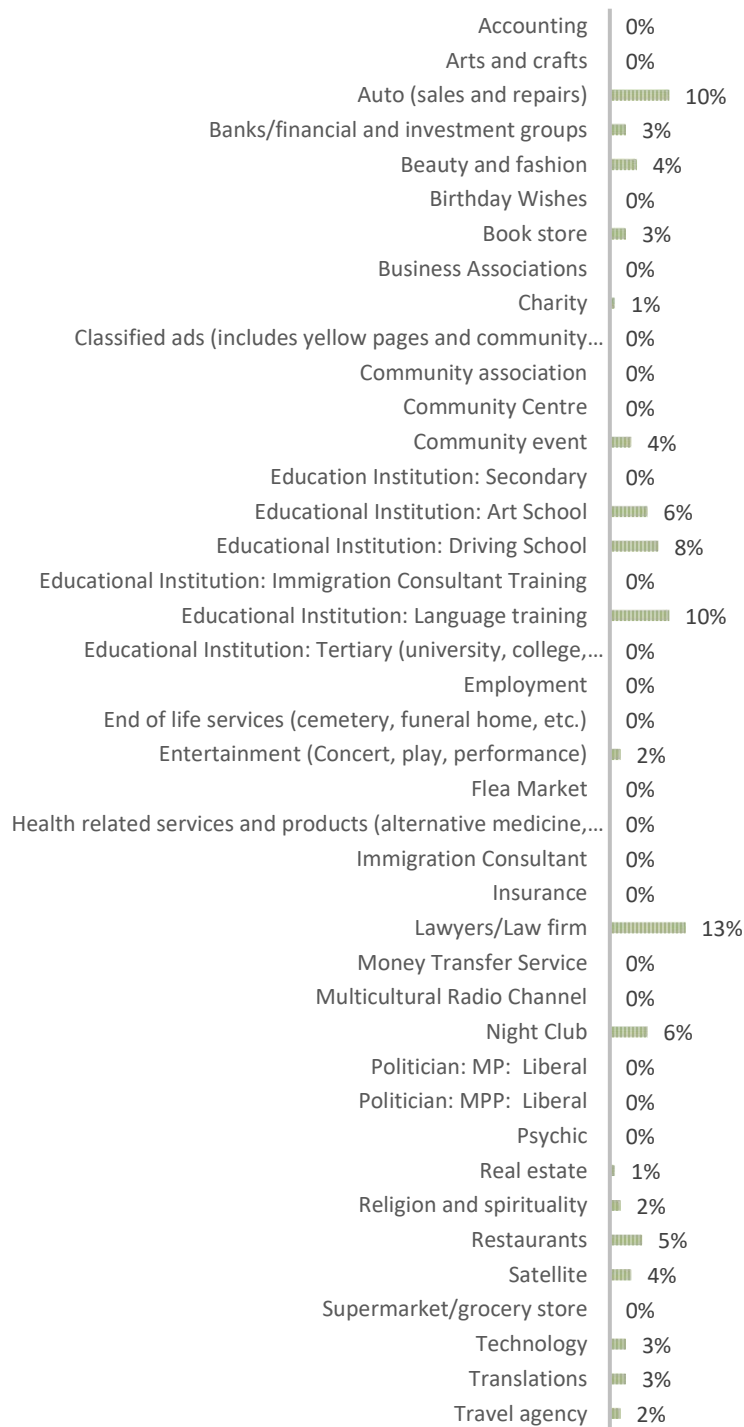
Chart 5.82



(Based on OMMI content coding of Mundo en Español issues published in the second half of October, the first half of November, and the first half of December, 2013)

Chart 5.83

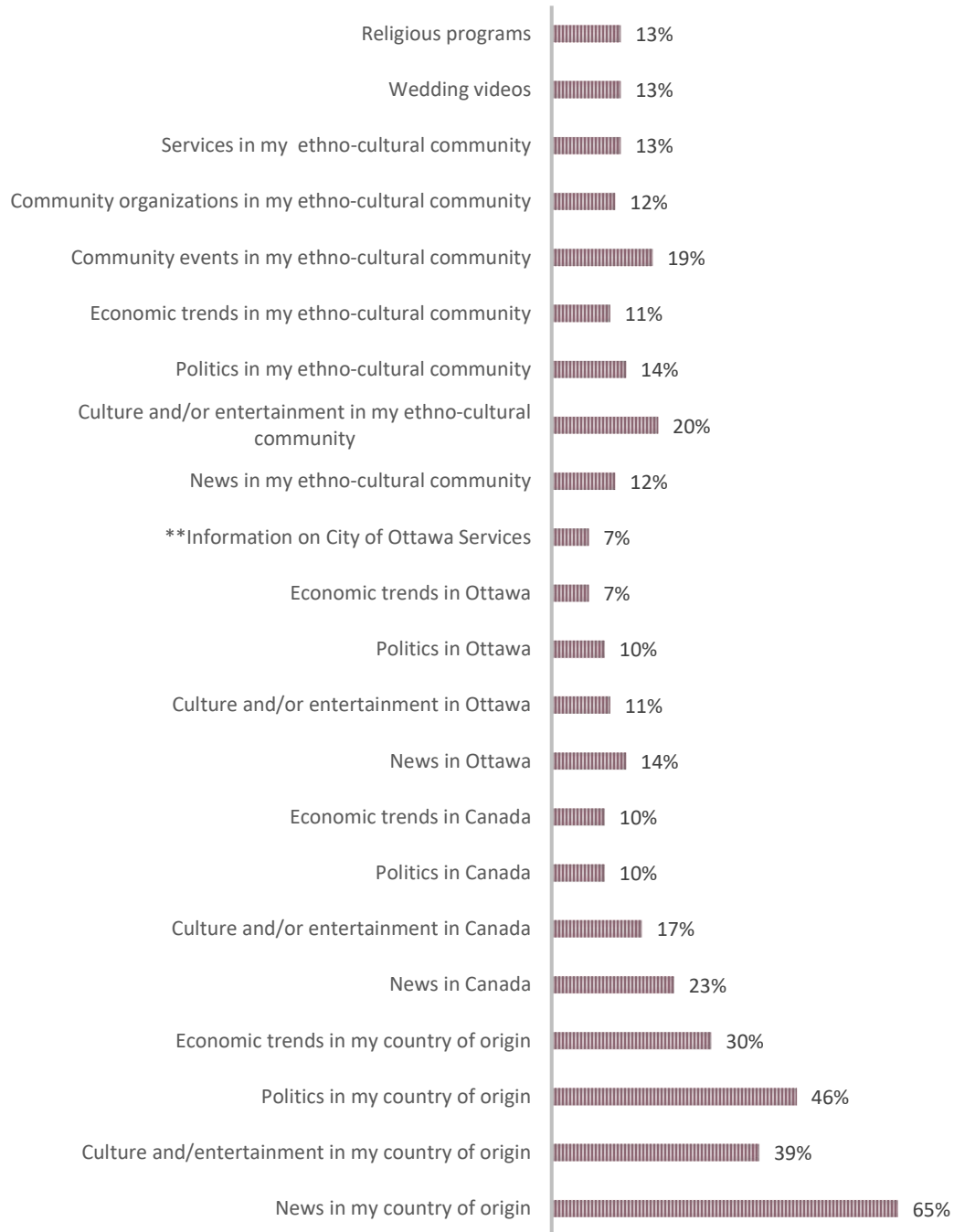
AD SUBJECT - MUNDO EN ESPAÑOL (T=112)



(Based on OMMI content coding of Eco Latino issues published in October, November, and December, 2013)

Chart 5.84

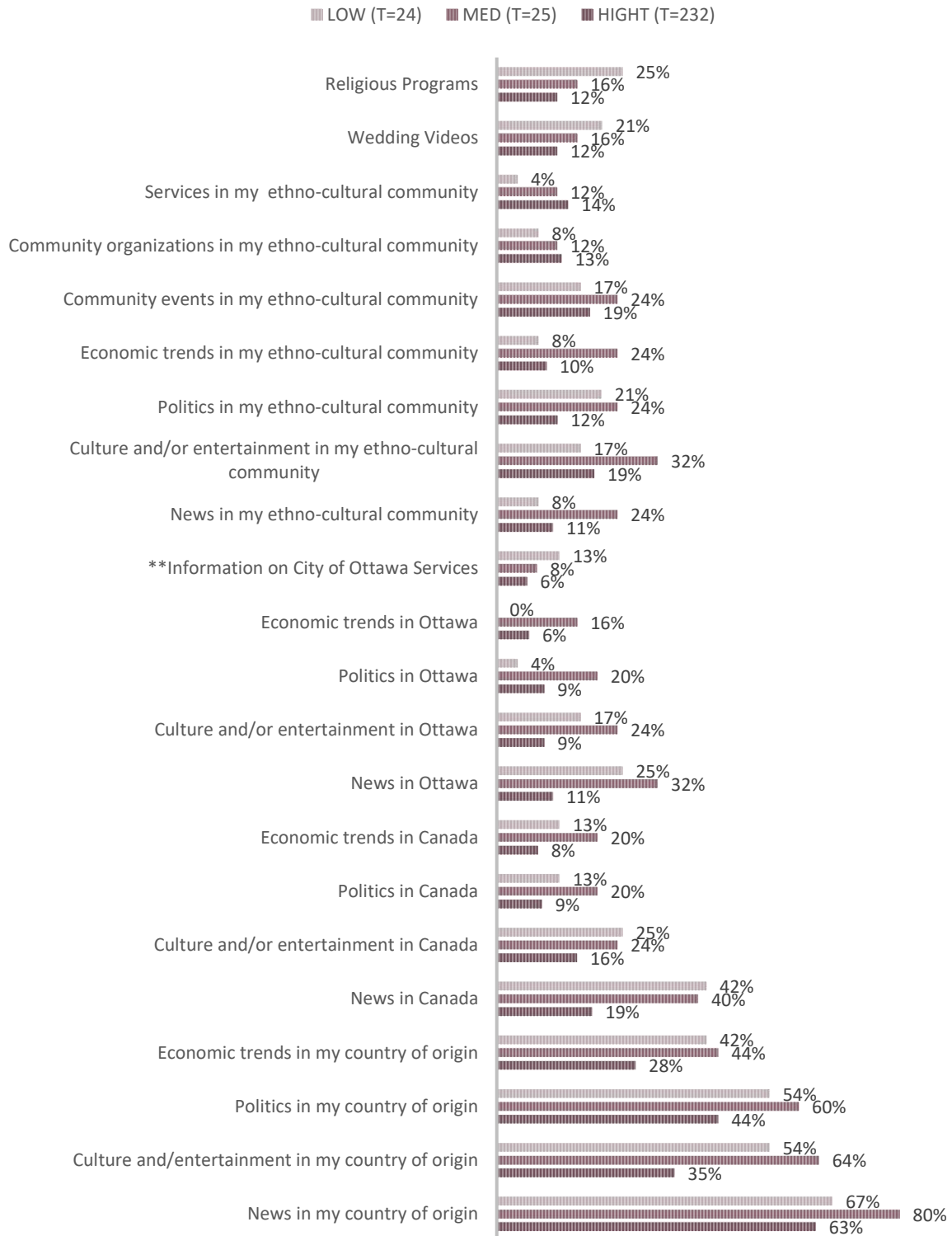
SOMALI MEDIA HELPS ME STAY UP TO DATE WITH (T=282)



(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part E, Question 1, 2c, and Part C, Question 5k, 5l)

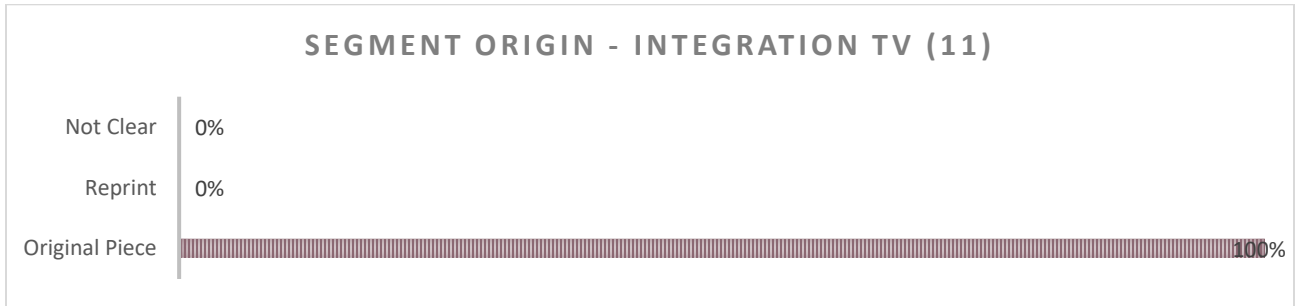
Chart 5.85

SOMALI MEDIA HELPS ME STAY UP TO DATE WITH (T=282)



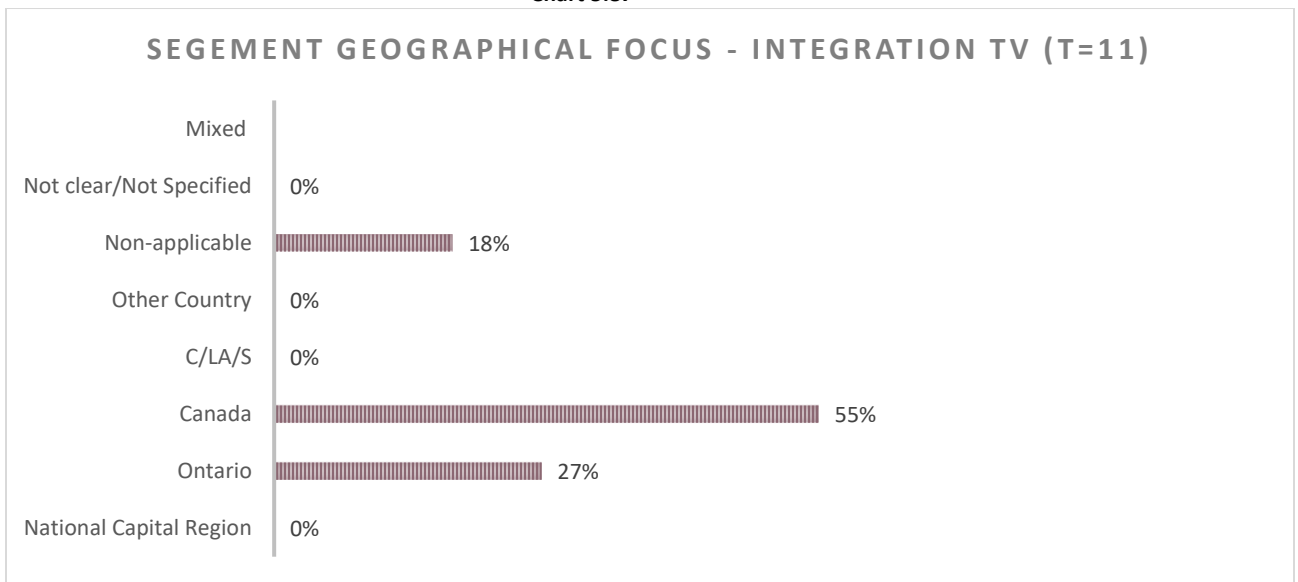
(Source: OMMI 2012 Survey, Part E, Question 1, 2c, and Part C, Question 5k, 5l)

Chart 5.86



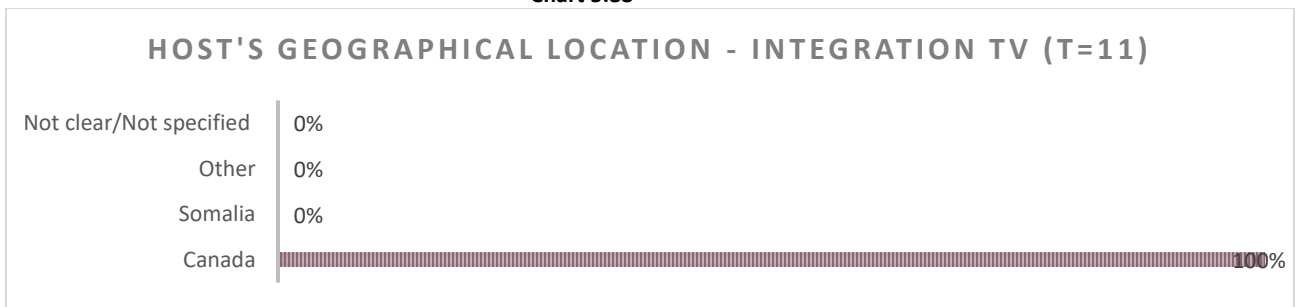
(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Chart 5.87



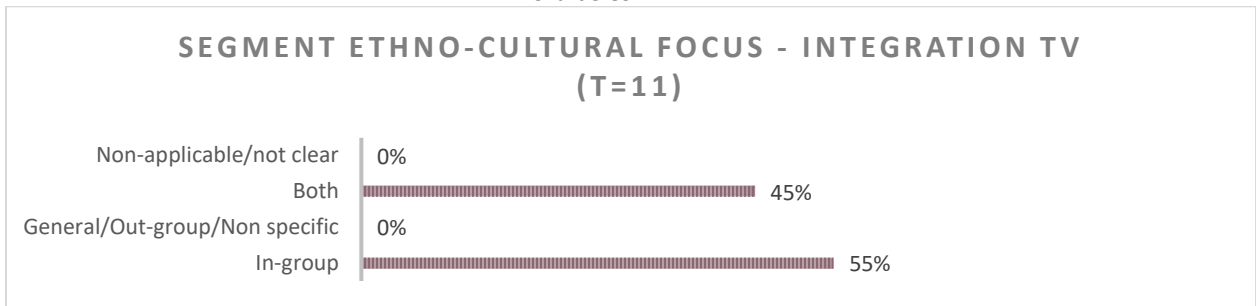
(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Chart 5.88



(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Chart 5.89



(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Chart 5.90

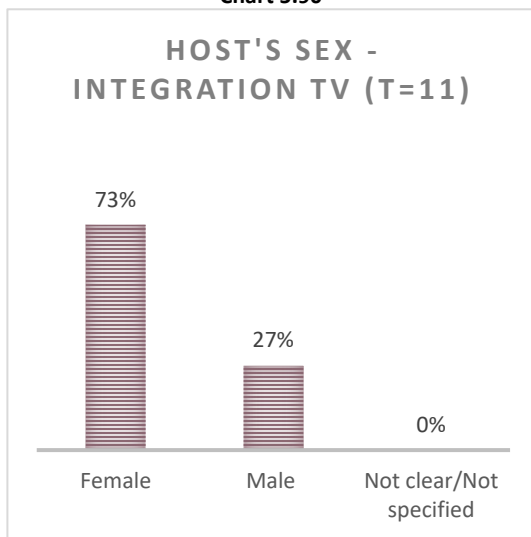


Chart 5.91

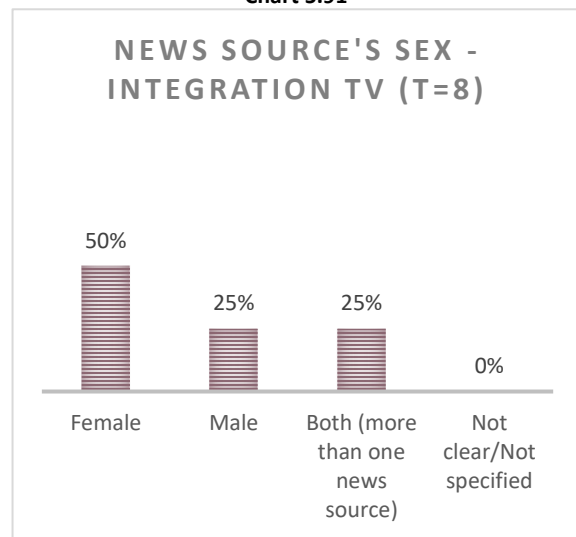
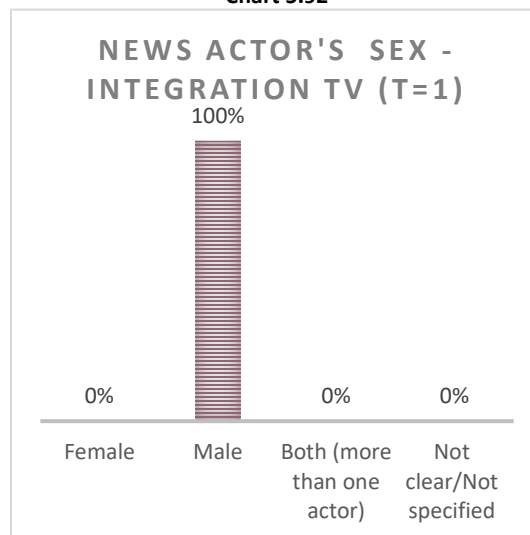


Chart 5.92



(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Chart 5.93

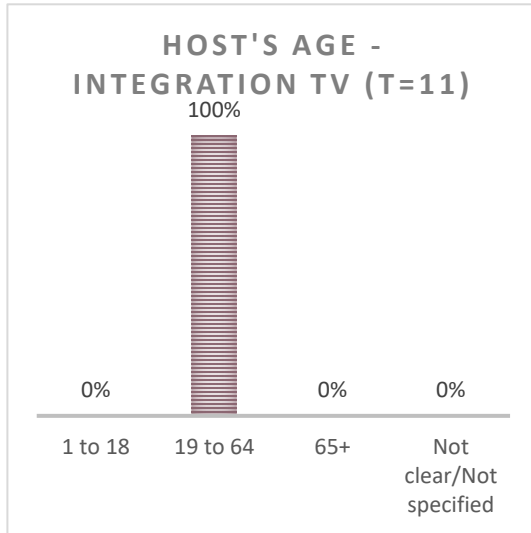


Chart 5.94

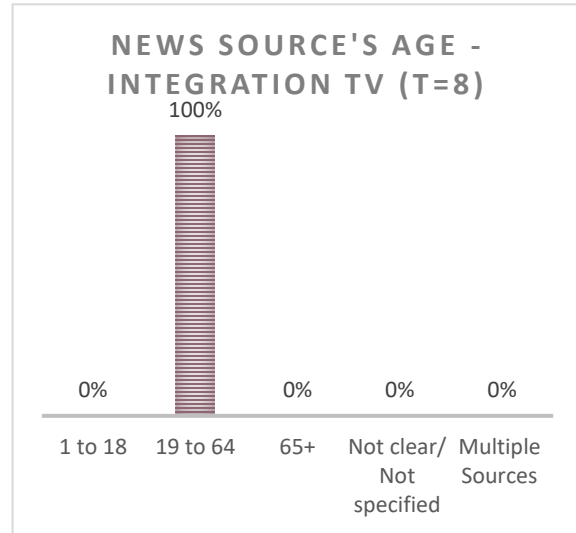
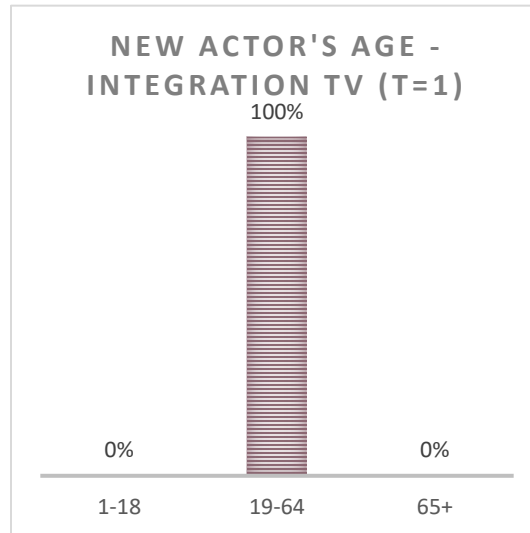


Chart 5.95



(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Chart 5.96

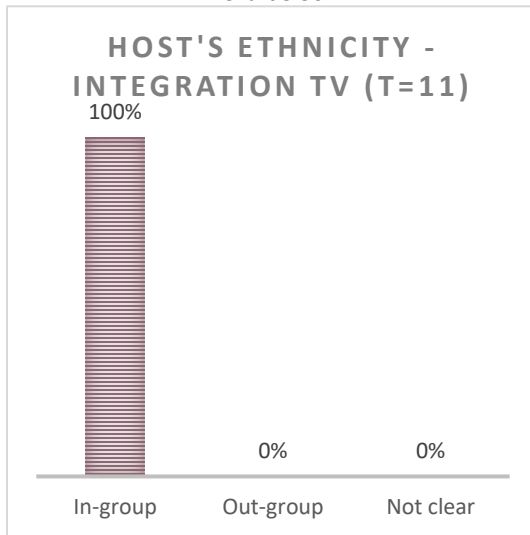


Chart 5.97

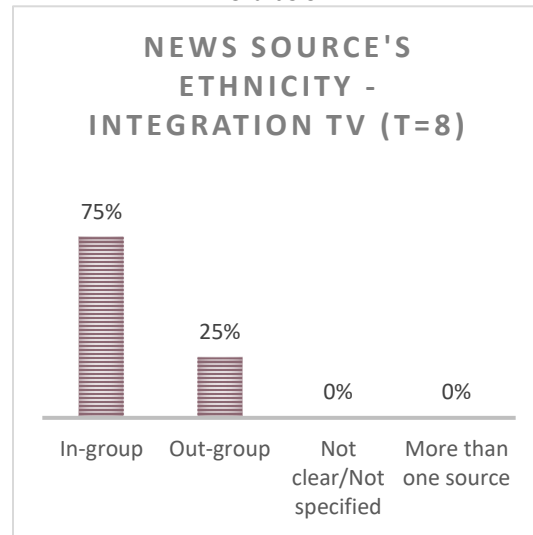
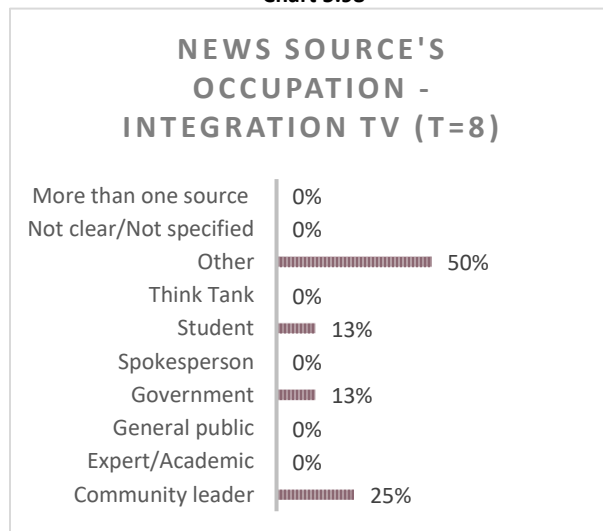
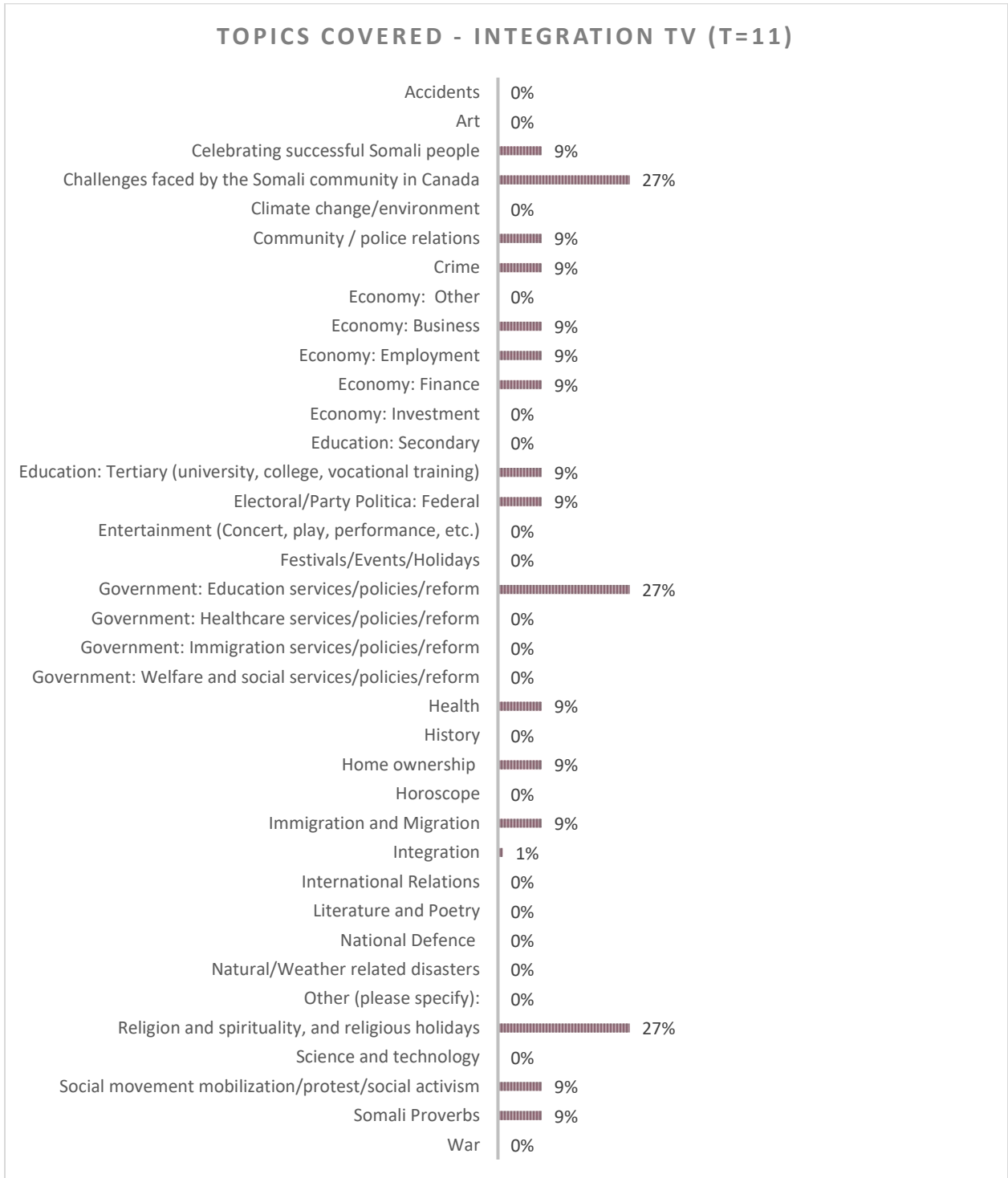


Chart 5.98



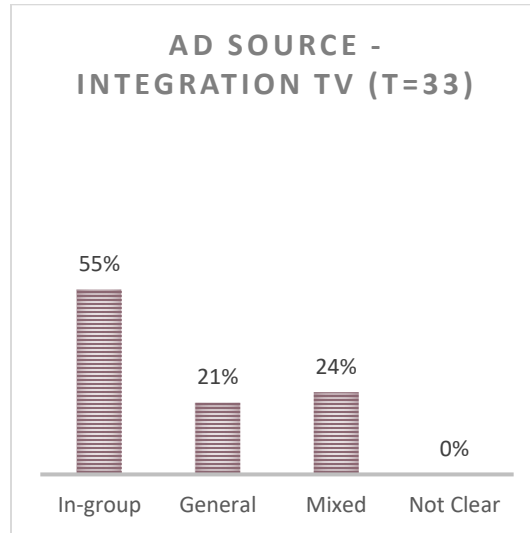
(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Chart 5.99



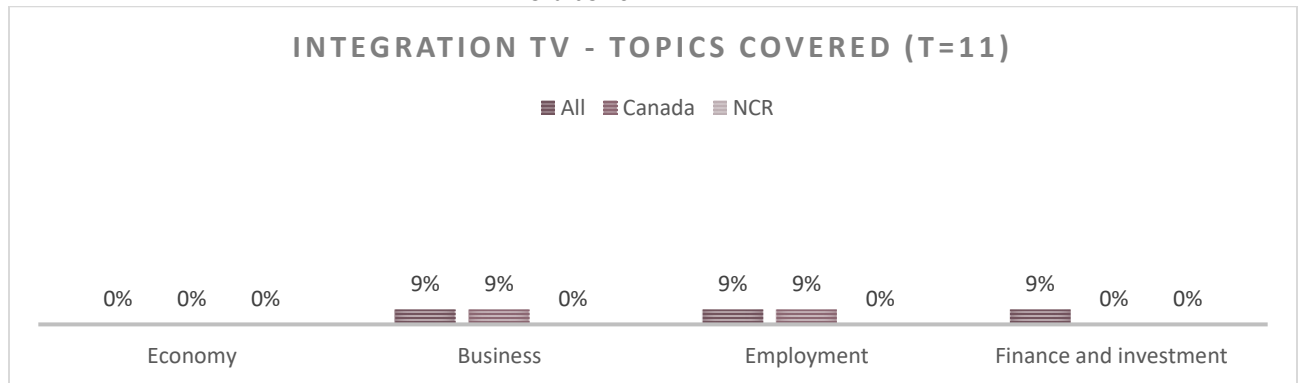
(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Chart 5.100



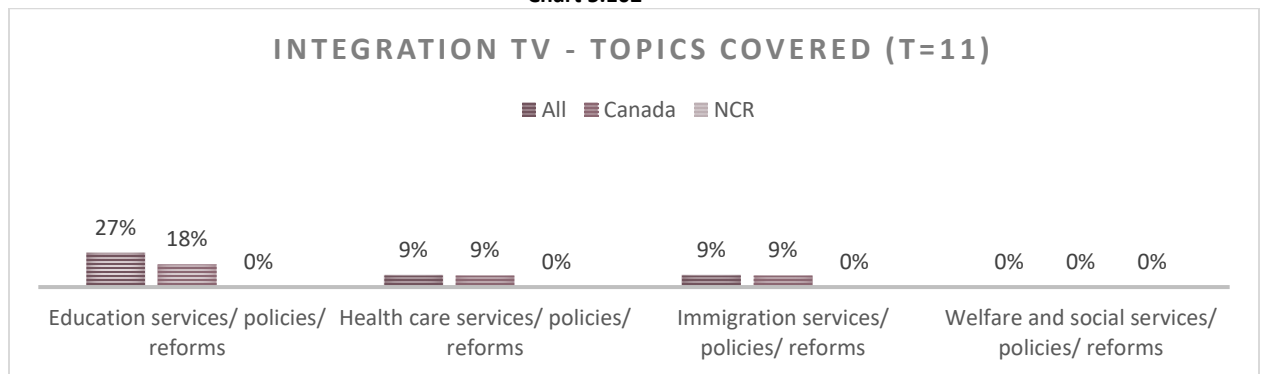
(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Chart 5.101



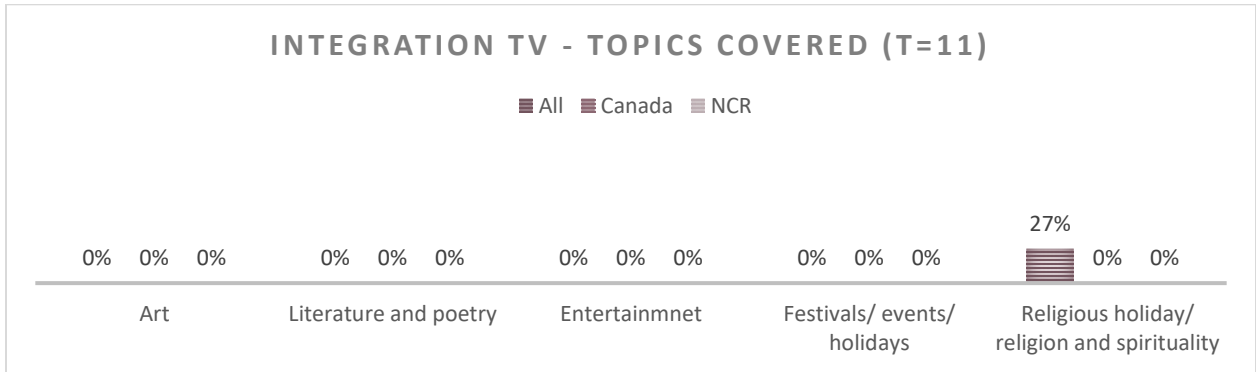
(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Chart 5.102



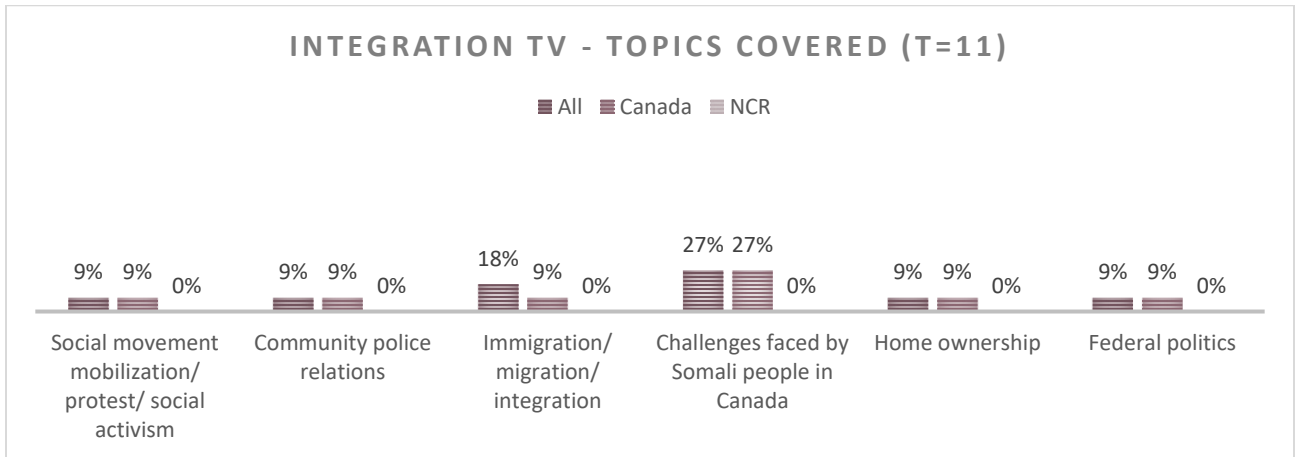
(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Chart 5.103



(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

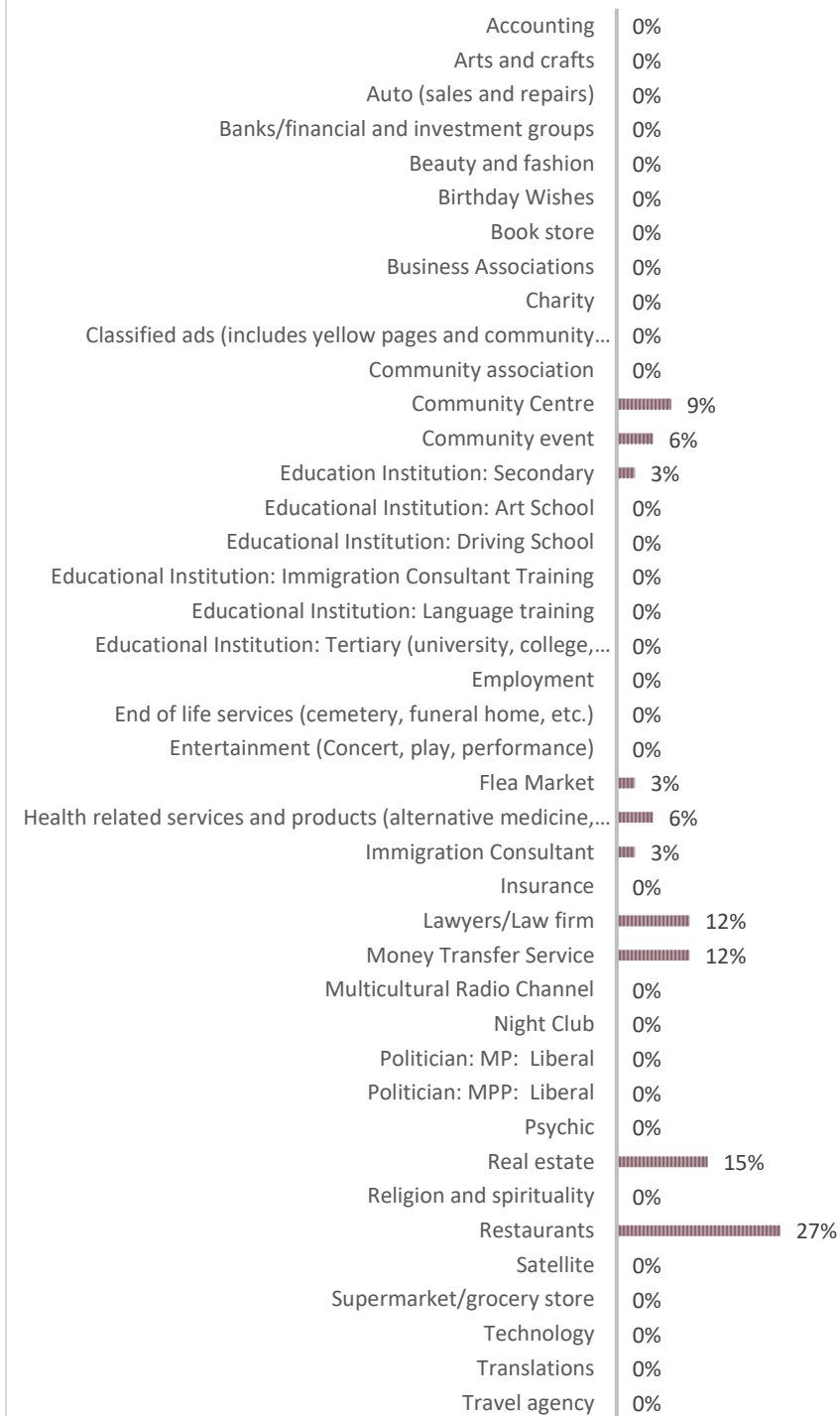
Chart 5.104



(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Chart 5.105

AD SUBJECT - INTEGRATION TV (T=33)



(Based on content coding of Integration TV episodes which aired on March 1, April 5, and May 3, 2015)

Appendix 3 – OMMI Survey Questionnaire



Informed Consent Form

Title of the Study: *Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative*

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the aforementioned Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) funded research study conducted by Dr. Rukhsana Ahmed (Principal Investigator), Dr. Caroline Andrew (Co-investigator), Mr. Houssein Charmarkeh (Co-investigator), Dr. Peruvemba Jaya (Co-investigator), and Dr. Luisa Veronis (Co-investigator), all based at the University of Ottawa.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of this study is to examine the opportunities and challenges that multicultural media represent for Ottawa and its citizens. Ottawa is experiencing an extraordinary increase in ethno-cultural diversity, which has been accompanied by a proliferation of multicultural online, radio, print, and television media, actively created by ethnic and visible minority groups. Yet, little is known about what challenges and opportunities these diverse media may represent in terms of fostering greater social inclusion, labour market integration, and economic prosperity.

Participation: My participation will consist of filling out a survey and responding to a number of questions related to my background, media access, use, behaviour, and motivation. It can take about 15 to 20 minutes to fill out the survey.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: I have received assurance from the researcher that the information I will share will remain strictly confidential. No names or identifying information will be collected on the survey itself and the consent form will be kept separately from the completed surveys. I also understand that anonymity will be protected as the information shared in the survey will not be shared with any other source and the data collected will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the Principal Investigator's office until 2017 and destroyed afterwards. Moreover, anonymity will be protected as my name will never be used in any written publication.

Compensation: Upon participation in the study, I will be eligible to win a draw prize (e.g., one of the four fifty dollar gift cards). After completing the survey, I will be provided with the option of filling out a separate form to enter the draw for the prize. The form will require only my telephone number or email address for the researchers to contact me if I win the prize, and thus my confidentiality will be protected; the draw prize data form will be stored separately from the survey questionnaire.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate, and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be destroyed.

Statement of Consent: I have read the above information and received answers to any questions I asked. I consent to participate in the aforementioned research study conducted by the above mentioned researchers.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the Project Coordinator, April Carrière
Ahmed ; or the Principal Investigator, Dr. Rukhsana
Andrew ; or the Co-investigators, Dr. Caroline
Mr. Houssein Charmarkeh
, Dr. Peruvemba Jaya
Dr. Luisa Veronis

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5
Tel.: (613) 562-5387
Email: ethics@uOttawa.ca

Are you interested to participate in a follow-up focus group and or interview?

If yes, Telephone Number: _____

E-mail Address: _____

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which I will tear off for record-keeping.

Participant's Name (printed):

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's Signature: _____ Date: _____



Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative

Survey Questionnaire

Thank you for participating in this Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative survey. You will be responding to a number of questions related to your background, media access, use, behaviour, and motivation. As you complete the survey, please make sure that you mark each answer clearly, and that you read and understand the instructions for each section. We greatly appreciate your time and interest.

Part A: General Socio-demographic Information

These questions are about you personally. Please know that all information is strictly confidential. Your responses to these questions will be used only to compare different responses of different people. You will remain completely anonymous.

1. In what year were you born? _____
2. What is your sex?
 - a. ☐ Female
 - b. ☐ Male
 - c. ☐ Other
3. What is your marital status?
 - a. ☐ Single
 - b. ☐ Married/
Common-law
relationship
 - c. ☐ Separated
 - d. ☐ Divorced
 - e. ☐ Widowed
 - f. ☐ Other,
please specify:

4. Do you have children?
 - a. ☐ Yes. How many? ()
 - b. ☐ No
5. What is your level of education?
 - a. ☐ Less than 8th grade
 - b. ☐ Some high school
 - c. ☐ High school graduate
 - d. ☐ Some college/ vocational
training/post-secondary/
university
 - e. ☐ College/vocational training/
post-secondary/ university

- f. ☐ Some graduate school
 g. ☐ Graduate degree
 h. ☐ Professional degree
- i. ☐ Other, please specify: _____
6. Please specify your employment status:
- a. ☐ Homemaker (Stay at home dad/mom)
 b. ☐ Student
 c. ☐ Employed for salary
 Please specify: _____
 d. ☐ Self-employed
 Please specify: _____
- e. ☐ Out of work and looking for work
 f. ☐ Out of work but not currently looking for work
 g. ☐ Retired
 h. ☐ Unable to work
 i. ☐ Other, please specify: _____
7. Please indicate your yearly household income:
- a. ☐ Less than \$10,000
 b. ☐ \$10,000-\$19,999
 c. ☐ \$20,000-\$29,999
 d. ☐ \$30,000-\$39,999
 e. ☐ \$40,000-\$49,999
 f. ☐ \$50,000-\$59,999
 g. ☐ \$60,000-\$69,999
 h. ☐ \$70,000-\$79,999
 i. ☐ \$80,000 or more
8. Do you rent or own the place where you currently live?
- a. ☐ Rent
 b. ☐ Own
 c. ☐ Other, please specify : _____
9. What is your country/place of birth? _____
10. Do you identify with one or more of the following categories of ethnic/cultural origin?
- a. ☐ Chinese
 b. ☐ Latin American /Spanish Speaking
 c. ☐ Somali
 d. ☐ South Asian
 e. ☐ Other(s), please specify: _____
11. Please identify the language(s) spoken at home: _____
12. What is your level of English?
- a. ☐ Little or no knowledge of English
 b. ☐ Elementary or basic level of English
 c. ☐ Intermediate level of English
 d. ☐ Advanced level of English
 e. ☐ Fluent level of English
13. What is your level of French?
- a. ☐ Little or no knowledge of French
 b. ☐ Elementary or basic level of French

- c. ☐ Intermediate level of French
d. ☐ Advanced level of French

- e. ☐ Fluent level of French

14. For those not born in Canada, what is the date of your arrival in Canada?

____/____/____
(Year) (Month) (Day)

15. Under which category did you immigrate to Canada?

- a. ☐ Economic Immigrant b. ☐ Family d. ☐ Other
c. ☐ Refugee

16. Are you a Canadian citizen?

- a. ☐ Yes b. ☐ No

Part B: Media Access

These questions relate to your access to media.

1. Please indicate which of the following electronic equipment you have at home. For each item, please also indicate the quantity and the location. Examples of locations might include: main living-room, main bedroom, children's bedroom, other living-room, dining room, kitchen, and/or basement.

- | | | |
|---|------------------|--------------------|
| a. ☐ TV set | Quantity? () | Location(s): _____ |
| b. ☐ DVD player | Quantity? () | Location(s): _____ |
| c. ☐ Video Cassette | Quantity? () | Location(s): _____ |
| d. ☐ Computer | Quantity? () | Location(s): _____ |
| e. ☐ Other(s), please specify: | | |
| _____ | Quantity? () | Location(s): _____ |
| _____ | Quantity? () | Location(s): _____ |
| _____ | Quantity? () | Location(s): _____ |

Part C: CHINESE Language Media Consumption Habits

We would like to know more about your consumption of **CHINESE language** media.

1. Do you subscribe to specialized Chinese language cable, satellite, or internet channels?

- a. ☐ Yes b. ☐ I am planning to subscribe c. ☐ No

If you answered (a) or (b) above, why did you decide to purchase these additional channels? Please check all that apply:

- a. ☐ I enjoy them
- b. ☐ Canadian programming is not interesting
- c. ☐ They bring family together
- d. ☐ They help me with the language
- e. ☐ I do not understand the language of Canadian programs
- f. ☐ They tell me about Chinese culture
- g. ☐ They make me feel part of the Chinese community
- h. ☐ They remind me of life back in my country of origin
- i. ☐ They tell me about religion
- j. ☐ My parents and/or grandparents like me to watch them
- k. ☐ To teach my children/family about my home country and culture
- l. ☐ I get information about City of Ottawa services and activities
- m. ☐ I get practical information about life in Canada (doctors, lawyers, food stores etc.)
- n. ☐ I learn about Ottawa in my language
- o. ☐ No clear reason
- p. ☐ Other: _____

2. How often do you watch or listen to Chinese language programs?

- a. ☐ Often
- b. ☐ Occasionally
- c. ☐ Rarely
- d. ☐ Never

3. Is there any specific period of time/occasion when you watch or listen to Chinese language programs? If so, please check all that apply among the following options:

- a. ☐ I watch these programs all the time/on a regular basis
- b. ☐ Particular events back home
- c. ☐ Homesickness period
- d. ☐ Religious holidays
- e. ☐ I only watch these programs
- f. ☐ Other, please specify: _____

4. Please indicate the types of Chinese language media that you use as well as the average number of hours that you spend using the media. In the space provided please also specify, as appropriate, the most common sites, stations, channels, programs, and/or publications that you use.

- a. ☐ Internet Number of Hours per week? ()

Most common websites visited: _____

- b. ☐ Local Radio Number of Hours per week? ()

Most common stations listened to: _____

- c. ☐ Internet/online/web Radio/Pod cast Number of Hours per week? ()

Most common programs listened to: _____

- d. ☐ Television Number of Hours per week? ()

Most common channels watched: _____

- e. ☐ Internet/online/web Television: Number of Hours per week? ()

Most Common programs watched: _____

- f. ☐ Newspapers Number of Hours per week? ()

Most common publications read: _____

- g. ☐ Internet/online/web Newspaper Number of Hours per week? ()

Most common publications read: _____

- h. ☐ Other(s), please specify: _____

- i. ☐ No Usage

5. Please indicate which of the following types of Chinese language programming that you consume? Please also indicate the average number of hours that you spend using each type of media. In the space provided please also specify, as appropriate, the most common programs, and/or publications that you use.

- a. ☐ Entertainment Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

- b. ☐ International News Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

- c. ☐ Canadian News Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

- d. ☐ Local News Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

e. ☐ Weather Reports Number of Hours per week? ()
Please specify: _____

f. ☐ Economic and Political Shows Number of Hours per week? ()
Please specify: _____

g. ☐ Children's Programs Number of Hours per week? ()
Please specify: _____

h. ☐ Movies and Sitcoms Number of Hours per week? ()
Please specify: _____

i. ☐ Cultural Shows Number of Hours per week? ()
Please specify: _____

j. ☐ Commercials Number of Hours per week? ()
Please specify: _____

k. ☐ Religious Programs Number of Hours per week? ()
Please specify: _____

l. ☐ Wedding videos: Number of Hours per week? ()
Please specify: _____

m. ☐ Other(s) Number of Hours per week? ()
Please specify: _____

n. ☐ Not applicable

6. Do you listen to local Chinese radio programming?

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| a. ☐ Often | c. ☐ Rarely |
| b. ☐ Occasionally | d. ☐ Never |

If yes, please specify: _____

7. Do you read any of the local Chinese community newspapers, magazines, or other periodicals?

- a. ☐ Often
b. ☐ Occasionally
c. ☐ Rarely
d. ☐ Never

Part D: ENGLISH and/or FRENCH Language Media Consumption Habits

We would like to know more about your consumption of **ENGLISH and/or FRENCH language** media.

1. Do you subscribe to cable, satellite, or Internet/online/web TV?

- a. ☐ Yes
b. ☐ No
c. ☐ I am planning to

2. Please indicate the types of English and/or French language media that you use as well as the average number of hours that you spend using the media. In the space provided please also specify, as appropriate, the most common sites, stations, channels, programs, and/or publications that you use.

- a. ☐ Internet Number of Hours per week? ()

Most common websites visited: _____

- b. ☐ Radio Number of Hours per week? ()

Most common stations listened to: _____

- c. ☐ Internet/online/web Radio/Pod cast Number of Hours per week?()

Most common programs listened to: _____

- d. ☐ Television Number of Hours per week? ()

Most common channels watched: _____

- e. ☐ Internet/online/web Television: Number of Hours per week? ()

Most Common programs watched: _____

- f. ☐ Newspapers Number of Hours per week? ()

Most common publications read: _____

- g. ☐ Internet/online/web Newspaper Number of Hours per week? ()

Most common publications read: _____

h. ☐ Others – Please specify: _____

i. ☐ No Usage

3. Please indicate which of the following types of English and/or French Language programming that you consume? Please also indicate the average number of hours that you spend using each type of media. In the space provided please also specify, as appropriate, the most common programs, and/or publications that you use.

a. ☐ Entertainment Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

b. ☐ International News Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

c. ☐ Canadian News Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

d. ☐ Local News Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

e. ☐ Weather Reports Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

f. ☐ Economic and Political Shows Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

g. ☐ Children's Programs Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

h. ☐ Movies and Sitcoms Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

i. ☐ Cultural Shows Number of Hours per week? ()

Please specify: _____

- j. ☐ Commercials Number of Hours per week? ()
- Please specify: _____
- k. ☐ Religious Programs Number of Hours per week? ()
- Please specify: _____
- l. ☐ Other(s) Number of Hours per week? ()
- Please specify: _____
- m. ☐ Not applicable

4. In English and/or French language Media, do you feel represented?
- a. ☐ Completely
- b. ☐ Just enough
- c. ☐ Not sure
- d. ☐ A little
- e. ☐ Not at all

Part E: Multicultural Media and Civic Engagement

1. Please read the following statement and check all that apply. Chinese Language media help me to keep up to date with:
- | | |
|--|---|
| a. ☐ News in my country of origin | n. ☐ Culture and/or entertainment in my local/national ethno-cultural community |
| b. ☐ Culture and/entertainment in my country of origin | o. ☐ Politics in my local/national ethno-cultural community |
| c. ☐ Politics in my country of origin | p. ☐ Economic trends in my local/national ethno-cultural community |
| d. ☐ Economic trends in my country of origin | q. ☐ Community events in my local/national ethno-cultural community |
| e. ☐ News in Canada | r. ☐ Community associations and/or organizations in my local/national ethno-cultural community |
| f. ☐ News in Ottawa | s. ☐ Services in my local/national ethno-cultural community |
| g. ☐ Culture and/or entertainment in Canada | |
| h. ☐ Culture and/or entertainment in Ottawa | |
| i. ☐ Politics in Canada | |
| j. ☐ Politics in Ottawa | |
| k. ☐ Economic trends in Canada | |
| l. ☐ Economic trends in Ottawa | |
| m. ☐ News in my local/national ethno-cultural community | |

2. Please read the following statement and check all that apply, and specify the source. If I wish to know more about City of Ottawa services, I:

- a. ☐ Read a local daily newspaper

Please specify: _____

- b. ☐ Read a local neighbourhood newspaper

Please specify: _____

- c. ☐ Read Chinese language newspapers

Please specify: _____

- d. ☐ Listen to local radio station

Please specify: _____

- e. ☐ Watch local TV station

Please specify: _____

- f. ☐ Visit a City of Ottawa service centre and/or community centre

Please specify: _____

- g. ☐ Visit the City of Ottawa website

- h. ☐ Other

Please specify: _____



Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative

Content Analysis Coding Protocol

Protocol Development

- The OMMI Content Analysis Protocol (2014) was partially adapted from the protocol used by the Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Media in BC report (Murray, Yu, & Ahadi, 2007).
- The protocol was refined and intercoder reliability was established through a series of pilot tests.

Section A: Bird's Eye View of the Issue

- To be completed once per issue, when possible
1. **Publication and Issue ID:** (Community abbreviation/Publication Name Abbreviation/Issue #) (Issue #: each issue of the publication will be assigned a number.) Ex.: CC/ET/1
 2. **Name of the Publication and Abbreviation:** Ex. Eco Latino, EC
 3. **Community Abbreviation:** Chinese Community = CC (or) Spanish Speaking Latin American Community = LA (or) Somali Community = SC (or) South Asian Community = SA
 4. **Types of Publication:** print (or) website
 5. **Date of the Issue:** Ex. Tuesday, October 1, 2013
 6. **Number of non-advertisement items in the issue (articles, editorial pieces, letters to the editor, opinion pieces, etc.):**
 7. **Number of photographs in the issue:**
 8. **Number of advertisements in the issue:**
 9. **Advertisement/Non-advertisement content ratio:** (% of space covered by adds)
 1. 0% (No advertising)
 2. 0-10%
 3. 10-50%
 4. 50-90%
 5. 90-100%

Section B: Advertisement Unit Coding

- To be completed for each advertisement unit within the issue.
- Note that only paid advertisements, which usually appear in boxes, should be included in this section.

1. Publication and Issue ID: (Community abbreviation/Publication Name Abbreviation/Issue number)
(Issue number: each issue of the publication will be assigned a number.) Ex.: CC/ET/1

2. Coder ID (Initials of the Coder): Ex. AC = April Carrière

3. Item ID (Community/Publication Name Abbreviation/Issue #/Unit #) (Each item in an issue will be assigned a number): Ex. LA/EC/1/20

4. Positioning of the Ad:

- | | |
|----------|--------------|
| 1. Cover | 2. Non-cover |
|----------|--------------|

5. Section Heading Under which the Ad Appears:

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1. Arts | 7. News (World) |
| 2. Business (Including:
Investing/Economy/Employment) | 8. Opinion |
| 3. Health and Wellness | 9. Science and Technology |
| 4. Life (Including: Fashion, Home Decor) | 10. Sports |
| 5. News (Canadian) | 11. Travel |
| 6. News (Local) | 12. Other (please specify): |
| | 13. Non-applicable/Not clear |

6. Advertisement source

- | | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1. In-group | 3. Mixed |
| 2. General | 4. Not clear |

7. Advertisement Language

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 1. English/French | 3. Mixed |
| 2. Chinese, Spanish, Somali, South Asian
Language | |

8. Geographical target of advertisement

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Local (Ottawa/National Capital Region) | 5. International but not country/region of
origin |
| 2. Provincial (Ontario) | |
| 3. Federal (Canada) | 6. None/all |
| 4. Country/Region of origin | |

9. Ad type/content

1. Accounting
2. Arts and crafts
3. Auto (sales and repairs)
4. Banks/financial and investment groups
5. Beauty and fashion
6. Book store
7. Childcare
8. Classified ads (includes yellow pages and community directories)
9. Community association
10. Community event
11. Educational Institution: Primary
12. Educational Institution: Secondary
13. Educational Institution: Tertiary (university, college, vocational training)
14. Educational Institution: Language training
15. Educational Institution: Other (please specify)
16. Employment
17. End of life services (cemetery, funeral home, etc.)
18. Entertainment (Concert, play, performance)
19. Health related services and products (alternative medicine, health supplements, dentists, optometrists)
20. Healthcare services (Hospitals, physicians, physiotherapists, etc.)
21. Insurance
22. Lawyers/Law firm
23. Political party: Conservative
24. Political party: Green
25. Political party: Liberal
26. Political party: NDP
27. Politician: City counsellor
28. Politician: Mayor
29. Politician: MPP: Conservative
30. Politician: MPP: Green
31. Politician: MPP: Liberal
32. Politician: MPP: NDP
33. Politician: MPP: other
34. Politician: MP: Conservative
35. Politician: MP: Green
36. Politician: MP: Liberal
37. Politician: MP: NDP
38. Politician: MP: other
39. Prime Minister
40. Real estate
41. Religion and spirituality
42. Restaurants
43. Sports club
44. Supermarket/grocery store
45. Technology
46. Translations
47. Travel agency
48. Other (please specify):

Section C: Non-Advertisement Unit Coding

- To be completed for each non-advertisement unit within the issue

1. Publication and Issue ID: (Community abbreviation/Publication Name Abbreviation/Issue #) (Issue #: each issue of the publication will be assigned a number.) Ex.: CC/ET/1

2. Coder ID (Initials of the Coder): Ex. AC = April Carrière

3. Item ID (Community/Publication Name Abbreviation/Issue #/Unit #) : Ex. LA/EC/1/20

4. Positioning of the Item:

- | | |
|----------|--------------|
| 1. Cover | 2. Non-cover |
|----------|--------------|

5. Item Language

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. English/French | 3. Mixed |
| 2. Chinese, Spanish, Somali, South Asian Language | |

6. Section Heading Under which the Item Appears:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1. Arts | 7. News (World) |
| 2. Business (Including: Investing/Economy/Employment) | 8. Opinion |
| 3. Health | 9. Science and technology |
| 4. Life (Including: Fashion, Home Decor) | 10. Sports |
| 5. News (Canadian) | 11. Travel |
| 6. News (Local) | 12. Other (please specify): |
| | 13. Non-applicable/Not clear |

7. Photographs:

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| 1. No | 5. Yes – Non-applicable (no people in the photo(s)) |
| 2. Yes – In-group | 6. Yes – Unclear (ethnicity of people in photo(s) not clear) |
| 3. Yes – Out-group | |
| 4. Yes – Mixed | |

8. Genre:

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Analysis/feature | 6. Interview |
| 2. Column | 7. Letter to the editor/Opinion |
| 3. Editorial | 8. Cartoon |
| 4. Hard news | 9. Photo essay |
| 5. Soft news | |

9. Item Word Count:

- | | |
|------------|-------------|
| 1. 0-200 | 5. 800-1000 |
| 2. 200-400 | 6. 1000+ |
| 3. 400-600 | 7. N/A |
| 4. 600-800 | |

10. Item Origin:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Original piece | item has been reprinted from another source) |
| 2. Reprint (please specify source) (only in cases where it is clearly indicated that the | |
| | 3. Not clear/not specified |

11. Geographic Focus:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Local (Ottawa/National Capital Region) | 5. International – Country/Region other than Region/Country of Origin |
| 2. Provincial (Ontario) | 6. Non-applicable |
| 3. Federal (Canada) | 7. Not clear/not specified |
| 4. International – Region/Country of Origin | 8. Mixed |

12. Ethno-cultural Focus: (Is the item about the CC/LA/SC/SA community, or about someone in the CC/LA/SC/SA community, or about the general, and/or out-group, and/or non-group specific Ottawa, Ontario and/or Canada population)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. In-group | community or in cases when the item covers out-group member participation in CC/LA/SC/SA events) |
| 2. General/Out-group/Non-specific | |
| 3. Both (To be used when the item either covers participation of CC/LA/SC/SA community member in the broader | 4. Non-applicable/not clear |

13. Item Topic:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Accidents | 20. Government: Education services/policies/reform |
| 2. Climate change/environment | 21. Government: Welfare and social services/policies/reform |
| 3. Crime | 22. Government: Economic services/policies/reform and trade agreements |
| 4. Economy: Business | 23. Government: Immigration services/policies/reform |
| 5. Economy: Employment | 24. Government: Cultural services/policies/reform |
| 6. Economy: Finance | 25. Government: Other |
| 7. Economy: Investment | 26. Health |
| 8. Economy: Other | 27. Immigration and migration |
| 9. Education: Primary | 28. Natural/Weather related disasters |
| 10. Education: Secondary | 29. Religion and spirituality |
| 11. Education: Tertiary (university, college, vocational training) | 30. Religious holiday |
| 12. Education: Language training | 31. Science and technology |
| 13. Education: Other (please specify) | 32. Social movement mobilization/protest/social activism |
| 14. Electoral/Party politics: Local | 33. Social unrest/riots |
| 15. Electoral/Party politics: Provincial | 34. Sports |
| 16. Electoral/Party politics: Federal | |
| 17. Entertainment (Concert, play, performance, etc.) | |
| 18. Festivals/Events/Holidays | |
| 19. Government: Healthcare services/policies/reform | |

35. Terrorism

36. War

37. Other (please specify):

Note: Sections C.11 to C.14 are about news actors. If the unit does not include news actors (if it is not about a person or group of people), skip to Section C.15.

14. News Actor's Ethnicity:

1. In-group

2. Out-group

3. Both in-group and out-group

4. Not clear/not specified

15. News Actor's Occupation:

1. Public servant

2. Homemaker

3. Politician Canadian Charter of Rights
and Freedoms

4. Professional

5. Religious leader

6. Service industry

7. Skilled trades

8. Student

9. Unemployed

10. Other

11. Not clear/not specified

12. Multiple actors falling in more than one
age category

16. News Actor's Gender:

1. Female

2. Male

3. Female and Male (more than one news
actor)

4. Not clear/not specified

17. News Actor's Age:

1. 1-12

2. 13-18

3. 19-30

4. 31-50

5. 51-64

6. 65+

7. Not clear/not specified

8. Multiple actors falling in more than one
age category

Note: Sections C.15 to C.18 are about news sources. If the unit does not include news sources (if no one was interviewed for the unit), skip to Section C.19

18. News Source's Ethnicity

1. In-group (Chinese/Spanish Speaking Latin
American)

2. Out-group

3. Not clear/not specified

4. Mixed/more than one source

19. News Source's Occupation

1. Community leader

2. Expert/Academic

3. General public

4. Government

5. Spokesperson

6. Student

7. Think tank

8. Other

9. Not clear/not specified

10. More than one source

20. News Source's Gender

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Female | 4. Not clear/not specified |
| 2. Male | 5. Multiple sources |
| 3. Female and Male (more than one news source) | |

21. News Source's Age

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1. 1-12 | 6. 65+ |
| 2. 13-18 | 7. Not clear/not specified |
| 3. 19-30 | 8. Multiple sources falling in more than one age category |
| 4. 31-50 | |
| 5. 51-64 | |

Note: Sections C.19 to C.22 are about item writers. If the unit does not identify an item writer, skip to Section D.

22. Item Writer's Ethnicity

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. In-group (Chinese/Spanish Speaking Latin American) | 2. Out-group |
| | 3. Not clear/not specified |

23. Item Writer's Geographical location

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Canada | 3. Other |
| 2. Region/country of origin | 4. Not clear/not specified |

24. Item Writer's Gender

- | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|
| 1. Female | 3. Not clear/not specified |
| 2. Male | |

25. Item Writer's Age

1. 1-12
2. 13-18
3. 19-30
4. 31-50
5. 51-64
6. 65+
7. Not clear/not specified

Appendix 5 – Television Content Analysis Coding Protocol

TV Content Analysis Coding Sheet

Protocol Development

- The OMMI Content Analysis Protocol (2014) was partially adapted from the protocol used by the Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Media in BC report (Murray, Yu, & Ahadi, 2007).
- The protocol was refined and intercoder reliability was established through a series of pilot tests.

Section A: Bird's Eye View of the Issue

- To be completed once per issue, when possible

10. Program and Episode ID: Ex.: SC/IT/1

11. Name of the Program and Abbreviation: Ex.

Integration TV: IT

12. Community Abbreviation: Somali Community = SC

13. Types of Program: Satellite, Cable, Online

14. Date of the Issue: Ex. March 1, 2014

15. Number of segments in the episode: (one topic/interview = one segment)

16. Number of advertisements in the issue:

Section B: Advertisement Coding

- To be completed for each advertisement unit in the episode.

10.Publication and Issue ID: Ex.: CC/ET/1

11.Coder ID: Ex. AC = April Carrière

12.Ad ID: Ex. SC/IT/1/1

13.Advertisement source

5. In-group
6. General
7. Mixed
8. Not clear

14.Advertisment Language

4. English/French
5. Chinese, Spanish, Somali, South Asian Language
6. Mixed

15. Geographical target of advertisement

7. Local (Ottawa/National Capital Region)
8. Provincial (Ontario)
9. Federal (Canada)
10. Country/Region of origin
11. International but not country/region of origin
12. None/all

16. Ad type/content

49. Accounting
50. Arts and crafts
51. Auto (sales and repairs)
52. Banks/financial and investment groups
53. Beauty and fashion
54. Book store
55. Childcare
56. Classified ads (includes yellow pages and community directories)
57. Community association

58. Community event
59. Educational Institution: Primary
60. Educational Institution: Secondary
61. Educational Institution: Tertiary (university, college, vocational training)
62. Educational Institution: Language training
63. Educational Institution: Other (please specify)
64. Employment
65. End of life services (cemetery, funeral home, etc.)
66. Entertainment (Concert, play, performance)
67. Health related services and products (alternative medicine, health supplements, dentists, optometrists)
68. Healthcare services (Hospitals, physicians, physiotherapists, etc.)
69. Insurance
70. Lawyers/Law firm
71. Political party: Conservative
72. Political party: Green
73. Political party: Liberal
74. Political party: NDP
75. Politician: City counsellor
76. Politician: Mayor
77. Politician: MPP: Conservative
78. Politician: MPP: Green
79. Politician: MPP: Liberal
80. Politician: MPP: NDP
81. Politician: MPP: other
82. Politician: MP: Conservative
83. Politician: MP: Green
84. Politician: MP: Liberal
85. Politician: MP: NDP
86. Politician: MP: other
87. Prime Minister
88. Real estate
89. Religion and spirituality
90. Restaurants
91. Sports club
92. Supermarket/grocery store
93. Technology
94. Translations

- 95. Travel agency
- 96. Other (please specify):

Section C: Segment Coding

- To be completed for each segment in the episode

26. Program and Episode ID: Ex.: SC/IT/1

27. Coder ID Ex. AC = April Carrière

28. Item ID Ex. SC/IT/1/1

29. Segment Language

- 4. English/French
- 5. Chinese, Spanish, Somali, South Asian
Language
- 6. Mixed

30. Genre:

- 10. Analysis/feature
- 11. Hard news
- 12. Soft news
- 13. Interview

31. Segment Length:

- 8. 0-5 min
- 9. 5-10 min
- 10. 10 + min

32. Segment Origin:

- 4. Original piece
- 5. Reprint (please specify source) (only in cases
where it is clearly indicated that the item has
been reprinted from another source)
- 6. Not clear/not specified

33. Geographic Focus:

- 9. Local (Ottawa/National Capital Region)
- 10. Provincial (Ontario)
- 11. Federal (Canada)
- 12. International – Region/Country of Origin
- 13. International – Country/Region other than
Region/Country of Origin

- 14. Non-applicable
- 15. Not clear/not specified
- 16. Mixed

34. Ethno-cultural Focus:

- 5. In-group
- 6. General/Out-group/Non-specific
- 7. Both (To be used when the item either covers participation of CC/LA/SC/SA community member in the broader community or in cases when the item covers out-group member participation in CC/LA/SC/SA events)
- 8. Non-applicable/not clear

35. Segment Topic:

- 38. Accidents
- 39. Climate change/environment
- 40. Crime
- 41. Economy: Business
- 42. Economy: Employment
- 43. Economy: Finance
- 44. Economy: Investment
- 45. Economy: Other
- 46. Education: Primary
- 47. Education: Secondary
- 48. Education: Tertiary (university, college, vocational training)
- 49. Education: Language training
- 50. Education: Other (please specify)
- 51. Electoral/Party politics: Local
- 52. Electoral/Party politics: Provincial
- 53. Electoral/Party politics: Federal
- 54. Entertainment (Concert, play, performance, etc.)
- 55. Festivals/Events/Holidays
- 56. Government: Healthcare services/policies/reform
- 57. Government: Education services/policies/reform
- 58. Government: Welfare and social services/policies/reform

59. Government: Economic services/policies/reform and trade agreements
60. Government: Immigration services/policies/reform
61. Government: Cultural services/policies/reform
62. Government: Other
63. Health
64. Immigration and migration
65. Natural/Weather related disasters
66. Religion and spirituality
67. Religious holiday
68. Science and technology
69. Social movement mobilization/protest/social activism
70. Social unrest/riots
71. Sports
72. Terrorism
73. War
74. Other (please specify):

Note: Sections C.11 to C.14 are about news actors. If the segment does not include news actors (if it is not about a person or group of people), skip to Section C.15.

36. News Actor's Ethnicity:

5. In-group
6. Out-group
7. Both in-group and out-group
8. Not clear/not specified

37. News Actor's Occupation:

13. Public servant
14. Homemaker
15. Politician Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms
16. Professional
17. Religious leader
18. Service industry
19. Skilled trades
20. Student

- 21. Unemployed
- 22. Other
- 23. Not clear/not specified
- 24. Multiple actors falling in more than one age category

38. News Actor's Gender:

- 5. Female
- 6. Male
- 7. Female and Male (more than one news actor)
- 8. Not clear/not specified

39. News Actor's Age:

- 9. 1-12
- 10. 13-18
- 11. 19-30
- 12. 31-50
- 13. 51-64
- 14. 65+
- 15. Not clear/not specified
- 16. Multiple actors falling in more than one age category

Note: Sections C.15 to C.18 are about news sources. If the segment does not include news sources (if no one was interviewed for the unit), skip to Section C.19

40. News Source's Ethnicity

- 5. In-group (Chinese/Spanish Speaking Latin American)
- 6. Out-group
- 7. Not clear/not specified
- 8. Mixed/more than one source

41. News Source's Occupation

- 11. Community leader
- 12. Expert/Academic
- 13. General public
- 14. Government
- 15. Spokesperson
- 16. Student
- 17. Think tank

- 18. Other
- 19. Not clear/not specified
- 20. More than one source

42. News Source's Gender

- 6. Female
- 7. Male
- 8. Female and Male (more than one news source)
- 9. Not clear/not specified
- 10. Multiple sources

43. News Source's Age

- 9. 1-12
- 10. 13-18
- 11. 19-30
- 12. 31-50
- 13. 51-64
- 14. 65+
- 15. Not clear/not specified
- 16. Multiple sources falling in more than one age category

**Note: Sections C.19 to C.22 are about segment host.
If the segment does not have a host, skip section.**

44. Host's Ethnicity

- 4. In-group (Chinese/Spanish Speaking Latin American)
- 5. Out-group
- 6. Not clear/not specified

45. Host's Geographical location

- 5. Canada
- 6. Region/country of origin
- 7. Other
- 8. Not clear/not specified

46. Host's Gender

- 4. Female
- 5. Male
- 6. Not clear/not specified

47. Host's Age

- 8. 1-12
- 9. 13-18
- 10. 19-30
- 11. 31-50
- 12. 51-64
- 13. 65+
- 14. Not clear/not specified

Appendix 6 – OMMI List of Operational Terms



Ottawa Multicultural Media Initiative

List of Operational Definitions

Accidents: Items reporting on accidents, including personal injuries, car accidents, and industrial accidents. For instances of environmental disasters involving air, land, and water pollution caused by industrial activity, code as 'climate change/environment'.

Advertisement language: The language(s) used in the advertisement. (i.e. Chinese, English, French, Somali, Spanish, or any of the South Asian languages).

Advertisement source: The provenance of the advertisement. For the purposes of the OMMI advertisements can be said to advertisement a good, service, etc., associated with one of the four ethno-cultural communities included in the study, to be from the general population, or to be mixed. For example, an advertisement for a Latin American relator working for Remax realty would be a mixed source.

Advertisement type/content: Refers to the general category of good, service, etc. being advertised. For example, a hair salon advertisement would fall under the Beauty and fashion category.

Advertisement/Non-advertisement content ratio: The percentage of the surface area of the issue that is covered by advertisement relative to the total surface of the issue.

Advertisements: Paid announcements for goods, services, businesses, entertainment, etc. Please note that for the purposes of the OMMI content analysis, only obvious paid advertisements should be counted; analysis and features, columns, editorials, hard news, soft news, interviews, letters to the editor and opinion pieces, cartoons, and photo essays, which appear to be promoting a good or service are not to be counted as advertisements.

Arts and crafts: Material arts and crafts for sale. This can include but is not limited to paintings, artisanal carpets, artisanal jewellery, and sculptures.

Beauty and fashion: All businesses related to beauty and fashion, including but not limited to hair salons, nail salons, clothing stores, and jewellery stores.

Classified advertisements: Advertisements for personal offers or requests for work, jobs, apartments. The defining characteristics are that they are generally placed by individuals seeking to sell or to buy a single product or service, are usually sold by character or line space, and are generally less professional in appearance and less expensive than more formal advertisement.

Climate change/environment: Items reporting of focusing on climate change, and/or environment related stories. Including items relating to alternative sources of energy, environmental disasters involving air, land, and water pollution caused by industrial activity, and extreme weather related items focusing on climate change.

Coder ID: Consists of the first and last name initials of the coder. In the even that two coders have the same initials, a number will be added to the end of the coder ID. For example, Jane Doe = JD1, and John Doe = JD2.

Coder: The person coding a given publication issue.

Community association: An organization of people who work and organize together for the benefit of a given population or neighbourhood. In the context of the OMMI these are most likely to refer to ethno-cultural associations.

Community event: Event organized by a community or community association.

Crime: Items reporting or focusing on crimes, criminals, and criminal activity.

Economy – Business: Items reporting or focusing on the business sector.

Economy – Employment: Items reporting or focusing on employment and unemployment.

Economy – Finance: Items focusing on the management of monetary resources in the field of banking.

Economy – Investment: Items focusing on the investing of capital in order to turn a profit.

Economy – Other: Any item focusing on the economy which does not fall in the business, employment, finance, or investment categories.

Education (institution) – other: May include any and all educational institutions that do not fall in the primary, secondary, tertiary, and language training sections. For example, driving training programs.

Educational (institution) – Language training: Publicly funded and private language schools offering English as a second language and French as a second language courses and training.

Educational (institution) – Primary: Public and private grade schools offering education for grades ranging from pre-kindergarten to grade 8.

Educational (institution) – Secondary: Public and private high schools and high school equivalency institutions.

Educational (institution) – Tertiary: Universities, colleges, and institution offering vocational training.

Electoral/Party politics – Federal: Relating to the electoral process, to the platforms and strategies of political parties and individuals seeking to be elected to the provincial government.

Electoral/Party politics – Local: Relating to the electoral process, and to the platforms and strategies of individual seeking to be elected to the municipal government.

Electoral/Party politics – Provincial: Relating to the electoral process, to the platforms and strategies of political parties and individuals seeking to be elected to the provincial government.

End of life services: Include all goods and services associated with passing away, such as funeral home services and the purchase of cemetery space, for example.

Entertainment: Includes concerts, plays, performances and other such activities for which tickets must be purchased in order to attend. Should not be used for community planned and funded events, festivals, or holidays.

Ethno-cultural focus: Refers to the ethno-cultural focus of the item. The item may be about one of the four ethno-cultural communities under study, or about a member or a group of members of one of these communities, or about the country/region of origin of one of the communities, in which case the focus is said to be in-group. Conversely, the item may have a general, out-group, or non-group specific focus, in which case it is said to be out-group. The focus can be on both the ethno-cultural community and the broader community; this would include cases of community members participating in broader community activities, and cases where non-community members participate in community activities.

Festivals/Events/Holidays: Occasions of celebration and festivities. Includes publicly funded festivities and community organized festive events and celebrations. Religious holidays should be coded as ‘religious holidays’.

Geographical focus of non-advertisement items: Refers to the geographic area of interest in the item.

Geographical target of the advertisement: The location of the good, service, etc., being advertisement.

Government - Cultural services/policies/reform: Relates to the governance and administration of Canada’s cultural policies, including the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, the Official Languages

Act, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, as well as provincial and municipal level policies and legislation.

Government - Economic services/policies/reform and trade agreements: Relates to the governance and administration of the economy, to economic reform, and to the negotiation and adoption of international trade agreements.

Government - Education services/policies/reform: Relates to the governance, administration, and funding primary, secondary, and tertiary education, the education system and its employees.

Government - Healthcare services/policies/reform: Relates to the governance, administration, and funding of healthcare services, and the healthcare system and its employees.

Government - Immigration services/policies/reform: Relates to the governance and administration of immigration, to reform in immigration policies, and to the funding of immigration and settlement services.

Government – Other: Any item relating to municipal, provincial, and/or federal government that does not fall under the healthcare, education, welfare and social services, economy, immigration, and/or culture categories.

Government - Welfare and social services/policies/reform: Relates to the governance, administration, and funding of welfare and social services.

Governmental official: An official who speaks on the government at the municipal, provincial, national and/or international levels

Health care services: Designates all publicly funded health care services.

Health related services and products: Includes all non-publicly funded healthcare products and services, such as alternative medicine, dentists, optometrists, health supplements, etc.

Immigration and migration: Items focusing on non-policy oriented immigration and migration stories.

Issue number: Refers to the issue number assigned to the issue by the OMMI for the purpose of completing content analysis, and not to a number assigned by the media producer.

Item ID: Refers to the identification given to an item under study by the OMMI, and its associated publication and issue ID. These will consist of the community abbreviation (CC for Chinese Community; LA for Spanish Speaking Latin American Community; SC for Somali Community; SA for South Asian Community), followed by the abbreviation of the publication's name (i.e. EC for Eco Latino), followed by the assigned issue number, followed by the number given to the item. For example, the first item of the first issues of Eco Latino under study will have the following Item ID: LA/EL/1/1.

Item language: The language in which the item is written (i.e. Chinese, English, French, Somali, Spanish, or any of the South Asian languages).

Item origin: Refers to the origin of the item, whether it is an original item produced to be printed in the publication, or a re-printed item from another publication.

Item positioning: The location of the item in the issue. There are two options, on the cover, and not on the cover.

Item: A single advertisement or non-advertisement piece in a publication issue.

Natural/Weather related disasters: Items relating to natural disasters such as earthquakes, and weather related disasters such as tornadoes, hurricanes, and floods. Any item discussing these events as being related to climate change or to the environmental impact of industrial practices should be coded as 'climate change/environment'.

Non-advertisement items: All items in a publication except advertisements, and photos. These include analysis and features, columns, editorials, hard news, soft news, interviews, letters to the editor and opinion pieces, cartoons, and photo essays.

Politician: Includes both elected official who speaks on behalf of constituents, as well as candidates seeking election.

Publication and Issue ID: Refers to the identification given to the publication and issue under study by the OMMI. These will consist of the community abbreviation (CC for Chinese Community; LA for Spanish Speaking Latin American Community; SC for Somali Community; SA for South Asian Community), followed by the abbreviation of the publication's name (i.e. EC for Eco Latino), followed by the assigned issue number. For example, the first issue of Eco Latino under study will have the following publication and Issue ID: LA/EL/1.

Publication issue: A single print or online issue of a given publication.

Publication: Print or online newspapers and magazines. Note that only navigable websites should be designated as 'online'. Publications that are available in PDF or other reader formats, but are not navigable, should be listed as 'print'.

Religion and spirituality: Any item related to religion, religious practice, religious belief, spirituality, spiritual practice, and spiritual beliefs, excluding religious holidays which should be coded as 'religious holiday'.

Religious holiday: A holiday linked to a faith and/or religion that may or may not be designated by governments, religious institutions, other groups or organizations, or communities.

Science and technology: Any item related to scientific research, scientific findings, scientific theory, technological research, technological development, technological innovation and progress, etc.

Section heading: Some newspapers are thematically by section, such as arts, business, news, sports, etc. Section heading refers to the thematic section under which an item appears.

Social movement mobilization/protest/social activism: Any item related to social movements and their activities, such as mobilization, protest, and activism.

Social unrest/riots: Any item related to turbulent disturbances involving a large number of people, such as sports riots, and out of control parties, for example.

Sports: Any item related to any kind of sport, sport activity, athlete, sport fans, sport equipment, etc.

Technology: Includes adds for all technology related goods and services, such as computer, telephone, cell phone, smartphone, satellite, internet, cable, products, sales, repairs, and providers.

Terrorism: Any item related to terrorist activity, terrorist threats, terrorist organizations, and terrorist ideology, including counter-terrorist efforts, etc.

War: Any item related to armed conflict, war or to the potential threat of war, international or civil, past, present, and/or future.

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