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**FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND  
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**Ethnic Broadcasting and Ethnic Relations:  
A Comparative Study Between Canada and China**

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Ethnic Broadcasting and Ethnic  
Relations:  
A Comparative Study between Canada  
and China

**Wenfei Li**

Thesis submitted to the  
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies  
In partial fulfillment of the requirements  
For the MA degree in Communication

Department of Communication  
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©Wenfei Li, Ottawa, Canada, 2010



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Direction du  
Patrimoine de l'édition

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file* *Votre référence*  
ISBN: 978-0-494-65985-4  
*Our file* *Notre référence*  
ISBN: 978-0-494-65985-4

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## Abstract

Ethnic broadcasting is a unique phenomenon of multiethnic countries that could reflect and influence a country's ethnic relations. This study examines the ethnic broadcasting policies and practices in Canada and China, to determine existing issues, and reflect on the countries' ethnic relations and ethnic policies. This thesis analyzes the ethnic broadcasting operations in the two countries comparatively through interpreting with critical lenses the data collected from government and university databases. This analysis is especially interested in the relationship between ethnic relations and the broadcasting media, between ethnic policies and broadcasting policies, and between ethnic politics and ethnic broadcasting content. Several issues in the two countries' ethnic policies and ethnic broadcasting operations are revealed through the comparative analysis, particularly the insufficiency of public broadcasting presence and governmental involvement in Canadian ethnic broadcasting, and the politicization of ethnic relations and ethnic broadcasting operations in China.

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## Chapter I. Introduction

This section introduces the issue in hand, explains the comparative analysis approach taken in the study, and outlines the structure of the thesis.

### *Ethnic relations, ethnic broadcasting, and policies.*

The topic of the study surrounds three elements: ethnic relations, ethnic broadcasting, and governmental policies. Ethnic relations, the power relations between ethnic groups, are ever-challenging issues for multiethnic nations like Canada and China. Especially with the intensification of globalization, the appropriate management of ethnic relations is increasingly important. In Canada, continuous immigration has made the country more and more multiethnic; its ethnic minority population demands more attention and accommodation due to its growing significance. Despite the initiation and implementation of the innovative multiculturalism policy, Canada is still facing many issues in implementing the policy and advancing the theories of multiculturalism in accordance with the changing society (Fleras & Elliott, 2002). As for China, even with its 2000 years history of governing a multiethnic population, its current governance of ethnic minorities has been globally criticized, for instance the criticisms on China's governance in Tibet in global media. While once domestic ethnic relations were considered only as domestic affairs in China, they have now entered the international forum. Harmonizing national ethnic relations is today a mutual agenda of many multiethnic countries like Canada and China. All multiracial and multiethnic nations are confronted with the important issues of how to handle ethnic relations, and the role the government should play in guiding the directions of ethnic relations (Ma, 2007, p.199).

This study explores the relationship of *ethnic media* (i.e. media services directed at ethnic minority audiences), more specifically *ethnic broadcasting*, with the governmental management of domestic ethnic relations. The mass media could influence people's perceptions of social issues, and its practices are strongly related to the power relations of a society and affected by its social environment. Therefore, the mass media can be both an effective communication tool in managing ethnic relations and a tangible medium in examining the ethnic relations of a nation. Ethnic media, which deals especially with ethnic relations, can most directly reflect the implementation of a nation's ethnic policies in the media sector. From the point of view of governmental management of ethnic relations, ethnic broadcasting is a useful medium in harmonizing ethnic relations and promoting national cohesion. Equally important to these ethnic relations goals in a multiethnic country is the government's duty to ensure the equal communication rights of ethnic minorities, including the minorities' control of their own broadcasting outlets, and sufficient broadcasting services that provide for their distinctive needs.

Since the main perspective of the study is the government's role in ethnic relations, ethnic broadcasting is examined chiefly from the aspect of related governmental policies and operations, using archival governmental documents. The actual practices and effects of ethnic broadcasting are also presented through secondary data from various sources, in order to analyze the implementation and effects of the policies. In addition, analyses on ethnic relations in the two countries are based on scholarly literature on the subject.

Essentially, the thesis looks into how the domestic ethnic relations of a country affect the country's ethnic broadcasting operation and how the practices of ethnic broadcasting in return could influence ethnic relations, how ethnic policies outline the policies on ethnic

broadcasting and in turn supported through ethnic broadcasting practices, and finally, how the actual practices and effects of ethnic broadcasting deviate from its policy expectations. In sum, this is an analysis of the policies and practices of ethnic broadcasting in relation to domestic ethnic relations, requiring the reciprocal analyses of ethnic relations and ethnic broadcasting, and of ethnic policies and ethnic broadcasting policies.

For the purpose of this study, ethnic broadcasting is defined as radio and television services created by and/or directed at ethnic minorities. Other ethnic related programming on national cohesion targeted at general audiences that is included in the scope of the analysis is loosely termed as ethnic or multicultural programming. Ethnic policies are defined governmental policies for managing ethnic relations. In Canada, ethnic policies encompass aboriginal policies, immigration policies, and the Multiculturalism policy. In China, ethnic policies is clearly set out in the State Council's White Paper on ethnic policies, including laws regarding ethnic relations in the Constitution, the regional autonomy laws, and directives towards other aspects of ethnic minorities' lives.

*Comparative analysis between Canada and China.*

The topic is studied comparatively between two multiethnic countries, Canada and China. Canada and China have very different population characteristics and issues in their ethnic relations. Yet, the common need for better strategies in dealing with a multiethnic population transcends their many differences. Canada, due to its initiation and implementation of an exemplary multiculturalism policy, has often been the subject of comparison when examining other countries' ethnic relations. With the principles of diversity, respect, equity and tolerance, the multiculturalism policy has generated a series of appraised

cultural and institutional policies in Canada, and has become today's cultural discourse in nation building. At the same time, despite being the pioneer, Canada's multiculturalism policy has certainly not reached perfection. The theories and policies of multiculturalism have adjusted constantly due to the changing Canadian society (Fleras & Elliott, 2002, chap.3).

In contrast to Canada, ethnic relations in modern China have not been peaceful. Among the 55 state-recognized ethnic minority groups, a few are especially influential in claiming rights or sovereignty, namely the Tibetan, Mongolian, Hui, and Uygur. As recent as March 14<sup>th</sup>, 2008, the outbreak in Tibet resulted in dozens of deaths, tens of millions of dollars of economic damage, and global concerns. China's national ethnic relations in addition to being essential in maintaining national stability have also become a significant issue in the country's foreign affairs (Mackerras, 2003; Zhu & Blachford, 2005). By understanding China's issues in ethnic relations, we might be able to shed light on Canada's own multiculturalism.

China is also vastly different from Canada in history, ideology, political system, economic system and development level, media system, and ethnic governance approach. Comparative analyses of these two contrasting countries can present the different possibilities in dealing with similar problems and their outcomes, and render alternative perspectives and new insights on the topic. However, great contrasts may also raise the concern of whether a comparative analysis between the two countries can be established. An important difference between the two is the democratic nature of Canadian governance versus the authoritarian, substantively totalitarian regime in China, indicating two completely different systems of how the government works. It would be therefore problematic to directly

compare the policy statements and reports in a country that is relatively open and promotes free speech, to those in a country constantly criticized for its propaganda and repression, or to compare the ethnic broadcasting practices in the liberal media environment of Canada, to those in the highly controlled media system of China.

The challenge of the comparative analysis then is to see through the many differences between the two countries and identify the common issues. Some primary analyses in the early stage of the study suggested that there are common traits in the ethnic policies of these two vastly different countries, which would be further demonstrated in this thesis. Can such similarities in differences observed in ethnic policies also be found in the practices and policies of ethnic broadcasting? Or alternatively, can the similarities or differences found in the theoretical analyses of the two countries' ethnic relations be observed in the policies and practices of ethnic broadcasting? And what are the implications of these findings? Finding the common traits and debates while recognizing the differences in the two multiethnic countries' ethnic broadcasting operations would help in identifying the issues and adjusting the policies and practices.

In order to surpass the significant differences that complicate the comparative analysis, the study does not rely solely on direct comparisons of single elements of an ethnic broadcasting system, but also the integrative analyses of ethnic broadcasting and ethnic relations in the two respective countries' own contexts. Conclusions of the comparative analysis are drawn from contexts of the two countries' particular characteristics, and the differences between the two countries that affect the comparison are addressed when necessary.

Following this introduction, the literature review will outline the general inquiries of the thesis. Then, the methodology section will address the methods used in the collection of data and the analytical methods used in the comparative analysis. The subsequent two sections will discuss the literature on ethnic broadcasting in Canada and China respectively, first introducing the background of ethnic minorities and the evolvement of ethnic broadcasting in the two countries, then reviewing the policies and practices in their ethnic broadcasting operations. The analysis section will then analyze the data comparatively. First, the ethnic policies of the two countries will be analyzed to lay a foundation for the discussion on ethnic broadcasting operations. Then, ethnic broadcasting of the two countries will be analyzed comparatively, systemized by dividing the analysis into the analysis of individual elements of an ethnic broadcasting system. In the discussion section, the analysis will be recapitulated surrounding the central research questions. Finally, the conclusion will provide a summary of the findings, discuss the implications of the study, address issues unresolved in the study, and propose further complementary studies.

## Chapter II. Literature Review

This section starts with a review of past studies on the relationship of ethnic minorities and the mass media, pinpointing a concept derived from this relationship: ethnic media, and ethnic broadcasting in particular. The review then turns to one aspect of the topic the study is most interested in: the politics, more specifically the ethnic politics, behind the operations of ethnic broadcasting. Finally, the central research questions of the study are raised.

### *Ethnic minorities and the media.*

The relation of ethnic minorities and the media is a dynamic field of study in North America (Cormack, 2007; Cottle, 2000; Fleras & Elliott, 2002, Fleras & Kunz, 2001; Karim, 2003; Karim & Samson, 1990, chap.6). There are several major streams in this area. The most thoroughly studied is the representation of ethnic minorities in mainstream mass media, mainly the stereotyping, misrepresentation, and underrepresentation of ethnic minorities, with a large body of research contributing to it (Fleras & Elliott, 2002, chap.6; Fleras & Kunz, 2001; Karim & Samson, 1990; Nancoo & Nancoo, 1997, part II). Fleras and Kunz's book *Media and Minorities: Representing Diversity in Multicultural Canada* (2001) specifically discusses the issue in Canadian context. Karim and Sansom (1990) documented hundreds of related studies in Canada. Scholars found that a form of "new racism" is prevalent in the mass media today. Through the "discursive exclusion" (Karim, 1993) of ethnic minorities and the "insider," "outsider" narrative in the mass media, the social stratification of ethnicity and the power relations between dominant and minority ethnic groups are manifested.

From this traditional approach in examining ethnic minorities and the media, the

inquiries gradually extended to a much wider spectrum. Scholars began to recognize that ethnic minorities are not mere passive receivers of the media; instead, the mass media as the public sphere has become a proactive apparatus in ethnic minority empowerment and identity building. As the mainstream media has not been satisfactory in representing and fulfilling the needs of ethnic minorities, it resulted in the creation of other specialized media institutions that operate alongside the mainstream media – the ethnic media. Interests in the influence of media on ethnic minorities, their identities, and ethnic relations have brought in perspectives such as media effects and diasporic studies. For the public in general, the mass media has effects, to an extent, on the audiences' perceptions of ethnic minorities and ethnic relations. For ethnic minorities, ethnic media contributes both to their acculturation to the mainstream society, and to ethnic identity building and maintenance (Riggins, 1992). For diasporas displaced from their cultures of origin, a sense of “home and belonging” can be constructed through the imagined communities of ethnic media (Bailey, Georgiou, & Harindranath, 2007).

Empirical studies on media production and journalism practices have substantially contributed to the understanding and theorization of ethnic minorities and the media (Cottle, 2000, part II). The main issues of inquiry include ethnic media's availability and its role as an alternative voice in media diversity; media employment equity and the representation of ethnic minorities among the mainstream media workforce; and the political (e.g. policy), economic (e.g. finance), and technological (e.g. new technologies) environments that influence journalism practices concerning ethnic issues.

#### *Defining ethnic media.*

This study specifically focuses on ethnic media in the study of ethnic minorities and the media. The ethnic media involves media activities that are nonmainstream, defined by ethnicity or ethnic culture, and operated by and/or for ethnic minority members of a society. Media activities do not merely include media products and contents, but also the media infrastructures, resources, journalism, and so forth that are essential in media development. Ethnic media gives its attention specifically to the ethnic minority populations and provide the minorities a voice of their own. Ethnic media can unite diverse populations of the ethnic language community, provide a channel for discussion and conflict resolution, and produce a sense of identity as an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983).

The concept of ethnic media can be interpreted or defined differently depending on the context or the purpose. As the focus of this study is on ethnic broadcasting in relation to ethnic relations, and the essence that defines this specialized media is its inherent ethnic identity and culture, the specific terms *ethnic media* and *ethnic broadcasting* are used in this study as the preferred terms to refer to ethnic minority media and broadcasting. As ethnic media takes on many different forms, many other terms with slightly different embodiments or connotations are also commonly used in the field to refer to media practices related to ethnic media. This section summarizes the popular forms and concepts of ethnic media.

From the point of view of ethnic origin, ethnic media can be differed as indigenous media or migrant media. Indigenous media refers to ethnic minority media that are created by and/or catered to the indigenous communities of a country. In Hourigan’s book on indigenous language broadcasting in Europe (2003), the term refers to the native minority language broadcasts such as Welsh and Scottish. In Canada, indigenous people are the three officially recognized indigenous peoples. As the indigenous peoples are usually referred to as

the Aboriginals and sometimes the Natives in Canada, indigenous media in Canada is commonly called aboriginal or native media. Migrant media, or *diasporic media* (Bailey, Georgiou, & Harindranath, 2007; Karim, 2003), is a product of contemporary mass transnational migration. It serves the needs of displaced ethnic groups in forming ethnic communities in the receiving country, and in maintaining ties to their ethnic origins. Migrant media is characterized by its strong transnational ties to the country of origin through culture, language, political and social concerns, or communication technologies such as the satellite television. Migrant media content can be produced in the host country by local ethnic communities or in the home country and disseminated through transnational media networks. Migrant media can provide both information of the home country that is periphery in the host country's media (Shi, 2005), and information specific to the diasporas' lives, relating their diasporic audiences to their "multilocal" homes (their country of origin and the place they are now residing in; Cheng, 2005).

The growth of ethnic media, especially migrant media, as a facet of globalization is often studied for its role in transnational lives and diasporic cultures (Bailey, Georgiou, & Harindranath, 2007). In Canada, the transnational characteristic of ethnic broadcasting is manifested in the significant importation of programming from the immigrant groups' countries of origin, and the increasingly prevalent use of direct broadcast satellites, which link the everyday lives of diasporas to their native countries. Some prominent examples of transnational ethnic broadcasting in the world today include Zee TV of South Asia and Al-Jazeera of the Arab world. Both have strong regional audience bases and at the same time can reach an extended global audience. Ethnic media is therefore able to create imagined ethnic communities not only nationally, but also worldwide among people of the same

cultural origins. Transnationalism can take on yet another completely different form. As the number of recent immigrant population in China is insignificant in relations to its total population, ethnic media in China are catered to indigenous ethnic minorities. The transnationalism of indigenous ethnic media in China is displayed through the blurred national boundaries between China and its many surrounding nations, where broadcasting transmissions from either side of the border can easily reach audiences of the other nation. This kind of transnational broadcasting is very active because many ethnic groups' indigenous lands cross national borders, and their people though of different nationalities share the same culture and language heritages.

The use of minority or ethnic languages is a major characteristic of ethnic media, which is often given emphasis to in the use of terms like *minority language media* (Cormack & Hourigan, 2007). In Canada, ethnic media are often termed as *third-language media*, next to the two official languages. However, ethnic media does not necessarily equal to ethnic language media, since official languages, common languages, or majority languages are also used in media activities created by and/or catered to ethnic minorities. Though ethnic culture and ethnic language are closely associated, and ethnic minority languages are often used in ethnic media, ethnic language itself is not essential in ethnic media practice but the means of reinforcing the media's cultural identity and influence. It is rather the ethnic content or ethnic identity of the media that define it as an ethnic media.

Finally, ethnic media can come from many different sources, such as the state media, public media, and private media. A prominent source of ethnic media in North America is community-based media produced by ethnic communities. Community ethnic media is most often not for profit, provides participatory two-way communication for its audiences,

operates locally, and reflects local interests and concerns (Fuller, 2007). Local ethnic media first emerged as community media from the attempt of ethnic minority communities of having media outlets of their own. Among the many powerful national and international media institutions that provide ethnic services, ethnic community media's role is still highly significant for being participatory, local oriented, and a direct voice of ethnic minorities.

The most popular ethnic media today includes the three major media: newspaper, broadcasting, and the Internet. The advantages of ethnic broadcasting media in comparison to the two others are the use of music and images that can surpass cultural barriers, the use of oral language that can overcome written language illiteracy, and the strength of television media in popular culture. The broadcasting media also has its disadvantages. First of all, the high requirements in infrastructure, technology, production cost, and intensive labour of the broadcasting media make it much less feasible in local productions such as the community media. Broadcasting is also often the most regulated media, originally because of the limited airwave bandwidths, and now to protect and encourage native services and productions. Ethnic newspaper in contrast does not have these limitations, therefore has a long and active history in North America especially at the local level. Though the Internet also has similar high demands on technology and infrastructure, its freedom in transnational communication has made its role in forming fluid virtual ethnic communities increasingly recognized and scrutinized (Chan, 2005; Melkote & Liu, 2000; Xie, 2005; G. Yang, 2003).

The broadcasting media is chosen as the specific media examined in this study due to several considerations. First of all, in the indigenous media sector of Canada and China, ethnic broadcasting is the most popular among the three major media for three reasons: the underdevelopment of indigenous written languages of some groups and their populations'

low literacy level, the limited access and popularization of the Internet, and the difficulties in physical distribution of print media in remote indigenous regions. Secondly, in comparison to ethnic newspapers, the distribution of ethnic broadcasting is much more transnational, which provides many interesting aspects to examine. Finally, the heavy regulation of the broadcasting media is an advantage for this particular study, as it reveals the state's position in ethnic communication and ethnic relations.

*Ethnic relations, ethnic broadcasting, and policies.*

The beginning of the literature review has shown that the mass media could reflect the ethnic stratification in a society, could be used to exercise social control over ethnic minorities, and could also be used by ethnic minorities for self-empowerment. Many studies on ethnic media have put the focus on ethnic media's relations with ethnic politics (e.g. Bailey, Georgiou, & Harindranath, 2007, part II). Hourigan (2003) demonstrated in the research on social movements for indigenous minority broadcasting in Europe that media, identity, language, and power are tightly intertwined, and that political empowerment is both achievable through the mass media and necessary in developing ethnic media. There are evidently strong ties between the mass media and the ethnic power relations of a society, and this thesis puts its focus specifically on the relations between ethnic broadcasting and ethnic relations.

A basic concept in this study, an ethnic group, is a social construct referring to people who perceive themselves as constituting a distinct community based on common culture, ancestry, language, history, religion, or customs. *Ethnic* is often used, though not accurately, as a short form that refers to ethnic minorities, since the ethnicity of the majorities of a

society is often invisible to themselves. Ethnic relations, or interethnic relations, are the power relations between populations of different ethnicities. There are international ethnic relations and domestic ethnic relations. International conflicts could be ethnicity based – many major international conflicts today are ethnicity related if not ethnicity centered; and as most nations are multiethnic, ethnicity is also highly important in domestic politics and social lives. Domestic ethnic relations mainly involve the stratification and social mobility of ethnic groups (Isajiw, 1999). Major conflicts can arise from accumulated discontents in problematic ethnic relations within a society, such as the Tibetan issue in China and Québec's status in Canada.

While once domestic ethnic relations were considered only as domestic affairs, it has today entered the international forum. In China, global advocacies on human rights and national independence have made it ever more difficult for the Chinese government to maintain its traditional methods of ethnic governance under the scrutiny of Western countries. China's domestic ethnic relations in addition to being essential in maintaining national stability have become a significant issue in the country's foreign affairs (Mackerras, 2003; J. Wang & Wen, 2006; Zhu & Blachford, 2005). In Canada, with significant migrant populations who have complex international ties with their countries of origin, domestic ethnic relations and foreign policies are also inseparable (Carment & Bercuson, 2008; Hill, 2007). Domestic ethnic relations today are no more solely domestic, but have entered a more complex transnational and global environment.

Several studies in Canada have focused specifically on the relationship between Canada's domestic ethnic relations and broadcasting, including a few that pay particular attention to broadcasting *policies* in relation to ethnic relations or ethnic minorities. A

representative of such studies is Thomas's 1992 article "Canadian Broadcasting and Multiculturalism: Attempts to Accommodate Ethnic Minorities," which analyzes the topic from the perspective of broadcasting's role in serving public interests of a multiethnic population and promoting national cohesion. The article focuses on francophone broadcasting, at the same time mentions the role of other ethnic minorities in shaping Canadian broadcasting. Broadcasting policies and divergent underlying cultural, linguistic and ethnic policies of the Canadian and Québec governments are considered in the analysis. In 1998, Roth did a focused study on the interrelationship of Canada's broadcasting policies and the multiculturalism policy, with the understanding that "the placement of ethnicity in state policies which support the broadcasting sector is a significant intervention in working toward the elevation of public consciousness around issues of cultural/racial pluralism." In China, studies on domestic ethnic relations and broadcasting are chiefly from the angle of Chinese state-controlled propaganda maintaining ethnic control and counteracting penetration of foreign broadcasting (Pu, 2001).

These studies, especially the ones in Canada, show that ethnic broadcasting has been recognised by scholars and policy makers not only as a tool in maintaining social control, but also as a right of ethnic minorities in multiethnic nations. As explained in the Communication Rights in the Information Society (CRIS) campaign's 2005 *Assessing Communication Rights: A Handbook*, "rights relating to communication have been central to the concept of universal human rights emerging in the middle of the 20th century, consolidated in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (p.15). These rights are also enshrined in Section 2(b) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of the Constitution, ensuring "freedom of the press and of other media of

communication.” Similar rights are protected under Article 35 of the Chinese Constitution.

The CRIS campaign frames the concept of communication rights as rights that “go beyond mere freedom of opinion and expression, to include areas such as democratic media governance, participation in one’s own culture, linguistic rights, rights to enjoy the fruits of human creativity, to education, privacy, peaceful assembly, and self-determination” (Communication Rights in the Information Society, 2005, p.13). The ethnic minorities’ rights to ethnic programming and ethnic broadcasting services come from an aspect of these communication rights: the rights to equitable access to the media and the means of communication. To explain it plainly, ethnic broadcasting contributes to the realization of the equal rights of people of all ethnicities in a society to access media services that cater to their distinctive linguistic, cultural, and education needs, and the equal opportunity of all to participate in the public sphere of the mass media to make political and cultural expressions, communicate identities and cultures, and develop communities.

*Research questions.*

Ethnic media as a special interest media in multiethnic societies has grown into a significant sector in broadcasting and a dynamic field of study. Although ethnic media is closely associated with the ethnic minorities and ethnic politics of a society, its role in ethnic relations has rarely been studied on the macrolevel of governmental management of ethnic relations. As the most heavily regulated media, the broadcasting media is ideal to examine the government’s role in ethnic relations and the media. Studies by Canadian scholars like Thomas (1992) and Roth (1998) have explored the interrelationship of domestic ethnic relations and ethnic policies with Canadian broadcasting media and its policies, which

includes the accommodation of Canada's multiethnic reality in the broadcasting sector, the implementation of ethnic policies in the broadcasting sector, and the promotion of national cohesion through broadcasting practices. Based on a similar conceptual framework, this study specifically examines how the ethnic relations and ethnic policies in Canada and China have shaped the operation of its ethnic broadcasting in the respective countries, and how ethnic broadcasting operation influences ethnic relations and ethnic policies in return. This thesis analyzes the policies and practices of ethnic broadcasting in relation to the ethnic relations in Canada and China, especially focusing on the role of the government in the management of ethnic relations and operation of ethnic broadcasting. Ethnic broadcasting in this context is chiefly seen as the state's instrument in social control and ethnic governance with the goal of national unity and cohesion, as well as a basic right of ethnic minorities that the state has the responsibility to ensure in a society where ethnic minority identities and cultures are officially recognized as equals.

This study is guided by three research questions. RQ 1: How is ethnic broadcasting operated in Canada and China respectively? How does it reflect and support the ethnic policies of the country? This demands a descriptive account of the operation of ethnic broadcasting in the two countries, with the analysis of the reciprocal relationships between ethnic relations and ethnic broadcasting. The thesis is interested in three phases of ethnic broadcasting operation – the governmental policies and initiatives on ethnic broadcasting, the actual practices, and the effects. Scholars and practitioners have observed that governmental policy statements are not often consistent with actual practices, and policies do not always result in expected outcomes (Thomas, 1992). Examining the three phases of ethnic broadcasting operations and identifying their gaps would contribute to the truthful evaluation

of ethnic broadcasting operations and the adjustment of both policies and actual practices. Therefore, RQ 2: In the operation of ethnic broadcasting, what are the discrepancies between policies and practices, and between policy expectations and actual effects?

The topic is studied comparatively between Canada and China. Comparative analysis has often been adopted to better understand world broadcasting policies and practices. Zolf (1997) has analyzed comparatively between Canada and four other democratic countries of their broadcasting policies and practices that are impacted by their demographics' multiethnic nature. Park and McDowell (2005) have specifically addressed the direct broadcast satellite (DBS) policies and practices of Canada and Korea comparatively. McKenzie's book *Comparing Media from Around the World* (2006) has discussed comparatively multiple aspects of broadcasting in China and seven other countries. Interestingly, comparative studies on Canada and China's broadcasting media have not been found. L. Wang (1994) has analyzed the general ethnic policies of Canada and China comparatively; this study brings the examination of ethnic relations to a more tangible realm of broadcasting services for multiethnic populations. This analysis especially looks for similar issues in the two countries' ethnic relations and ethnic broadcasting operations, how these issues are dealt with differently, and if middle grounds could be achieved between the different approaches. RQ 3: Despite the differences between Canada and China, do similar issues emerge in their operation of ethnic broadcasting?

In sum, this is a comparative examination of Canada and China's ethnic broadcasting operations in relation to their domestic ethnic relations. The primary objective of the thesis is to critically review the current policies and practices of ethnic broadcasting. Through the comparative analysis, the study identifies common issues in the two countries' ethnic

relations and ethnic broadcasting operations, demonstrates different approaches in dealing with these issues, and generates insights from the two countries' different experiences. The goal of the study is to enhance the understanding of the relationship between ethnic relations and ethnic broadcasting operation, to the further employment of ethnic broadcasting in the management of ethnic relations, and to the adjustment of ethnic broadcasting policies and practices.

### Chapter III. Methodology

This comparative analysis on ethnic broadcasting policies and practices is based on secondary data from a variety of sources collected systematically through archival research. To achieve a relatively objective analysis, included data were balanced between governmental documents and publications from official sources, and empirical research and critiques from scholarly and other nongovernmental sources.

Data was analyzed using an interpretive, critical, and comparative approach. It first enables an overview of the presence and configuration of the ethnic broadcasting media, and the governmental policies concerning ethnic broadcasting in the two countries. This information offers the basis for the further critical analysis of the discrepancies between governmental statements and actual practices, between expectations and effects, and the comparative analysis between the two countries' ethnic relations and ethnic broadcasting operations.

#### *Data collection.*

Governmental documents regarding ethnic broadcasting operations and related ethnic policies were first looked for. These include policy statements, initiative reports, and other governmental publications and records. Governmental data was collected from several governmental agencies that were found to have the predominant role in shaping the policies and practices of ethnic broadcasting in the respective countries. These include the administrative agencies that regulate broadcasting, those that manage ethnic relations, and the state or public national broadcasters. In Canada, the agencies are the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), the Department of Canadian

Heritage, and the public broadcaster – Canadian Broadcasting Corporation/Radio-Canada (CBC). The Chinese agencies are the State Council, the State Administration of Radio Film and Television (SARFT), the State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC), and state broadcasters including China Central Television (CCTV), China National Radio (CNR) and China Radio International (CRI).

This study chose the above-mentioned governmental agencies to study because their roles directly reflect the state's position in the management of ethnic relations and involvement in the practices of ethnic broadcasting. The government's position, regulations and initiatives on ethnic broadcasting can be collectively referred to as ethnic broadcasting policies. In Canada, ethnic broadcasting is the ethnic media that shows the most active governmental involvement. Public media policies concerning ethnic minorities, like the *Broadcasting Act* and the *Ethnic Broadcasting Policy*, exist uniquely in the broadcast sector. The government has also commissioned many studies on ethnic broadcasting, especially on the availability and accessibility of ethnic and third-language services (CRTC, 2003; Lincoln, Tassé, & Cianciotta, 2004). The agency directly in charge of most of this work is the CRTC, the governing agency of broadcasting in Canada. The CRTC is an independent public organization that reports to the Parliament through the Department of Canadian Heritage, which is the department responsible for promoting culture, the arts, heritage, official languages, citizenship and participation, and Aboriginal, youth, and sport initiatives. Until recently, Canadian Heritage was also responsible for Multiculturalism policy and programs, which was handed over to the Ministry of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism (also known as Citizenship and Immigration Canada). The work of Canadian Heritage is therefore highly relevant in the discussion. Turning to the practices of ethnic broadcasting,

the public broadcast framework in Canada enables CBC to put public interests above economic interests, thus demanding CBC to consciously respond to the needs of Canada's changing demographics, including the needs of the ethnic minorities. The operation of CBC is therefore a crucial facet of ethnic broadcasting practice in the public sector.

The Chinese governmental agencies researched were the parallels to the three Canadian agencies. The SARFT is the agency with functions similar to the CRTC in Canada and reports to the State Council. However, unlike the relationship between the CRTC and the Parliament, the PRC State Council has direct control over and involvement in its departments, thus included in this study's inquiries. The SEAC is the executive department of the State Council on ethnic affairs, hence the comparable agency to Canadian Heritage and also the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs of Canada. Finally, China's national state broadcasters include CCTV, CNR, and CRI.

Governmental data were retrieved primarily from the governmental websites (see a list of organizational websites researched in Appendix A), but also from the libraries of the University of Ottawa and Peking University in Beijing, China, as well as publications physically acquired from governmental agencies. With the trend of digitalization of governmental resources in Canada, governmental websites are an easily accessible means of obtaining public data of the Canadian government. In China, since the *People's Republic of China Government Information Disclosure Bill* has taken effect in May 2008, an increasing amount of official documents of Chinese governmental agencies can now be accessed through their official websites. Seeing that the goal of this study is not an exhaustive recording of related data, but to grasp the arguments and values reflected in these governmental documents, the websites' incomplete record of the governmental agencies'

documents is thus acceptable. In order to complement the limited resources of some agencies' websites and to ensure the most important archives are included, data was also collected selectively based on relevance to the topic from library resources and other channels.

The limitations of governmental sources are that policy statements are often inconsistent with reality, and self-documentation of the government's activities could easily be manipulated. Thus data also includes nongovernmental entities' documentations and observations. The nongovernmental data is mainly scholarly records and critiques on the operation of ethnic broadcasting, as well as works of related nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Data from these sources are retrieved from physical publications and digital databases accessed from the two university libraries and the Internet. Relevant NGOs in Canada included in the study are the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB), the Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, and the Media Awareness Network. In China, regulatory bodies of the media are located mainly within governmental ministries, with NGOs making much less significant contributions. Although the China Radio and Television Association is an equivalent organization to the CAB, relevant information was not found in its documents. The National Journalist Association of the PRC as a self-regulating body is mentioned in the thesis.

The advantages of using secondary data are that it is more feasible than first-hand data collection in the time frame of the thesis; it is more appropriate than empirical research in constructing an overview of ethnic broadcasting in relation to ethnic relations; and it is more likely to collect sufficient data on China than interviews of governmental officials and ethnic minority individuals, due to Chinese bureaucracy and the dispersion of most ethnic minority

populations in China's distant rural regions. The limitation of the method however is that it cannot accurately reflect the reality of ethnic broadcasting practices. The incorporation of NGO and scholarly sources would be able to provide a more objective and critical observation of the operation of ethnic broadcasting than using governmental sources alone, by providing information on the actual practices, effects, and shortcomings of the ethnic broadcasting system in the respective countries. It is also necessary to bear in mind that the authoritarian nature of the Chinese government confines the degree of integrity of public governmental documents and the free speech of nongovernmental voices, which would to a certain extent compromise the objectivity of the data retrieved from Chinese sources.

#### *Data analysis.*

This section discusses the specific methods by which data was analyzed. In a systematic study of media systems, McKenzie (2006, p.35) pinpointed nine elements that construct a media system: (1) cultural characteristics of the country, (2) philosophies for media systems, (3) regulation of media, (4) financing of media, (5) accessibility of media, (6) media content, (7) news reporting, (8) media imports and exports, and (9) media audiences. These chosen elements of a media system are adopted in this study, with appropriate adjustments, to systematize the aspects of ethnic broadcasting being examined through collected data.

In this study specifically on ethnic broadcasting, ethnic relations are deemed as an integral element in the analysis. In lieu of a general account of the "cultural characteristics of the country," the background sections cover the general information of the two countries' domestic ethnic relations. As for the second element, in addition to the "philosophies for

media systems” in the respective countries, this thesis gives more importance to the philosophies of ethnic relations governance. Governmental regulations and financing (third and fourth element) of ethnic broadcasting are important parts of this analysis as they directly reflect the governmental policies on ethnic broadcasting operations. The fifth element “accessibility” refers to the convenience, affordability, and availability of media. This is covered in the discussions on the delivery or distribution of ethnic programming. “Media content” and “news reporting” are combined together in this thesis to illustrate the practices of ethnic broadcasting. As the focus of this study is on the government’s macromanagement of ethnic broadcasting and ethnic relations, the thesis does not go into specific analyses of the content. On the topic of “import and export of media,” the transnational activities in ethnic broadcasting operations are discussed. Finally, “media audiences” refers to the “artificial construct that describes only the common denominators of individuals interacting with selected media” (McKenzie, 2006, p.327). In both Canada and China, there are very few scholarly studies or public data on ethnic broadcasting audiences. Therefore the thesis is only able to lightly touch on this element based on available information.

In sum, the elements of an ethnic broadcasting system that inform the inquiries in the thesis are: (1) ethnic relations of the country, (2) philosophies of governmental ethnic relations management, (3) regulation of ethnic broadcasting, (4) financing of ethnic broadcasting, (5) accessibility of ethnic broadcasting, (6) ethnic broadcasting content and journalism, (7) transnational activities of ethnic broadcasting, and (8) media audiences. Rather than discussing each element in clear-cut sections, the thesis discusses them in relation to one other, and through these specific elements, examines the countries’ ethnic

broadcasting policies and practices. Specifically, “ethnic relations of the country” and “philosophies of governmental ethnic relations management” provide the background for the analysis; the regulation, financing, and accessibility of ethnic broadcasting reveal both policies and practices of ethnic broadcasting; and the rest of the elements reflect specifically the practices in ethnic broadcasting.

The review of these elements of an ethnic broadcasting system, through the interpretive analysis of collected documents, operationalizes the first part of RQ 1 (How is ethnic broadcasting operated in Canada and China respectively?). To answer the second part of RQ 1 (How do ethnic broadcasting operations reflect and support the ethnic policies in the two countries?) and RQ 2 (In the operation of ethnic broadcasting, what are the discrepancies between policies and practices, and between policy expectations and actual effects?), a critical analysis is carried out with the following logic. First, identify the objectives of ethnic policies and ethnic broadcasting policies. How do ethnic policies shape ethnic broadcasting policies? Then, how do policies affect the practices of ethnic broadcasting? How do ethnic broadcasting practices support or contradict the policies? Finally, how can policies be adjusted to better respond to the reality? And how can practices of ethnic broadcasting be adjusted to better realize policy objectives? Comparisons between the two countries are drawn in the analytical process, and thus operationalize the third research question (RQ 3: Despite the differences between Canada and China, do similar issues emerge in their operation of ethnic broadcasting?).

In regard to the use of Chinese documents in the thesis, literal translations are used in titles and quotations, and in the analysis when necessary in order to reflect accurately the discourse of the document. For instance, the term *propaganda*, as the literal translation of

*xuanchuan* in Chinese, is frequently used in the thesis without intended negative connotations associated to it in Western literature, so as to directly reflect the discourse of Chinese politics and media today. In the Chinese context, propaganda is an umbrella term that refers to publicity, public communication, or mass persuasion. In its essentials, propaganda is a form of communication aimed at influencing the attitude of the mass on a subject to further a political agenda. Although in China, propaganda does not have the negative connotations of deception, it contrasts with democratic mass communication by providing selective information, appealing to emotions rather than intellects, and being a mainly top-down and one-way communication approach.

## Chapter IV. Ethnic Broadcasting in Canada

The following two sections present the literature on ethnic broadcasting in Canada and China respectively. The literature provides the background information of the countries' ethnic minorities, ethnic relations, ethnic policies, and ethnic broadcasting developments. The principle part of the literature is the review of ethnic broadcasting policies and practices in the two countries based on collected data.

### *Ethnic Minorities in Canada*

The population makeup of Canada can be briefly described as the Aboriginal peoples – officially comprised of the First Nations, Inuit, and Métis, the two founding nations – British and French, and people of other ethnic origins.

The First Nations – the official collective name given to the various native Indian peoples in Canada – were the first people to arrive in Canada as early as the later Ice Age (Dickason & McNab, 2009). Between 800 and 1300, the ancestors of the Inuit people arrived and became the chief residents of the Arctic and Sub-Arctic regions of Canada, an area that had been home to many ethnic groups prior to the Inuit (Frideras & Gadacz, 2008, p.286). The main European arrivals that shaped today's Canada started from John Cabot's exploration of Canada's Atlantic coast for England in 1497, followed by Jacques Cartier for France in 1534. The French then established the first permanent European settlements from 1604, later followed by British colonizers. The competition between the French and the British in the colonization of North America eventually led to the Seven Years War between 1756 and 1763, which resulted with the British conquest of Canada. At the same time, the intensified contacts between the Native people and Europeans formed a new distinct

community of people, the Métis, who are the descendants of intermarriages between the indigenous population and early white colonists. Thus established Canada's three official Native Peoples, the two founding nations, and the historical dominance of the British.

In the conflictive history of colonization, the Aboriginal peoples have constantly struggled against oppression and cultural genocide, and fought for their rights of self-determination and self-government. Historical treaties between the native Indian people and the British colonists determined the Indian reserves in Canada today. *The Indian Act* of 1985 in effect today stipulated the system of the Indian reserves, the Indian bands, and the registration of status Indians. The Métis and the Inuit people do not have their own reserves. But like many First Nations people who live off the reserves, they have established other forms of political organizations and self-governments. From self-government of Indian bands to regional level self-government of Nunavut by the Inuit people, Aboriginal self-government has taken on various forms in Canada (Frideras & Gadacz, 2008, p.276).

Subsequent new immigrations to Canada were chiefly of British origin, until the 1880s when Canada was opened up to immigration influxes of other ethnic origins to fulfill the population needs in the development of the West. Among these immigrants were the more than 15 000 Chinese contract laborers brought to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway, opening the precedence of significant immigrations of Asians and visible minorities of non-European origins. After the World War I, immigration was significantly restricted and reduced in the context of economic recession and depression. It was not until after the World War II that Canada was opened up to large numbers of immigration again and moved towards a "colour-blind" immigration policy. In 1968, Canada introduced the "merit point system," which bases the evaluation of immigration application on the candidates' potential

ability of integration and contribution in Canada, regardless of their ethnic origins. This started a new era in Canada's immigration history, admitting since then a relatively steady flow of immigrants each year (See Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1999, p.4).

The entry of new immigrants is regulated under the current immigration policy of the 1976 Immigration Act and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act of 2002. To accommodate the multiethnic characteristic of the Canadian population, Canada's Multiculturalism policy was conceived and introduced in 1971 by the then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. It was later legislated in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of the Constitution in 1982, and Multiculturalism Act in 1985. Other legislations, including the Canadian Human Rights Act and the Employment Equity Act, also complement the purposes of the Multiculturalism policy. With the principles of diversity, respect, equity and tolerance, multiculturalism within a bilingual framework promises to recognize, respect, and value cultural and racial differences, support and promote ethnic cultural retention, and offer equal rights and opportunities to ethnic minorities. The policy believes that the promotion of the cultural identities of diverse ethnic groups within a society, accompanied by cultural exchanges and interactions among the population, will facilitate the integration of the society as a whole. This is usually referred to as "unity in diversity," an approach of inclusiveness to ethnic minority populations and cultures as the means to enhance national unity.

The most frequently reported ethnic origins in the 2006 Census (Statistics Canada website) were English, French, Scottish, Irish, German, Italian, Chinese, North American Indian, Ukrainian and Dutch. The Aboriginal population altogether accounted for 3.8% of the total population in 2006 and has a growth rate almost twice as fast as the Canadian average. The majority of Aboriginal people reside in Ontario, British Columbia, Québec, and the three

Prairie Provinces. The Northern Territories – Northwest Territory and Nunavut – sparsely populated has a vast majority population of Aboriginal people. A significant characteristic of Canada's changing demographics is the growth of visible minorities of non-European origins. 16.2% of the total population in 2006 was nonaboriginal visible minority populations. As the majority of ethnic minority populations reside in metropolitan areas, 51.0% of Vancouver's population and 46.9% of Toronto's population in 2006 were visible minorities. According to Statistics Canada, by 2017, around one fifth of the Canadian population will be visible minorities.

With Canadians of British origin being the definite majority group, there is still the debate on exactly who the ethnic minorities are. Although considered as a minority group relative to British Canadians, Canadians of French descents maintain a strong dominant status as one of the founding nations. Aboriginal Canadians, due to their indigenous status, are a privileged population guaranteed by the Constitution Act of 1982, and therefore often considered separately from other ethnic minorities in many policies, including the broadcasting policies. The rest of the population, people of other ethnic origins, is most commonly referred to as the ethnic minorities of Canada, for example in the *Ethnic Broadcasting Policy* (1999-117) of the CRTC. This popular way of categorizing the Canadian population is not without controversies. As Karim (1993) has argued, such a discourse marginalizes the population of other origins in Canadian society. For the purpose of this study on ethnic broadcasting, the concept of ethnic minorities includes the aboriginal people and the "ethnic minorities of other origins," whereas French-Canadians are not included since the French language is one of the national official languages and francophone media is part of the mainstream.

### *Evolution of Ethnic Broadcasting*

Canada has a broad array of ethnic broadcasting services, including multicultural programming on community and campus radio, which are allowed to provide up to 4% of third-language programming in markets without an ethnic station (CRTC, 1999-117, para.55), over-the-air (conventional) private multilingual ethnic broadcasting stations that provide services regionally, Canada's public broadcaster CBC/Radio-Canada that is mandated by the *Broadcasting Act* (1991) to provide multicultural content on a national level, and pay and specialty services, which is the major source of ethnic broadcasting services in Canada, provided by broadcasting distribution undertakings (BDUs) through subscriptions. As direct-to-home (DTH) satellite technology (or referred to as direct broadcast satellite [DBS]) becomes popular, it is now also possible for ethnic minorities to receive transnational television directly from their home countries.

When accounting ethnic broadcasting services in Canada, indigenous media and migrant media are dealt with separately, with the former commonly referred to as aboriginal or native broadcasting and the latter as ethnic broadcasting. Native broadcasting in Canada provides programs in any native Canadian language or in either or both of the two official languages, but should be specifically oriented to the native population and reflect the interests and needs specific to its native audience (CRTC, 1990-89). Ethnic programming on the other hand is defined in the *Canadian Ethnic Broadcasting Policy* (CRTC, 1999-117, para.9) as programs in any language that is specifically directed toward any culturally or racially distinct group, other than one whose heritage is Aboriginal Canadian, France, or the British Isles.

The history of aboriginal broadcasting goes back to the 1950s, the period when community radio and CBC's Northern Service short-wave radio had become an integral part of northern life. By the early 1970s, 16% of Northern Service programming was in Inuktitut. Between 1976 and 1981, with large grants from the federal government and new satellites in the North, native organizations began to experiment with interactive communication and the production of original programming. In 1981, the CRTC (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission) licensed the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, after its successful pilots, to set up an Inuit broadcasting corporation to provide Inuktitut-language television services to the Northwest Territories (NWT), Northern Québec, and Labrador. Later that same year, the CRTC approved an application from two First Nations groups of establish a satellite radio network to deliver programming in several Aboriginal languages to communities in the Yukon and Western NWT. By this time, CBC's Northern Service had doubled its Aboriginal-language programming. By 1985, 250 community radio stations were serving the North, many by local native communications societies. In 1988, after years of persistent lobbying by Aboriginal communications groups, the federal government allocated ten million Canadian dollars for a dedicated northern satellite transponder, realizing the launch of Television Northern Canada (TVNC) in 1992, which served an estimated 100, 000 Native people spread across almost one third of Canada's landmass. In 1999, TVNC transformed into the new Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), a national Aboriginal network that also gained access to southern audiences through basic cable service (Media Awareness Network, n.d.).

Currently, there are 50 Type B native radio stations (Type B license is for stations operating in markets where there is at least one other commercial AM or FM licensed radio

station; Type A native radio stations, those operating in markets where no other commercial radio station operates have not been required by the CRTC to hold a broadcasting license since 1998), and three native network radio licensees. In television, there are five originating native television stations in operation including two native networks, the APTN that has mandatory national carriage by cable companies and DTH services, and Wawatay Native Communications (CRTC, 2009; Media Awareness Network, n.d.; Molnar & Meadows, 2001, Ch.7). The number of aboriginal services in both radio and television has decreased from the previous year (CRTC, 2008a). CBC Northern Services, now known as CBC North, also provides television and radio services in northern Canada in official languages and eight aboriginal languages (CBC website).

The first *ethnic* television station in Canada was licensed in 1979 – CFMT-TV in Toronto, now known as OMNI. 1. According to the most recent *Communication Monitoring Report* (CRTC, 2009), as of 31 December 2008, there are at present six OTA (over-the-air) multilingual ethnic television stations: OMNI.1 and OMNI.2 of Toronto, OMNI British Columbia of Vancouver, the newly licensed OMNI Alberta consisting of two stations in Calgary and Edmonton, and CJNT of Montreal. Five Category A specialty and pay services were approved between 1984 and 1996, including Fairchild TV (in Cantonese), Talentvision (in Mandarin, Vietnamese, and Korean), Asian TV Network (for South Asian communities in 15 South Asian languages, predominantly Hindi, and some English), Odyssey (in Greek) and Telelatino (in Italian and Spanish). Over 194 Canadian ethnic Category 2 digital pay and specialty services have been approved, of which 28 specialty and six pay services were launched. There are also 81 non-Canadian, third-language satellite services authorized for digital distribution. As for radio, there were 25 private commercial OTA ethnic radio stations

and 12 ethnic specialty audio services in 2008. Overall, the number of third-language services is remarkably increasing over the recent years.

In public broadcasting, RCI Plus and RCI Viva of Radio Canada International (RCI), CBC's international broadcasting service, could be defined as ethnic broadcasting. RCI Plus, launched in 2005, provides access to RCI's multilingual programming in North America through Sirius Satellite Radio. RCI Viva, RCI's Web radio service introduced in 2006, broadcasts multilingual programming targeting new and prospective immigrants (RCI website). Although these services are accessible in Canada, programming of both are primarily designed for international audiences or new immigrants. There is therefore no presence of public broadcasting directed towards domestic migrant ethnic population.

#### *Ethnic Broadcasting Policies and Practices*

The ethnic broadcasting policies analyzed in this thesis can be more expressly described as policy initiatives outlined in related legislations, regulations, and supporting programs. First of all, there are legislations and regulations that define the countries' general broadcasting systems that ethnic broadcasting exists in; then, there are explicit and implicit policies regarding ethnic broadcasting that define and regulate it. To realize these policies, specific regulations and programs are created to support and ensure the implementation of policies. Supporting programs also serve the purpose of further interpreting the policies in practice. For instance in Canada, various programs on diversity in the broadcast media carried out by different agencies facilitate the enforcement of the related official policies by broadcast practitioners, address issues revealed in practice, and offer up-to-date interpretations of the policies. In this section, the policy initiatives and related practices in

Canadian ethnic broadcasting are reviewed by looking into the central policies on ethnic broadcasting, regulations and practices on licensing and distribution, and policy programs that promote cultural diversity in Canadian broadcasting in general.

*Central policies.*

Several fundamental policies define ethnic broadcasting in Canada: the Broadcasting Act and the two sets of specific policies directed at aboriginal and ethnic broadcasting respectively.

The *Broadcasting Act*, established in 1968 and amended in 1991, outlines Canada's broadcasting policies. Mandated under the Broadcasting Act, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) is the independent agency that regulates the broadcasting system, enforced through licensing restrictions, and reports to the Parliament through Canadian Heritage. The 1991 Broadcasting Act took Canada's existing commitments to equality rights inscribed in the *Charter of Rights and Freedom* (1982), the *Multiculturalism Act* (1985), the *Human Rights Act* (1976), and the *Employment Equity Act* (1986), and applies them to the broadcasting field. Section 3 (1)(d)(iii) of the Broadcasting Act has been the central policy statement that ensures the rights of aboriginal people and other ethnic minorities in fair and adequate representation, and employment equity in the broadcasting sector. It states that,

The Canadian broadcasting system should, through its programming and the employment opportunities arising out of its operations, serve the needs and interests, and reflect the circumstances and aspirations, of Canadian men, women and children, including equal rights, the linguistic duality and multicultural and multiracial nature of

Canadian society and the special place of aboriginal peoples within that society.

The national public broadcaster, CBC/Radio-Canada, is an essential component of the Canadian broadcasting system and represents an important public policy instrument. It was created as a Crown Corporation in 1936 as an effort to counteract the overwhelming influence of American broadcasting and to establish Canada's own national identity. The CBC is subject to the regulations of the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). It is accountable to the Parliament of Canada through the Minister of Canadian Heritage. The Broadcasting Act outlines the CBC mandate of reflecting Canada's cultural and racial diversity: its programming should be in English and in French (Section 3[1][m][iv]), should reflect the country's multicultural and multiracial nature (Section 3[1][m][viii]), and should reflect the aboriginal cultures of Canada (Section 3[1][o]).

The Broadcasting Act also stipulates that broadcast programming provides a public service essential to national identity and cultural sovereignty (Section 3[1][b]), and the Canadian broadcasting system should provide a wide range of programming that reflects Canadian attitudes, opinions, ideas, values, and artistic creativity, by displaying Canadian talent in entertainment programming (Section 3[1][d][ii]). To give effect to this policy, the CRTC established a quota system to regulate the minimum amount of Canadian programming content in Canadian broadcasting. The resulting Canadian content rules, also known as "Cancon," were devised to stimulate Canada's cultural production by ensuring greater exposure for Canadian artists in Canada's marketplaces.

The government first formally addressed native broadcasting policies in the early 1970s in the form of the *Northern Development Policy of 1971-81*. In 1983, the Canadian

government announced the *Northern Broadcasting Policy* that established the active participation of northern native people in broadcast programming and the regulatory process. Roth (1996, p.179) characterized this policy as “the most important document in aboriginal communications development to date.” A by-product of this policy was the *Northern Native Broadcast Access Program* (NNBAP) in the same year. Along with a CAD \$40 million funding, the program was designed to operationalize the policy, mainly to stimulate indigenous radio and television productions in northern regions of Canada. However, many difficulties arose in the implementation of the policy, and expectations of the policy failed to be fully met. In 1990, the CRTC issued the *Native Broadcasting Policy* (CRTC, 1990-89) that is effective to date. It outlines the criteria for a broadcasting service to qualify as aboriginal undertaking under the CRTC’s definition, which emphasizes aboriginal ownership, and programming that addresses aboriginal audiences’ special cultural and linguistic needs. Finally in 1991, the aboriginal rights in broadcasting were enshrined in the Broadcasting Act (Molnar & Meadows, 2001, chap.8; Roth, 1996).

Policies on ethnic broadcasting other than the native broadcasting are mainly reflected in two versions of the ethnic broadcasting policy: the 1985 policy framework for ethnic broadcasting, and the 1999 *Ethnic Broadcasting Policy* (CRTC, 1999-117) that is in effect today, revising and replacing the former version. The Ethnic Broadcasting Policy outlines the basic rules that apply to conventional OTA ethnic radio and television stations, whereas pay and specialty services have varying requirements set by the CRTC as their conditions of licensing. Ethnic stations, unlike ethnic specialty and pay services, are required to serve a range of ethnic groups in a variety of languages due to limited frequencies (para.19). At least 60% of ethnic stations’ schedules should be devoted to ethnic programming (para.16), and at

least half of their schedules to programming in a third-language (para.26). In compliance with the Canadian content rules, ethnic television stations same as nonethnic private television stations are generally required the minimum of 60% Canadian content overall. These requirements may however vary for any ethnic station upon the discretion of the CRTC (para.29). For ethnic radio stations, there are specified Canadian content requirements on music selections as well (para.33-34). As local stations, OTA ethnic stations are also required by the policy to reflect local issues and concerns (para.39-41). To protect the market of ethnic stations, the CRTC sets a limit of 15% of third-language programming for nonethnic OTA stations, which includes the public broadcaster CBC; it does not however impose limits on the amount of ethnic programming in French and English (para.50-56).

*Licensing and distribution.*

The Canadian broadcasting system is made up of all the Canadian programming and distribution services involved in broadcasting: programming services (such as radio, television, and specialty or pay-television services) that decide what programs to carry, and distribution services (such as cable television, direct-to-home satellite [DTH], or multipoint distribution systems [MDS]) that deliver programming services to the public. The previous sections have laid out the existing ethnic services in Canada and the major policies that shaped the current ethnic broadcasting landscape. Another set of policies determining the actual practice of ethnic broadcasting is the distribution policies. It is one thing for an ethnic service to acquire license from the CRTC, yet another to have the means of distribution in Canadian market. For instance, as mentioned, among the over 194 Category B pay and specialty ethnic television services approved, only 34 were launched.

Broadcasting distribution undertakings (BDUs) distribute broadcasting programs to subscribers through optical or digital fibre, or satellite transmission. Since first appeared in Canada in the 1960s, cable BDUs have developed from their origins as 12 channel analog systems, to offering hundreds of broadcast channels as well as high-speed connections to the Internet, and continue to be the primary access point to the broadcasting system for nearly two thirds of Canadians. More recently, DTH undertakings began to be licensed in 1995 and have become a pervasive competitive force. An estimated 90% of Canadian households now rely on BDUs of one kind or another to access television programming (CRTC, 2008-100).

As introduced previously, Canadian broadcasting services mainly include OTA public and private stations, community programming undertakings, pay and specialty services (including analog, and Category 1 and 2 digital services), and pay-per-view (PPV) and video-on-demand (VOD) services. OTA television and radio signals, including those of the public broadcaster, private stations, and community and campus services, are free of charge. However, with limited bandwidth, only a number of services can be licensed as OTA stations. Also, for OTA stations to reach a broader coverage, BDUs are needed for distribution outside their transmission range. The rest of the broadcast services besides OTA stations are provided by BDUs through subscription: pay and specialty services are provided in packages through subscribed cable or DTH services with monthly fees; PPV and VOD are digital services charged based on usage.

The current regulations on BDUs are in the *Broadcasting Distribution Regulations* (CRTC, 1997) that came into force in 1998. Under the current access rules of the regulations, Canadian analog and Category 1 pay and specialty services (referred to as Category A services), having access rights, are required to be carried by certain licensed BDUs; whereas

Category 2 services, along with any new services that the CRTC may choose to license without access rights (referred to as Category B services), must negotiate with BDUs to gain distribution (CRTC, 2008-100, para.68), which impedes many ethnic services from launching.

A major source of ethnic programming in Canada is the home countries of the ethnic culture. However, in order to support the development of Canadian broadcasting services in the global market, many restrictions were set for the entry of non-Canadian services. First of all, only services distributed by CRTC licensed Canadian BDUs are legal. Non-Canadian services therefore can only access the Canadian market through Canadian BDUs, and the CRTC through its BDU regulations ensure that Canadian broadcasting services are given priority in distribution. For example, non-Canadian third-language satellite services are authorized by the CRTC for digital distribution only, subject to certain criteria and packaging rules (CRTC, 2008-100).

Yet, in order to expand the diversity and choice in television services available to underserved third-language ethnic communities in Canada, the CRTC announced in 2004 a revised approach to the assessment of requests to add non-Canadian third-language television services to the lists of eligible satellite services for distribution on a digital basis (CRTC, 2004-96). The revised policy established a more open-entry approach to the authorization of non-Canadian third-language general interest satellite services. Subsequently, Broadcasting Public Notice 2005-104 also established an open-entry approach for licensing new Canadian third-language general interest Category B pay and specialty services. New services must commit to devote at least 90% of the program schedule to programming in languages other than English or French to qualify (CRTC, 2005-104). In addition, the CRTC issued Public

Notice 2007-33, exempting the regulation of certain third-language television undertakings, provided they meet the terms of the exemption order (CRTC, 2008a).

In the delivery of aboriginal services, the predominant issue is not the restrictions in licensing and distribution policies, but the lack of resources in providing the necessary trainings, and maintaining and upgrading the infrastructures to broadcast in the large landmass of northern Canada. For instance, the report by the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage (2003, chap.10) conveys that CBC lacks the resources to fulfill its mandate of serving aboriginal audiences, and there are serious problems with the delivery of local signals via satellite.

The promotion of Canadian content is also enforced among BDUs. The Broadcasting Act specifies that each element of the system must contribute to the creation and presentation of Canadian programming (Section 3[1][e]), and that cable companies and other distributors of broadcasting services must give priority to the carriage of Canadian television signals, in particular to the carriage of local Canadian stations (Section 3[1][t]). Stipulated in the *Broadcasting Distribution Regulations* (CRTC, 1997, Section 29), the CRTC requires BDUs to make annual financial contributions for the creation of Canadian programming. BDU contributions combined with governmental contributions such as those from Canadian Heritage make up the funding source of Canadian Television Fund, Local Programming Improvement Fund, and other independent production funds, which would redistribute the funding among producers and broadcasters to promote the production of Canadian content in broadcasting.

*Cultural diversity in mainstream broadcasting.*

There are two main approaches in Canadian broadcasting policies to ensure Canada's diverse nature is reflected in its broadcasting system (CRTC, 2008b): programming by and for specific groups, and reflecting diversity in all broadcasting services. Specific activities and policies of the CRTC supporting the prior approach include the already discussed Native Broadcasting Policy, Ethnic Broadcasting Policy, increased licensing of ethnic and third-language services, and expanded availability of non-Canadian third-language services. For the latter approach, the CRTC now requires as condition of licensing that broadcasters develop appropriate strategies for ensuring all programming is reflective of the cultural diversity of the markets they serve. When the CRTC refers to cultural diversity in this regard, it means the inclusion of groups that have been traditionally underrepresented in broadcasting: ethno-cultural minorities, Aboriginal peoples and persons with disabilities. The CRTC has asked broadcasters to develop corporate plans to improve how these groups are portrayed and represented in broadcasting, and report annually on their progress on these diversity issues. In 2007, the CRTC held a *Diversity of Voices* public hearing, which addressed issues including cultural diversity in broadcasting (CRTC, 2007-5, 2008-4).

In response to the CRTC's policy initiative on cultural diversity, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) as the national organization that represents Canada's private broadcasters, which is the vast majority of Canadian broadcast programming services, formed in 2001 the Task Force for Cultural Diversity on Television. In 2004, the Task Force published the report of an extensive study on the state of representation on private Canadian television, revealing significant issues of stereotyping and underrepresentation of Canada's ethno-cultural diversity (Canadian Association of Broadcasters, 2004). The report includes a recommended set of best practices and industry initiatives, and the CAB now reports

annually to the CRTC on cultural diversity practices among its private broadcasters. Since 2007, the CRTC's policy on cultural diversity widened to include radio broadcasters, who now must use the CAB's *Best Practices for Diversity in Private Radio*. The CAB also developed an industry self-regulatory code, the *Equitable Portrayal Code* (Canadian Association of Broadcasters, 2007), which commits to ensuring balanced coverage, refraining from broadcasting stories, news items or imagery that may incite hatred or contempt of others, based on ethnic or national heritage, color, or religion, and being sensitive to the use of offensive language or stereotypical portrayals. CAB's *Code of Ethics* (Canadian Association of Broadcasters, 2002) also addressed the issue of racial and ethnic diversity, prohibiting the broadcasting of abusive or discriminatory material based on race, ethnicity, age, sex, physical ability or marital status.

*Summary.*

There are significant differences in the development, policy approach, and governmental support between indigenous/native and migrant/ethnic broadcasting in Canada. Due to the special indigenous status of aboriginal peoples, broadcasting policies like many other policies in Canada treat aboriginals and other ethnic minorities separately, with individual policies and different levels of governmental involvement.

Native broadcasting is mainly composed of CBC's northern services, a large number of community services, and several networks. The public broadcaster CBC is mandated to provide and transmit radio and television programming in official languages and aboriginal languages in northern Canada. Moreover, there are currently multiple radio and television networks including a national television network (the APTN) that has been granted mandatory carriage on national cable. Native broadcasting also receives annual federal

funding and other program support to build its infrastructures and develop local programming. Native broadcasting's development objectives are to have more native controlled broadcasting services that broadcast in native languages and reflect native culture and reality, and to improve infrastructures in distribution to realize better coverage on the extensive landmass.

There has not been any comparable governmental support in ethnic broadcasting as there has been in native broadcasting. The development of ethnic broadcasting is a relatively autonomous one. The policy approach is primarily to rely on market forces of the private sector, and to promote cultural diversity and ethnic programming through the CRTC's licensing and distribution regulations. An issue that market forces have not yet resolved is the lack of national ethnic broadcasting networks, though attempts were previously made (CRTC, 1999-117, para.42-49). A national alliance would permit ethnic programming to be shared among local stations and provide services in areas without their own OTA ethnic stations. Difficulties in forming a national network come from the diversity of ethnic communities and local concerns in Canada, thus the difficulty to arrange a unified national schedule. As for the public broadcaster, while there are a number of CBC services distinctively targeted at aboriginal audiences, there are no comparable services for other ethnic minorities. Aside from the guidelines on equitable portrayals and the mandate of reflecting Canada's multicultural reality, the national public broadcaster does not have any distinct regulation or initiative on serving ethnic minority populations.

Despite the significant support from the government, aboriginal broadcasting has faced great difficulties in maintaining and upgrading its infrastructures and providing necessary trainings. It is remarked in the report of the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage (2003,

chap.10) that the current status of aboriginal broadcasting is unsatisfactory and the increase to the annual funding is still needed. The extensive landmass of aboriginal habitats, the dispersed population, and the underdevelopment of northern territories are the obstacles in native broadcasting development. Also in comparison with ethnic broadcasting, aboriginal broadcasting requires much more extensive infrastructure building, has a niche market that can only be locally produced and consumed due to its distinctive culture, and the aboriginal market is less wealthy to self-support commercial broadcasting.

On the other hand, with a more open-entry approach in licensing Category B pay and specialty services and non-Canadian third-language satellite services, the number of available ethnic services in Canada has grown considerably. Because of the foreign origins of migrant cultures, imported broadcasting content from the global market has been significantly stimulating and enriching ethnic broadcasting in Canada. There are still areas in ethnic broadcasting development that the government could be more involved in to enhance broadcasting services for ethnic minorities, such as offering more supportive policies on ethnic broadcasting distribution, promoting quality multicultural content in public broadcasting, and realizing a national ethnic network.

## Chapter V. Ethnic Broadcasting in China

This section presents the background information of China's domestic ethnic relations and ethnic broadcasting, followed by an overall review of the policies and practices of its ethnic broadcasting.

### *Ethnic Minorities in China*

State-recognized ethnic groups in China are officially termed as nationalities. There are 56 nationalities in China and the ten largest based on the last 2000 census (National Bureau of Statistics of China website) rank as the following: Han, Zhuang, Manchu, Hui, Miao, Uygur, Tujia, Yi, Mongolian, and Tibetan. The Han, as the majority group, accounts for over 90% of the total population; the other 55 ethnic minority groups amounted to more than 0.1 billion in 2000, which was 8.41% of the total population. To encourage population growth of ethnic minority groups, family planning policies of China are much more favorable towards ethnic minorities than towards the Han. From 1990 to 2000, the ethnic minority population had increased 15.37%, 5.48 percentage points more than the increase of the Han population.

This section gives an overview of China's history of ethnic relations, current geographic distributions of ethnic minorities, ethnic policies, and usage of ethnic languages. As broadcasting and ethnic relations of Tibet are used as the example when individual cases are needed in the thesis, the background information on Tibet is particularly laid out here for a better understanding of the topic. Information in this section is based on records from Chinese literatures (C. Wang, 2004; J. Yang, 2005). Census information was retrieved from the website of the National Bureau of Statistics of China.

### *History.*

In 221 B.C., China, then an area of about two million square kilometres around the Central Plain, was unified under the Qin Dynasty, incorporating several ethnic groups into one nation. The establishment of a centralized government marked the beginning of China as a united multiethnic state. Yet, it was not till the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) that the majority ethnic group of China today, the Han, was basically formed. During the Han Dynasty, culture, technology, economy, and politics made great progresses. People who shared the common cultural traditions of the Han Dynasty began to be referred to as the Han people. Since then, Han culture on the Central Plain as the most developed culture in East Asia for centuries had been the centre of the region, attracting and influencing other ethnic groups.

The Han interacted and integrated with other ethnic groups on the peripheries of the Central Plain through trade, immigration, and wars. Ethnic minority regimes considered acquiring the throne on the Central Plain as the eventual signification of being the orthodox sovereignty. Some ethnic minorities succeeded and ruled several exceptionally influential dynasties such as Yuan (1271-1368) by the Mongolian and Qing (1644-1911) by the Manchu. When the ethnic minority regimes gained authority of the Central Plain, they too adopted the Confucius cultural traditions of the Han, further integrating the Han culture and other ethnic cultures. Either ruled by the majority or a minority ethnic group, managing a multiethnic population has been part of China's national governance since the beginning of imperial China more than 2000 years ago.

Over time, the territory of the Chinese empire extended to places far from the Central

Plain, incorporating more ethnic groups in these regions into China. And so did the concept of China expand, from mainly Han to an integrated national identity of all ethnicities within its territories, with Han still at the centre. According to Chinese historians, the modern Chinese territory was finally established in the Qing Dynasty, specifically 1840, before Western imperialists started their colonial domination on Chinese territories.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the government launched an unprecedented large-scale investigation of ethnic minority groups in 1953. Before then, there was no official record of exactly how many ethnic groups there were in China. The investigation led to the official identification of 38 ethnic groups in 1954. Subsequently, another 17 were identified till 1979. Today, all citizens of the PRC have to officially register their ethnicity as one of the 56 state recognized ethnic groups.

*Geographic distribution.*

Regional autonomy of ethnic minority groups is a basic policy of the PRC on ethnic affairs. Autonomous areas can be based on the compact community of one or several ethnic groups, and one ethnic group may have several autonomous areas across the country based on its population's distribution. There are five provincial level ethnic autonomous regions: Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang Uygur, Tibet, Ningxia Hui, and Guangxi Zhuang. Inner Mongolia was the first autonomous region set up in 1947; Tibet was the last, set up in 1965. Thirty autonomous prefectures and 120 autonomous counties (or banners in Inner Mongolia) were also set up to cater to ethnic populations in various parts of the country. Of the 55 ethnic minority groups, 44 have their own autonomous areas, covering 71% of the total ethnic minority population and about 64% of China's total land territory (State Council Information

Office of the PRC, 2009b). Ethnic autonomous areas are also often the home of a large number of Han people and minorities of other ethnic groups. Among the five autonomous regions, Tibet has the largest ratio of minority population, 94.1% in the 2000 census; Xinjiang has 59.39% of minority population; and the majorities of all other autonomous regions, provinces, and municipalities are Han people.

Though today ethnic minorities are widely distributed in the country and can be found in all 31 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities, they do still concentrate mainly in the Western part of the country, including the provinces and autonomous regions of Guangxi, Yunnan, Guizhou, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Sichuan, Tibet, Qinghai, Gansu, and Ningxia. Liaoning Province in the Eastern part and Hunan Province in the central part of the country are also provinces with large ethnic minority populations. These ethnic minority regions are mostly remote, secluded, and sparsely populated. Though they are rich in natural resources, the geographic characteristics have constrained their developments. Developing the west has therefore been a priority in China today.

Ethnic regions in China are characterized by not only vast and remote landmass, but also long frontiers. Along China's 21,000 km land frontiers, which borders with 15 countries, are mostly areas inhabited by ethnic minorities. Thirty-four ethnic minority groups live in border regions facing their foreign neighbours of the same ethnicity. Mongolian, Korean, Tibet, Uygur, and Kazakh are all large ethnic groups that surpass the borders of China. Ethnic regions are therefore strategically important to China.

#### *Ethnic policies.*

China's most current ethnic policies are reflected in the 2009 White Paper on *China's*

*Ethnic Policies and the Common Prosperity and Development of all Ethnic Groups* (State Council Information Office of the PRC, 2009b). They follow the basic principles of adhering to equality and unity among all ethnic groups, practicing regional autonomy for ethnic minorities, developing economy and culture in ethnic regions, training ethnic minority cadres, developing science, education, culture, and health of ethnic minorities, using and developing ethnic minority oral and written languages, respecting ethnic minority customs, and respecting and protecting ethnic minority religious freedoms (State Ethnic Affairs Commission, 2006).

Following the footsteps of the former Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China (CPC)'s ethnic policy approach is based on Marxist-Leninist theories. Ma (2007) termed it the "politicized" approach in managing ethnic relations. This approach promotes the institutionalization of ethnicity and political empowerment of ethnic minorities. These are well demonstrated in the recognition of 55 official ethnic minority groups and the compulsory registration of ethnicity today, and also evident in the practice of ethnic regional autonomy and the preferential policies towards minority populations.

Ethnic regional autonomy is practiced under the leadership of the central government in areas where ethnic minority groups live in compact communities and organs of self-government are established to exercise autonomy. The organs of self-government in ethnic autonomous areas have autonomous power in legislation, administration, economic development, finance, and so forth. The state has also adopted major preferential policies toward ethnic minorities, including considerable governmental assistance in all aspects of their developments. These policies are meant to guarantee that ethnic minorities are masters of their own fates, and at the same time enjoy common prosperity along with people of other

ethnic groups in China.

Equality of nationalities as the principle of the PRC's ethnic policies is considered a material progress in China, for historically, differential treatments and discrimination against other ethnicities were not uncommon. It is the first time in China that a national policy pronounced the insurance of the equal rights and status of all ethnic groups, which is furthermore enshrined in the constitution. However, according to the CPC, China is still in the primary stage of socialism, which is likely to last for a long term; during this period, China's ethnic relations are characterized by incomplete ethnic equality and relative national unity (Piao, 2001).

#### *Language.*

Since language is the most major medium in mass media communication, it is necessary to briefly review the language use of ethnic minorities in China. Of the 55 ethnic minority groups, the Hui and the Manchu people have been accustomed to use the Han language; the other 53 groups all have their own languages. Some ethnic groups consist of people speaking several different ethnic languages, and some ethnic groups also speak languages of other ethnic groups in the region. In total, there are more than 80 ethnic oral languages in China.

Written languages of most ethnic minorities are still underdeveloped. Before the founding of the PRC, about 15 ethnic minority groups used their own writing languages. The government later helped ten ethnic groups to create their own writing systems, and assisted several others to reform or improve their systems. Some ethnic groups chose to use the written language of another ethnic group instead of developing their own. Till now, about a

dozen of China's ethnic languages have been adapted to computerized word processing and publishing systems.

The rights of ethnic minorities to use and develop their own languages is stipulated in the Chinese Constitution and various laws and regulations, and supported by ethnic policies such as the education policies. Most ethnic populations now use their own languages as the main means of communication. In schools, usually bilingualism is practiced and ethnic languages are emphasized whenever possible.

The diversity of ethnic languages in China, the underdevelopment of written languages of most ethnic groups, and the minority populations' lower literacy level of the majority Han language, all make broadcasting services in diverse ethnic languages the most important ethnic media to ethnic minorities in China.

### *Tibet.*

The integration of Tibet into the Chinese nation can be dated back to the Tubo Dynasty of Tibet in the seventh century when the Tibetan regime conquered and ruled some lands of the Chinese Tang Dynasty, resulting in an intensive integration between the Han and the Tibetan in the area (J. Yang, 2005). It was in the Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368) that Tibet gave in to the powerful Mongolian regime and officially became a local administrative region of China directly under the central government's control. Similar traditions were followed in subsequent regimes, with ties between Tibet and the central government gradually strengthened. The CPC's control over Tibet began in 1951 in the Chinese government's gradual process of regaining unified control over China after more than half a century of national chaos. To transform Tibet's historically theocratic feudal serfdom system into a

socialist system, an extensive reform was carried out in 1959. In 1965, the Tibet Autonomous Region was founded. Today, about half of the Tibetan population resides in the Tibet Autonomous Region; the rest mainly resides in the provinces of Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan.

Tibet is singled out in this thesis for specific examples due to the global attention it attracted. Though both Tibet and Xinjiang currently constitute the two ethnic regions that have caused the most disturbances in China, Tibet's separatist movements have gained more attention, favorable opinion, and support in the international arena. Mackerras (2003) attributes this phenomenon to Tibet's internationally notable leading figure the Dalai Lama, who has established Tibet independence as a "cause." He also pointed out the contrasts between the two regions: Xinjiang is primarily a Muslim region, which is negatively associated with terrorism, whereas Tibetan Buddhism has become the "new spirituality"; Xinjiang is also much more multiethnic than Tibet, which poses difficulty in forming united ethnic claims.

Human rights issues are often at the centre of the global discourse on Tibet. The equal rights of ethnic minorities is assured in official ethnic policies (State Council Information Office of the PRC, 2009b; 2009c); however, it is noteworthy that different administrations would have differing standards on the assurance of equal rights, and there most often are hidden agendas not demonstrated in official policies. At the same time, as written in an analysis of ethnic relations in Tibet, "the problem, of course, is always in the actual adherence to policy in real-life situations where minorities are often viewed with various preconceived notions of ethnicity" (Davis, 2009, p.160), the discriminations on a personal level also impede the actual implementation of equality policies. Ethnic minorities'

communication rights in specific are promoted in official policies as part of developing ethnic regions' information infrastructures and preserving ethnic cultural heritages. The limitation of these policies is that they focus on the access to information and media entertainment, but not as much on giving minorities' a voice in the media sphere.

### *Evolution of Ethnic Broadcasting*

In the currently most comprehensive book on the history of ethnic broadcasting development in China (Q. Lin, 2000, p.7), Chinese ethnic broadcasting is classified into three groups: programming in Han and ethnic languages by local broadcasting stations in ethnic regions, and the infrastructures in its production, broadcasting, transmission, and distribution; programming in ethnic languages by central and local broadcasting agencies of the central government; lastly, programming in international propaganda broadcasting that introduces Chinese ethnic minorities and the CPC's ethnic policies in Han and foreign languages. Another type of ethnic broadcasting that is covered in this thesis is from the categorization by Wei and Dong (1999, p.37), which is Han language programming specifically targeted at ethnic minority populations. In addition, though coverage of ethnic minorities and ethnic issues in news and general programming targeted at general audiences are not technically ethnic programming, it plays a significant role as it represents the state's voice and contributes to the promotion of national unity, thus is also be included as ethnic broadcasting content in this thesis.

This section talks about the history of ethnic broadcasting development in China and the general information of its status quo. It is not realistic to cover every aspect of the extensive development of ethnic broadcasting in China. Only ethnic broadcasting in

Mainland China is examined here as it can best represent the mainstream ethnic politics and broadcasting practices of China under CPC rule. For instance, ethnic broadcasting in Taiwan and ethnic broadcasting from Mainland China to Taiwan are integral parts of Chinese ethnic broadcasting, yet are not covered for the purpose of this comparative analysis. With 55 ethnic minority groups and complex ethnic relations in China, it is also impossible for the thesis to attend to the broadcasting services of every ethnic group. Tibet is therefore used as the example when an individual group is needed to demonstrate the services received by a single ethnic group or to analyze specific broadcasting practices. This is because Tibet would be a more familiar subject for Western readers, and Chinese governmental propaganda and ethnic broadcasting practices on Tibetan are amplified in response to the global controversies on the subject.

### *History.*

After radio broadcasting was brought into China in the 1920s, the history of Chinese ethnic broadcasting began in the 1930s, when the Central Broadcasting Station of the Nationalist Party of China – the regime in power at the time – started broadcasting in Mongolian and later also in other ethnic languages including Tibetan, Korean, and Uyghur. On the borders of China, there also existed ethnic language broadcasting by local partisan, political, and military authorities. After Japan started its invasion of China in 1931, its puppet radio stations broadcasting in ethnic languages emerged in occupied areas such as Yan-an, Inner Mongolia, and Chasui. On the other hand, with the progress of Chinese liberation from Japanese control, radio stations representing the CPC began to flourish from the launch of CPC's first Xinhua Broadcasting Station in 1940 to Xinhua's first Korean programming in 1946.

Ethnic broadcasting in China was brought into a new era by the founding of the PRC in 1949, with a new regime, new configurations of ethnic relations, and new ethnic policies. In December 1949, Beijing Xinhua Broadcasting Station changed its name to China National Radio (CNR). Its first ethnic language programming in Tibetan began broadcasting the following year. In the following decade, broadcasting in Mongolian, Uyghur, Korean, Zhuang, and Kazakh were launched, and are all still in operation today except Zhuang language broadcasting. Local ethnic broadcasting also started in ethnic autonomous regions and multiethnic provinces first in Xinjiang in December 1949, then in Inner Mongolia, Tibet, Qinghai, Sichuan, and Yunnan. Between 1960 and 1971, CNR's ethnic broadcasting was suspended due to limited resources, and concerns that a national broadcasting could not fully provide for the specific needs of all ethnic groups. The responsibility of broadcasting propaganda in ethnic regions was therefore given to local broadcasting stations. However, CNR's ethnic broadcasting was eventually resumed through the efforts of the then Prime Minister Zhou Enlai.

In 1970, Xinjiang Broadcasting Station started the first ethnic television broadcasting in Uyghur language. Mongolian, Korean, and Tibetan television broadcasting in Inner Mongolia, Yanbian, and Tibet ensued. Xinjiang Broadcasting Station later also added Kazakh language to its services. These five languages have been the only ethnic languages used in Chinese television to date.

To promote unity between ethnic groups, CNR launched in 1981 its first ethnic programming in Han language – *Minzu Da Jiating* [A Big Family of Nations], which was in broadcast till 2008. China Central Television (CCTV) launched several programs on ethnic minority topics in the 1980s and 1990s. CNR later also launched specialized channels on

ethnic language broadcasting. The current one is on channel 8, the *National Voice*, which broadcasts in the main five ethnic languages: Uyghur, Mongolian, Korean, Tibetan, and Kazakh. In March 2009, a new channel 11 dedicated to 18 hours daily of Tibetan broadcasting was launched.

In the course of Chinese history, ethnic broadcasting development was first seriously obstructed by the Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1976, and then reflowered since the Reform and Opening-up in 1978. Today, China has formed a multilevel ethnic broadcasting system from the central government to ethnic autonomous regions, multiethnic provinces, and ethnic minority communities. By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, broadcasting coverage to every village had been realized in most parts of China. This means broadcasting had become integral to the lives of all Han and ethnic minorities in China, including those living in underdeveloped rural regions of peripheral China.

*Status quo.*

According to data of 1994, aside from national broadcasters' ethnic services, there are altogether 165 local ethnic radio stations that broadcast in 24 ethnic languages and 66 ethnic television stations providing services in five ethnic languages (Q. Lin, 2000). By 1998, the number of ethnic television stations increased to 141 (Bai, 2000). In 2007, the coverage of ethnic radio and television services reached 88.48% and 92.60% nationally (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2007), with the comparable statistics on general broadcasting as 95.43% and 96.58% (State Administration of Radio Film and Television, 2007a). In the same year, the total broadcasting hours of public ethnic programming nationally were 2, 081, 356 in radio, and 2, 647, 849 hours in television; the total production of ethnic radio

programming nationally was 883, 211 hours, and 374, 764 hours in television (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2007). These figures showed steady increase from the year before (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2006).

In Tibet specifically, with the support of major development projects including the *62 Aid-Tibet Projects* of the central government since the 1978 Economic Reform, Tibetan broadcasting has achieved major progresses. Tibet People's Broadcasting Station was launched in 1959, followed by the launch of Tibet Television Station in 1985 and Tibetan Broadcast Network in 2005. By the end of 2007, there were three radio stations, 38 medium wave and short-wave radio transmitting stations, and five television stations. Radio and television coverage have reached 85.8% and 86.9%, with almost all administrative villages covered (*Education, Technology, Culture, and Life in Tibet*, 2008).

#### *Ethnic Broadcasting Policies and Practices*

Ethnic broadcasting policies and practices in China are introduced through looking into the central ethnic broadcasting policies, the ethnic broadcasting activities in domestic and international propaganda, the government's supporting programs on enhancing broadcasting accessibility, and the practice of a central to local ethnic broadcasting system.

##### *Central policies.*

McKenzie (2006, p.86) summarizes the philosophies of Chinese media system as communism, authoritarianism, and contained libertarianism. Communism as the fundamental philosophy in CPC rule is represented in media system chiefly by the state ownership of all traditional mass media in Mainland China. The secondary philosophy, authoritarianism, is

manifested by heavy government involvement and control over media ownership and content. Though the government is more lenient in the entertainment sector, strict ideological control is exercised over information flow in the media. However, as market economy has become a dominant policy in China, libertarianism within limits is now promoted. Its reflection in mass media practices is the commercialization of the mass media, even though still state owned, and the promotion of discussion on social and economic issues in the media, although within certain boundaries. Therefore, the mass media is expected to maintain the dual responsibility of both contributing to the national economy and being the mouthpiece of the state and the CPC.

The power of state control over communication is centralized by two agencies, the PRC State Council and the Propaganda Department of CPC Central Committee. Formal measures of exercising state policies on media include legislations, regulations, media licensing, directives, and guidelines. Informal measures consist of editorial appointments and internal censure. At the same time, self-censorship in journalism is expected, especially towards sensitive issues. The State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT) specifically oversees and regulates the operation and content of radio, television, and film in Mainland China, in accordance with the requirements of the CPC and reports directly to the State Council.

Official policies that specifically apply to ethnic broadcasting in China are scarce. Instead of appearing as legislations and regulations, they more often come in the forms of occasional directives and guidelines. However, the fundamental guidelines on ethnic broadcasting practice can be distilled from three sources: ethnic policies, propaganda policies, and mass media policies.

Looking into ethnic policies first, the most recent ethnic policy implementations are reflected in the *Eleventh Five-year Plan on Ethnic Minority Affairs* (the 11th Five-year refers to the period of 2006-2010; State Council General Office of the PRC, 2007-14), in which several aspects of broadcasting development are mentioned. The State Council's *Several Comments of the State Council on Further Prosper and Develop Ethnic Minority Cultural Undertakings* (2009-29) further elaborated on some similar points. First of all, basic infrastructure building in ethnic regions, including broadcasting infrastructure building, is the foremost priority. The plan's goal is to realize accessibility to broadcasting services in natural villages with more than 20 households in ethnic autonomous regions. On broadcasting content, the plan encourages more quality programming on ethnic topics and in ethnic languages. Ethnic broadcasting programming should, according to the plan, contribute to the distribution of knowledge in ethnic languages, the realization of a harmonious social environment among various ethnic groups, and the development of ethnic cultures. Ethnic culture development includes the usage and development of ethnic languages, which in broadcasting would mean further improvement of translation and production of ethnic language programming. Finally, in distributing funding to local broadcasting's development, preference towards ethnic autonomous regions would be further raised.

The mass media, heavily controlled by the government, is regarded as part of the propaganda apparatus. The basic propaganda rules in Chinese media are that "all communication activities must be consistent with the Party Central Committee in ideology, politics, and action"; and the mass media as the central government's mouthpiece is the "means to maintain the fundamental interests of the party, the state, and people of all ethnic groups" (Wei & Dong, 1999, p.39). Therefore, in support of China's ethnic policy objectives,

ethnic broadcasting's task is to maintain China's national unity and social stability, to resolve domestic and international ethnic related conflicts, to promote the development of ethnic minority regions, to provide education for ethnic minorities, to enrich the entertainment for ethnic minorities, and to act as a propaganda tool against secession and foreign propaganda penetration.

Mass media policies on ethnic broadcasting in specific include broadcasting and journalism regulations on maintaining unity and stability of the nation, and guidelines on cultural sensitivity and the use of language and terms when dealing with ethnic topics. Chapter IV, Article 32 of the *Broadcasting Regulations* (State Council of the PRC, 1997-228) prohibits broadcasting stations to produce or broadcast programming that contains elements that would endanger national unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity, or incite ethnic separatism and undermine national cohesion. The National Journalist Association's self-regulatory *Chinese Journalists' Code of Ethics* (2009) specifically mentions the responsibility of ethnic propaganda, stating that journalists ought to "strictly abide and correctly propagate the policy of ethnic regional autonomy, equal rights, unity, and religious freedom among all ethnic groups, and to safeguard national sovereignty and social stability." The government censures mass media activities that violate ethnic minority customs, or insult ethnic minorities in anyway, especially when such activities cause consequences such as interethnic tension. The government takes actions of issuing orders and circulars urging media workers to study the state's ethnic policies, to understand and respect the customs of ethnic minorities, and to use language and terms carefully. Several official notices from the central government have addressed the specific issues in propaganda and mass media practices related to ethnic topics: the 1986 *Notice Regarding the Issue of Careful Treatment*

*of Ethnic Minority Customs* (Guanyu shenzhong duidai shaoshuminzu fengsuxiguan wenti de tongzhi) from the SEAC, the 1987 *Notice Regarding Preventing Further Incidents of Smearing, Insulting Ethnic Minorities in Propaganda and Reporting, and Literary and Artistic Creations* (Gunayu zai xuanchuan baodao he wenyichuangzuo zhong fangzhi jixu fasheng chouhua, wuru shaoshuminzu shijian de tongzhi) from the Propaganda Department, the United Front Work Department of CPC Central Committee, and the SEAC, and the 1994 *Notice on Prohibiting Content that Damages National Cohesion in News Publications and Literary and Artistic Works* from the SEAC (State Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1994-362).

*Domestic propaganda: the case of Tibet.*

Broadcasting is the ideal propaganda media in China, especially towards the large population of ethnic minorities in rural China. In a 2006 study on the degree of mass media impact on ethnic minorities in rural China (X.H. Lin & Zhong, 2008), it was found through questionnaires that television is the second most important factor that influences the villagers' thinking, after *family* and followed by *school*. Radio broadcasting is ranked the seventh, with books, newspaper, magazine, and the Internet ranked afterwards. Print media is declining in rural areas because of inconveniences in its distribution, the low level of Han language literacy among ethnic minority peasants, and the general popularity of broadcasting media in rural China.

Taking the domestic broadcasting propaganda on Tibetan issues for instance, it is said that CNR's Tibetan broadcasting in the 1950s, by efficiently conveying the policies of the party and the state, eventually changed the beliefs of many aristocrats and local officials, and contributed to "the peaceful liberation of Tibet" as the CPC puts it (Zhao, 2007). Though

continuous interethnic conflicts exist in Tibet, the outbreak in March 2008 provoked a series of concentrated propaganda activities from all media outlets, both to counteract international criticisms and to stabilize domestic disorder. CCTV for example, besides media activities on its television network, a CCTV website in both Chinese and English specifically for news and documents on Tibetan issues was launched. The website also included a collection of documentaries and features on Tibet that CCTV produced over the years. These features cover Tibet's human rights issues, economic and social developments, cultural and natural preservations, and history. This set of propaganda presented and interpreted the news and history of Tibet from the Chinese central government's standpoint, with an abundance of factual evidence such as historical photos, archival footages, documents, and data. The integrated propaganda activities of Chinese mass media soon unified the majority domestic public opinion on the event, and gradually dispelled concerns especially among the Han population.

The year 2009 marked the 50th year of democratic reforms in Tibet, and March 28 was designated as the Tibet Serf Emancipation Day, which became a large publicity event for China. The Reform in 1959 was the CPC's transformation of Tibet's feudal serfdom society to a socialist one. The abolition of serfdom in this event liberated millions of Tibetan serfs. In March, the State Council Information Office published the White Paper on *Fifty Years of Democratic Reform in Tibet* (2009a). Correspondingly, CCTV produced a documentary series in the namesake (X.Y. Li, 2009), translating the central ideas of the White Paper into audiovisual languages. Several other documentaries, *Cross Over* (Duan, 2009), *Tibet Past and Present* (Liu, 2009), and *The Story of Tibet's Serfs* (2009), were also produced for the occasion. The main ideas of these programs are to condemn Tibet's history that was darker

than Medieval Europe when ruled by theocratic aristocrats, and to present the great changes CPC governance made to Tibet and Tibetans in the past 50 years. The programs also devote significant sections to denouncing Dalai Lama's role in Tibet's dark history, contributing to CPC's present day propaganda against the Dalai Lama government.

*In The Story of Tibet's Serfs*, true stories of former Tibetan serfs before the 1959 democratic reform of Tibet were told, convincingly demonstrating the extreme inequality and cruelty of the serfdom system, the sharp contrasts between the 5% of theocratic ruling class and the rest of the population, and the contrasts between the past and the present of Tibet and Tibetan people. It also gives the CPC's perspective of CPC takeover of Tibet, and the root of the conflicts between the Chinese central government and the Dalai government. As a propaganda product, the documentary appeals strongly to emotional response, but the historical facts introduced agree with China's historical background, without significant signs of wilful deception.

*Propaganda in an international context.*

Chinese ethnic broadcasting acts not only in the interests of domestic propaganda, but also as an active player in international propaganda. As borders of China's main ethnic regions all connect with foreign countries, especially Xinjiang, Tibet, and Yunnan that border with more than ten countries, Chinese ethnic broadcasting has been put in the international arena. On one hand, foreign ethnic broadcasting has been crossing the borders influencing Chinese audiences and competing with Chinese ethnic broadcasting; on the other hand, Chinese ethnic broadcasting is also trying to increase its international influences.

Foreign broadcasting in ethnic languages have been crossing borders and influencing

ethnic minority audiences. For example, Tibet Autonomous Region borders with India, Nepal, Bhutan, and Burma. Among these countries, Tibetan is used in many broadcasting services of Bhutan, India and Nepal. Before a project called Xixin began in 2000, which largely increased the transmission power and coverage of China's ethnic broadcasting, more than 40 foreign Tibetan broadcasting services could be received in the capital of Tibet. Among these services are ideologically competitive voices like the Voice of America (VOA) and BBC that broadcast around the clock in Tibetan. Foreign broadcasting services are therefore serious competitors to China's own ethnic broadcasting. This competition is defined as *broadcast warfare* in China, the very same that is believed to have contributed to the disintegration of the Soviet Union (Piao, 2001). Due to the existing ethnic issues on the peripheries of China, ethnic regions have become a weak link for foreign political penetration of the communist China, and therefore the broadcast war zone. It is a war of political and ideological "penetration and antipenetration," "Westernization and antiwesternization," and "secession and antiseccession" (Piao, 2001).

Foreign broadcasting has its advantages in gaining popularity among locals with its innovative forms and friendly tone, which contrast with Chinese ethnic broadcasting such as the CNR's propaganda oriented programming and accompanying authoritative voice. With limited sources of entertainment, people in the peripheral ethnic regions pass their evenings listening to radio. The potential gradual influence of foreign media on local public opinion is alarming to the Chinese authorities. Yin (2008) remarked in her discussion on the CNR's ethnic services that the hardware of China's ethnic broadcasting has greatly advanced through projects like Xixin, yet the programming still needs great improvements: the propaganda oriented journalism and the condescending tone must be changed to compete

with foreign voices.

China is also making efforts to increase its international broadcasting influences besides furthering its influences within China. Though mandated for national broadcasting, CNR's ethnic language broadcasting has crossed Chinese borders as well, contributing to China's international communication. CNR's ethnic programming can be received in a dozen neighbouring countries including North Korea, South Korea, Japan, Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkey, Iran, India, and Nepal. The CNR (China National Radio Ethnic Broadcasting Centre, 2005) reported they have knowledge that "the ethnic separatist forces, religious extremist forces, and terrorist forces outside China also pay close attention to the broadcasting on CNR's National Voice." For example the Dalai government in India has designated people to listen to the Tibetan broadcasting of CNR, and the East Turkistan terrorist organizations have done the same with CNR's Uyghur and Kazakh broadcasting. CNR also remarked that when the National Voice broadcasted the White Papers on Tibet and Xinjiang issues, the editorial department received hostile phone calls from the above-mentioned groups, signifying the broadcasts have "hit their sore points."

China Radio International (CRI) is China's official international radio broadcaster derived from CNR's international propaganda department. As the state's international voice, CRI currently broadcasts in 38 foreign languages, Mandarin Chinese, and four Chinese dialects. Ethnic issues have always been an important part of CRI's international propaganda. Since the founding of the PRC, CRI has reported on the economic and social developments of ethnic minority regions in its news programming, "refuted the attacks and slanders of Western hostile forces on China over the Tibetan issue" (Q. Lin, 2000, p.3), and broadcasted counter reports on other ethnic issues in China against foreign criticisms. CRI has also

several feature programming on ethnic minorities, such as *China's Ethnic Minorities*, and *Chinese Muslims*. Finally, though not as internationally widespread as radio, several channels of CCTV have also gone global through the popularization of satellites in television transmission, contributing to China's international ethnic propaganda.

*Program supports on availability and accessibility.*

The majority of Chinese populations are peasants residing in rural areas. The lack of technology, infrastructure, and information in these areas, which includes the extensive rural ethnic minority regions, is a major concern in China. Also, the five ethnic autonomous regions in China are large landmasses on the peripheries of Western China, where economic growth is much slower than Eastern regions. Therefore, both developing rural China and the remote Western ethnic regions have been top priorities of the government in the past decade. For broadcasting specifically, programs with considerable governmental investments in bringing broadcasting to rural regions and remote ethnic regions in particular were launched in recent years.

*Cuncuntong* (Coverage to every village) is a project launched in 1998 and still ongoing. Its goal is to extend radio and television coverage to every household of every rural village in China, and to ensure that the coverage would last. In support of a bigger strategy – China's *New Rural Construction* (Xin nongcun jianshe) – Coverage to every village is to enhance the information and communication infrastructures in rural China. Bringing broadcasting services to rural China would speed up the development of these massive lands, and motivate a balanced development in both urban and rural China. The complete project is expected to be accomplished by 2020.

The first phase of the project was to realize broadcasting coverage in all administrative villages. The basic programming package transmitted to these villages is called 4+2, which includes four television channels and two radio channels: CCTV 1 the comprehensive channel, CCTV 7 the rural channel, CCTV Children's channel, the provincial television comprehensive channel, CNR 1 the comprehensive channel, and the provincial radio comprehensive channel. The second phase was in 2004 and 2005. The same services were extended to all villages that had more than 50 households. By the end of 2005, the government had invested about RMB 3.5 billion yuan (currency of the PRC; equals to around half a billion US dollars) in the project, and it was estimated that 0.1 billion people in rural areas benefited from it (National Development and Reform Commission, Ministry of Finance, & State Administration of Radio Film and Television, 2007).

A total of another 11 billion yuan is being invested during the 11th five-year plan between 2006 and 2010. Goals of the third phase include extending coverage to villages with more than 20 households and already connected to electricity, which is about 0.7 billion villages. Also, the basic programming package is expanded to 8+4 (i.e. eight television services and four broadcasting services) in districts where circumstances permit. DBS is adopted in the third phase for the first time in China's domestic broadcasting, as it is the most efficient way of connecting remote villages to broadcasting services. The new public service DBS platform would be able to provide as many as 47 channels to rural areas (National Development and Reform Commission et al., 2007). From the latest data of 2007, broadcasting coverage in rural China has now reached 94.12% in radio and 95.60% in television (State Administration of Radio Film and Television, 2007b).

Another major project in increasing broadcasting coverage is the ongoing *Xixin* project.

The targeted areas are Tibet, Xinjiang, and other remote ethnic regions, which cover about half of China's landmass. Launched in 2000 by the SARFT, this 4 billion yuan project's primary focus was first to increase radiobroadcasting coverage, and later extend to increasing television and film services. By building the infrastructures in broadcasting transmission and providing broadcasting and film content, the project contributes to China's aim of developing the Western regions.

Other short-term programs, like sending free colour televisions to underdeveloped ethnic regions and SARFT's designation of 2005 as the "Year of servicing rural regions" (Bai & Qiu, 2006), are also initiatives that contribute to enhancing broadcasting accessibility in ethnic minority regions.

*The practice of a central to local system.*

Broadcasting agencies in China are hierarchically structured from central to local. This systematic multilevel broadcasting system is reflected in both policy and practice. The central broadcasters, such as CNR and CCTV, are national networks that represent the voice of the party and the state, therefore maintain the most crucial roles in Chinese broadcasting. Local broadcasters are stratified to levels of provincial (or autonomous region), municipal (prefecture, state, league), and county (banner), consistent with the state's administrative and legal systems, and regulated by SARFT local divisions. Central and local broadcasting each has its division of labour and focus, with the central broadcasters covering national concerns and the local broadcasters catering to local needs, and with the central broadcasters holding the greatest responsibility in state propaganda, while local broadcasters support and stay consistent with the propaganda strategies of the central broadcasters.

The previous sections have introduced the two central radio broadcasters, CNR and CRI, and the television broadcaster CCTV. Though these central broadcasters do not necessarily broadcast in ethnic languages, they are nonetheless responsible for representing the ethnic population and ethnic issues in their programming, and providing active support to the central government's propaganda related to ethnic relations. Ethnic issues and ethnic minority populations are strategically covered in these broadcasters' news, features, cultural programming, and others, presenting a multiethnic China in its most positive light. The main themes include the policies on equality of ethnic groups, national unity, ethnic regional autonomy, and ethnic minority cultures, customs, and religious beliefs. During special events, such as the annual National People's Congress and National Committee of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, special care is given to give publicity to ethnic representatives and issues.

Local ethnic broadcasting includes the broadcasting agencies of the five ethnic autonomous regions, the multiethnic provinces with concentrated ethnic minority population, and the various levels of ethnic autonomous areas in other provinces. Local broadcasters have three main tasks: relay news and other programming from the central broadcasters, produce their own ethnic language programming, and build local broadcasting infrastructures. Local broadcasters are important complements and extensions to the central broadcasting. First, local broadcasters provide ethnic language services specific for local conditions, which is much needed since even populations of the same state-recognized ethnic group might use different ethnic languages. Secondly, local broadcasters are closer to the local audiences, which is a factor in effective propaganda. Thirdly, local broadcasters are able to address specific local issues, especially in dealing with cross-border issues that are specific to the

region. To elaborate on this point, since many ethnic groups' indigenous lands cross the borders of China, it is necessary for local broadcasters to communicate to their people in their languages the ethnic policies and developments in China, in order to maintain stability on the borders. Furthermore, in border regions where international public opinion is especially sensitive, the propaganda responsibilities of local broadcasters are particularly great. Local broadcasters also need to fight cross-border crimes like smuggling, drug trafficking, and illegal immigration, and at the same time, promote cross-border trade and tourism to people from both sides.

*Summary.*

The main purposes of Chinese ethnic broadcasting are to provide services for ethnic minorities and convey policies of the party and the state to ethnic minorities. Through providing broadcasting services, control over ethnic minorities is strengthened. Like indigenous broadcasting in Canada, coverage, infrastructures, and training are some of the major issues in China. Therefore, the development objectives of Chinese ethnic broadcasting are to produce high quality programming and develop more extensive coverage, with the principle that the programming is ideologically correct directives to the ethnic minority public opinion.

Overall, opposite to the situation in more developed areas where television is more popular, radio is much more developed and popular in ethnic regions. This is reflected in both the contrast of the numbers of available radio and television services, and the contrast of available ethnic languages available in the two media. The popularity of radio is due to the remoteness of many ethnic regions, which are easier to reach through radio broadcasting

technology. Also, many rural areas in ethnic regions are not yet connected to electricity, which permits only the use of radio. Finally, it would be difficult for television to provide services in as many ethnic languages as radio due to significantly higher production costs. Therefore, radio development is prioritized in rural ethnic region. For instance, the first stages of the Xixin project have focused on radio.

The most distinctive characteristic of Chinese ethnic broadcasting is its political awareness, with significant political attributes in its ethnic broadcasting practices and policy discourse. This is primarily due to the highly sensitive nature of ethnic relations in China, including interethnic tensions, secession movements, and border conflicts. This gives ethnic broadcasting a much more crucial political role in China than in Canada. Political awareness is generally mandatory in all media activities in China, and the sense of being the central government's mouthpiece is fundamental in media practices, accompanied by the traditional propaganda discourse. Ethnic broadcasting, as a propaganda outlet, is operated with "unified guiding ideology, unified leadership, unified propaganda standard, and unified propaganda discipline" (Wei & Dong, 1999, p.39).

The strong impression of propaganda, which is deemed negative in Western communication but still common in Chinese ethnic broadcasting today, is problematic not only in China's international communication, but also in domestic communication where international competitions exist. The traditional propaganda of CPC is a top-down, one-way communication. Although the central broadcasting belongs to all ethnic groups in theory, its authoritative position distances itself from the ethnic audiences. Some have suggested changes to the style and content of central ethnic broadcasting, and introduced new strategies or approaches in propaganda (Piao, 2001; Yin, 2008). Though these opinions agree that

broadcasting needs to become closer to its ethnic audiences, each interprets the statement differently: while Piao's proposal speaks of adopting practices of Western broadcasting, Yin's ideas are still within the perimeters of traditional practices. Most likely, changes in the style of Chinese propaganda will take years of experimentation and gradual transformation.

Finally, opposite to Canada where local broadcasters are the primary players in ethnic broadcasting, it is the central state broadcasters who play an overwhelmingly stronger part in China, whereas local broadcasters have much less funding and influence. This is problematic because central broadcasters are more detached from the locals, therefore regard their audiences as subjects rather than peers, and even create evident oppositional positions at times of conflict between the minorities and the state.

## Chapter VI. Comparative Analysis

After getting acquainted in the previous sections with the general information of ethnic relations and ethnic broadcasting operations in Canada and China, the thesis analyzes in depth, using a comparative approach, the two countries' ethnic policies and theories, and ethnic broadcasting policies and practices.

### *Analysis on Ethnic Policies*

The analysis of ethnic policies lays a foundation for the subsequent analysis on ethnic broadcasting operations. Ethnic policies and theories in the two countries are first analyzed individually, than discussed together in regard to their implications for ethnic broadcasting. As the discussion on Chinese ethnic policy theories provides a theoretical framework that also offers a basis for the discussion on Canada, the case of China is analyzed first in this section.

### *Chinese ethnic policy theories and the depoliticization debate.*

Marxist Communism is the fundamental ideology in Chinese politics. As the most powerful communist country at the time and China's neighbour, the former Soviet Union as well as the thoughts of its leaders – Lenin and later Stalin – was most influential in the building of Chinese communism and the formation of Maoist thinking. After the founding of the PRC, due to the lack of administrative experiences, the CPC adopted many models from the Soviet Union including its ethnic policies. Among other parallels, the identification of ethnic minority groups based on Stalin's definition of nationalities and the compulsory registration of ethnicity are both copied from the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics).

The 56 state-recognized ethnic groups in China are officially called *nationalities*, derived from the former Soviet's nationalist narrative of domestic ethnic relations. Nation as a sociopolitical concept is closely associated with the nationalist movements originated from Europe, referring to political entities tied to a more or less stable territory (Ma, 2007). Ethnicity, on the other hand, is a sociocultural concept that appeared first in the last century in the US to describe distinct cultural groups (Ma, 2007), and was introduced into China's anthropological studies not long ago (J. Yang, 2005, chap.7). Though also tied with a place of origin, an ethnic group is essentially characterized by its cultural traditions and histories. With changes of internal and external conditions, an ethnic group and a nation are transferable. Chinese scholar Ma (2007) has conceptualized this transition process into an "ethnicity-nation" continuum, with *a cultural minority* (a cultural group) and *a nation-state* (a political entity) on either end. In reality however, ethnic groups are in between rather than on either extreme of this continuum. A group's quantitative change of moving towards either end of the continuum, with its nature as a political entity being either strengthened or weakened, may turn into qualitative change, for example the secession of an ethnic group from its original country to form an independent nation (Ma, 2007, p. 201).

Ma has proposed to change China's use of *nationality* in ethnic minority affairs to *ethnic group*, and only use *nation* to refer to the Chinese nation. This is to resolve the ambiguities of the two concepts in usage and to establish the cultural connotations of the ethnic minority groups rather than their political associations. As ethnicity is a new concept in Chinese academics, what it specifically refers to and whether nationalities of China are equivalent to the concept of ethnic group are still widely disputed. Though Western scholars

like Mackerras also raised doubts on the identification of the 56 nationalities in China and the concept of nationality itself (Mackerras, 2003, p. 2), the mainstream opinion in China is that ethnicity should not replace the commonly accepted concept of nationality to be used in Chinese ethnic politics and policies (J. Yang, 2005).

In Ma's discourse, the adoption of either of the two fundamental concepts, nationality or ethnicity, reflects the political or cultural approach of a country's ethnic policies. He made an instrumental differentiation of the two contrasting approaches and termed them as *politicization* and *culturalization* of ethnic relations. The traditional approach in Chinese history, he wrote, was a cultural approach, in which ethnic groups are regarded as cultural groups, ethnic relations are treated as cultural interactions, and minority issues are dealt with as interests and rights of individuals rather than that of an ethnic group. This also appropriately describes the policy approach stated in Canada's official multiculturalism policy today. In modern China however, following the steps of the former Soviet Union, the CPC took the approach of politicizing ethnic relations. Based on Marxist-Leninist theories, this politicized approach promotes governmental institutionalization of ethnicity and political empowerment of ethnic minorities. Ma asserts that this approach in the former Soviet Union's ethnic relations contributed to its disintegration: the policies of institutionalizing ethnicity segregated ethnic minorities, mentally and physically (each ethnic group is geographically concentrated in its own ethnic autonomous state), which in turn strengthened ethnic identities. Ma argues that this politicized approach fosters strong ethnic identities instead of unified national identities and reinforces boundaries between ethnic groups, creating forces that divide a country. Ma proposes that China needs to return to its historical cultural approach in treating ethnic relations in order to strengthen its national identity and

stability.

As Ma has demonstrated in his paper, a culturalized approach towards ethnic relations is not a new idea; its precedents can be found in Chinese history and the US today. Ma's culturalization and politicization differentiation also resembles Schermerhorn's thesis on cultural pluralism and structural pluralism (cited in P.S. Li, 1999, p.164). Finally, similar notions can also be found in Canada's own multiculturalism policy as it was initially introduced with the intention of depoliticizing ethnic relations, particularly in tuning down Québec's political claims. Precedents show that Ma's illustration of this culturalized approach may have been idealized. Taking the culturalized approach in Chinese history for example, Chinese historians have revealed that ethnic relations in Chinese history were unequal at the very least (J. Yang, 2005): differential treatment and discrimination against other ethnic groups not in reign were commonly seen in regimes ruled by either majorities or minorities. For instance, members of the ethnic group in reign were regarded superior than people of other ethnicities, and governmental positions were mostly given to people of the ruler's own ethnicity. Though it was usually true that ethnic minorities were not forced to conform to the majorities' cultural traditions, assimilation was absolutely necessary in order to become part of the mainstream society. China's traditional approach in ethnic acculturation can best be described as "noncompulsory assimilation" (Chen, 2008). Therefore, although politicized ethnic relations pose serious issues to national unity, a culturalized approach is also not without its limitations in practice.

Though Ma's thesis only reflects one dimension of looking at ethnic policies – culturalization and politicization – his opinion is one of the few radical mainstream (being a renowned scholar at Peking University of China) Chinese voices in the field that openly

object to the ethnic policies of China, criticizing that they are fundamentally wrong. His bold questioning of the current policies, and the adoption of many new ethnic theories in the Chinese context that form significant contrasts with Marxist-Leninist traditions, have possibly revealed some core problems in China's ethnic politics today. The contrasting analysis of politicization and culturalization also points out the fundamental differentiation between China's ethnic policies and Canada's official multiculturalism.

Ma's radical perspective on Chinese ethnic relations has caused a stir in Chinese academics, attracting many advocates and even more criticisms and attacks. One of the oppositional arguments is that Chinese ethnic policies are designed based on the specific circumstances of the country (Chen, 2008): China is a multiethnic country with an overwhelming majority of over 90%; there are evident historical disparities in economic and cultural developments between the Han and other ethnic minority groups; the Han is the de facto dominant group in Chinese politics; and China is still in the primary stage of socialism, as the CPC states, during which complete ethnic equality has not been realized. Therefore, the rights and developments of ethnic minority groups need to be promoted by targeted policies that ensure their economic development, cultural preservation, and political participation. Chen also protested that a nation-state's ethnic relations are inherently political – all ethnic policies with state interferences are political activities. Indeed, he is not the only scholar who pointed out that complete culturalization of ethnic policies is not possible and cultural pluralism without any structural assurances is unrealistic (P.S. Li, 1999, p.166).

Though Ma's conceptualization of a continuum model is between a cultural ethnic group and a nation-state, such a continuum could also be reasonably applied to the culturalization and politicization of ethnic relations. Must either one or the other of these two

contrasting approaches be adopted? Is there a middle ground that could be sought for? Ma has pointed out the problems in the overly politicized approach in Chinese ethnic policies. However, the solution is perhaps not to jump directly to the culturalized approach on the opposite end, but to move from today's extreme towards a more culturalized ethnic policy. Moderation in change might be more feasible and rational.

Some more modest advocates of ethnic policy adjustments in China propose that as Chinese society progresses, especially with its rapid economic development, the current ethnic policies no longer fit China's circumstances. Luo and Xu (1999) in their article first affirm China's progress on ethnic affairs in the past half a century and then point out that many current ethnic policies were made before the Economic Reform of 1978. With few developments in China's ethnic policy theories made since then, the policies could no longer adapt to the new realities. The Reform has largely increased the gap between the development of the east and the west of China, which has reinforced the ethnic identities of ethnic minorities due to their discontents. One of the most important laws in Chinese ethnic affairs, the *Regional National Autonomy Law* of 1984, has also encountered many difficulties in its actual implementations because of its inadaptability to the market economy since the Reform. Luo and Xu propose a series of changes to China's ethnic policies including amendments to the *Regional National Autonomy Law*. These new policies would primarily adhere to the traditional Marxist ethnic theories, and also the guidance of Deng Xiaoping's theories especially the theories on market economy.

Luo and Xu hold the view that economic disparity is the fundamental issue in China's interethnic tensions and can only be resolved through economic development (Luo & Xu, 1999, p.9). However, Ma (2007) points out that although economic disadvantages are indeed

a factor in ethnic uprisings in China, identity rather than economy is the fundamental cause of conflicts. Current ethnic uprisings in China show that religion, ideology, and ethnic and cultural identity play a significant role in the cause of these incidents. Economic development alone will not be enough to ensure the unity of China (Iredale, Bilik, & Su, 2001, p. 64).

Whether the ethnic policies need to be changed, towards which direction the change should be, and how far the change should go are ongoing debates in China. Resistance towards radical changes is evident in scholarly circles; and in fact, little change has been made in China's ethnic policies in the past decades. Proposals of change to policies like the ethnic policies have encountered the barrier of traditions: ethnic policies of China today have been practiced for more than half a century since the founding of the PRC; changes to such policies would somewhat insinuate the denial of the CPC's past achievements in ethnic relations; most importantly, Marxist-Leninist Communism is the fundamental theory in Chinese politics, and proposals of radical changes that deviate from this foundation may lead to further deviations in other aspects of Chinese politics. New ideas like Ma's proposal that oppose the fundamental theories in Chinese politics are yet too radical to become the mainstream in the near future.

*Canadian Multiculturalism policy and its controversies.*

It might be controversial to compare Canada's ethnic issues on Aboriginal people and the Québécois to China's domestic ethnic relations, for instance the Tibetan issues. Yet the two countries do share certain traits that could justify comparisons. To begin with, Ma's critiques of China can also be applied to Canada. In Ma's theorization of the ethnicity-nation

continuum (Ma, 2007, p.201), Québec's referendums in 1980 and 1995 have been referenced as a fair example of quantitative change in the strength of the group's political identity, leading to possible qualitative change of the group's nature. Though many circumstances differ, Québec's political claims have caused as much disturbance to Canada's unity as Tibet has in China, and essentially, both have claimed for independence and rights based on ethnicity. Canada's official recognition of the three Aboriginal peoples, registration of status Indian, and granting Aboriginal autonomous rights on indigenous lands are similar to China's official recognition of 56 ethnic groups, compulsory registration of ethnicity, and autonomy in ethnic regions. In addition, both Québécois and the Aboriginal peoples have been given special status in Canada's politics. From this perspective, Canada's ethnic relations are just as politicized, despite the culturalized approach of the official Multiculturalism policy. Culturalization or politicization is merely the government's different approaches of framing the inherently political issues of ethnic relations and national unity in policies. The difference between the two countries is that China has politicized ethnic relations proactively by adopting the former Soviet's policy model, whereas Canada's politicization of ethnic relations has been formed through the government's passive responses to a series of political demands of ethnic groups, especially the French-Canadians and Aboriginal peoples.

Though praised by some as an ideal model – superior to the melting pot pluralism of the US, multiculturalism is nonetheless greatly contested in many aspects within Canada. Multiculturalism policy's approach of depoliticizing differences and diversity has led to the criticism that the policy, by committing to "diversity that is only skin deep" (Fleras & Elliott, 2002, p.79), is merely a symbol without substance the government uses to disguise the fundamental inequalities in the society. Neither do all agree with promoting ethnic cultural

diversity as an official policy. In the popular and controversial book, *Selling Illusions: the Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* (2002), Bissoondath emphasizes that ethnicity is a personal experience of ethnic origin and culture that is diverse among individuals, and not a trait that defines all ethnic minorities of a certain origin. He argues that the current practices of the Canadian multiculturalism policy promote the stereotypical and superficial depiction of ethnicity and the simplification of culture; they foster stereotypes, ghettoization and marginalization of ethnic minorities, thus divisive to our society. Over the last few decades since the introduction of the policy, heated debates have been ongoing. Many critiques, from the point of view of ethnic majorities or minorities, different political entities and positions, have opposed strongly to the policy and theory of multiculturalism. Among the very diverse issues of debate over multiculturalism that Fleras and Elliott (2002, chap.4) have well summarized, several points that are significant in relation to the topic in hand are presented here.

A general complaint of the multiculturalism policy is that the multiculturalism rhetoric does not always reflect the reality in practices. These include doubts on the supporting programs of the policy, discrepancies between policies and practices, and disappointment of policy supporters that the policy has not lived up to expectations. It is found through practice and scrutiny that multiculturalism, either the theory or the official policy, is a concept rather loosely defined. How the official multiculturalism policy is to be implemented is therefore highly debatable. For instance, as a culturalized approach on ethnic relations, how cultural inclusiveness and diversity that multiculturalism endorses should be reflected in actual practice? In fact, the multiculturalism Trudeau believed in is as what Bissoondath promotes – a personal experience; but how can this be materialized as a state policy? Due to the

intangible essence of culture, the practices of cultural diversity are often seen as the simplification or essentialization of culture, reducing ethnicity and ethnic culture to stereotypes. This pretence pluralism tends to treat ethnic minorities in collective groups rather than diverse individuals, and marginalizes minorities by framing their cultural traditions as exoticism. Furthermore, the celebration of diversity could be a divisive force in Canada. Without a strong centre to hold together the many fractions of pluralism, cultural diversity can segregate a society based on ethnicity. With the many cultural origins of Canadian population and a short history of living together, it has been hard to forge the national identity that defines the whole population and the national unity that holds everyone together. Balancing between the policy goal of national unity and the policy means of diversity is the greatest challenge of multiculturalism.

The oppositional voices to multiculturalism raise many reasonable concerns about the policy and reveal the difficulties in balancing the different effects of policy outcomes. These debates are helpful in evaluating the policy's practices, further developing the theories and policies of multiculturalism, and have increased the acceptance of multiculturalism as a national policy. The official multiculturalism policy has gone through several phases since its birth, with different emphasis in each phase to answer the changing demands of the society. As a young policy, theories of multiculturalism are still in development. Whether multiculturalism can be an ideal model depends on how it is defined, interpreted, adjusted to the new realities of the society, and actually implemented.

*Implications for ethnic broadcasting.*

Some major similarities can be identified in the two countries' ethnic policy debates.

Both Canada and China celebrate their cultural and ethnic diversities with the political goals of national unity and harmony. Though some people have voiced the concern that promoting diversity segregates people thus divisive to the nation, cultural diversity has been established as a mainstream ideology in the world today, since the intensification of globalization is preventing any country from being completely homogeneous. Both Canada and China have chosen to embrace rather than eliminate their multiculturalism. However, though the fundamental objectives of both countries' ethnic policies are national unity and cohesive multiethnic society building, the difficulties in forging national identity and unity are also encountered by both as fundamental issues. It would therefore be essential to find the best balance between national and ethnic identity, and between unity and diversity.

Secondly, although in official policies, the culturalized approach of Canadian multiculturalism policy promotes the individuality of minorities and the Chinese ethnic policies institutionalize ethnicity treating minority populations collectively; in practices, both countries tend to deal with ethnic minorities in groups rather than as individuals. In Canada, the institutionalization of ethnicity is in discursive forms towards "minorities of other origins," for example its employment equity programs; it is however very similar to China when it comes to the collective rights of French-Canadians and the Aboriginal peoples. These practices reinforce ethnic identities rather than promote integration between ethnic groups. As an advocate to civic rights instead of collective rights of ethnic minorities, Ma (2007) wrote:

The measure of institutionalizing ethnic relations might have both a positive and negative impact. Favorable policies toward disadvantaged groups might improve the situation in ethnic stratification and reduce the structural differences in education,

industry, occupation and income among groups. Discriminatory policies towards disadvantaged groups might worsen the situation in ethnic stratification and provoke ethnic tension. In both cases, these policies designed for ethnic groups as a whole will certainly strengthen ethnic identity and consciousness. Under certain historical and social circumstances, policies favourable toward minorities might effectively improve ethnic relations and reduce tensions and promote cooperation, but these policies will certainly not weaken ethnic consciousness or promote integration. (p.211)

Seeing ethnic minorities as individuals of ethnic heritages or as ethnic groups is a matter of emphasis. Ethnicity by definition is the collective cultural traditions and histories of a people. At the same time, scholars noted that individuality in ethnic groups should not be ignored. Policies treating minorities in groups accentuate the gaps between groups, whereas policies emphasizing individuals of an ethnic group focus mainly on respect and acceptance of individual's cultural differences. This thesis shows preference towards emphasizing ethnic minorities' individual rights and identities, with the belief that this would promote the integration of people of different origins in a multiethnic society.

Thirdly, the implementation of policy is encountered as one of the major problems in both countries. There are similar problems in the inadaptability of policy in actual practices, and unexpected policy outcomes. A major aspect of implementation difficulties is to grasp the abstract concepts of diversity and culture. Both countries are criticized for their ways of treating ethnic minority cultures. Canada's multiculturalism has been criticized as essentializing culture and China has been accused for showcasing superficial ethnic cultural diversity as a political tool (Iredale et al., 2001, p. 65).

These similarities in the fundamental ethnic policies of Canada and China reveal

common issues in ethnic relations that are at least relevant to more than one multiethnic country. But how do these discussions on ethnic policies apply to the policies and practices of ethnic broadcasting? Broadcasting services in ethnic languages exist for practical reasons, mainly due to some ethnic populations' low competency in the official or majority languages. Ethnic language services are also important to ethnic cultural retention because language is an integral part of culture. Just as it is argued that promoting diversity segregates the society, broadcasting services targeted specifically at certain ethnic minorities in certain ethnic languages can also be deemed divisive. However, the question of divisiveness or cohesiveness of ethnic broadcasting depends on the policies that guide it, and depends more on the content rather than the language used. If handled tactfully, ethnic broadcasting could be the mass media that speaks most closely to ethnic minorities, and therefore is a useful tool in ethnic communication. Besides the broadcasting media's responsibility of providing equal services for populations of all ethnicities, it could serve multiethnic nations in more profound levels through its programming. Among the common issues in the two countries' ethnic relations, some priorities of ethnic broadcasting should include promoting ethnic cultures and traditions to enhance their acceptance in the mainstream society as social norms, strengthening a mutual national identity that is beyond ethno-cultural differences, and putting more focus on individuality rather than ethnic group identities.

Canada has established through the Multiculturalism policy that its vision of its ethnic policies is a culturalized approach. However, some practices of institutionalizing ethnicity in Canada show a highly politicized side of its ethnic relations. To attain real equality among populations of all ethnicities, critical multiculturalism advocates would prefer the restructuring of ethnic power relations in Canada, and the political empowerment of

marginalized groups. Yet, this politicized ethnic relations approach is more likely to counteract national unity in the long run, by reinforcing boundaries between people based on ethnicity. The demands of ethnic minorities for political empowerment are legitimate claims in the struggle against ethnic subordination; they show the minorities' strong will in identity preservation. These conflicts of interests between peoples can only be resolved over time. From the perspective of the state, these demands need to be balanced with the primary ethnic policy goal of national unity. Ethnic issues therefore need to be gradually depoliticized, that is framing ethnic issues as cultural issues rather than stability jeopardizing political issues. Ethnic broadcasting can be an instrumental tool to the government in achieving this.

Unlike China's mass media system that is centralized and has a long established national ethnic broadcasting agency, Canada's ethnic broadcasting landscape, particularly in the sector of ethnic minorities other than the Aboriginal peoples, shows little state involvement. To produce sufficient Canadian content that reflects ethnic cultural diversity closely tied to Canada's national context, much more governmental support is needed. Also, putting ethnic or multicultural content on the national public broadcasting or similar platforms can create a common multicultural discourse among all members of the society. Though the centralized control of the government on such content is regarded as a negative force, the moderate use of this approach could contribute to the goal of diversity within unity. Establishing a national ethnic network as well as increasing multicultural content on public funded broadcasters could both contribute to this goal.

As for China, the thesis has earlier noted that changes to China's ethnic policies have faced many barriers; little change on the overall policy has been made recently and radical changes are unrealistic today. Due to the distinctive political environment of China – a

fundamentally totalitarian state – presuming that its ethnic media truthfully reflects the ethnic relations of the country is imprudent, neither is proposing that ethnic media practices can influence the country's ethnic affairs. However, even though a state's political system is decisive on how a country is run, and the general ethnic policies outline the basic principles of how ethnic affairs are dealt with, the actual practices in China's ethnic affairs have been changing gradually according to the new circumstances encountered. Policies need to be stable, but practices can be more experimental and may eventually lead to policy changes. Ethnic broadcasting practices could be such an aspect in China's ethnic affairs that might lead to gradual changes.

Since the Reform and Opening-up, many aspects of China have changed drastically, including the way of governance and people's minds. Learning from the experiences of Western countries and merging into the global village have become a common ideology. Western thoughts have gradually entered and changed China, including the thoughts on ethnic relations and media practices. Taking into account the progress of China's changes in the past decades, the power of the diffusion of ideas in China should not be underestimated. Even with tight control from the central government and many propaganda responsibilities, the mass media is expected by the central government to better adapt to the market, the needs of its audiences, and the new realities that a globalized world imposes. In this light, it would be extreme to decide that certain aspects of China, like its ethnic relations, cannot be changed due to its fundamental political system or political environment. It is more of a question of what can be changed and what cannot in the present time within the basic frameworks and guidelines of the government. When the actual practices in ethnic communication or other ethnic affairs have changed and stabilized as common practices, the related policies or

systems might no longer be in accordance with the widely accepted reality. The government is more likely to adapt policies to the new reality than to reverse established practices through radical changes, risking the destabilization of its ethnic relations. At any rate, ethnic media can be a tentative entry point to realize gradual changes in ethnic relations, to experiment with new approaches in ethnic policies, and implement ethnic policies in real life practices.

In China, reinforcing national identity has always been on the agenda of ethnic broadcasting propaganda. However, the ideological propaganda practiced in a highly politicized discourse has not successfully established the Chinese identity among ethnic minorities as strong as their ethnic identities. Adopting new tactics and styles of broadcasting, which are being pursued by Chinese scholars and media practitioners (Piao, 2001; Yin, 2008), would be essential for ethnic broadcasting to effectively reinforce national identity and promote national cohesion. Some points made in the prior analysis on ethnic policies, including moving towards a culturalized approach and putting more focus on individuals rather than ethnic groups, are consistent with the views of Chinese writers, such as Piao and Yin, on new directions of ethnic communication.

The priority of both Canada and China in the long-term is to build a strong national identity. In Canada, the civic model of multiculturalism at present is appealing to Canadians for their responsibilities and participations as citizens. As a young country, Canada still needs the necessary time for its diverse population to live together and accumulate shared experiences in order to form a strongly founded common Canadian identity. Comparing to a political national identity that the USSR promoted and China has adopted, a deeply rooted cultural national identity has more tenacity and appeals more strongly to individuals. In both

countries, their policy of celebrating cultural diversity would help to dissolve ethnic boundaries in the long term. Although celebrating diversity and dissolving ethnic boundaries seem contradictory, increasing the awareness of ethnic cultures through celebrating diversity could increase the acceptance of ethnic cultures and ethnic populations as social norms and equals, which in the long-term would diminish the barriers between ethnic groups. Ethnic stratification will probably only completely vanish in an ideal society, but in a society that promotes equality and unity, it is reasonable to expect that the boundaries imposed by ethnicity as a social construct will gradually become less significant as a multiethnic population builds its common homeland. This kind of culturalized approach in ethnic relations can be best promoted through culture related practices such as the mass media. Through daily practices, the mass media can gradually forge national identities, foster ethnic identities that do not conflict with national unity, demolish ethnic boundaries, and integrate cultures. In this case, ethnic content not only is important for providing services for ethnic minorities alone, but also should be easily accessible to the general public, for it could be designed to raise cultural awareness and forge locally based multicultural discourse.

#### *Analysis on Ethnic Broadcasting Systems*

The review on the ethnic broadcasting operations in Canada and China has shown that ethnic broadcasting in each country is very differently defined, depending on the country's demographics, political system, media governance approach, and the social and political goals of its broadcasting operation. For instance, Canada's ethnic broadcasting includes both indigenous and migrant ethnic broadcasting due to its diverse ethnic demographics, whereas China's ethnic broadcasting is only intended for indigenous ethnic minorities. Though both countries' ethnic broadcasting operations involve transnational media activities, these

activities in Canada are mainly the import of programming from the migrant ethnic minorities' countries of origin, whereas in China, the activities concentrate on the export of media content for international propaganda in support of its ethnic politics goals. As to the overall ethnic broadcasting mediascape, Canada has a very diverse one, consisting of indigenous and migrant, public and private, and local and transnational broadcasting services; whereas China's ethnic broadcasting is a more unified, hierarchical public media system.

The previous section on the comparative analysis of ethnic policies has covered the ethnic relations and philosophies of governmental ethnic relations management between the two countries. This section addresses the rest of the elements of an ethnic broadcasting system. Of the six elements (regulation of ethnic broadcasting, financing of ethnic broadcasting, accessibility of ethnic broadcasting, media content and journalism, transnational activities of ethnic broadcasting, and media audiences), this section chooses to specifically discuss four that reveal to be most the significant in this study. The following respective sections analyze comparatively the policy and regulatory framework (instead of limiting to only regulations), financing, accessibility, media content, and finally the ethnic broadcasting system as a whole.

#### *Policy and regulatory framework.*

This section compares the general policy and regulatory frameworks that frame and regulate the ethnic broadcasting practices in the two countries, remarking several differences in their policy structures, discourses, and emphases.

A major difference in the structures of the two countries' ethnic broadcasting policies is that there is a relatively distinct set of policies in Canada concerning ethnic broadcasting,

including explicit regulatory policies towards native broadcasting and ethnic broadcasting respectively. Policies towards ethnic broadcasting in China however are discursively reflected through ethnic policies, broadcasting policies, propaganda policies, and so forth, for example the ethnic policy of supporting the minorities' use of ethnic languages in the mass media and public lives.

Secondly, in Canada, because of its more complicated constitution of ethnic minority population, consisting of both indigenous and migrant ethnic minorities, ethnic broadcasting policies have to deal with a more complex and diverse population. These include the differential policies for indigenous and migrant ethnic broadcasting, based on their different population characteristics, needs, and status in the nation. Although dealing with indigenous and migrant ethnic minorities separately is a common practice in Canada's domestic affairs, its justification in broadcasting has not been well demonstrated in existing policy literatures. It is necessary to further elaborate in policies the reasons for differential treatments between the two groups, and allow discussions on their legitimacy. In China's ethnic broadcasting, differential treatment also exists among ethnic groups for example in governmental appropriations, based on factors such as population size and political consequence of the ethnic group. However, these considerations are carefully excluded in policy statements, since they could possibly contradict the ethnic policy principle of equal treatment of populations of all ethnic groups.

As for policy discourse, in Canada, besides regulatory policies that cover the practical side of ethnic broadcasting management, such as the Native Broadcasting Policy and the Ethnic Broadcasting Policy, policies and discussions on ethnic broadcasting are primarily in the discourse of multiculturalism or cultural diversity. In the case of China, although ethnic

cultural preservation is also deemed important in its ethnic policies, it is not emphasized in ethnic broadcasting policies or practices as it is in Canada. Instead, what is not overtly enunciated in Canadian Multiculturalism discourse – the national cohesion purpose of ethnic broadcasting – is explicitly emphasized in China’s ethnic broadcasting discourse. Another characteristic of China’s ethnic broadcasting policy discourse is that most policy programs for ethnic broadcasting development are designed as part of a larger plan for rural developments or Western region developments. This is due to the ethnic minorities’ population characteristic of concentrating in underdeveloped rural and Western China, which often put ethnic development issues into the larger picture of a more general development plan.

Lastly, on a closer look at the regulatory aspect of ethnic broadcasting policies, Canada’s focus is on the availability and accessibility of ethnic services, whereas the content of ethnic broadcasting relies mainly on self-regulation. In China, both provision and content of ethnic broadcasting are central in its regulatory policies. Content regulation is essential in the Chinese context because of the highly sensitive political role Chinese ethnic broadcasting plays, which mainly includes CPC’s propaganda in ethnic minority areas, and antisecession propaganda particularly in Tibet, Xinjiang, and border regions.

To sum up, Canada has a very structured, distinct set of ethnic broadcasting policies and regulations. Its main issue is the insufficiently justified differential treatment between migrant and indigenous ethnic broadcasting. China’s ethnic broadcasting relies heavily on the guidance of ethnic policies and media policies in general, without a set of direct policies for ethnic broadcasting. Despite this, ethnic broadcasting is more heavily regulated in China than in Canada. In Canada, ethnic broadcasting policies emphasize the aspect of cultural

diversity, which its ethnic broadcasting represents; whereas in China, the main emphasis in both policy discourse and specific regulations is ethnic politics, which poses many constraints on the daily practices of ethnic broadcasting. While in Canada, state power is represented in setting policy frameworks and regulating the media; in China, state power is penetrated into media operation.

### *Financing.*

The financing of ethnic broadcasting in both Canada and China is from three sources: government appropriation, advertising, and user fees. Because of the niche markets that ethnic broadcasting usually faces, it is often difficult for local ethnic broadcasting to self-support based on available market. This is especially evident in television, where high production fees are required. Many ethnic broadcasters in Canada therefore resort to imported programming. Nevertheless, with the limits on foreign programming set by the Canadian content rules, and the distinctiveness of indigenous cultures that cannot be replaced by importation, ethnic services with limited resources have lower quality in production than the mainstream media. To promote local content production, the government appropriates broadcasting funds through various modes in support of policies on promoting ethnic minority communication rights and cultures. Governmental support is also much needed in building ethnic broadcasting infrastructures. Ethnic regions of China and the Northern regions of Canada are large landmasses with small populations and laggard development. This means much funding, primarily governmental funding, is needed to support the broadcasting infrastructures that ensure broadcasting coverage in these areas.

In Canada, governmental funding is the primary economic source of public

broadcasting, consisting nearly two thirds of the operation funding of CBC's main channels (930 million over 1406 million in 2007-2008; CBC/Radio-Canada, 2009a). The rest of CBC's funding, and also the primary income of private ethnic broadcasters, come from advertising and other commercial activities. In addition, broadcasting services distributed through cable and satellite collect user fees that are divided between content providers and distributors. The majority of ethnic programming available in Canada is such speciality services that could only be accessed through subscription or pay-per-view services at a cost.

Besides public broadcasting, government appropriation in Canada is also given to indigenous broadcasting, contributing mainly to the building of broadcasting infrastructures in Northern regions and the operation of APTN. Although such governmental aid is solely for aboriginal broadcasting and cannot be found in migrant ethnic broadcasting, aboriginal broadcasting still suffers from insufficient funding in maintaining and upgrading its infrastructures, and producing original content. This is due to the small market size of indigenous broadcasting, the vastness of Northern regions that requires much resource in building broadcasting infrastructures, and the uniqueness of aboriginal cultures that limits the use of imported content. In comparison, migrant ethnic broadcasting though also small in size has a wealthier urban audience; requires contribution mainly in production, since there are already existing urban distribution networks; and could rely extensively on inexpensive imported content as long as it is within the limits of the Canadian content rules. These advantages make migrant ethnic broadcasting more suitable in self-support than aboriginal broadcasting. Nevertheless, financing of migrant ethnic broadcasting has not achieved a prime balance. As Roth (1998) criticized, a major problem in the implementation of Canadian ethnic broadcasting policies is the insufficiency of original high-quality ethnic-

language programming produced due to lack of funding.

In Mainland China, except a handful of foreign satellite services that are permitted to distribute through cable transmission, all other broadcasting services are public. Though the government subsidizes most public broadcasters in different degrees, the public media is expected to be financially self-supported since the Economic Reform. The majority of broadcasting media's financing therefore comes from advertising and other commercial activities, subsidized by cable service subscription fees. Governmental funding gives priority to national state broadcasters including CCTV, CNR, and CRI, whereas local governments subsidize local broadcasters based on their discretion. Additional governmental funding towards local ethnic broadcasters are most often not treated as ethnicity-based, but as developing local broadcasting as part of the national broadcasting system, with media content that caters to the specific needs of local ethnic populations.

For both countries' ethnic broadcasting, the lack of funding due to a difficult ethnic market is common. Financial support from the government is crucial in these cases in order to build the basic infrastructures for ethnic broadcasting production and distribution, especially in indigenous regions, to create incentive for the production of original content, which are crucial for the development of local ethnic culture, community, and broadcasting itself, and finally, to break the vicious cycle of low quality production, leading to small audience size and limited financial income to support further production.

#### *Accessibility.*

Accessibility of the media is the combined quality of its availability, affordability, and convenience. Canada's ethnic broadcasting has a variety of choices, especially with its large

range of imported programming, but most of these services are offered to viewers at a cost. The public broadcaster CBC has several services that can be defined as ethnic programming: CBC North, RCI Plus radio, and RCI Viva radio. Yet apart from CBC's aboriginal broadcasting, the other services are not easily accessible due to extra cost (RCI Plus radio), or its distribution method (RCI Viva radio is accessed online). Also, RCI Plus and RCI Viva as mentioned previously are services directed at international audiences, meaning that there is no presence of public ethnic broadcasting for domestic migrant ethnic populations. In the private sector, aside from local over-the-air (OTA) services, and APTN that is included in basic cable, all other speciality and pay ethnic services require separate user fees in addition to basic cable, which are not easily affordable by the mass of ethnic populations. At the same time, free OTA services are mostly distributed locally therefore have a limited reach.

Other limitations of OTA services include their commercial orientation, which holds content standards different from public broadcasting. Due to limited funding in local content production, most of OTA ethnic services' local productions are also below the average standard of Canadian broadcasting in general. In addition, OTA ethnic services are bounded by CRTC licensing to provide services to a number of ethnic language communities within limited broadcasting time (e.g. 21 languages are used in OMNI. 1, and another 19 languages in OMNI. 2), dissecting the broadcasting time into fragments that are only appropriate for audiences of a specific language. In sum, though free OTA ethnic services are present in most regions, their content cannot replace the presence of equivalent public broadcasting. The accessibility of ethnic programming in Canada is therefore confined by the insufficiency of ethnic broadcasting provided by the public broadcaster free of charge, the required user fees for each ethnic specialty and pay services, and the limitations of prevalent OTA ethnic

services.

In China, though ethnic audiences enjoy ethnic services thoroughly free of charge, they have limited choices available among central and local public broadcasters. Foreign ethnic broadcasting despite being accessible on the borders, are not permitted for legal distribution; and besides the three national broadcasting services, local ethnic broadcasting services are mostly only available within their own regions. The popularization of digital broadcasting distribution in China is now allowing a larger range of programming services available to each household. Some local ethnic channels, by distributing regionally or nationally through cable distributors, are increasing their influences and audience sizes, and the number of available ethnic services in an individual region.

Ethnic broadcasting in Canada and China represent respectively an ethnic broadcasting landscape that is private sector dominated, and another that has a strong public presence. The balance between the two would help to achieve an ethnic broadcasting system that provides public interest oriented services, as well as a variety of choices.

#### *Media content.*

In examining the programming of the two countries' ethnic broadcasting, several differences are significant in their orientation, usage of language, and core issues. First of all, Canadian ethnic programming is mostly culture and service oriented. Ethnic programming in China on the other hand has a strong sense of political agenda aside from the objective of providing services for ethnic minorities. This political orientation pervades Chinese ethnic broadcasting programming, from news to cultural programs. The main propaganda themes include China's developments, the Chinese government's strength, the enforcement of ethnic

policies, and the denunciation of secession movements.

There are also differences in the languages used. In Canada, besides some multicultural programming that broadcast in official languages, the majority of ethnic programming is in ethnic languages directed at specific ethnic groups. The use of language is also structured into Canada's ethnic broadcasting policy in terms of minimum and maximum percentages: there are specific quotas in the Ethnic Broadcasting Policy that define ethnic stations as those who broadcast in a third-language at least half of the time. In China, the national radio broadcaster provides services in several major ethnic languages, and local broadcasters broadcast in languages popularly used locally. At the same time, programming in the common Han language and programming on ethnic topics targeted at the general public have the same importance to the ethnic broadcasting landscape as programming in ethnic languages. Ethnic programming in common languages is helpful in creating integration rather than segregation between ethnic groups.

The content of ethnic broadcasting is the ultimate reflection of whether the commitment of providing equal broadcasting services to ethnic minorities is being fulfilled. In the case of China, it shows whether the extensive governmental effort put into broadcasting infrastructure is merely for the maintenance of propaganda control over ethnic minorities. As mentioned, ethnic broadcasting content in China today has been deemed problematic by scholars and media practitioners due to the traditional propaganda tactics used, which are inadaptable to today's globalized communication environment. They are first of all not to the taste of Western audiences, which might further antagonize international public criticisms on China's ethnic affairs; when facing domestic audiences, they also form strong contrasts with ethnic broadcasts from neighboring countries, especially the Western

broadcasters such as the VOA, who adopts more discursive topics and a casual tone. Yet, the deeper issue here is that political propaganda has been emphasized as the primary function of Chinese ethnic broadcasting in policies and practices. Undoubtedly, the effects of ethnic broadcasting on ethnic relations should be a central consideration in policy making, and propaganda campaigns are understandable at times of crises such as during the process of stabilizing Tibet in the March 14<sup>th</sup> aftermath. However in daily practices, public ethnic broadcasting should regard its primary responsibility as responding to the needs of ethnic minority audiences, rather than controlling them. In the long term, it should function ideally as a communication tool that links the cultures, identities, and lives of ethnic minorities and majorities.

The primary issue in the content of Canadian ethnic broadcasting is the difficulty of locally producing Multicultural content. A proud example of Canadian multicultural productions is CBC's *Little Mosque on the Prairie* (Nawaz, 2007), an English television dramatic series on a Muslim community in a Canadian prairie town. The series uses comedy to represent the lives of Muslim Canadians, and has gained a considerable audience to carry the show on to the fourth season in 2009. But few examples of Canadian local productions on Canadian multiculturalism, especially on ethnic minorities' lives, can be so proudly named (see CBC/Radio-Canada, 2009b).

Besides the financial difficulties aforementioned in producing local multicultural content in Canada, there is also the complexity of the concept of multicultural content itself. Multicultural content is not easy to operationalize without running the risk of essentializing ethnicity and culture. As Roth (1998) has criticized, a misinterpretation of multiculturalism is that,

Ethnocultural and racial origin is visible and/or audible, that selected traditions can be preserved and expressed through dedicated projects and programming, and that diversity can be explained to others in order to develop the kind of tolerance that a democratic pluralist population “should” demonstrate. (Introduction section, para.5)

In today’s Canadian ethnic broadcasting, there still remains the question of how multiculturalism should be interpreted in media policies and practices, which would determine whether multiculturalism content in the media is a separating or uniting force.

Content is the core of ethnic broadcasting that fundamentally determines the outcomes of ethnic broadcasting operations. Infrastructures, accessibility and financing that have been previously discussed are all in support of the goal of producing and distributing the content. Therefore, it is crucial to rethink what the goals of ethnic broadcasting are, in order to determine the content that would serve these central purposes.

#### *Broadcasting system.*

The public and national broadcasters have different levels of significance in the two countries’ ethnic broadcasting systems. In Canada, despite the public broadcaster’s essential role in the broadcasting system in general, it has a minor role in ethnic broadcasting – the aboriginal ethnic broadcasting relies partly on public funding and partly the private sector, and the migrant ethnic broadcasting is solely in the private sector. While aboriginal ethnic broadcasting has been nationalized through CBC and APTN as a result of public policies and successful lobbying of aboriginal interest groups, migrant ethnic broadcasting has not yet formed a national network or national broadcaster relying on market forces alone. A systematic central to local hierarchical broadcasting system characterizes Chinese ethnic

broadcasting, with the national public broadcasters (CNR, CRI, and CCTV) being central in the system and local public broadcasters supporting the distribution of national broadcasting and catering to local needs. Although ethnic broadcasting in China has to earn the majority of its funding through commercial activities, it is supported as part of the media system by central and local governments. This section discusses the issue of public presence in, and nationalization of ethnic broadcasting, particularly whether sufficient public resources have been allocated towards migrant ethnic broadcasting in Canada, and if stronger government intervention should be rendered to form a national network for migrant ethnic broadcasting in Canada.

Unlike China's ethnic broadcasting development under the state's central control of the mass media, Canadian ethnic broadcasting has developed in a relatively autonomous environment relying on market forces as the primary regulator. The majority of ethnic services in Canada are in the private sector, with much less government and public broadcasting presence than in China. However, economic forces alone are often insufficient to the intended ethnic niche market. Even though Canadian ethnic minorities are increasingly recognized as an underexplored, potentially lucrative market in the private sector, the profits in ethnic broadcasting appear to be insufficient to incite quality Canadian content production. Public national broadcasters being public and national are thus valuable in achieving public goals of broadcasting and optimizing the allocation of resources.

The successful nationalization of aboriginal broadcasting in Canada has relied significantly on the existence of public forces, which include public funding that supports production of original content, and favorable distribution policies. Today, APTN as a national Aboriginal network catering both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal audiences airs more than

80% Canadian content, and is carried nationally by BDUs through mandatory carriage rules (APTN website). Molnar and Meadows (2001, p.195) commented that the national mandatory reach of APTN “could be one of the most significant developments for establishing a dialogue between Native and non-Native people.”

In migrant ethnic broadcasting, without the endorsement of public funding or policy, the commercial broadcaster OMNI TV of Rogers is at present the largest provider of free ethnic television services in Canada. OMNI TV is made up of five regional broadcasters serving nine major markets across Canada – OMNI BC (Vancouver and Victoria), OMNI Alberta (Calgary and Edmonton), and flagship stations OMNI.1 and OMNI.2 in Ontario (Ottawa-Gatineau, London, Kitchener-Waterloo, Hamilton and the Greater Toronto Area; OMNI TV website). These ethnic OTA services are distributed only within their regions, with the exception of OMNI. 1 and OMNI. 2 that are now available through cable or satellite subscriptions across Canada.

There are certain additional difficulties in nationalizing migrant ethnic broadcasting compared to aboriginal broadcasting. Due to the distribution of ethnic populations – aboriginal populations are more regionalized than migrant populations – OTA ethnic stations (migrant ethnic broadcasting) in Canada have to serve a diverse ethnic population, as opposed to more unified regional audiences in Northern indigenous regions. Each OTA ethnic station in Canada is required by the CRTC to serve a range of ethnic groups in a variety of languages, due to the scarcity of broadcast frequencies in the OTA technology, and to assist the provision of services to smaller ethnic groups (CRTC, 1999-117, para.19). Local community services are to a degree alleviating this difficulty of the Canadian ethnic broadcasting system in serving various language communities and ethnic groups. By

networking local and community broadcasters nationally, the usage of Canadian local productions can be more fully explored, which would provide more abundant locally produced ethnic programming.

In the effort of providing multicultural content, some initiatives of CBC have already been networking local broadcasters in small scales, such as CBC/Radio-Canada's community partnership for Asian Heritage Month during the whole month of May. During this event, a number of CBC stations across the country celebrate the history of Asian-Canadians with television and radio programming (mainly radio), online features, and public events on pan-Asian culture in Canada (Consult <http://www.cbc.ca/asianheritage/>). Such events promote the presence of minority cultures in public broadcasting, explore the usage of local resources and stories, and practice multiculturalism in broadcasting. Although a meaningful initiative, the programming offered is still insignificant among the public broadcaster's programming.

Nationalizing migrant ethnic broadcasting and providing sufficient local multicultural content in public broadcasting would help to break down the media ghettos of individual local broadcasters catering to their own local ethnic communities, which impede the communication among ethnic communities in the media space. Yet, there is also the valid fear that too much central control existing in a national broadcaster or network has its drawbacks, such as the case in China's media system. Besides the apparent threat to the freedom of speech, it also affects the allocation of available resources for ethnic media development. Molnar and Meadows (2001) wrote in their book on indigenous media that,

The current mainstream media models make Indigenous access difficult. National radio and television models (commercial and national public broadcasting) are organized

along centre-periphery lines. This makes them inherently unequal as the resources tend to concentrate at the centre rather than the periphery (Samarajiva & Shields, 1990). This ignores the crucial need for audiences living in rural and remote areas to exchange information with each other for the benefit of themselves and their communities. Examples from around the world suggest that participatory media models, which are local and decentralised combined with regional and national media, are more effective as vehicles for a diversity of indigenous communications. (p.xiv)

Indeed, community broadcasting practices are a significant characteristic of ethnic broadcasting in Canada and contribute considerably to the diverse ethnic communities in Canada.

The direction of developing migrant ethnic broadcasting in Canada, besides its strategy of relying mainly on the market forces in the private sector, should also consider moving towards more significant public broadcasting and government involvement, with more importance placed on public interests. At the same time, the roles played by the public and private sector, and the national and local broadcasters, need to be carefully balanced.

### *Discussion*

The study surrounds three central research questions: in Canada and China respectively, how is ethnic broadcasting operated and what is its relationship with ethnic policies? What are the similarities and differences in the two countries' ethnic broadcasting operations and what are their implications? Finally, what discrepancies can be found in the policies and practices of ethnic broadcasting?

Through examining the policies, practices, and specific elements of Canada and China's ethnic broadcasting systems, the thesis has inquired on how ethnic broadcasting is operated in the two countries, and what the main issues are. The study especially focused on policies and the role of the government in ethnic broadcasting operation, as the government is a determinant factor in a nation's ethnic relations. The inquiry is based on the conceptual framework of the relationship of ethnic broadcasting and ethnic relations. The relationship is one that ethnic broadcasting reflects and is shaped by ethnic relations, ethnic politics, and ethnic policies of a nation; ethnic broadcasting policies and practices are a means of implementing ethnic policies; and ethnic broadcasting practices in turn influence ethnic relations. In the thesis, ethnic policies are examined through the lenses of ethnic broadcasting, and ethnic broadcasting is examined from the perspective of ethnic policies and ethnic relations. The dialectical analysis of ethnic policies and ethnic broadcasting reveals issues in both as well the issues' interrelationships.

There are two layers in the role of ethnic broadcasting in ethnic relations. Firstly, ethnic broadcasting is a means of implementing ethnic policies or exercising ethnic governance. The concept of ethnic governance however has different connotations, depending on the ethnic politics of the nation. In China, the sense of political governance over ethnic minorities is still fairly strong in its ethnic politics, due to the historical nature of Chinese politics and continuous instability in ethnic regions. In Canada, the Multiculturalism policy has set the tone of cultural oriented ethnic policies. No matter what the nation chooses as the approach of governance, the ultimate goal is to harmonize its ethnic relations. In this process, ethnic policies of both countries have recognised the equal rights of all people in the nation, regardless of their ethnicities. This brings us to the second layer – ethnic broadcasting

is an element that constitutes the communication rights of ethnic minorities, which the government has responsibilities of ensuring through its policies and actions. In ensuring ethnic minority rights, ethnic governance does not necessarily mean the governance of the majority over minorities, but the assurance of the equal rights and harmonic relationships among a diverse population.

Ethnic broadcasting operation reflects the implementation of a country's ethnic policies. By reviewing ethnic broadcasting policies of the two countries, it is evident that policies and regulations on Canadian ethnic broadcasting reflect significantly the goals of the Multiculturalism policy; and in China, the policies on ethnic broadcasting are largely derived from the country's ethnic policies. In broadcasting practices, the content of ethnic broadcasting reflects the ethnic policy approach the government endorses. In Canada, a major theme of multicultural content is ethnic cultural diversity of Canadian society, whereas in China, ethnic broadcasting features significantly content with strong political agenda such as antiseccession. Looking at it from another way, multicultural contents in Canadian ethnic broadcasting enhance the cultural and ethnic diversity in Canadian broadcasting, supporting the goals of multiculturalism policy; and a great portion of ethnic broadcasting content in China is devoted to the propaganda of ethnic policies and the promotion of the state government's ethnic relations goals.

Ethnic broadcasting is an insightful angle for examining ethnic relations and the implementation of ethnic policies. Several issues in ethnic policies are revealed through looking into the operations of ethnic broadcasting. First of all, there is the differential treatment of aboriginals and other ethnic minorities in Canada, which needs further justification in its application in the broadcasting sector, as the difference of governmental

support between aboriginal and ethnic broadcasting in Canada is evident in funding, distribution rules, and public broadcasting services. Secondly, in China, the politicization of ethnic relations and ethnic related practices, which are explicit in broadcasting content, are problematic in both everyday practices of ethnic broadcasting and long-term general policies of ethnic relations. The thesis argues that it is important for ethnic broadcasting practices to shift from this tradition and adopt more effective communication techniques, in order to effectively communicate with ethnic minorities in the new environment of global media. The thesis also proposes that it is possible that gradual change in everyday practices such as ethnic broadcasting could influence the tendency of general ethnic policies. Finally, the most important issue linking ethnic relations and broadcasting practices is how ethnic policies could be interpreted in everyday practices such as broadcasting; how ethnic relation goals could be incorporated into the creative process of broadcasting production. This is a common issue in both countries: the thesis has discussed the reflection of multiculturalism in Canadian broadcasting's multiculturalism content that often runs the risk of essentializing ethnic culture; in China, the main problem is the rigidity of political propaganda, which needs to be changed to draw audiences' interest.

The thesis has adopted a comparative approach of reviewing ethnic broadcasting operations and related ethnic policies in Canada and China. The purpose is to find out what the *significant differences and similarities* are, and most importantly, what could be learnt from these similarities and differences. The beginning of the thesis has noted that the two countries are very different in ethnic policies and broadcasting systems. Nevertheless, the comparative analysis of ethnic broadcasting and ethnic policies between the two countries has revealed that the most significant differences appear also to be the primary issues in one

of the two countries.

One of the differences that could be noted in both ethnic policies and ethnic broadcasting operations is the culturalized and the politicized approach of framing ethnic issues in Canada and China respectively. A political emphasize is infused in China's operation of ethnic broadcasting, significant shown in its regulations and content. Chinese scholars represented by Ma (2007) have pointed out the negative effects of politicizing ethnic relations, urging Chinese ethnic policies to move towards a culturalized approach. Ethnic relations in Canada are nonetheless inherently political. However, the official Multiculturalism policy as well as the policies and ethnic broadcasting have nuanced ethnic related issues into cultural issues, which is more likely to benefit the integration of ethnic groups and national unity than a politicized approach.

Among various issues, the central problem in Chinese ethnic broadcasting lies in its content, caused by both the politicized approach that directs broadcasting policies and practices, and the traditional propaganda tactics used in creating the content. In moving towards a culturalized approach in ethnic broadcasting, broadcasting content should discursively achieve its political goals by primarily answering to the actual needs and concerns of the ethnic population, which is concentrated in underdeveloped rural regions. By providing cultural content, information, and skill training programs, broadcasting could be an invaluable tool in enriching ethnic population's cultural lives, linking their lives to the outside world, and fulfilling their development needs. As for ethnic communication tactics, the government should adopt strategies, whether they are essentially propaganda or not, more compatible with today's media environment, where Chinese state media is competed by western media voices. Chinese literature on the subject suggested that Chinese ethnic

broadcasting can adopt the techniques appeared on western media, such as the BBC and VOA's ethnic language broadcasting. These would include a shift from speaking from the government's point of view to communicating with ethnic audiences from the perspective of peers, and talking more about topics close to the audiences' lives rather than relaying policy statements. Overall, the goal is to draw audiences closer to the broadcaster, instead of focusing of conveying straightforward political messages.

There are other significant issues in China's ethnic broadcasting system that are apparent when comparing with Canada's, such as the lack of varieties in services, the exclusion of foreign broadcasting, and the state's control over broadcasting content. These are however not unique problems in ethnic broadcasting, but present in China's broadcasting in general. Nevertheless, the problems appear to be more concentrated in ethnic broadcasting, because there is a larger percentage of governmental involvement than market forces in the operation of ethnic broadcasting, due to the characteristics of China's ethnic media market. This makes the shortcomings in China's central state control of media more apparent in ethnic media than usual. Chinese ethnic broadcasting, as well as Chinese broadcasting in general, should be more open to incorporate foreign content and private services, which would enlarge the variety of choices to audiences, promote healthy competition, and provide a freer public forum.

Ethnic broadcasting in China is less developed than in Canada in the variety of available services, the quality of production, and infrastructures. At the same time, the lower level of development of Chinese broadcasting in general, and the laggard development of development in rural China need to be recognized. Undoubtedly mainstream broadcasting is more abundant and has better quality than ethnic minority broadcasting. However,

considering the level of development in ethnic regions and the percentage of ethnic minorities in the whole population (10%), the disparity between mainstream broadcasting and ethnic broadcasting is within a reasonable degree. There is no indication of inequity on the part of the government in policy or practice. Like Canadian native broadcasting, public funding for ethnic broadcasting is never enough for developing broadcasting infrastructures in the vast and remote rural indigenous regions. Yet in the context of China's own available resources on broadcasting, governmental effort in building broadcasting infrastructures in ethnic and rural regions is significant and brought substantial progress to the development of broadcasting infrastructure nationally.

The primary issue in Canada, which can be noticed individually, but even more apparent in comparison to China, is that in Canadian migrant ethnic broadcasting's autonomous development from the private sector, there is the apparent lack of public broadcasting presence, limited public resource support, and absence of national broadcaster or network. Cultural diversity in Canadian broadcasting means not merely ethnic culture diversity, but all aspects pronounced in the statement of Broadcasting Act Section 3(1)(d)(iii). The question however is whether ethnic minorities, especially migrant ethnic minorities, who have a shorter history in Canada than the founding nations and indigenous nations, are being treated equally in broadcasting services as the Multiculturalism policy and Broadcasting Act has promised? *Is the multiculturalism nature of Canadian society truly and fully reflected in its broadcasting sector?* Aside from the reflection of the ethnic diversity of Canadian society in the mass media, which is the focus of most studies and critique on ethnic minorities and the mass media, are ethnic minorities in Canada adequately served by Canadian broadcasting services to their needs and interests according to the mandate of the Broadcasting Act?

Undoubtedly Canadian broadcasting has come a long way in legislatively enshrining ethnic minorities' right to receive and transmit an ethnically balanced depiction of Canadian society within all public and private broadcasting channels; in "improv[ing] minority representation on mainstream and specialized, national and regional broadcasting services at all levels – technical, administrative, cultural, and in policymaking processes" (Roth, 1998, Ethnic Broadcasting Policy Framework section, para.2); and in redistributing broadcasting powers and transmitter access to ethnic services. However, it is also true that ethnic services have been placed till today on the peripheries of the broadcasting system. Existing alternative ethnic services have certainly vastly diversified Canadian broadcasting, and they are a reasonable response to multicultural policy commitments. It is nevertheless not an adequate way of fulfilling the Broadcasting Act's mandate of serving all people equally, as alternative media does not hold the same standards as Canada's public broadcasters, is mostly not free of charge, and is more difficult for audiences to access.

Zolf has perceived in 1997 that there are two deficiencies in the multicultural broadcasting in Canada (p.144). One is that "there is no regulatory incentive that encourages Canadians to benefit from an understanding of their country's multicultural heritage," for which Zolf suggested that a minimum multicultural content quota should be imposed on mainstream broadcasters. The other is that "CBC has been reluctant to increase its multicultural programming efforts on grounds of its lacking a clear mandate to do so and of its lacking funding for that purpose." This thesis's view on multicultural content in the mainstream and public media follows a similar line. Although ethnic minority representation in Canadian broadcasting has improved significantly in the past decade through many governmental initiatives, the cultures represented in broadcasting content are the mainstream

British and French cultures. In the forming of a unique Canadian identity, the dominance of British and French cultures is so overwhelming that other ethnic cultures are struggling as peripheries. Indigenous identity and culture are protected under various laws to maintain its uniqueness, whereas migrant ethnic cultures are fundamentally expected to conform to the mainstream culture already in existence. The discrepancies between policies and practices – between Canadian broadcasting’s commitments to multiculturalism representation and service for the needs and aspirations of all ethnicities alike, and the broadcasting practices that are reluctant of recognizing ethnic minority cultures should be equally presented in public broadcasting – are necessary to be addressed either by redefining what these general policy statements on multiculturalism mean today, or to keep up practices in accordance to the policies’ promises.

Not considering the differences between majority cultures and minority cultures, the differential treatment of Aboriginal and ethnic minorities of other origins in Canadian broadcasting is evident. Even though the place of the Aboriginal people is especially recognized in the Broadcasting Act, and there are practical reasons for the government to support Aboriginal broadcasting more than other ethnic broadcasting, it is still significant that migrant ethnic minorities’ cultures and issues are much less addressed in mainstream media than Aboriginal nations. The fundamental issue of the differential policies is not the policies themselves, as there are multiethnic European countries that practice cultural homogeneity successfully based on their own principles, but that the justification of the differential treatment is nowhere stated or clarified in governmental policies. As much as the differential policies are justifiable due to the indigenous status of Aboriginal Peoples and practical difficulties Aboriginal broadcasting face, these arguments should appear in

governmental policy statements and open for critiques. Rather, differential policies in broadcasting as in many other aspects of aboriginal policies are accepted as a matter of fact.

This is problematic in ethnic broadcasting policies because without clarifying the differences, commonalities between aboriginal broadcasting and ethnic broadcasting are also left unacknowledged. The two are treated as two separate systems in broadcasting policies, rather than two parallels. The differential policy broadcasting is mainly pointed out in the thesis not to debate its justifiability, but to point out that governmental support given to aboriginal broadcasting is in fact also needed in ethnic broadcasting, particularly in forming national networks and producing programming equivalent to public broadcasting's quality and accessibility, such as APTN in aboriginal broadcasting.

Ideally, besides providing adequate choices to ethnic minorities through alternative services, it is also necessary for the regulatory policies to make sure the accessibility of these massive choices. In addition, multicultural content should not only be part of the alternative services, but also be exposed to the general population. With a similar rationale as promoting Aboriginal broadcasting in public broadcasting, the presence of ethnic and multicultural content should also be increased in public broadcasting, and more effort should be put into the local production of Canadian multicultural content. In the production of multicultural content, instead of regarding it as a burden, the unique heritages and experiences, and colourful cultures and stories of different ethnicities of our demographic makeup are treasures of Canada to be explored in broadcasting.

In Canada, migrant ethnic broadcasting is usually regarded as the equivalent of "third-language" broadcasting. This does not necessarily need to be the case. For example, APTN is an aboriginal broadcasting that broadcasts in aboriginal languages and the two official

languages; it is targeted at all Canadians, and is ensured by CRTC access rules that it can easily reach all Canadians through basic cable. In China, ethnic broadcasting is composed of both aboriginal language and common Han language broadcasting, with programming targeted at specific ethnic groups as well as programming designed for a broader population. The use of common languages in broadcasting ethnic content provides a common forum for different ethnic groups, which promotes understanding and integration between groups. Ethnic content in this sense is more or less equivalent to the concept of “multicultural content” in Canadian mainstream broadcasting. However, “multicultural content” does imply a high degree of integration between cultures. How to translate the illusive concept of multiculturalism into broadcasting content is a conundrum that needs to be solved through yet years of experimentation. The *Little Mosque on the Prairie* is regarded as a successful example in the category of multicultural content, as it represents a local minority culture, yet still accessible to the general public that it became part of the mainstream culture. The example of APTN would also be a perfect model of ethnic content for a broader audience for Canadian migrant ethnic broadcasting to imitate.

The contrasts between Canada and China’s ethnic broadcasting, one that lacks sufficient public presence and national coverage, and another deficient in the private sector and present too much central control, show that it is achieving the *balance* between private and public, and between national and local that is essential, in order to benefit from the approaches and experiences of both countries.

The comparison also reveals that there are as many similarities as there are differences between the two countries. Many aspects in their ethnic broadcasting operations could illustrate this. For example, it is a common belief that China has a very restricted public

communication space that sets extensive limitations towards foreign media, illustrated in broadcasting as the ban of unauthorized usage of satellite television, and limitations on foreign media ownership and importation. There are a similar set of regulations in Canada to ward Canadian producers and distributors off foreign competitions, including Canadian content rules that protect Canadian content productions, and BDU rules that protect the distribution of Canadian services. The reception of satellite broadcasting services from a foreign distributor is also not allowed in Canada in order to protect Canadian distributors. Both countries are guarding the borders of their media sector, whatever the intentions are – political, cultural, or commercial. Both countries experience the same difficulty in implementing ethnic policy theories into actual practices in broadcasting. What does multicultural content mean? What kind of content could promote integration? These are problems yet to be resolved through further exploration and experimentation in broadcasting practices. Another significant common issue is the financial difficulties and lack of resources in ethnic broadcasting operation, due to the characteristics of their ethnic broadcasting market, therefore requiring extensive governmental support.

In the discussions of the ethnic policies behind the two countries' ethnic broadcasting operations, a common fundamental question that recurs is what ethnic policy approach, diversity or homogeneity, is more advantageous for a multiethnic society. Both countries studied here promote ethno-cultural diversity and equality in their official ethnic policies, and in both countries, their existing ethnic policies are controversial in one aspect or another. Canadian Multiculturalism policy is questioned about its actual effects on the cohesion of Canadian society. China's ethnic policies, a politicized approach, promote the rights of ethnic minorities and at the same time reinforce their ethnic identities, which is threatening to the

national cohesion of the state. In both countries, ethnicity is institutionalized, though in different ways and degrees. This is criticized in Western literature as institutionalizing differences instead of fostering national cohesion. In the broadcasting sector, this dilemma between diversity and cohesion is reflected in questions such as whether ethnic broadcasting and the use of ethnic languages in broadcasting are positive aspects of a society, or threats to social cohesion; and whether the government should further promote these practices through policies.

In the two multiethnic countries studied, the fundamental goal of their ethnic policies is to harmonize ethnic relations and enhance national cohesion. Both countries also promote the equal rights of minorities, which include the communication rights to have access to media services that cater to the minorities' distinctive needs, to communicate using the mass media to develop their communities, and to have equal access to the media for the purpose of expression. The predicament is how to balance between ensuring the communication rights of ethnic minorities and minimizing their potential divisive force to national cohesion. To find compromise between the two sides of the problem, the unique nature of the country's cultural and ethnic makeup could be used to promote the unique identity of the country that unites the people. This is an issue not only in communication, but in ethnic policies in general.

Finally, the study intends to identify through the analysis the discrepancies between policies and practices, and between policy expectations and actual effects in ethnic broadcasting operations. However, the acquired data appears to be insufficient to answer this research question adequately. The study looked specifically into the discrepancies between governmental policy statements and documents on actual practices, between the goals of

ethnic policies and their actual implementations in the broadcasting sector, and between the theoretical expectations of policy outcomes and the actual effects of the policies. The analysis of Canadian ethnic policies has pointed out the discrepancies between the Multiculturalism policy and its implementations, such as the promotion of individual rights in policy and the institutionalization of ethnicity as group right in practice. In the implementation of ethnic policies in the broadcasting sector, several practices are not consistent with the general commitments of the multiculturalism policy: the insufficiencies in ethnic broadcasting services, the lack of governmental support to broadcasting of migrant ethnic minorities, and the differential treatment between aboriginal and migrant ethnic broadcasting. It is thus necessary to revise and clarify what the multiculturalism policy actually means in practice in order to fully fulfill policy goals. In China, the politicized approach in ethnic policies and ethnic broadcasting may be problematic, but it maintained consistency between various policies and practices. As there are not many direct policies towards ethnic broadcasting, and the broadcasting practices are consistent with the straightforward political agendas in ethnic policies, the analysis has not found considerable discrepancies.

With the many existing issues in both countries' ethnic broadcasting operations, it is expected to be gaps between the idealistic expectations in policy statements, the actual practices, and the subsequent outcomes. In the conversion of theories such as multiculturalism into actual practices, in other words practicing multiculturalism, it is expected that issues would emerge in the process. It is through the experimentation of policies in practices that policies are further adjusted, defined, clarified, and specified.

## Chapter VII. Conclusion

The thesis has examined in a comparative context the operation of ethnic broadcasting in Canada and China, the ethnic relations behind the operation, and the relationship between ethnic broadcasting and ethnic relations. The comparison between the two distinctly different countries makes some issues significant through contrast while they are subtle when observed individually. The comparison also shows that the two multiethnic countries are as much similar as they are different, facing many similar issues in their ethnic broadcasting operations and ethnic relations.

Ethnic broadcasting operation and the management of ethnic relations in general, are not without their problems in either country. In both countries, there are considerable gaps between the development levels of ethnic broadcasting and mainstream broadcasting. Due to the nature of its market, ethnic broadcasting media in both countries are underexplored, both in its economic potentials and its usage in promoting ethnic relations. The thesis has pointed out issues in the financing, and content production and distribution of ethnic broadcasting that could be crucial in improving the ethnic broadcasting services of the two countries. As for the management of ethnic relations, although Canadian Multiculturalism policy has been praised as a pioneer in modern approaches of governing multiethnic nations, like China, adjustments in ethnic policies and their implementations are needed to respond to the constantly changing society. With the many criticisms on Canadian Multiculturalism and China's ethnic relations, there is plenty of room for improvement in both countries' domestic ethnic affairs.

Through the contrast, both countries show strengths that could be educational to each

other. From Canadian ethnic broadcasting, China could learn from its clear set of policies directed at ethnic broadcasting, cultural oriented programming, and availability of diverse ethnic services including community services that represent ethnic minorities' own voices. Chinese ethnic broadcasting, on the other hand, shows the strong point of clear consistencies in policies and practices, especially in its direct support towards the government's ethnic policy goals. It also has a strong national network and public broadcasting presence, and receives extensive governmental support, all of which are qualities lacking in Canadian ethnic broadcasting. Neither of the two countries has achieved success in their ethnic broadcasting operations. However, the differences in the approaches taken are instructive, as both approaches have their strong traits and shortcomings. The trick then would be to find the middle grounds between the two, such as between political and cultural orientations in broadcasting policies and contents, and between governmental forces and market self-regulation in broadcasting operation.

These findings could be informative in future adjustments on ethnic broadcasting policies and practices, and experimenting in ethnic broadcasting could possibly affect changes in ethnic policies in general. In China, the suggested adjustments are moving towards depoliticizing ethnic broadcasting practices and furthermore ethnic relations, and allowing a more open and diverse ethnic broadcasting arena. In Canada, the deficiencies illustrated in the thesis especially those in accessibility and Canadian content production, are justifications in requesting more governmental support towards migrant ethnic broadcasting, or its equal treatment as aboriginal broadcasting.

Some limitations of the study due to the use of secondary data need to be addressed here. The analysis of the ethnic broadcasting systems of the two countries is based on the

interpretation of secondary data, supplemented by observations on actual media practices. Interpretation and observation are by no means exact methods, involving subjective judgment that varies among individuals. Some allegations in the thesis, for example the content of Canada's OTA ethnic services is below the average Canadian broadcasting standard, is based on general observations, requiring further empirical research. A main cause of the lack of concrete evidence is that there are limited available public data on the underrecognized ethnic media market in the two countries. Practices of ethnic broadcasting are not sufficiently reflected from the secondary data used. Also, as the scale of the study does not allow more extensive research on broadcasting content, only a few examples of ethnic broadcasting programming are mentioned in the thesis, with the majority of them from China, since Chinese ethnic broadcasting is more unfamiliar to the readers.

Many unanswered questions emerged through the analysis, creating the possibilities for future research. Further enquiries into ethnic programming and services, either qualitatively or quantitatively, might lead to a more thorough disclosure of the actual practices and existing issues of ethnic broadcasting. For instance, this thesis has criticized the insufficiency of multicultural content in Canada, specifically ethnic minority culture content on CBC, based on general observations. A content analysis that quantifies the ratio of different kinds of multicultural content produced by CBC would be more objective in uncovering the weak spots in CBC's focuses. As in the case of China, it would be informative to know the exact nature (e.g. cultural, political, informational, etc.) and focuses (e.g. economic development, ethnic culture, politics, etc.) of ethnic programming and their respective ratios. This information would reveal the focuses of ethnic broadcasting propaganda, in other words, what the government is really trying to do through ethnic

broadcasting communication. This would not only be useful to Western readers in understanding China's ethnic politics, but also helpful for Chinese media practitioners and ethnic relation workers to adjust ethnic broadcasting practices to best serve the goals of China's ethnic policies. Secondly, to understand the ethnic media market, further collection of data on the audiences' demographics, media habits, and so forth would be revealing. Finally, the concept and possible practices of "multicultural" content, especially with its potentials in integrating multiethnic populations, are worth further exploring by both media practitioners and scholars. These suggestions would be studies on other dimensions that could complement the overall analysis of broadcasting systems in this thesis.

One cannot thoroughly understand ethnic broadcasting without considering its context of ethnic relations and ethnic policies. The ethnic relations and general ethnic policies of the country define how ethnic broadcasting is operated. Looking at it from the other way, ethnic broadcasting is an entry point to examining ethnic relations and ethnic policies, and can affect changes in ethnic relations through day-to-day practices. Through improving the government's policy framework and the everyday practices of ethnic broadcasting, it is possible for multiethnic countries like Canada and China to work towards an ideal ethnic broadcasting system that builds cohesive national identity and advances other ethnic policy goals, and at the same time ensures the communication rights of ethnic minorities. The findings of this thesis would hopefully contribute to the better understanding and employment of ethnic broadcasting in multiethnic countries.

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Websites:

Aboriginal Peoples Television Network: <http://www.aptn.ca>

CBC/Radio-Canada: <http://www.cbc.ca>

National Bureau of Statistics of China: <http://www.stats.gov.cn>

OMNI TV: <http://www.omnitv.ca>

Radio Canada International: <http://www.rcinet.ca/>

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

## Appendix A: Organizational Websites

This is a list of the main organizational websites used in this study as data source for governmental documents.

### Canada:

Canadian Association of Broadcasters: <http://www.cab-acr.ca>

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

Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission: <http://www.crtc.gc.ca>

CBC/Radio-Canada: <http://www.cbc.ca>

Friends of Canadian Broadcasting: <http://www.friends.ca>

Media Awareness Network: <http://www.media-awareness.ca>

### China:

China Central Television: <http://www.cctv.com>

China National Radio – National Voices channel: <http://www.cnr.cn/minzu>

China Radio International: <http://gb.cri.cn/cri/gk.htm>

Chinese Government Information Online: <http://govinfo.nlc.gov.cn>

State Administration of Radio Film and Television: <http://www.sarft.gov.cn>

State Ethnic Affairs Commission: <http://www.seac.gov.cn>

State Council: <http://www.gov.cn>

## Appendix B: Acronyms

APTN: Aboriginal Peoples Television Network

BDU: Broadcasting distribution undertaking

CAB: Canadian Association of Broadcasters

CAD: Canadian dollar

CBC: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

CCTV: China Central Television

CNR: China National Radio

CPC: Communist Party of China

CRI: China Radio International

CRIS: Communication Rights in the Information Society

CRTC: Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission

DBS: direct broadcast satellite

DTH: direct-to-home

NNBAP: Northern Native Broadcast Access Program

NWT: Northwest Territories

OTA: Over-the-air

PPV: pay-per-view

PRC: People's Republic of China

RCI: Radio Canada International

RMB: Ren min bi (currency of the PRC)

SARFT: State Administration of Radio Film and Television

SEAC: State Ethnic Affairs Commission

TVNC: Television Northern Canada

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VOA: Voice of America

VOD: video-on-demand

## Appendix C: Diagrams on the Relationship of Major Governmental Agencies and Policies Regulating Ethnic Broadcasting

