

Setting the Tone:
A Newspaper Analysis on Canada's Decision to Impose a Visa
Requirement on the Czech Republic

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Table of Contents

Abstract	iv
Introduction: Capitalist and Racist Ideological Perspectives in Canada's Mainstream Media: An Analysis of The Globe and Mail, National Post and The Toronto Star's Take on Visas for Czech Citizens.....	1
Hypothesis	4
A Better Economic and Quality of Life in Canada.....	7
Chapter 1: The Roma Minority in Literature	10
Canada and the Decision to Impose a Visa on the Czech Republic	10
Requirements for a Temporary Visa in Canada	13
Canada and its Signatory Agreements.....	15
Understanding the Roma Minority: A History of Oppression.....	16
Roma: The Identity.....	17
Identity Construction	18
A Shared Historical Oppression	20
Identifying with Concepts of Otherness and Landlessness	22
Segregation in Education and the Importance of Language.....	24
Skin Colour and Race.....	29
Traditional Lifestyle and Communal Living	31
Communal Living and the Health of the Roma	33
Recent Persecution and Discrimination	36
Chapter 2: Theory – The Representation of the Media	38
What is Ideology?	38
Ideology and Hegemony	41
The Use of the Media in Spreading Ideology	45
Newscasting.....	49
Media Ideology and Racism.....	51
Different Forms of Racism.....	56
Media, Stereotyping, Hegemony and Corporatization	58
Chapter 3: Methodology – Doing a Media Newspaper Analysis	64
Newspaper Selection	67
Understanding Qualitative Data	70
Chapter 4: Analysis of Newspaper Articles	71
Theme 1: Legitimization of the Imposition of Visas	72
Subtheme 1: Czech Republic: Not an Island of Persecution.....	72
Subtheme 2: Supporting Progressive Constitutional Context	73
Subtheme 3: Refugee Claimants as Problems	75
Subtheme 4: Explicit Journalist Opinion.....	76
Subtheme 5: Canada is Soft on Refugees.....	77
Subtheme 6: Legitimization of Maintaining Visas	78
Theme 2: Economic Effect on Canada	79
Subtheme 1: Tourism	79
Subtheme 2: Czech Roma are Unable to Find Work Back Home and thus go Abroad to Find Work and/or Take Advantage of Social Welfare.....	80
Theme 3: Contradictions to Hypothesis.....	81
Subtheme 1: Interfering with Independence of Refugee Board and Criticism From	

NGOs	81
Subtheme 2: Roma Do Face Persecution.....	83
Chapter 5: Discussion of Media Analysis, Results Found	85
Theme 1: Legitimization of the Imposition of Visas	85
Subtheme 1: Czech Republic: Not an Island of Persecution.....	85
Subtheme 2: Supporting Progressive Constitutional Context	86
Subtheme 3: Refugee Claimants as Problems	86
Subtheme 4: Explicit Journalist Opinion.....	87
Subtheme 5: Canada is Soft on Refugees.....	88
Subtheme 6: Legitimization of Maintaining Visas	88
Theme 2: Economic Effect on Canada	88
Subtheme 1: Tourism	89
Subtheme 2: Czech Roma are Unable to Find Work Back Home and thus go Abroad to Find Work and/or Take Advantage of Social Welfare.....	89
Theme 3: Contradictions to Hypothesis.....	90
Subtheme 1: Interfering with Independence of Refugee Board and Criticism From NGOs	90
Subtheme 2: Roma Do Face Persecution.....	90
Discussion of Themes and Althusser: My Theoretical Viewpoint.....	91
Concluding Thoughts.....	94

Abstract

This thesis examines Canada's imposition of a visa requirement on visitors from the Czech Republic. By analyzing articles in three major Canadian newspapers, I conduct an Althusserian (theory that "culture ventures" are part of the Ideological State Apparatus), analysis. The thesis demonstrates that a dominant ideological viewpoint – a pro-capitalist ideology supported by a racist ideology – was evident in the coverage in all three newspapers. Additionally, this thesis addresses the presence of more 'even-handed' discussions of the conditions of the Roma, including experiences of racism and discrimination in the Czech Republic. I conclude that the newspapers present ideological views, with occasional exceptions.

Introduction:
Capitalist and Racist Ideological Perspectives in Canada's Mainstream Media: An Analysis of The Globe and Mail, National Post and The Toronto Star's Take on Visas for Czech Citizens.

On July 14th 2009, Canada imposed a visa requirement¹ on the Czech Republic. This is mainly due to the large increase and influx of Roma refugee claimants over the last few years arriving from the Czech Republic (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009). For example, in 2008 eight-hundred and sixty Czech Romas applied for asylum and 40% of applicants were granted refugee status (Parliamentary Assembly 2009). In the first half of 2009 the number of asylum requests grew to over 1000 applicants from the Czech Republic (Parliamentary Assembly 2009).

Historically, Canada has a pattern of lifting and then re-imposing visas on the Czech Republic. The literature finds that Canada first imposed and then lifted the visa requirements for Czech citizens in April 1996, but quickly re-imposed the visa in 1997 due to the increase of refugee claims – the majority of whom were Roma. There were 1500 claims made in 1997 compared to only 29 claims in 1995 (Canada Gazette 2009). In October 2007 Canada decided to lift the visa-requirement that had been imposed on the Czech Republic (where a news release from Citizenship and Immigration Canada claimed it was because of the strong ties and friendship that the countries shared), and again saw an increase of refugee claims (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2007). For example, between 2007 and 2009, over 3000 claims had been filed from the Czech Republic compared to only five claims in 2006 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009). On July 14th of 2009, Canada re-imposed visas on the Czech Republic. This was (according to a press release) in order to reduce the burdens which were placed on the refugee system as well as being able to distinguish legitimate

¹ Visa requirement: This is when travelers from the Czech Republic must apply for a visa in order to be allowed entry within a particular region or country.

visitors from those who “use the refugee system to jump the immigration queue” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009: para. 5).

Canada’s decision to impose a visa on the Czech Republic has provoked anger from the government in Prague and the European Union (O’Neil 2009). The Czech Republic, in response to Canada’s decision to impose a visa, recalled its ambassador from Canada; the European Union, on the other hand, brought up the idea of imposing a visa on Canadians in response (Cockburn 2009). The European Commission has similarly recommended that visa requirements be imposed “for certain categories of Canadian citizens” (such as carriers of service and diplomatic passports) in response to Canada placing a visa on the Czech Republic (European Commission 2009: para. 9).

Furthermore, in the Czech Republic, the Roma have found themselves to be: legally disenfranchised; often denied services or entry into public spheres; described as having a lower level of income; and as living in unsanitary and crowded apartments (Nedelsky 2003: 100-103). Because of this marginalized lifestyle (which will be portrayed in more detail in my literature review section), it can be considered that the Roma are leaving their home countries in order to find a better quality of life abroad. Thus, it can be argued (and will again be described in further detail later in this thesis) that the Roma from the Czech Republic are depicted by the media as arriving into Canada for economic reasons (such as employment opportunities) as opposed to genuine refugee reasons, such as fear of persecution based on one’s religion, race, political opinion, membership within a certain group or nationality, and thus are unable to return to their home countries.

This thesis will analyze articles from three mainstream commercial Canadian newspapers. These newspapers will be The Toronto Star, the National Post and The Globe and Mail and will be discussed later in my thesis. Using an interpretive approach by deriving

certain key words, phrases, and arguments from the newspaper articles selected, my analysis will interpret the reasons given for Canada's imposition of visas on the Czech Republic.

In order to present the necessary background information on the Roma for my thesis, I will also look at the academic literature on the Roma. Here, they are described as a unique minority group with a long documented history of social marginalization in Europe, excluded from full social and political participation in various countries, and faced with racism, segregation and persecution in their respective countries (Parliamentary Assembly 2009). For my thesis I will also introduce the Roma minority by presenting indicators on how one would be able to identify themselves as Roma (for example by a shared historical oppression, segregated education, feelings of landlessness and 'otherness') and how these indicators from pre- to communist Europe and to the present have not only eroded their particular cultures, but have also helped to create a lifestyle that is markedly different from the majority population within their respective countries, resulting in segregation. It will be established that this constant marginal treatment (ranging from the denial of opportunities for employment or education, to targeting by hate groups) has created the current basis upon which the Roma make claims as refugees in countries like Canada.

Another important facet of my research will include the legal and binding agreements and immigration laws that Canada has ratified. For example, in 1969 Canada ratified the 1951 UN Convention and the 1967 Protocol on Refugees (Basok 1996: 138). This 1951 UN Convention classified refugees as "person's who have a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group" (Basok 1996: 138). By ratifying the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, Canada agreed to a binding international agreement to not return asylum claimants to their homelands where their rights to freedom of religion, race, political opinion,

nationality or membership to certain social groups would be violated (Scott 2009). The 1967 Protocol to the UN Convention removed the Convention's "time and geographic constraints," which limited the Convention to individuals who feared persecution due to "events in Europe prior to 1 January 1951" (Davies 2007: 703-704). Despite removing the geographical and time limits, the Protocol allowed signatory nations to the Convention to keep the geographical limits if they so chose (Davies 2007: 703-704).

Similarly, I will also address the recent acts of Canada imposing visa requirements on both the Czech Republic and Mexico, as well as government talks of imposing a visa requirement on Hungary, suggesting that countries with high refugee rates tend to have a visa-requirement placed on them (Neve 2009). Therefore, it can be argued that a pattern emerges where whenever a country has an increase of refugee claims to Canada, Canada's solution would be to impose visas.

Overall, the objective of this thesis is to do a media analysis on the reasoning (whether economic or otherwise) that is presented by the media for legitimizing the placement of visas on the Czech Republic by Canada. Much of the literature that is studied depicts the Roma as a minority group that is mostly concentrated in the countries of Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria (Kolarcik et al., 2009: 1279) and that has gone through a long history of discrimination and persecution as will be described in Chapter 1.

Hypothesis

Using an Althusserian viewpoint,² my hypothesis will show that the ideology presented by the media present refugees as entering Canada for economic reasons, for example to abuse Canada's social welfare system. By using Althusser to develop this

² Althusser will be presented in more detail later on within this thesis.

argument, I will examine whether the media present a one-sided ideological, capitalistic viewpoint as opposed to a neutral and even-handed one. In this case Althusserian theory will be used to support my hypothesis, and then critiqued based on the findings within the three newspapers (The Globe and Mail, National Post and The Toronto Star). Similarly, it is worth mentioning that even if contradictions to my hypothesis are found within some of the newspaper articles, I argue that the main ideology presented within the newspaper articles - that the Roma are entering into Canada for economic and illegitimate reasons – will dominate.

Furthermore, by imposing a visa requirement, Canada may be perceived as a country that is not refugee-friendly. For example, in a recent news release, International NGO Amnesty International accused Canada of not being a refugee-friendly country and wrote that while it recognized the need for states to control entry from foreign citizens into their borders, it is opposed to the introduction of visas to restrict access into Canada (Neve et al., 2009). The news release points out that there exists a history of imposing visas on countries that have high refugee claims in Canada, and by adding both the Czech Republic and Mexico to that list that there are currently no other countries that are visa exempt that have a high number of refugee claims to Canada (Neve et al., 2009). Amnesty International also finds that putting visa restrictions on these two countries is troubling, as there are both documented and reported “human right concerns in both countries” (Neve et al., 2009: para. 7). For example, in Mexico over 6000 individuals in 2008 were killed due to organized crime, while in the Czech Republic they have “noted an increase in extremism targeted at the Roma in the Czech Republic, including forced evictions, segregation in education and racially motivated violence” (Neve et al., 2009: para. 10). Similarly, there is also the concern that by imposing

visas on the Czech Republic it may further expose the Roma minority “to heightened stigmatization and hostility” (Neve et al., 2009: para. 12).

When discussing refugee claims it is important to clearly define a “Convention Refugee” as defined in the 1951 UN convention, as opposed to a claimant classified as a ‘person in need of protection’. According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Convention Refugees are individuals who have a legitimate fear of persecution based on their race, political opinion, religion, nationality, or by membership into a certain group, and who are as a result unable to return to their home countries (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011). On the other hand, a ‘person in need of protection’ is a person who in their own countries would be subject to torture, at risk for their life, or at “risk of cruel and unusual treatment or punishment” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2011: para. 9). In order to be eligible as a Convention Refugee, Canadian officers must deem a refugee claim to be eligible for referral to the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada based on the criteria of being a Convention Refugee (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2011). If a claim is referred, the claimant must undergo a hearing to see if their claim is well-founded (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2011). Similarly, a refugee claim may be deemed as ineligible if: the claimant is considered a Convention Refugee in another country to which they can return to; they have been granted protected person status in Canada; they are deemed a security or a humans rights threat; they have made a previous refugee claim they were deemed ineligible for; they abandoned or withdrew a previous refugee claim; or lastly, if they have entered Canada by the US-Canada border (due to safe third country agreement

where refugees can only seek asylum in the first safe country they arrive in³) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2011).

Furthermore, by imposing a visa on the Czech Republic, the media present the reasoning that these refugees are coming into Canada to attain a better economic quality of life rather than to escape persecution. This reasoning can be argued because Canada has many economic benefits such as social assistance and universal healthcare that may be exploited, or may be the main reason behind refugee claims. For example, Crepeau and Barutciski (1994) write of three elements which make up the bridgework for Refugee Social Protection in Canada (239). These three elements are “the right to work, the right to social assistance and the right to health protection” (Crepeau and Barutciski 1994: 239). Overall, these elements can be viewed as a prospective lure for economic refugees to enter into Canada.

A Better Economic Quality of Life in Canada

In Canada there are two methods of assistance that refugees are usually in need of: income through rightful employment or income garnered through social assistance (Crepeau and Barutciski 1994: 240). Furthermore, Goldring et al. (2009) find that refugee claimants have limited rights to social services, health care, education, income support programs, and employment protection. Goldring et al. (2009) write that

They are eligible for social assistance, employment insurance, and workers’ compensation; they can apply for a work permit, and belong to a union; but they are not eligible for federally funded settlement services such as employment training and Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada. (253)

An interesting aspect to note is that during changes to immigration law, there have also been changes regarding one’s ability to gain a work permit. For example, from 1978 to

³ Though there are exceptions if the refugee has family already within Canada

1989 refugees could obtain authorization for employment after submitting a refugee claim, but between 1989 and 1993 a reform on the refugee system took place in order to deal with the large influx of refugee claimants (Crepeau and Barutciski 1994: 241). This reform caused the refugee process to be split into two stages: a preliminary and a secondary hearing on one's claim as a refugee (Crepeau and Barutciski 1994: 241). Refugees who were able to pass the first preliminary stage were able to ask for a work permit. It is also found that in 1989, 88% of people passed the second stage of the hearing, yet the acceptance rate steadily dropped to 60% in 1992. In 1993 further modifications to the refugee system abolished the two-stage system, into one full hearing, which takes on average up to 7 months to conclude (Crepeau and Barutciski 1994: 241). Along with this change to the refugee system, the federal government also chose to "revoke the provision that allowed refugee claimants to ask for work permits" (Crepeau and Barutciski 1994: 242). The reasoning that the Federal Government gave for its choice to revoke work permits for refugees was due to the influx of what they perceived to be economic refugees, those who were depicted as coming into Canada for work-related purposes as opposed to genuine refugee reasons (Crepeau and Barutciski 1994: 242). In 1994 this stipulation was changed, and refugees are now able to support themselves more easily and are able to ask for a work permit as soon as they present their claims (Crepeau and Barutciski 1994: 242). The importance of citizenship and immigration status is that it plays a role in what a person has access to (such as health care or education) and this access to different available services "contributes to people's wellbeing, health, social inclusion or exclusion, and sense of belonging to society" (Goldring et al., 2009: 252). The removal and then the reinstatement of the work permit shows that the Canadian government is wary of the possibility of economic refugees, and at one point tried to exclude refugees from participation within Canadian society.

Overall, this thesis will look at the present situation where Canada has imposed visas on the Czech Republic. It will discuss the history and background of the Roma in their home countries in order to get a full understanding on the reasons why the Roma apply for refugee status abroad. It will look at any international agreements made that binds Canada to accepting refugees, and lastly, it will conduct a media analysis on three newspapers (The Globe and Mail, National Post, and The Toronto Star) to assess if the Roma are in fact depicted by the media as arriving for economic reasons instead of arriving for legitimate refugee reasons.

Chapter 1: The Roma Minority in Literature

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part has three sections that look at Canada and its decision to impose a visa on the Czech Republic; the requirements needed to acquire a temporary visa; and lastly, any agreements Canada has signed regarding refugees. The second part of this literature chapter looks closely at the Roma minority. It reviews their historical background and depicts different identifiers that help make up the Roma identity (how they see themselves, and how others see them.) Lastly, it looks at recent instances of Roma persecution and discrimination.

Overall one of the main purposes of this section, while examining Canada's decision to impose a visa requirement on the Czech Republic, is to display that the Roma have experienced a long history (lasting hundreds of years to the present day) of marginalization and persecution within their respective countries in Europe. Furthermore, this long-standing differential treatment displayed between the majority population versus the Roma minority, such as differences found socially, economically, and politically will show reasons as to why the Roma minority may choose to apply for refugee status abroad.

Canada and the Decision to Impose a Visa on the Czech Republic:

The Roma have long history of being discriminated against, being attacked by fascist groups, and having faced situations of open racism, persecution, and segregation in their prospective countries. For example, the Roma in the Czech Republic (including young Roma children) have been victims of racism, violence, stabbings, shootings and even firebombing (Parliamentary Assembly 2009). This has ultimately led to the situation where the Roma have applied for asylum to various countries in order to escape persecution within their home countries. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, in the Czech Republic and Hungary many Roma have applied for asylum to Canada. For example, in 2008 eight-hundred and

sixty Czech Romas applied for asylum and only 40% of the applicants were granted refugee status; similarly, in the first half of 2009 the number of asylum requests grew to over 1000 applicants from the Czech Republic, with over 1000 applicants from Hungary as well (Parliamentary Assembly 2009). Also, prior to imposing the visa restrictions, Mexico produced the highest number of claimants for refugee status into Canada, followed closely by the Czech Republic (Prague Daily Monitor 2009). Currently the increase of applicants from Hungary has made Hungary the top source for asylum requests in Canada, which has prompted “Ottawa to call on Budapest to take action” (O’Neil 2009). While the Canadian government has not imposed visas on Hungary, it has recently imposed them on both Mexico and the Czech Republic in order to “deal with the questionable claimants” from both these countries (O’Neil 2009).

According to a news release by Immigration Canada, the overload of claimants on the refugee system created delays (from months to even years for some claimants) and heightened costs, all while undermining the program’s ability to help those who were fleeing real persecution in their home countries (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009). Therefore, on July 14th 2009, Canada introduced visas to the Czech Republic in order to reduce the burdens which were placed on the refugee system as well as to pick out legitimate visitors over those who “use the refugee system to jump the immigration queue” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009: para. 5).

There is currently the question if the Roma who are seeking to enter Canada under asylum are in fact genuine refugees who are facing persecution and who fear for their safety from their respective countries (O’Neil 2009). The Canadian government has argued that they have been bombarded with requests for refugee status from visitors from the Czech Republic and Mexico and that usually many of these requests end up being withdrawn or

abandoned before a final decision has been made by the Refugee Board (Prague Daily Monitor 2009). Overall, this ends up clogging up the refugee system while creating long wait times for those who may be legitimate refugees (Cockburn 2009; Prague Daily Monitor 2009).

There is also the opposing belief that this move is discriminatory in nature, as it can easily be perceived that it is not the average Czech citizen that the Canadian government is trying to keep out of Canada, but the Roma minority who make up the majority of refugee requests into Canada from the Czech Republic. For example, a journalist from the Prague Daily Monitor reported that Roma minority are currently persecuted and are victims of hate groups in almost every European country, and visa restrictions can be potentially viewed as a way to keep out the Roma minority (who are often referred to as “Gypsies”) from Canada (Cockburn 2009). Similarly, the European Union News questions the legitimacy of the introduction of the visa requirement, and quotes the European Commissioner for Justice and Security who finds that Canada’s actions leads to a potential paradox because EU citizens may have to “seek asylum in a third country because they are being discriminated against” in Canada, and that “rules of reciprocity” will need to be imposed if “Canada’s decision is not founded” (EU Business News 2009: para. 4). This in itself is regarded as a sympathetic view because it can be viewed that it is Canada that is posing a discriminatory stance for not wanting refugees from the Czech Republic to enter Canada, and that those who wish to apply for refugee status would ultimately need to apply to another more refugee-friendly country.

In a news release Amnesty International writes that while it recognizes the need for states to control entry from foreign citizens into their borders, it is opposed to the introduction of visas to both Mexico and the Czech Republic that restrict access into Canada (Neve et al., 2009). Amnesty International also finds putting visa restrictions on these two

countries is troubling, as there are documented and reported “human right concerns in both countries” (Neve et al., 2009: para. 7). For example, in Mexico over 6000 individuals in 2008 have been killed due to organized crime, while in the Czech Republic they have “noted an increase in extremism targeted at the Roma in the Czech Republic, including forced evictions, segregation in education and racially motivated violence” (Neve et al., 2009: para. 10). Similarly, there is also the concern that by imposing visas on the Czech Republic it may further expose the Roma minority “to heightened stigmatization and hostility” (Neve et al., 2009: para. 12).

Therefore, it can be argued that there are two streams of thought occurring: firstly, that Canada’s decision to impose a visa on the Czech Republic was to reduce burdens such as wait-times and costs that are placed on the refugee system (since most claims tend to be abandoned or withdrawn); and secondly, that NGOs and critics argue that the Roma are indeed entering into Canada as legitimate refugees and do face instances of persecution within their home countries.

Requirements for a Temporary Visa in Canada:

Ultimately, the introduction of visas to the Czech Republic would mean that those who wish to come into Canada would have to apply and meet the requirements for a Temporary Resident Visa (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009). The requirements according to Citizenship and Immigration that are needed for a Temporary Resident Visa include not overstaying “their approved time in Canada”; that “they have enough money to cover their stay in Canada”; that “they are in good health”; that “they do not have a criminal record”; and lastly, that “they are not a security risk” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009: para. 7). According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada’s website, in order to check if one is in good health, a medical exam is needed for those applying for permanent or

temporary residence in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2002). Furthermore, the doctor that one chooses for the medical exam must be on the ‘Designated Medical Practitioners List’ (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2002). The medical exam includes a chest x-ray and a radiologist report for those who are over 11 years of age, and while the individual is also responsible for paying the costs of the medical tests, they have the possibility of applying for medical insurance as their application is being processed (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2006). Citizenship and Immigration Canada’s website also states that applications for residence into Canada will not be accepted if the “person’s health is a danger to public health or safety; or would cause excessive demand on health or social services in Canada” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2002: para. 2). Lastly, medical reports and x-rays taken during the medical exams will become the sole property of the ‘Canadian Immigration Medical Authorities’ and the doctor will not disclose any of the results of the medical examinations, but will inform the patient if they have any health related problems or illnesses (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2002).

Overall, one could see how imposing a visa requirement on the Czech Republic allows Canada to be more selective about who is let into Canada and who is not. Similarly, the medical exams that are administered to immigrants could also be viewed as a system of population control by finding out if the person would be deemed a health threat to the rest of the population or an economic burden on the health care/social system. Since many of the Roma tend to have a lower quality of health compared to the majority population (and this will be talked about in more detail later on in this chapter), it could be viewed that this medical exam would ultimately cause many to be turned away due to various health issues.

Canada and its Signatory Agreements

After World War II Canada played an active part in resettling people displaced from the war, and furthermore played a role on the international refugee scene by signing in 1969 both the “1951 UN Convention and the 1967 Protocol on Refugees” (Basok 1996: 138). The 1951 UN Convention classified refugees as “person’s who have a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group” (Basok 1996: 138). A problem with this UN Convention was that there were no laws or further conventions which established quotas for the number of refugees who could enter the signatory nation’s borders as Convention Refugees, and thus ultimately caused Western governments to create new regulations in order to prevent high numbers of these Convention Refugees from crossing into their borders (Basok 1996: 138). The significance of not establishing quotas was that it would allow a great number of refugees into countries like Canada. Without the ability to make a stop gap it could cause issues such as overburdening the refugee system, and the welfare system.

Furthermore, journalist Scott argues that with signing the United Nations Convention that Canada had put itself into a binding international agreement to not turn away asylum claimants back to their homelands where their rights to freedom of religion, race, political opinions, nationality or membership to certain social groups would be infringed upon (Scott, National Post, 2009). Therefore, it can be said that the recent introduction of visas to the Czech Republic (a country with high Roma refugee claimants) is a way for Canada to get around the United Nations Convention and a way to restrict entry and protect the sovereignty of Canada’s borders by controlling who can and who cannot enter into Canada. This would thus be an unsympathetic viewpoint where refugees would be considered as a threat or burden rather than a priority in regards to ensuring the protection of individual human rights.

The purpose of the above section was to study the different reasons as to why Canada imposed visas on the Czech Republic, to look at the process that must be completed in order to obtain a visa, and to touch on any signatory agreements Canada has made in the past. The rest of this chapter will focus on the Roma minority and depict the different identifiers (such as a shared history, communal living, and segregated education) and how this type of lifestyle has contributed to their marginalization, as well as the reasoning for why Roma attempt to claim refugee status (for better economic/social prospects) in other countries such as Canada.

Understanding the Roma Minority: A History of Oppression:

The Roma originated from Northern parts of India and are the largest minority group in the European Union, they had moved into Europe during the 9th and 14th centuries, and presently make up between 8 to 12 million Roma living in various parts of Europe (Kosa et al., 2007: 853; Vozarova de Courten 2003: 96). The Roma are also depicted in the literature as having faced racial discrimination, legal and social marginalization, persecution (physical abuse by hate groups) and even genocide throughout their history in Europe (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 171, Fawn 2001: 1193). Furthermore, the literature presents the Roma as having social values that differ from the norm in their respective countries, with the Roma depicted as pursuing a lifestyle that is marked differently from the rest of the majority population (Fawn 2001: 1195; Vozarova de Courten 2003: 96). This lifestyle is depicted as a “lifestyle of indolence, theft and unsanitary living conditions” (Fawn 2001: 1196).

During World War II many Roma were also interned, used in medical experiments, and killed in concentration camps, where it is estimated that up to 1.5 million Romani perished throughout Nazi-dominated Europe (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 171; Hajioff and McKee 2000: 864). The communist regimes were also described as a source of loss of Roma

culture and freedom that existed in Europe after World War II, when the Nazis aimed to forcefully assimilate the Roma in order to integrate them into society. While many Roma became dependent on the state during the communist period, it also elevated the material benefits that the Roma shared (such as housing and job security) thus helping to reduce the inequalities between the Roma and the non-Roma (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 172). After the fall of Communism, the Roma were still considered

...to be among the most hated, misunderstood, and mistreated of all people. Romani people have faced an unprecedented financial insecurity, food shortages and unemployment. They have endured unparalleled rates of racially based discrimination, marginalization, and exclusion from many aspects of mainstream life in Europe as a result of a rise in new forces of nationalism, racism, xenophobia, and other forms of intolerance. (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 172)

Roma: The Identity

According to Clark and Campbell (2000), in the West, there is a stereotypical perception where people who have never met or seen a 'gypsy' are able to paint out a detailed description on the appearance and lifestyle of one (31). This detailed picture can vary and change depending on where one is located and in which time frame they are in, but overall there tends to be two polarized and stereotypical camps on how gypsies are depicted (Clark and Campbell 2000: 32). The first camp portrays gypsies as being "romantic, carefree, entertaining, exotic" figures, while the second camp portrays gypsies as being "rebellious, wandering, immoral, lawless" and as vagabonds (Clark and Campbell 2000: 32).

Overall it can be said that the Roma are subjected to discriminatory stereotypes by people without firsthand knowledge on their history, lifestyles, traditions and language. Furthermore, little is known or understood about the Roma in popular discourse. By looking at the stereotypes that are placed on the Roma it will be easier to see how they perceive others' views of them (and by default how they see themselves as by result.) Furthermore,

how their unique history of being excluded and discriminated against in political and social spheres, as a result of identifiers, will be examined.

Identity Construction

Walsh and Brigitte (2007) argue that when it comes to Roma identity, construction of one's identity is dependent on context and who is constructing an identity (i.e. the majority population versus the minority population) (170). For example, the majority population in Hungary depicts the Roma minority as stereotypical, homogeneous, "and fraught with negative bias," while in contrast, the Roma in Hungary identify themselves as a socio-cultural and heterogeneous unit (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 170). Other researchers like Petrova (2003) find that Roma are more like a continuum that consist of subgroups "with complex, flexible, and multilevel identities" that sometimes overlap with each other, and where many of these subgroups consist "with their own ethnic and cultural features" (114). Marushiakova and Popov (2004) find that there are common features that a "typical Gypsy community" share, such as a group consciousness, a common language (or a different language for those who have lost their native Romani language), similar values, opinions, behaviour patterns and moral principles (Marushiakova and Popov 2004 *in* Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 171). Furthermore, the term Roma is overarching as it not only describes the Romani ethnic group found in Central and Eastern Europe, but is also used to describe "other diverse groups such as the 'Gitanos' of Spain, the 'Travelers' of England and Ireland, and the 'Sinti' of Germany and Italy" (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 171).

Similarly, when discussing the Roma minority, service providers in Canada found that some of their peers did not know the term 'Roma' and displayed confusion over this terminology. Thus, when describing the Romani minority, many tended to label them as "Gypsies" even when acknowledging that this term may in be unflattering to the Roma

minority (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 179). Clark and Campbell (2000) find that there are many similarities amongst the descriptions of the Romani people presented by different authors; mainly that the Romani living conditions across different towns, regions, and cities in Eastern and Central Europe show both the sameness and homogeneity of Romani communities, “but also, and crucially, their ‘everywhereness’ and therefore, their collective desire to flee impoverished conditions” (34-35).

In a study on the Roma from Hungary, Walsh and Brigitte (2007) found that some of the uniting identity features among the Roma were that they carry the notion of landlessness (not having a homeland), and that they share a language, culture and values (176). There was an acknowledgement that this shared language and culture was not the same for those who live in different countries, or who have a different culture. For example, members of a Romani group called the Romungro stated that they preferred to be called a Gypsy or “Czigan” as opposed to be labeled a ‘Roma’ (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 176). Overall, when defining the Roma it is found there is a great range in diversity across Europe in regards to languages spoken, religion, culture, and social class of the Roma (Kosa et al., 2007: 853).

Many scholars have different opinions on the identity of Roma, and currently much of the Roma identity is debated as being either heterogeneous or homogeneous, filled with stereotypical perceptions by majority populations, as well as similar defining features when considering the definition of a Roma. Using various journal and newspaper articles, this thesis will attempt to find similar identifiers which can possibly be used in the future in order to help signify how one would self-identify or identify themselves as a Roma.

Potential identifiers for the Roma will include: shared historical oppression; a shared feeling of landlessness and otherness; common educational experiences; a common appearance (skin/hair colour); traditional occupations and communal living; and lastly,

health. Overall, these identifiers will show how the Roma live a lifestyle different from the majority population, resulting in their continued marginalization within their home countries.

A Shared Historical Oppression

The Roma are depicted as having a long and turbulent history in Europe. The Roma minority originated from the northern parts of India and has been living in Europe for over a thousand years (Hajioff and McKee 2000: 864). The Roma migrated from India before 1000 A.D, settled in the Balkans by the 14th century, and by the 15th century were situated in various European cities, mostly concentrated in the countries of Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria (Kolarcik et al., 2009: 1279; Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 171). Presently, the Roma minority number between 8 to 12 million in various parts of Europe (Kosa et al., 2007: 853; Vozarova de Courten 2003: 96).

Walsh and Brigitte (2007) find that the Romani people have faced persecution, racial discrimination and even genocide throughout their history in Europe (171). The Roma were subject to being enslaved as early in the 14th century for roughly five centuries (Greenberg 2009: 4), and again during the 1860s where, for example, the first group of Roma who had migrated to the United States were transported as slaves (Kosa et al., 2007: 853). During World War II many Roma were also interned, used as medical experiments, and killed in concentration camps with estimates of up to 1.5 million Romani minorities being exterminated by Nazi-dominated Europe (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 171; Hajioff and McKee 2000: 864; Greenberg 2009: 6). Similarly, Siklova and Miklusakova (1998) find that during the Holocaust the Roma in the Czech Republic had been almost completely exterminated with only 664 survivors (178). The Communist regimes that existed in Europe after World War II aimed to forcefully assimilate the Roma in order to integrate them into society. Similarly, policies that were implemented were made “to effectively ban the Romani

language”, to stop their “nomadic lifestyle”, their “traditional forms of employment”, and lastly to enforce “settlement into state housing” and “participation in labour” (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 172). During this Communist regime, in order to control the growth of Roma population, thousands of women were sterilized from the 1970 to 1980s and “many Roma children were placed” in orphanages (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 172; Fawn 2001: 1213).

While many negatives came from the Communist period, there were some positive elements. For example, it elevated the material benefits that the Roma shared such as housing and job security, thus helping to reduce the inequalities between the Roma and the non-Roma (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 172; Greenberg 2009: 7). After the fall of Communism, Fawn (2001) finds that the Roma have experienced incidences of physical abuse, legal disenfranchisement and social and political marginalization within their prospective countries within Europe (1193). With the fall of Communism (and without the state providing housing or employment), high unemployment and lack of education resulted, causing a general and stereotypical perception that the Roma have been unable to conform to the standards that society has placed on them, that they had willfully squandered opportunities of upward mobility, while actively pursuing a lifestyle that would appear destructive to the values of the majority population (Fawn 2001: 1195).

During the Communist period the Roma were forced to depend on the State, to settle in communities, and Roma children were placed into foster homes for re-education (Vozarova de Courten 2003: 96). Siklova and Miklusakova (1998) further write that the gypsy values and cultures were destroyed during the Communist regime (178). Furthermore, during this period prohibitions were placed on Romani trade, travel, assembly, the use of traditional Romani language and dressing in traditional clothes which ultimately helped destroy much of the Romani culture today (Vozarova de Courten 2003: 96; Koupilova et al.,

2001: 1192). Therefore, it can be argued that the Communist regime helped erode the Roma original culture (language and dress) and helped create a situation where the Roma were made to feel more excluded and as outsiders due to the restrictions placed on them during the time period.

Identifying with Concepts of “Otherness” and Landlessness

The Roma also depict having feeling of ‘otherness’ (feeling different due to their appearance or history when compared to the majority population in their countries.) This feeling of otherness is an important facet of Roma identity in that it is based on how they not only perceive themselves but also how they believe they are perceived by others. This feeling of otherness plays a role in the connections the Roma experience in the societies that they live in (Kosa et al., 2007: 853). For example, in 1991 the terminology of Roma nationality was used for the first time in the Czech Republic’s 1991 Census; it was found that the Roma tended to distance themselves from this categorization, as it may be favorable to be perceived as part of the majority group within their societies (Koupilova et al., 2001: 1193). Furthermore, the 1991 Census in the Czech Republic found that many Roma were reluctant to divulge their ethnicity as belonging to the ‘Roma nationality’ (Koupilova et al., 2001: 1200). The Roma in the Czech Republic who do claim their ethnicity as they have been able to since 1991, account for only 12% of the total Romani population (Siklova and Miklusakova 1998: 178). The reluctance to claim their nationality is in part due to their history of discrimination and oppression and their distrust towards authority figures (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 170; Hajioff and McKee 2000: 865). Similarly, Petrova (2003) finds that in the Czech Republic there is an estimated quarter of a million Roma that live within the society, but the official Census that was conducted in 2001 “gave the number as 11,716” which was “several times lower than the figure produced by the official census 10 years

earlier” (115). Furthermore, this feeling of ‘otherness’ has also contributed to a trend in the Czech Republic where educated Roma attempt to break away from their ethnic group and merge with the majority group either through assimilation or through marriage (Siklova and Miklusakova 1998: 178; Kosa et al., 2007: 853). By attempting to break away from their ethnic group and assimilate with the majority group, this can be viewed as a way for some Roma individuals to break away from their feelings of otherness.

Siklova and Miklusakova (1998) also write that some Roma consider themselves as ‘Aryan’, Caucasian, or Indoeuropean and do not always consider themselves to be another race (179). Therefore, it can be determined that some Roma do not see themselves to be part of a minority group, but part of a whole (as being part of the same race). This way of thinking has made it difficult at times to actually prosecute attacks or racial incidences when some Roma do not consider themselves as a minority group (Siklova and Miklusakova 1998: 178). Thus it can be said that race is in itself something that is socially constructed. Siklova further finds after Communism that today there are many Roma who do not actively seek out their nationality nor try to claim it, and this loss of perceived nationality mirrors the loss of the Romani language (Siklova and Miklusakova 1998: 178; Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 170).

This feeling of otherness is also portrayed with the idea of landlessness. For example, Fawn writes that in the Czech Republic there is the situation of “selective racism” where according to scholars such as the anthropologist Ladislav Holy, Czechs define the term nationality as being both born in Czech lands, being able to speak the Czech language as “one’s mother tongue,” and also having at least one Czech parent (Fawn 2001:1211). Since many of the Roma who are in the Czech Republic are from neighbouring countries (as the majority of the original Czech Romas were killed off during the Holocaust) this ensured that the Roma who currently both live in the Czech Republic and speak fluent Czech could

“never be considered Czechs” (Fawn 2001: 1211). Similarly Walsh and Brigitte (2007) found that Roma from Hungary also experienced feelings of landlessness, and that this notion of landlessness was closely linked to experiences of oppression and their minority status within their societies (177). Romani respondents in the study on Romas in Hungary depicted themselves as belonging to a nation with no land, no flag, without representation, and where they are depicted as a minority regardless in which country they settle (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 177). Furthermore, along with the notion of landlessness, the Roma are perceived as being a nomadic and transient group. For example, Cockburn (2009) writes that the Roma are unique in that they have experienced incidences and have faced persecution and discrimination in almost every European country in which they have settled.

Ultimately, it is depicted that the Roma share an experience of otherness and landlessness. This uniting factor is due to their past history of being prosecuted in their home countries, the discrimination they have faced, and the fact that many Roma do not make an attempt to claim their nationalities for census purposes. This otherness and landlessness is also a common stereotype that has been used to portray ‘gypsies’ in various movies and literature. For example, the stereotype of the wandering or travelling gypsy is a common theme which is usually depicted in movies and pictures as a gypsy traveling by caravan. For example, in the movie *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* –the heroine is depicted as a streetwise gypsy with darker skin and hair and dressed markedly different compared to non-gypsies.

Segregation in Education and Importance of Language:

During the Communist regime many of the Roma were forced to work in one place, and the names ‘Sinti’ or ‘Roma’ were not allowed to be used, with the term “population of gypsy origin” used instead (Siklova and Miklusakova 1998: 177). The Roma children were

often placed in foster homes in order to be re-educated and the Romani language was not taught (Siklova and Miklusakova 1998: 177). Petrova (2003) similarly writes that due to the ban placed on Romani names in Hungary and on the Romani language during the communist regime, the result was that “most Roma in Hungary today have lost their traditions and language” (127).

Many of the Romani minority ended up being placed in ‘special schools’ for those with learning disabilities, ultimately creating a situation where the Roma have been excluded from mainstream education, and where some schools have become entirely made up of the Roma, thus creating further separation and segregation from the rest of society (Koupilova et al., 2001: 1194; Hajioff and McKee 2000: 864; BBC NEWS 2007). For example, BBC News finds that this separate school system can be regarded as another form of segregation and that the practice of funneling the Romani children into these remedial schools is a widespread practice in Europe (BBC NEWS 2007). Furthermore, in 2005 in the Czech Republic, there was the perception that the educational system was overhauled; yet critics find that these same special schools still continue to operate while still offering the same low level education, just under a different name (BBC NEWS 2007). Greenberg comments on the quality of these special schools and finds that remedial schools tend to consist of some of the oldest and outdated buildings, as well as outdated equipment compared to the mainstream schools (Greenberg 2009: 8). Furthermore, it is depicted that it would be difficult for an outsider to be able to detect some remedial schools due to the fact that there are some schools which segregate from within, such as by having a special class held separately from the rest inside a school (Greenberg 2008: 8).

Similarly, these remedial schools are also one of the reasons that much of the Roma culture and language has been slowly eradicated throughout history. The act of placing the

Roma in one of these schools, separating them from mainstream society, and not teaching them their native language is historically similar to Canada's past actions of placing Aboriginals into residential schools for the aim of assimilation. Thus it can be found that these remedial schools, while still widespread, do not give any benefit to the Roma minority other than recreating and enforcing a constant cycle of poverty and low employment within their societies (i.e. a process of marginalization).

Nedelsky (2003) writes that in the Czech Republic only 20 % of the Roma finish the 9th grade, while only 5% pass high school; in this case, the reason for these low percentages is due to the practice of sending the Roma to special schools that are designated for students with special disabilities (102). Fawn (2001) writes that in 2001 up to 75% of Romani children in the Czech Republic were sent to 'special schools' which are widely perceived "to serve not as remedial teaching institutions but as holding pens for the mentally deficient"; moreover, once a Roma child has begun its path in a special school, their opportunity for upwards social mobility or secondary schooling becomes slim (1200). For example, in Slovakia it is estimated that between 75% to 85% of children do not complete their primary education, ultimately hindering the Roma children from eventually being able to effectively compete in the job market, and have upward social mobility, which will create further social problems due to high unemployment rates and low income (Vozarova de Courten 2003: 100; Koupilova et al 2001: 1194). This lack of proper education has also been a factor for the high unemployment rates, poor housing and lower levels of income that the Roma face (Greenberg 2009: 7).

Nedelsky (2003) finds that the "funneling of Roma children into these schools is often quasi-automatic" even when there is no evidence that the Roma have a larger proportion of learning disabilities compared to the rest of the Czech population (102).

Lajcakova (2007) further finds that in Eastern Slovakia that almost every single village that also consists of a Roma settlement would typically have “a special remedial school or a separate remedial class,” and once a child is in a remedial school, the chances to pursue a higher education and enter into secondary school afterwards becomes minimal (74).

Language is also viewed as a factor for sending Roma children to special schools. Nedelsky presents two reasons that are used to justify sending the Roma to these special schools in regards to the Czech Republic. The first reason is that the tests that are given to the Roma that assesses whether or not they are to ultimately attend a special school are mainly language-based. This is a problem as many Roma do not speak the Czech language and are thus at a disadvantage compared to children who do (Nedelsky 2003: 102). The Roma are described as having “insufficient knowledge of the Czech language” as many are of Slovak origin, or speak a hybrid of their native Romani language with elements of Hungarian and Slovak in it (Nedelsky 2003: 102). Lajcakova (2007) also finds that psychological tests that are used to determine if a Roma should be sent to a remedial school tend to be biased and not fair to children of Roma origin (73). These psychological tests often only look at “the social rather than intellectual or logical skills,” which puts Roma children at a disadvantage as Roma children tend to come from poor and underprivileged families and therefore ultimately do not have the same social and educational opportunities compared to their non-Roma counterparts (Lajcakova 2007: 73).

The second reason is depicted as cultural, where many Roma families (who themselves are uneducated) “place little value” on education; in this case, parents would rather their children attend special schools in order to study with other Roma children (Nedelsky 2003: 102). Furthermore, teachers similarly marginalize their Roma students by often placing them in the back of the classroom where they are often “ignored by staff” and

bullied “by other children” (Nedelsky 2003: 102). Siklova and Miklusakova (1998) also show that many of the Roma are semi-literate, and that this has caused difficulties in the Czech Republic in understanding legal and administrative procedures or how to effectively deal with authorities (181). Walsh and Brigitte (2007) found that in Hungary the Roma depict themselves as sharing a similar culture and similar language but with acknowledgement that there were some Roma in Hungary who did not speak the Romani language at all (178). Petrova also writes that in many communities in Hungary, those who consider themselves Roma have for the most part lost their Romani language (Petrova 2003: 112). Critics find that sending the Roma children to these special schools is just another form of discrimination, as in 2003 it was estimated that about 90% of pupils who were sent to remedial school or special classes were Romani children (Lajcakova 2007: 74). Overall, it is 28 times more likely that a Roma child would be placed in a remedial school compared to a non-Roma child (Lajcakova 2007: 74). Lajcakova writes similarly that there is a need for the Roma to receive an education that preserves their language and culture and that currently education for Roma children is a prime example of cultural and economical disadvantage (Lajcakova 2007: 72). This disadvantage is shown with a high and disproportionate amount of Roma continually being placed into special remedial schools and classes for those who are considered as ‘mentally handicapped’ (unable to function in normal schools) (Lajcakova 2007: 72).

The result of a lower level of education also means low employment and low income. This is shown by how the Roma tend to have a higher unemployment rate compared to the majority populations in the countries that they inhabit (Vozarova de Courten 2003: 96). Greenberg finds that in some areas in Europe it is believed that unemployment rates are as high as 100%, but that 40% is not uncommon (Greenberg 2009: 7). Similarly, in 1998

Human Rights Watch estimated Roma unemployment at 80%; similarly the European Commission suggested that “Romani unemployment could be as high as 90%” (Fawn 2001: 1197).

Siklova and Miklusakova (1998) write that the Roma have a different hierarchy of values and tend to place low prestige on formal education (179). This low prestige of education for some Roma can be explained in part due to Roma living with their extended families, where some would rather work in order to provide enough sustenance for their family as opposed to going to school to learn both language and job skills (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 177).

Overall, it has been found that education has played a large part in the current social and economic poverty that the Roma face in society. Without being able to advance through educational systems, the Roma cannot compete in the job market, which results in lower income, higher unemployment, and lower living standards for the majority of Roma. Since special schools are also widespread in Europe, the practice of separating the Roma children from the rest of the population is ultimately regarded as another way of identifying the Roma from the majority groups in their prospective societies.

Skin Colour and Race:

In 1950, even though the Czechoslovak Communist Government outlawed any type of discrimination based on colour, stereotyping still ran rampant. For example, a 1952 Czech dictionary was printed which defined a gypsy as “a member of a wandering nation, a symbol of mendacity, theft, wandering jokers, liars, imposters” and cheaters (Fawn 2001: 1214). While these stereotypes are sometimes used to bluntly describe the Roma, the Roma are also most often described as having dark skin, and that description has also been used as the basis for much discrimination. For example, a popular beauty contestant and idol of the Czech

Republic in 1993 commented that her future career would be to be a public prosecutor in order to cleanse her town of all the “dark-skinned people” (Fawn 2001: 1197).

Siklova and Miklusakova (1998) find that when identifying a Roma, different signifiers such as racial characteristics (such as a darker skin tone and a difference in language) are commonly used in order to identify a Roma minority (184). Similarly, Walsh writes that the Roma from Hungary define themselves as having visible features such as having “Creole” coloured skin, circular round faces, and similar colouring and features as that of Latin people (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 178). Service providers in Canada depicted the Roma as having common characteristics such as having darker skin, darker hair, being louder than most refugees, and seemingly portrayed as a tight-knit group (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 179).

Overall, it is found that the Roma have similar features and characteristics that not only identify themselves, but others (such as service providers) are also able to pick them out in order to identify who is Roma. Furthermore, because of this identifier, the colour of their skin has been widely used in both literature and by hate groups and the public alike as a way to further discriminate and segregate the Roma minority from the majority groups in society. It should also be considered that even if the Roma do share common features and characteristics, that through increased intermarriage with the majority population we may see a situation over time where it becomes harder to separate a Roma from a non-Roma. Thus it may possibly be found in the future that attempting to separate the Roma based on the colour of their skin and hair may just move towards being more of a stereotype and a myth rather than an actual truth. Thus it is regarded that racial differences are difficult to categorize, and as mentioned earlier in this chapter, racial differences are in part socially constructed.

Traditional Lifestyle and Communal Living:

The Roma during Communism were pushed out of their traditional jobs of basket-weaving, working as blacksmiths, and musicians and were made to work in unskilled occupations as labourers, and at construction sites (Koupilova et al., 2001: 1193). Walsh and Brigitte (2007) also write that some of their traditional occupations were in entertainment, with Roma working as musicians, singers and dancers; other occupations of the Roma in Hungary were of horse-trading, crafters (making wooden spoons, tubs and dugouts) (178).

The Roma are also characterized in living in households with large extended families where a great deal of importance is placed on collective responsibility and decision-making compared to individual ambitions and responsibility (Koupilova et al., 2001: 1194). Fawn writes that in the Czech Republic “the large size of Romani families incline Czechs,” to believe that the Roma are receiving a disproportionate amount of “government assistance, even though Romani kindergardens were among the first social services to be cut as governmental expenditure came under strain in the early 1990s” (Fawn 2001:1213). Koupilova also writes that it is not a strange occurrence to see “alarmingly large numbers” of Romani extended family during hospital visiting hours (Koupilova et al., 2001: 1194). Similarly, in the Czech Republic the Regional Office in the city of Strakonice reported that on average one single Romani apartment was inhabited by seven Romani residents (Koupilova et al., 2001: 1197). Walsh found that there is much value placed on the family and cohesiveness of the family, and that this cohesiveness was a defining feature for the Hungary Roma, with some Roma respondents defining themselves as family-oriented individuals (with close ties and relationships with siblings, children, and extended family) (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 177).

In a study conducted on the Roma in Hungary, another defining feature found was that of a gendered division of labour, where women are depicted as placing a lot of respect on the men in their community and where the men are also defined in patriarchal terms as the “head of the family”; women, on the other hand, were expected to stay at home, take care of the children, cook and keep a clean house (Walsh 2007: 177-178). Some Roma women in Canada are also depicted by Grohova as choosing to remain on the fringes of Canadian society, preferring to stay at home and raise a family while the husband typically heads out in search of work (Grohova 2010: 3).

Other cultural features that were found from the Roma Hungary study were differences in the style of dress, love of music, and hair. For example, women and men are depicted as wearing colourful, red and floral colours and prints (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 178). Women tended to be more modest and wear long skirts and dresses as opposed to short dresses, and were furthermore depicted as preferring to keep their hair as long as possible, growing it out throughout their lives and only cutting it once they got married if they wished (Walsh and Brigitte 2007: 178).

Overall, the Roma are depicted as being connected with a common past in traditional occupations and are thus able to unite and form a common identity by being able to look at their past roots and find commonalities regardless of current country of habitation. The Roma are also found to place a high amount of value on extended family, and value a gendered division of labour. This is shown by how many Roma tend to cohabite together in single dwellings, and how it is common behaviour for the Roma women to stay at home and take care of the dwelling while the men are depicted as the head of the family and as the breadwinner. It is also important to point out that many of these behaviours may be due the current lifestyle that the Roma face in their respective countries. For example, high levels of

unemployment and low income could be a factor for why a large amount of Roma cohabitate together. Furthermore, with more individuals living in a household, more maintenance is required to care for any young children, and a greater need to keep the home sanitized and clean is needed, thus resulting in more women staying at home to take care of the household while the men head out to work in low income jobs. By looking at the way the Roma cohabitate, it is clear that they indeed do live a lifestyle that is different compared to the majority population within their home countries.

Communal Living and Health of the Roma

There is a widespread perception that the health of the majority population is better than the Roma-minority. Similarly, while there has been much research done on poor health among the Roma people, studies which compared differences in general health with the majority population have been largely un-researched (Kosa et al., 2007: 853; Koupilova et al., 2001: 1191). This is relevant because health factors are also a reason for why many refugees decide to go abroad, that is, to find health care and a better quality of life. Sepkowitz writes that the majority of studies from 1985 to the present time (about 70% of reports) are largely situated in the countries of Slovakia, Czech Republic, and Spain (Sepkowitz 2006: 1707).

The Roma tend to partake in segregated and communal living. For example, in Hungary it is believed that about 6 to 10% of the Roma are living in subpar conditions on the outskirts of various villages and towns (Kosa et al., 2007: 854). The Roma in both the Czech and Slovak Republics are depicted as living in unsanitary and crowded living conditions. For example, in the Czech Republic the Regional Office in Strakonice found that on average more than seven Roma residents lived together in one apartment (Koupilova et al., 2001: 1197). Therefore it can occur that due to the low socio-economic status that the Roma face,

communal living can lead to unhygienic conditions which is further exasperated when landlords deny services (such as water and garbage collection) to Roma residents who are behind in rent (Koupilova et al., 2001: 1197). Overall, it is perceived that the communal living conditions of the Roma are “an ideal breeding ground for epidemics of a range of diseases associated with poor hygiene” (Koupilova et al., 2001: 1197).

In relation to similarities in health between the Roma and the majority population, a report by the United Nations Development Program in 2003 found that the Roma in the Czech Republic have a higher infant mortality rate (about double) compared to non-Roma residents (Sepkowitz 2006: 1707). In the Czech Republic Roma children consisted of 2.5% of all live births and 4.9% for infant deaths; similarly, in Slovakia Roma children accounted for 8.4% of livebirths and 17.8% of infant deaths (Sepkowitz 2006: 1708). A reason for the high rates of newborn deaths among the Roma could be due to premature and low birth rates, as studies have indicated that Roma newborns tend to be born smaller, lighter and shorter compared to non-Roma Slovak or Czech births (Koupilova et al., 2001: 1195). Overall, this shows that the Roma tend to have a lower quality of health which end up affecting birth rates, and possible future health concerns due to premature births.

Studies have also found that the Roma consist of higher rates of coronary artery disease, obesity and diabetes compared to non-Roma (Sepkowitz 2006: 1708). It is believed that various social factors such as “poverty, limited access to medical care, substandard housing, and inadequate nutrition” are contributors to their current health within their societies (Sepkowitz 2006: 1708). The Roma minority is also depicted as moving away from a more traditional lifestyle with high levels of physical activity and a diet with high nutrients and low energy to a sedentary lifestyle that consists of a ‘high caloric diet’ (Vozarova de Courten 2003: 96). For example, a study done in 1998 in a village in Slovakia called Zlate

Klasy and consisting of 80% of Roma, found that there was a high unemployment rate of 47% and much higher rates of cardiovascular diseases, type 2 diabetes, and metabolic syndrome compared to non-Roma in the village (Vozarova de Courten 2003: 100). Similarly, these higher rates were explained to be an effect of their lifestyle which consisted of higher smoking rates, physical inactivity, lower socio-economic status, and lower levels of education (Vozarova de Courten 2003: 100).

Overall, it can be found that the Roma have experienced a unique history of persecution and segregation resulting from a different way of life from the majority population. Many of the identifiers that are used in this paper are identifiers that (according to the literature) many of the Roma have faced or experienced in the past and thus can be viewed as unifying identifiers. These identifiers include: a common past of discrimination and segregation in their respective countries; common feelings of otherness and landlessness; common history of a segregated education; similar features in identifying a Roma (skin or hair colour); and common lifestyle habits (communal living, gendered division of labour and lower quality of health). Of further interest, it can also be argued that with the loss of their traditional forms of employment and of a once active lifestyle, not only has their culture been eroded, but due to high unemployment and unsanitary crowded living conditions, so has their health. Furthermore, with the introduction of a visa requirement from Canada, many Roma who wish to enter into Canada must take a medical exam, described in detail earlier in the chapter. This medical exam may ultimately exclude Roma from entering into Canada if they are deemed a health risk. Ultimately, it appears that many of these common identifiers are constructed through a shared history and that this shared history has resulted in the eradication of much of the Roma culture and their traditions. This has ultimately created a new identity for the Roma, one where a common history, common experiences, and a

common loss of a traditional identity can be depicted as a way to unite the Roma regardless of where they are situated in the world.

Recent Persecution and Discrimination

Koupilova et al., (2001) argue that since 1989, racist ideologies have grown with the increasing economic and social gap between the Romani minority and the majority in their societies (1193). Similarly, in the last decade there has been a rise in skinhead (white supremacist fascist group) attacks on the Roma (Koupilova et al., 2001: 1193; Fawn 2001: 1198). Other extremist groups that have targeted the Roma are Neofascists and members belonging to an organization called the Patriot Front (Fawn 2001: 1198). Furthermore, Hajioff and McKee (2000) find that with the ending of Communism that there has been an increase in racist attitudes and attacks against the Roma minority (864). In Canada, due to increased Romani immigration, there have been incidences where Canadian skinheads in Toronto have organized demonstrations against the Roma minority (for example, by shouting “Honk if you hate Gypsies”) (Grohova 2010: 2).

The Roma also face discrimination from various businesses and public areas. For example, there have been incidences in the Czech Republic where various pubs have barred the Roma from entering by placing signs that read “no dogs or gypsies” (Fawn 2001: 1197). Local authorities in the Czech Republic have also collectively banned Roma in the past from municipal swimming pools on the basis of perceived beliefs that the Roma minorities carried hepatitis, and sometimes with “no reason at all” (Fawn 2001: 1203).

Fawn (2001) writes that in the Czech Republic the Roma attempted to commemorate the deaths that occurred at the Lety Pig Farm, a Romani concentration camp active from 1939 to 1943. In response, the government of the Czech Republic believed it would be too costly to commemorate the site and decided to allow it to continue running as a pig farm

(1201). Fawn writes that both Czech critics and international public figures denounced the continued operation of the Lety Pig Farm, labeling it as a “desecration of a monument to the victims of the former concentration camp, as well as an insult to humanity” (Fawn 2001: 1207). Similarly, this indifference presented to the site was mirrored in a public poll where only 11% of those polled were willing to dedicate money in order to commemorate the site (Fawn 2001:1201).

Overall, it is found that the Roma are uniquely located as migrants to Europe (as they had originated from parts of India). Thus when they arrived, they had their own culture and their own individual identities that seemingly clashed with the majority populations in Europe. This resulted in their marginalization, the destruction of much of their culture, their traditions, way of dress, and language. During the Communist regime, it is worth mentioning that the Roma had a higher quality of life while under the control of the State, as they had job security and housing. Since the fall of Communism, the Roma do not enjoy the same benefits as they had under the Communist system. Today, many Roma are still discriminated against, are victims of hate crimes, and are economically and politically marginalized in various countries in Europe. This has lead to the present situation found in Western countries where many Roma attempt to flee their respective countries by applying for asylum abroad.

Chapter 2: Theory: The Representation of the Media

The mass media (newspaper articles, radio broadcasts, television, and magazines) can be regarded as an influential tool that helps to legitimize and normalize certain ways of thinking. For example, the media may portray certain groups (such as the Roma minority) who are entering into Canada in a certain light, inferring, for example, whether these Roma refugee claimants are entering Canada from the Czech Republic for legitimate or non-legitimate reasons. The media may also use quotes from various political actors (such as the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration) in order to reinforce a particular viewpoint to readers.

For my thesis, my theoretical framework will be based on the viewpoint that the mainstream media takes an ideological stance rather than one that is neutral. In order to support this viewpoint Althusser and his theory of ideology will be used and the authors van Dijk, Fleras and Kunz will be used to show how ideology, hegemony and racism are evident in accounts of a particular event.

What is Ideology?

Ferretter (2006) writes that Althusser's take on ideology is one that consists of a logical system of representations (images, concepts, ideas) that have both a role and a historical existence within society. Althusser finds that it is in actuality an unconscious and coercive phenomenon. Furthermore, Althusser finds that ideology is not the type of discourse that one thinks of critically or that is consciously appropriated, but finds instead that ideology is depicted as a steady flow of discourses that have been placed on us from birth to old age. These ideological discourses, according to Althusser (1970), are found in advertisements and in the media (such as newspapers and other 'cultural ventures') where we are subconsciously affected by various images that we take at face value (18). For example, ideological

discourses in society gives us overarching concepts and perceptions of what the ideal family relationship is, what proper eating habits are, and even what the perfect female or male body should look like. Thus, ideology for Althusser is spread from different ideological discourses and affects how people in society both understand and interact with the world around them. This can be either through common sense, popular opinion, or what is taken for granted. Overall, for Althusser this type of ideology includes the images, concepts, and discourses in “which we live our relationship to historical reality” (cited in Ferretter 2006: 78).

Leonardo (2005) finds that Althusser depicts ideology as being largely unconscious – that it is as important in order to sustain order and life as breathing (401). Ideology is also described as having no end, as having no history and as being eternal. Ideology is understood to perform an important function as it allows people to create a picture of social formations for their own understanding, but it can distort rather than describe a reality (Leonardo 2005: 401). Furthermore, Althusser finds that while we cannot experience the unconscious directly, “it exists through its effects – in the discourse of everyday life, experience and dreams,” and that while it may be too much to depict the unconscious as something real, it can be as real “as the dream is to the dreamer” (Leonardo 2005: 409). Thus because ideology is regarded as an influential tool that has the ability to both create and confuse, it will be interesting to see when conducting my media analysis, what perspective is taken by the media through the newspaper articles studied, and if this perspective has a strong ideological viewpoint. Furthermore, as will be discussed in detail below, Althusser views ideology as occurring from Ideological State Apparatuses. The Ideological State Apparatuses are depicted as parts of society (such as educational institutions and religion) which function predominantly on ideology and which help influence and direct our daily lives.

In his essay *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, Althusser (1970) writes that he is not trying to change the 'Marxist theory of the state' but is instead advancing the theory. Williams (1993) argues that Althusser's theory is influenced and developed out of Marx's theory of ideological development and that it contains three key tenants. The tenants are: that ideologies are viewed as a unitary whole (they are not individual parts that can be altered or taken without affecting the whole); that ideologies are found to be unified by a problematic that consists of "a set of problems and solutions, questions and answers"; and lastly, that ideologies are also found to develop "out of the relationship between an individual author and history" (Williams 1993: 49). In this case, ideologies are considered to be time-specific and consist of answers to questions that occur from a person's unique time within her or his individual society (Williams 1993: 49).

Althusser further advances Marx's theory of the state by adding the concept of Ideological State Apparatuses which is distinct and should not be confused with the Marxist (Repressive) State Apparatus that consists of the government, administration, army, police, courts, and prisons. The Ideological State, according to Althusser, is located in the most part within private domains (i.e. the religious, educational, family, political and cultural domains) and is found in "churches, parties, trade unions, families, some schools, most newspapers, cultural ventures" (Althusser 1970: 18). Thus it can be argued that the media, which consists of newspapers and other cultural ventures, is an Ideological State Apparatus. Similarly, the ideology that is found within these domains are depicted to be from those who are in the dominant positions within society, who in practice also hold state power and thus have at their disposal the (Repressive) State Apparatus (Althusser 1970: 19). Therefore, it can be said that Althusser finds ideology to be both an unconscious and influential phenomenon that is reinforced through Ideological State Apparatuses; thus, people are constantly under the

influence of ideology in almost all facets of their life, whether they are being influenced by the media (newspapers, television), at work or at school. Overall, for my thesis it will be interesting to find if the media (in this case the newspaper articles studied) are part of the Ideological State Apparatus and support my hypothesis. Does the media take an ideological point of view and promote an ideology that is a part of the ruling class (by those who hold a lot of economic and political power in society)?

Ideology and Hegemony

Furthermore, when understanding how the media are able to be as influential as it is, it is important to understand the hegemonic abilities that the media holds and how this hegemony is able to be diffused throughout society in often subtle and unobtrusive ways. The media according to Fleras and Kunz can be viewed as being hegemonic in that it has the ability to change the attitudes of the public, with little awareness that the public's attitudes are themselves being influenced to change due to the "apparent naturalness of media products" (2001: 52-53). The media are able to naturalize our realities by presenting the picture where "contemporary social arrangements" are considered as "acceptable and inevitable rather than self-serving social constructs" by presenting the dominant ideology as universal rather than particular; by denying any contradictions to the capitalist mode of production or distribution; and lastly, by "naturalizing the present as common sense" (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 53). Therefore, the media are able to secure the agenda, values and priorities of those in power (such as Jason Kenney, the Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism) and those of privilege, by affecting people's attitudes while people themselves are unaware that their attitudes have been affected and thus changed (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 52). In this way the media can be described as hegemonic where ideology is depicted as "a system of ideas and ideals that justify the prevailing distribution of power and

privilege in society by way of representations that purport to explain reality” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 52).

Naiman (2008) similarly finds that in societies there is a tendency for certain ideas to become prevalent over others. This is because those in power (the ruling class) have a high interest in both “promoting and defending those ideas that best protects the interests and maintain the status quo” (Naiman 2008: 150). This control of the ruling class over society’s belief system is referred to as ideological hegemony. This term, coined by Antonio Gramsci, assumes that the dominant class is better able to maintain its power through forms of persuasion and coercion (Naiman 2008: 150). Also, while Naiman (2008) finds that threats and force could be used to “maintain the social order,” class relations are better sustained through the manipulation of cultural spheres (150). Thus in Althusser’s case, these cultural spheres (such as newspapers and television) would be a part of the state apparatus, and would be the tool that the ruling class would use in order to spread its specific brand of ideology.

Ideology, as defined by van Dijk (1991), has hegemonic properties and is a “shared, socio-cognitive system of a group, culture or society” which consists of a framework that “monitors the development of knowledge and attitudes” and which brings these attitudes in line with certain group interests and goals (36). Ideology is also depicted as a “cognitive machine” that not only creates and builds group attitudes, but also sustains group reproduction (this is by how ideology is used to perpetuate the interests of different groups in society thus sustaining them), “both in relations of dominance as well as that of resistance” (van Dijk 1991: 37). Furthermore, the reproduction of ideology is in large part due to specific groups having a preference over certain opinions and beliefs that can be used to not only control their members but to supervise certain practices that are believed to ultimately benefit

its members (van Dijk 1991: 37). Ideologies are thus cognitive systems that are used in order to reproduce group interests, and are not always based on ‘truth’, but based on “its effectiveness and effectiveness for the cognitive organization and reproduction of groups” (van Dijk 1991: 37). Similarly, while social groups share ideologies, they are also acquired, reproduced and can also change in different social situations (van Dijk 1991: 38). Thus, certain power relations can be reproduced on an ideological level, which are perpetrated and maintained by the Ideological State Apparatuses. Overall, by having control over certain beliefs and attitudes in society, those in power have the ability to control other people both subtly and unobtrusively.

Williams also discusses how ideology can be a hegemonic force. Williams finds that Althusser produced various different notions of ideology. The first notion being that ideology is regarded as consisting “as the lived relation of people with the world” (this is the unity of the real and the imagined relations “and their real conditions of existence”) (Williams 1993: 50). Thus it is found that because ideology is viewed as a ‘lived relation,’ it is not something that can be depicted as being solely illusory, but as something that is found in and affects almost every aspect of social life. (Williams 1993:50). For example, ideology can be found in our attitudes on family, work and politics and help express a ‘truth’ – a truth about our lived experiences within different areas such as in religion, morality and philosophy (Williams 1993: 50). Ideology for Althusser is then depicted as not just an illusion, but an illusion that is necessary and which is produced “by the operations of the system itself” (Williams 1993: 50).

The second tenant of ideology is described in a more functionalist way. In this case, ideology is depicted by way of how capitalist social relations are both maintained and reproduced, in that it is viewed as a mechanism of domination (Williams 1993: 50-51). In

this case, people are made to support the status-quo within their societies and this is done either by force or through ideology. Ideology, as already mentioned, is regarded as being spread through various Ideological State Apparatuses, such as education, the family, politics, religion, and culture (Williams 1993: 51).

Overall, according to Williams (1993), subjects under the influence of Ideological State Apparatuses are said to both work and live within the frameworks of ideology. In this case, individuals are assigned a spot within the existing social order of things and often do so willingly and without a second thought, as if it was natural or human nature to do so (Williams 1993: 51). Ideology is thus reassuring to the point where individuals consent willingly to their own oppression. For Althusser, in order for every society to exist, ideology is considered as being of great importance as it allows men and women “to be formed, transformed and equipped to respond to the demands of their conditions of existence” (Williams 1993: 51). Similarly, ideology is also depicted as having the processes of both subjection and qualification (Williams 1993: 56). With subjection, ideologies place individuals in certain roles and role constraints as subjects. Therefore, ideology is viewed as subjecting individuals to a certain social order that can either prohibit or permit a person’s “drives, capacities and potentials” (Williams 1993: 56). With qualification on the other hand, this allows ideologies to provide individuals with the needed tools or qualifications in order to fulfill various expected roles. For example, Williams argues that in order to obtain a degree one must follow “the social order of a discipline” and meet the demands of the specific university (Williams 1993: 56).

A third notion of ideology is where ideology is depicted “as the programmatic basis of a political party” – as the cement of certain social groups, which helps to unify both the group’s thinking and practices. Proletarian ideology is used as an example and is depicted as

being opposite of the bourgeoisie ideology. Proletarian ideology is described as the opposite of bourgeoisie ideology, because it pits people against the system as opposed to having support for it (Williams 1993: 52). In this case ideology is not viewed as static and everlasting, but as something that can be changed and manipulated based on those who are in power and who have the most influence on society at the time.

Althusser also argues that ideology is subjected to a constant class struggle, as there will always be a struggle in reproducing the ruling ideology which has to be resumed constantly (Williams 1993: 63). Overall, ideology is regarded as an important facet that ensures social integration, helps authenticate legitimacy and authority, and establishes one's individual or "group identity," which can be changed and reinforced from one generation to the next (Williams 1993: 57). Ideology is also perceived as something that you cannot understand from the outside (as we are always inside it to an extent), thus while we do make our own history, our histories are not made as we please since there are always constraints imposed on one's ability to invent a new reality (Williams 1993: 63). In this way, as ideology is maintained and reproduced by the state apparatuses and influenced by the ruling class, it can be implied that ideology has the ability to advance capitalist interests and capitalist viewpoints. This occurs by reproducing the interests of the ruling class within a given society, resulting in the betterment of those in the ruling class.

The Use of the Media in Spreading Ideology

In this thesis, I strongly rely on Fleras and Kunz (2001) to demonstrate how the mainstream media are able to project an ideological view onto various social and political topics. Fleras and Kunz (2001) argue that the mainstream media has been able to both infiltrate and influence the public with little resistance and little awareness of its influence. The media (through newspaper articles, television reports, magazines, and the radio) is

depicted as a powerful tool that has the ability to influence opinion, shape perspectives, and construct new realities. Furthermore, the media can be viewed as ideological as it is able to both advance and maintain the views of the dominant while brushing aside alternate perspectives espoused as “inferior or irrelevant” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 48). In this way the interests of the majority tend to be voiced and accepted by the media, while the interests of the minority can be dismissed easily by framing them in a negative and inferior light.

Similarly, McQuail (1977) finds that the media plays a large part in constructing and shaping a person’s “behaviour and self-concept” as we learn (through the media) “what our social environment is and respond to the knowledge that we acquire” (81). For example, the mass media helps depict our social roles and the expectations that arise from these roles (such as the job of a police officer) whether that is in the political, social or work spheres (McQuail 1977: 81). Furthermore, McQuail (1977) finds that there are different values that tend to be “selectively reinforced” within society, and that it is the mass media that helps to give both structure and an “order of importance” to these values (81).

Fleras and Kunz (2001) find that there is one commonality that underpins Canadians, and that is the “absorption of media culture, either as producers or consumers” (47). It is depicted that mainstream media are able to create a reality through shaping perspectives of the outside world. This constructed reality is created with its own agendas that may be either systemic or explicit (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 47). This agenda-setting ability is centered on a societal and cultural framework which is used as a “reference point for articulating what is important, normal, and acceptable in society” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 47). The media are also described as more concerned in making a profit and attracting an audience, in order to “bolster advertising” and “secure consumer patterns” (Fleras et al 2001: 49). Furthermore, the media are viewed as an entity that is not seemingly neutral but instead as an entity that

attempts to reflect, reinforce, and advance “the interests of those who control media processes, agendas and outcomes” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 49). Since, according to Althusser (1970), the media are part of the Ideological State Apparatus and influenced by those in the ruling class (23), the media in this case can be depicted as advancing the interests of those in power, whether for profit, or to spread a certain ideology to maintain their legitimacy in society. For example, for my thesis I will determine if the reason for placing a visa requirement on Czech citizens is legitimate, and if so, who is legitimizing its placement.

Naiman (2008) writes that social scientists have noted that with the large amount of time spent using and coming into contact with different varieties of mass communication (the internet, magazines, television, cellphone) that we have become entrenched and affected by the media “in a major way” (156-157). Furthermore, in the 20th century the mass media are regarded as “the most important means of transmitting and maintaining the dominant ideology” (Naiman 2008: 157). Naiman (2008) explains that Herman and Chomsky (1988) argued that a main function of the media was ‘propaganda’ which was used to promote the interests of those who had the most political and economic power at the time (cited in Naiman 2008: 157). Similarly, arguments were also made that the media in capitalist societies was being “controlled by a small and integrated elite” (Naiman 2008: 157). In Canada, the corporatization of the media is an issue worth exploring and will be discussed later on in this chapter as well as in my methodology section. This is where the media are being controlled and diffused into society by just a handful of corporations.

Fleras and Kunz (2001) further write that mainstream media can be viewed through the lens of Althusserian thinking, where the media are important tools that are used to maintain “the ideological supremacy of contemporary capitalism” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 52). Capitalism itself is depicted by the authors as a never-ending journey for profit where

those in the ruling class profit as individuals fall under the dominant ideology (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 52). The ideas that are created by media texts are ideas that are meant to influence the population to think and act in a way that conforms to the dominant ideology of society. This is what certain political actors (such as the government) want you to view as “right” or “wrong.” Hall (1977) also writes about the importance of Althusser’s ideological construction as that it is these structures (i.e. schools, religious institutions) which underpin “the position of the media apparatuses” (345). In this case, the “media relate[s] to the ruling class alliances, not directly but indirectly” thus the media can present itself as having its own autonomy and often enshrine itself among the principles of “objectivity, neutrality, impartiality and balance” (Hall 1977: 345)

Fleras and Kunz (2001) find that the media are ideological in two ways. Firstly they argue that the media influences people to think in a preferred way rather than thinking for the common good. Secondly, the authors state that the media consists of many ideological assumptions such as various ideas and ideals that are part of the dominant discourse. Ideological assumptions are depicted as being made by framing the mainstream perspective as being both “normal and superior, while oppositional values and counter-hegemonic views tend to be dismissed as inferior or irrelevant” (52).

Overall, Fleras and Kunz (2001) depict the media as being anything but a passive or neutral entity. Instead, the media are described as containing hidden agendas and dominant viewpoints or ideologies rather than being interested in the common good. The news can be regarded as an ideological source of power in that it has the ability to endorse certain points of view as acceptable while discounting other points of view as irrelevant. This perspective of framing issues in certain ideological ways allows any deviation from the norm to be discounted and “eliminated for the common good or national interests” (Fleras and Kunz

2001: 152). The media should thus be viewed as consisting of cultural products, and should not be only looked at as solely physical objects or artifacts (such as a newspaper, or a flickering television), but as cultural goods that are made by people and where most importantly, “their significance lies in what people do with them” (Deacon 1999: 248). For example, the television today affects a large part of a person’s life by consuming much leisure time, and replacing idle chit-chat and family life (Deacon et al., 1999: 248).

Lastly, Fleras and Kunz (2001) argue that while the media are able to influence the beliefs and attitudes of some, most often the media creates a cultural and social climate where “aspects of reality are defined as acceptable and desirable, right or wrong, good or bad” (57). The media are powerful tools that, on the one hand, are viewed as “window[s] onto the world of what is and what should be”, while on the other hand, they are depicted as mirrors which reflect the prevailing cultural attitudes, priorities, and values (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 59).

Newscasting:

Fleras and Kunz (2001) also write about the various ways of newscasting. This includes framing the issue, such as ways that the media depicts certain minority groups or different social topics. Fleras and Kunz (2001) write that minorities have long criticized the various ways that they have been represented in the media. For example, often times they find that they have been miscast by the news as “belligerent, ruthless, or callously indifferent to human life”; other times, minorities are depicted as “victims, vulnerable to social decay and societal disorder, enmeshed in graft and corruption, and without much capacity for cooperative or productive activity” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 65). The media are described as often bolstering majority ideological messages at the expense of minority men and women (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 66).

The mainstream media can also be depicted as a problem for minorities in the following ways: the media tends to portray a one-sided view as opposed to one that is even-handed; the media are driven by “commercial interests rather than the interests of service”; the media are often framed for consumer entertainment rather than sole sources for knowledge and information; the media relies on stories of conflict and violence “for storytelling and narrative structure”; and lastly, the media portrays the “the interests and perceptions of the affluent and powerful” as being “normal and natural” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 72).

The media further plays a role on how it depicts minorities in that it makes people of colour appear invisible; this is done by ignoring potential news stories or by silencing minority voices (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 79). It is found that when minorities are depicted in newscasts that they are “misrepresented by being refracted through a white malestream gaze,” considered as outsiders that are eroding Canada’s social structure, or criticized as freeloaders while being compared to the “hardworking and law-abiding white Canadian” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 79). Therefore, it is found that the media ignores minorities unless there is a noteworthy event, and that when they are placed in the news, they are typically framed as problem people that are a danger to society, and are oftentimes criticized by the media “regardless of what they do” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 85).

Similarly, the authors Hazell and Clarke (2008) also write about the media, racism and its influential and ideological effect on society. Hazell and Clarke (2008) depict the mass media as a resource that is widely available and in multiple forms (such as radio, magazines, newspapers, television) and thus which has a strong and influential effect on society (5). It is also found that the various texts and images that are presented in the media mainly reflect the ideals, interests and values of the advertisers; this often results in the case where non-white

minorities are represented in a stereotypical and biased or unfavorable way (Hazell and Clarke 2008: 6). These texts found in the media often become entrenched and “a part of the culture of a society and become the basis on which new images and words are created” (Hazell and Clarke 2008: 6). Similar to the thoughts of Fleras and Kunz, it is considered that the dominant ideology thus helps to legitimate the power of one over another, whether that be the majority population over the minority culture, or of men over women (Hazell and Clarke 2008: 6). Media texts are considered to be influential as they tend to be internalized by the members in a society and thus have the ability to influence the attitudes and views “concerning themselves as members of a particular gender or race” (Hazell and Clarke 2008: 6).

Hazell and Clarke (2008) find that the media are a resource that is circulated and provides its readers with up-to-date information and thus helps to perpetuate various societal beliefs (18). These societal beliefs are based on the dominant ideology of the time. For example, today’s ideology would be of “white supremacy concerning race and gender” (Hazell and Clarke 2008: 18). Overall it can be found that the media are depicted as a powerful and influential force that both shapes the perceptions and understandings amongst the members of any given society and any time and place.

Media Ideology and Racism

Naiman (2008) writes that when one person views their life as more favourably than others that is called ethnocentrism, and that under certain situations that ethnocentrism can become “virulent and hateful” (255). Often when hostility is targeted to a specific group with different physical qualities (such as skin colour or eye shapes) this is often referred to racism (Naiman 2008: 256). Naiman (2008) argues that racism is a recent phenomenon that was “developed with the rise of capitalism and its global expansion” and “can be traced to the

expansion of European economies” (258). Similarly, racism can be found in the media in order to expand on capitalist interests. In this case, those in power (the ruling class), use the media in order to reinforce their interests and goals.

Both Fleras and Kunz (2001) and van Dijk find that there is ideology that is found within the opinions, beliefs and attitudes of others, and that both ideology and racism are “perpetuated by the press” (van Dijk 1991: 5). Similarly both authors also discuss the importance of racism in the media and find that this racism can be subtle and covert, entrenched within societal norms, values, and institutional structures, and furthermore, that it exists beyond a person’s individual control (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 29; van Dijk 2001: 28). It is found that measuring the degree of racism in the media is a difficult task due to the fact that individuals may interpret various comments in different ways, perceiving some comments that appear neutral as being either patronizing or racist (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 29). In general, the media has time and time again been blamed for “reflecting, reinforcing, and advancing mainstream racism” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 31). Racism is defined by Fleras and Kunz as:

a set of ideas and ideals (ideology) that asserts or implies the superiority of one social group over another on the basis of biology or cultural characteristics, together with the institutional power to put these racialized beliefs into practice in a way that has the intent or effect of denying or excluding minority women and men. (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 33)

When discussing the concept of racism, van Dijk (1991) writes that historically, non-Western people have associated certain characteristics as having negative connotations. For example, differences in one’s “bodily appearance” (such as skin colour) were one of those characteristics (van Dijk 1991: 25). These real or imagined differences helped to create a classification of different races which from the 18th to 19th centuries was backed “by pseudo-scientific arguments about inherently associated moral or socio-cultural characteristics of

these ‘races’, usually leading to the conclusion that the ‘white’ race was superior to other races” (van Dijk 1991: 25). This ‘White’ or European ideology was used in order to motivate and legitimate the exploitation, oppression and even the extermination of non-Europeans (those of other races) from the early periods of “imperialist western expansion, slavery and colonialism until the Holocaust of the Jews by the Nazis in World War II” (van Dijk 1991: 25).

Van Dijk (1991) also writes that Black resentment of the press is usually due to the perceived belief that many journalists are a “part of the white power structure” (12). In this case, news reporters are regarded as relying on information from the police instead of gathering the opinions from Black citizens (van Dijk 1991: 12). Similarly van Dijk reports that studies show that minorities (such as Blacks, Latinos and other minorities) are subjected to stereotypes. These stereotypes include being too lazy to work, involved in drug use, and/or as problem people (people who either have or cause problems) (van Dijk 1991: 14). Similarly, while minority success stories are covered in the press, these minorities tend not to be depicted as a “threat to the majority” (van Dijk 1991: 14). Overall, it is found that a major press perspective found in coverage of ethnic affairs tends to be of an “us versus them” mentality (van Dijk 1991: 14). For equal and neutral representation in the media, van Dijk (1991) finds that there would need to be equal minority representation in “all types of news, not only in crime or conflict news, but also in economics or foreign policy news” (14).

Van Dijk (1991) demonstrates that the press is also considered as a “main foe of black and other minorities” (20). This is due to the press being a representation of the white power structure that has constantly limited access to the promotions, hiring, and points of views of other minority groups (van Dijk 1991: 20-21). Until presently the main “definition of ethnic affairs has consistently been a negative and stereotypical one,” where minorities are

often presented as a threat, as a problem, associated with crime, conflicts, violence, unacceptable cultural differences (such as being lazy) and other deviant behaviour (van Dijk 1991: 21).

When looking at racism and ideology, it is assumed that racism “is a system of group dominance” and consists of two dimensions (van Dijk 1991: 27). These two dimensions consist of one that is structural and another that is ideological and which are both interdependent of each other (van Dijk 1991: 27).

The structural dimension is where inequality is found to be based on “societal arrangements and practices,” where the minority group as a whole finds itself in a less “powerful social, political, economic, and cultural position than that of white Europeans” (van Dijk 1991: 28). Van Dijk argues that despite there being laws that prohibit discrimination, minorities often find themselves having less access to both symbolic and material resources (such as proper housing, health care, education, respect or status) (van Dijk 1991: 28). Furthermore, explicit and overt forms of racial and ethnic discrimination are currently being “replaced by more implicit, indirect, subtle, or otherwise less open” forms of inequality and is termed as “‘new’, ‘modern’, or symbolic racism” (van Dijk 1991: 28).

An implication of structural inequality is that it has also allowed for the development of a certain ideology which “recognizes socio-cultural differences between different ethnic groups, but denies differences of power, and hence the dominance of western culture” (van Dijk 1991: 28). Furthermore, while ideology might no longer be based on the ideal that Whites are a superior race (either biologically or mentally) it now assumes that other racial and ethnic groups are considered backwards (van Dijk 1991: 29). In the case of my thesis, the Roma may be perceived as having a more backwards background compared to the majority population due to their social and economic background (as discussed in my review

of literature). Thus it can be argued that Western culture would stereotype the Roma minority as being backwards due to the lack of political power and different way of life they hold within their home countries, and in turn may view the Roma as entering into Canada in order to obtain economic and social opportunities (jobs, health care) as opposed to entering Canada for legitimate reasons (fear of persecution within their home countries).

Overall racism as depicted by Fleraz and Kunz (2001) also has similarities to van Dijk's concept of racism as it is regarded as multidimensional in origin. It has a biological component (where one's race is determined by genetics), and consists of an ideology where there is the belief that people can be ordered into races "and assessed or treated accordingly" (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 33). Racism also has a cultural component. In this case, racism is rooted in seeing the minority as an 'other,' a situation in which the minorities are disliked not only due to biology "but also because of what they do" (i.e., their 'culture') (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 34). Racism is also viewed to have a power component. This is based on power having an effect over patterns of control, dominance and exploitation (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 35). Here, people in various positions of power are able to call upon a "doctrine of race or cultural differences to enforce social control over those deemed inferior in the competitive struggle for scarce resources" (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 35). The power component in racism also allows one group to reinforce their power over another by establishing agendas about what is considered normal, desirable, necessary, and acceptable (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 35). Fleras and Kunz (2001) find that this type of racism is historically embedded within the relations of both domination and subordination and is found within the institutional structures of society (35). Overall, racism in the media is of great importance, because when doing my analysis there may be instances of racism found within the newspaper articles that are used in order to legitimize and reinforce certain viewpoints. For example, when looking

for contradictions to my hypothesis, critics may view the imposition of a visa requirement as both being racist and as another form of discrimination if they find that the Roma do face persecution within their home countries. Similarly, for my hypothesis, Canada may not view itself as racist, but as having legitimate reasons for the visa requirement by depicting the Roma minority in the press as coming into Canada for economic reasons.

Different Forms of Racism:

While discussing the prevalence of racism in the press, it might be worth mentioning different forms or theories of racism. Simmons (2008) writes about the emergence of symbolic or modern racism. This theory purports that modern racism involves “a blending of traditional values with anti-minority affect” (669). In this case, minorities are regarded not as being openly criticized for being a minority, but they are blamed for violating “traditional values of the mainstream” (Simmons 2008: 669). This allows minorities to be discriminated against due to the belief that they have already done something to warrant such a perception imposed on them (Simmons 2008: 669).

Liu and Mills (2006), in their study of modern racism, examined different patterns found in New Zealand print media and found two different ways where ‘plausible deniability’ of racism was achieved in the “coverage of two race-related events” (Liu and Mills 2006 *in* Simmons 2008: 669). Firstly, it was found that minorities would typically be criticized for violating a societal norm or mainstream value; secondly, a “national discourse was repeatedly deployed to affirm the values and wellbeing of the majority and defend against threats from outsiders” (Liu and Mills 2006 *in* Simmons 2008: 669). Here, members of the minority group are criticized and attacked for violating what is considered an important moral code that is valued by the majority group (Simmons 2008: 675).

Fleras and Kunz (2001) also define four types of racism. These types of racism are polite, systematic, systemic, and subliminal. Polite racism is described as being “unobtrusive, often implicit, obliquely phrased, restricted to private domains, embedded in codes, and hidden behind appeals to higher ideals such as procedural fairness” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 37). Overall, polite racism is considered as another way to disguise personal attitudes and opinions by appearing non-prejudicial – this is found in certain instances when refugee claimants are “criticized for jumping the queue” (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 37).

Systematic racism, on the other hand, is depicted by rules and procedures that are meant to exclude minorities from enjoying full involvement in society. These rules are entrenched within various institutional frameworks and usually “preclude minority entry or participation,” such as through harassment by coworkers or managers often defended as being unintentional such as joking behaviour (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 38). Thus, systematic racism can be viewed through organizations that purposely manipulate various procedures and rules in order to deny the participation or access of minorities (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 38).

Systemic racism is considered to be both unconscious and impersonal, and is described as being a “subtle yet powerful form of discrimination that is entrenched within institutional structures (rules, organization), functions (norms, goals), and institutional processes (procedures) of social institutions (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 38). In this case, it is not about motives or intent but about context and consequences (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 38). For example, certain programs may not appear to be discriminatory but actually may exclude certain minorities while offering advantages to others. This can be viewed where certain jobs (doctor, firefighter, police officer) require certain educational, weight or height requirements (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 39). Therefore, systemic racism tends to go unnoticed as it is

defended by partaking in universal standards, and of being neutral to all (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 39).

The last type of racism is subliminal racism. Subliminal racism operates on an unconscious level. In this case, racism is said to operate beyond a person's awareness and is found in cases of double standards (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 39). For example, individuals may endorse equality principles and oppose those which may cause inequality for minorities, but only as long as it doesn't have an unwanted cost (money or added burdens) to those who hold positions of privilege and power (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 40). The net effect of this type of subliminal racism is that if there is an unwanted cost in endorsing minority equality then most often minorities are cast as "troublemakers or problem people, whose interests are unacceptable in liberal-democratic societies and whose demands fall outside the orbit of acceptability" (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 40).

Media, Stereotyping, Hegemony and Corporatization:

The media often stereotypes minorities and this stereotyping can often occur in patterns. For example, in television, Blacks were at times stereotyped into the role of "superhero/athletes or sex-obsessed buffoons"; Latina women as "heat and passionate salsa"; depictions of Aboriginals in newscasts range from being the villain to victim to "stigma of problem people"; and Muslims in recent times have been stereotyped as being "backward and fanatic" (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 144). Frequently, the media portrays minorities as a social problem; a problem that is need of a costly solution or political attention (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 145). Fleraz and Kunz find that in newscasts immigrants are often described as "hassling police, stumping immigration authorities, cheating on welfare, or battling among themselves at community or family levels" (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 146). Similarly, immigrants have also been subject to being cast as troublemakers who attempt to

steal jobs from Canadians, cheat the welfare system, manipulate educational opportunities without making a corresponding commitment to Canada, engage in illegal activities such as drugs or smuggling, and imperil Canada's unity and identity by refusing to discard their culture. (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 146)

Fleras and Kunz (2001) argue that minorities tend to be depicted as an ornamental feature in society rather than being described as an average Canadian whose opinions reach a variety of subjects that are "beyond their race or community" (146). Overall, these racial discourses often cause both public fear and strengthen public need for harsher measures of societal control (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 150). Also, stereotypes, while considered unable to alter existing beliefs, are also able to reinforce current thoughts and ways of thinking (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 150).

While stereotypes are able to reinforce and alter the beliefs of many, corporatization in Canada may also be a reason for why the priorities of a few are disseminated among the many. For example, independent newspapers are slowly fading from existence, thus diversity (alternate points of view) among newscasts are less common today than compared to the 1950s (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 73). Fleraz and Kunz (2001) write that 93% of all newspapers come from corporate groups as opposed to only 77% from the 1970s (73). Furthermore, there has been a drastic decrease in independently-owned daily newspapers, from 41.5% in 1970 to only 17% by the mid-1990s (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 73). Similarly, by 1996 Hollinger Inc., owned by Conrad Black, had ownership of "58 papers from a total of 106 nationwide," accounting for 37% of daily newspaper circulation and 42% of readership in Canada (Fleras and Kunz 2001: 73).

Naiman (2008) also discusses how the concentration of large corporations owning "media-based capital" has only increased (158). For example, in Canada the major participants are: CanWest Global communications, Astral Media, Shaw Communications,

CTVglobemedia, Quebecor Media and Rogers Communications (159). CanWest Global itself is described as owning 14 English “metropolitan daily newspapers” and over 120 community newspapers, as well as an assortment of television stations (Naiman 2008: 159). Corporatization will also be discussed further in my methodology chapter when depicting the reasons for choosing the three newspapers studied.

Similarly, Hall (1977) finds that ideology under capitalism is one “that appears to be that of masking and displacing” (333). In this case, the exploitive nature of the class system is evident, as the value of what is collectively created becomes privately owned (Hall 1977: 333). Using Gramsci’s concept of Hegemony, Hall finds that Hegemony occurs when the dominant class fractions in society (such as those who hold a lot of political power) are able to both dominate and direct (i.e., to lead) (Hall 1977: 333). Hegemony is achieved through the containment of the subordinate classes through super-structures (Hall 1977: 333). These superstructures are “the family, education system, the church, the media and cultural institutions, as well as the coercive side of the state – the law, police, the army,” all of which work through ideology (Hall 1977: 333). Similarly, according to Althusser, as previously discussed, these superstructures, described as Ideological State Apparatuses, consist of education, religion, the workplace, the media (such as newspapers, radio, and other cultural ventures), and has an effect on one’s daily life by framing the understanding of one’s reality (Althusser 1970: 18). Furthermore, ideological hegemony is not viewed as something that is forever permanent, because it is depicted as something that must be both won and secured (Hall 1977: 333). In order for ideology to be won and secured, those in power must use the ideological apparatuses to influence society; this can be done by perpetuating a certain viewpoint (such as racist ideologies) that helps legitimize their reasoning and positioning within society.

Overall, the mainstream media can be depicted as being both influential and hegemonic. They are able to influence opinions and attitudes, undetected by the public. The mainstream media, which includes the Internet, television, radio, and newspapers, have the ability to bolster profit and advance the interests of those who have control over media processes. Thus the media, while under the control of those in power, can present a particular ideology to the public.

Thus it can be said that Althusser's ideological views look at how the dominant class is able to condition the rest of the public to "accept the dominant relations of production" (Hirst 1976: 387). As already discussed, Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses (which consist of economic, social and cultural spheres) function predominantly on ideology, and the benefits of ideology tend to be secured by those in the ruling class (Althusser 1970: 23). This will be tested during my analysis when examining what type of dominant ideology is presented within the media texts (i.e., if these Czech refugees are attempting to enter Canada on the basis of economic means rather than legitimate refugee arguments, such as fear of persecution of race or religion claims). Furthermore, the question on who is legitimatizing the use of the visa requirement will also be looked at (i.e., someone with a lot of political power in society?). Similarly, by Canada imposing visas this can be viewed as protecting their economic and capitalist system from further possible exploitation, as suggested by the authors Fleras and Kunz, Hazell and Clarke and Simmons. Therefore it can be argued that Roma refugees coming from the Czech Republic are discriminated against due to being perceived as a threat to the system (such as a drain to Canadian resources), and are thus stereotyped as economic refugees as opposed to entering Canada for legitimate reasons. Furthermore, racism will also be looked at to see if one race is depicted as being superior (less backwards) than another within the newspaper articles.

In this viewpoint, as discussed earlier, for my hypothesis I will argue that the mainstream media has an ideological viewpoint, where refugees coming to Canada from the Czech Republic (and even cases such as refugees from Mexico and Hungary), are depicted by the media as arriving for economic, non-legitimate reasons, as opposed to legitimate refugee reasons such as fear of persecution based on race, political opinion, religion, nationality, or by membership into a certain group (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2008).

I will demonstrate that the leading argument presented by the media is that the Canadian government finds that the economic and false refugees lead to a situation where the refugee system becomes clogged and overburdened by illegitimate claimants, causing long wait times and heightened costs. The visa requirement is portrayed by the media as a way to reduce the burdens and costs that are placed on the Canadian refugee system, and also as a way to weed out the illegitimate refugees from the real ones. In this case, media sources such as newspaper articles are presented as a method to manipulate the public by presenting certain topics in a positive or negative light, usually set by the ingrained social and cultural framework which is used as a reference point for what is valid or acceptable in society (Fleras et al 2001: 60). The viewpoint here is that the media presents that it is not acceptable to have non-genuine/illegal refugees apply for refugee status, and that a visa requirement is a legitimate and much-needed form of weeding out fake claimants. Furthermore, the overarching viewpoint that will be looked at is whether these media texts show an ideological viewpoint where visas were imposed in order to protect our capitalist system from exploitation by lowering the heavy costs placed on our refugee and social system by fake refugee claimants. Overall, I am also aware that the newspaper articles studied might not show such a one sided ideological viewpoint. This is based on my finding in Chapter 1,

Review of Literature, which showed that the Roma minority have experienced a long history of persecution, and thus have a legitimate reason for applying for refugee status abroad. Another viewpoint may show that the media also demonstrates an even-handed and neutral stance when discussing the Roma minorities. This even-handed view may take the form of depicting the Roma as experiencing instances of persecution in their home countries. Newspaper articles may also include the perspectives of various NGOs which might also take the side of the Roma minority.

Chapter 3: Methodology: Doing a Media Newspaper Analysis

The methodology used in this project is an interpretive approach. The interpretive approach is likened to the act of storytelling, where the author attempts to create a story that has a beginning, middle, and an ending (Nagy Hesse-Biber 2004: 447). The act of interpreting is also depicted as an art form and not as being mechanical or formulaic (Nagy Hesse-Biber 2004: 450). When attempting to interpret a text, the reader sets forth a process where multiple meanings, events, and experiences are brought to light. Similarly, meanings, interpretations, and representations found in texts overlap and intertwine with each other (Nagy Hesse-Biber 2004: 453).

Multiple meanings were also explored in order to see if my hypothesis could be supported or disproved. The word ‘interpretation’ is depicted as being able to “assign significance or a coherent meaning to something” (Neuman 2004: 88). For my theoretical framework Althusser’s theory is used to outline the perspective that the media are a component of the Ideological State Apparatus. In this case, those in power in society are said to have control over the media and use the media in order to protect their interests and reinforce their place in society. My methodology will use a content analysis (as will be described below) in order to reveal if the media are used as a component of the Ideological State Apparatuses, showing that those in power are legitimizing the imposition of visa for capitalist reasons. Furthermore, my content analysis uses the interpretive approach, as it will allow me to pull apart and focus on the specific themes that are to be studied for my analysis.

Both quantitative and qualitative researchers interpret things in different ways. Quantitative researchers give meaning to research by discussing statistics, numbers and charts, while qualitative researchers find meaning by discussing both visual and textual data in a way which “conveys an authentic voice, or that remains true to the original people and

situations that he or she studied” (Neuman 2004: 88). For my thesis a qualitative approach will be used when studying the data. This qualitative approach includes looking at key themes from specific media content and will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter.

Three different steps are used in interpretation. The first is called a first-order interpretation: this is when the researcher looks at the various motives or personal reasons and various points of view of the people being studied, while staying a step removed from what’s being studied (Neuman 2004: 88). The second is called a second-order interpretation: this is when the researcher gets closer to the subject being studied (‘under their skin’) while still remaining ‘on the outside looking in,’ a technique used in order to elicit some sort of meaning from the data (Neuman 2004: 88). Lastly, a third-order interpretation is the act of linking the understanding achieved from the first and second-order interpretations into “larger concepts, generalizations, or theories” (Neuman 2004: 88). Neuman (2004) finds that the purpose of interpretation is to “foster understanding” (37). By using the interpretive approach, various motives and points of view will be discovered that will connect my analysis to various instances of ideology, hegemony or racism that may be found in the texts.

The interpretive researcher or theorist’s goal is thus to “discover the meaning of an event by placing it within a specific social context,” while both discerning the reasoning and views of others (Neuman 2004: 37). Similarly, Neuman (2004) found that researchers who used an interpretive approach also tended to adopt a “constructionist view of social reality” (42).

This constructionist view saw social life based “less on objective, hard, factual reality” and more on the various beliefs, ideas and “perceptions that people hold about reality” (Neuman 2004: 42). This view is also of importance because it ties into my

theoretical framework (as discussed in more detail in chapter 2), where the mainstream media are depicted as being able to influence the perceptions, beliefs and viewpoints of others. Thus, people from this viewpoint are influenced by media sources such as newspaper articles into believing what is real, as opposed to what may be objectively and factually real.

In order to draw out the various interpretations found within the data being used (newspaper articles), a content analysis will be implemented in order to draw out the various meanings from the texts (Nagy Hesse-Biber 411). Overall, a content analysis is suitable while doing an interpretive approach, as it has the ability to pull apart and specify various themes that are studied. A content analysis also draws out and analyzes data gathered from various types of texts (newspapers, pictures, movies) (Neuman 2004: 219). Content analysis refers to the various meanings, symbols, pictures, ideas or themes that are communicated amongst one another (Neuman 2004: 219). When analyzing various texts, the researcher either uses a system of counting and/or recording in order to produce an adequate symbolic description of what is found in the researched texts (Neuman 2004: 219). Furthermore, content analysis is helpful because it allows a person to overcome the problem of analyzing a large amount of text. Secondly, “it is helpful when a topic must be studied at a distance,” and lastly, a content analysis allows the researcher to derive meanings from a text that wouldn’t be viewed under casual observation (Neuman 2004: 220). A content analysis also allows the researcher to compare and contrast content found in many texts and see what themes, topics, or types of ideological tones may be present within the data, such as references that portray legitimization for the visa requirement, or sympathy for the Roma (Neuman 2004: 219).

Overall, when looking over the content of the texts, the texts will be organized into coded categories. Coding is a process that is often depicted as finding key themes, segments, and ideas within the texts and labeling them by number or a short name (Nagy Hesse-Biber

411). Some key words or short phrases that I may look at when doing my analysis could be: economic refugee; illegal immigrant; human rights; and international law. Coding is also found by many as an adequate method to gather main themes, concepts, ideas and patterns from their data (Nagy Hesse-Biber 2004: 411). A downside to implementing a coded analysis would be that coding is often labour-intensive and a lengthy endeavor to complete (Nagy Hesse-Biber 2004: 411). Furthermore, a coded analysis is often depicted as taking part in the quantitative tradition where the researcher counts the frequency of certain choice words or phrases from within the texts studied (Nagy Hesse-Biber 2004: 411). This coded analysis will allow me to find what concepts and themes are repeated most often within the texts, and also see if the interpreted results are in support, contradict, or lead to different avenues which my theoretical framework did not take into account.

Newspaper Selection:

In order to do my analysis a total of three newspapers were selected. These were: The Globe and Mail; National Post; and The Toronto Star. In the first newspaper choice, The Globe and Mail, 9 newspaper articles were looked at. For the second newspaper, National Post, a total of 11 newspaper articles were looked at. In the third newspaper choice, The Toronto Star, a total of 12 newspaper articles were looked at. The difference in numbers (with the least being The Globe and Mail) is due to these being the only newspaper articles found that fit my relevant topic at the time.

Furthermore, the nine newspaper articles from The Globe and Mail range in dates from July 15th 2009 to Oct 9th 2010. The eleven newspaper articles studied from the National Post newspaper ranged in dates from June 8th 2009 to Sept 7th 2010 (plus one last article from Jan 25th 2011). The twelve newspapers studied from The Toronto Star were from Nov 19th 2008 to Jan 27th 2010. These dates are of importance because it shows that from the date

of interest (July 14th when the visa requirement was officially imposed) that there were relevant news-stories found within a 14-month range, after which stories on this topic ceased. All newspaper articles that were used were found by searching the Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies database. The search terms that were used to find the relevant newspaper articles within the Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies database were: 'Roma AND Canada'; 'Canada AND visa'; 'Czech Republic AND visa'; 'Czech AND visa'; 'Roma AND visa'; 'Roma visa'; 'Czech Republic visa'; and 'Czech visa'.

These three newspapers were used due to their widespread readership and because these three newspapers were also unique, as three different large media firms own each of them. Bell Globemedia owns The Globe and Mail; CanWest Global owns Southam Newspapers (which includes the National Post); and Torstar owns The Toronto Star (Edge 2007, 81-91).

The Globe and Mail (based in Toronto) is a good pick as it is a national newspaper which covers news that not only relates to Greater Toronto but also covers both national and international topics (Aldridge 2001: 608-609). The Globe and Mail also has its own viewpoint as it is depicted as being "centre-right, reflecting support for liberal positions on individual rights and pro-business" (Trimble and Sampert 2004: 63).

The National Post, launched in 1998, is a national newspaper. It was formally owned by Conrad Black (Aldridge 2001: 609). Interestingly, in Toronto, the National Post and The Globe and Mail (while neither being the market leader) are pitted against each other as competitors (Aldridge 2001: 610; Martin 2008: 182). The Globe and Mail is described as tailoring to a high-income readership while the National Post attracts corporate advertising and espouses Black's conservative views (Aldridge 2001: 610). Furthermore, under the previous ownership of Conrad Black, the National Post is also described as reflecting

“elements of the so-called new right, neoliberalism and social conservatism” (Trimble and Sampert 2004: 63).

The Toronto Star is considered “the largest paper in the central Canadian provinces” (Valenzo 2009: 175) and holds the position of “market leader” (Aldridge 2001: 609; Martin 2008: 182). Toronto is also a location that consists of many of the Roma minority as over 5000 Hungarian, Czech and Slovak Roma has settled within Toronto in the last decade (Bonnar 2009). Furthermore, The Toronto Star is also identified as being “socially progressive” giving this project a range of newspaper positions (Aldridge 2001: 609). The Toronto Star is widely distributed within the Ontario region. This is of importance because almost half of the population lives in “the Quebec City/Montreal/Toronto triangle on the eastern seaboard” (Aldridge 2001: 608).

Similarly, according to a survey conducted by the Newspaper Audience Databank, The Toronto Star is considered to be Canada’s most read newspaper with a “total weekday readership” of 1,007,600 (Pigg 2012: para. 2). The survey also reports that The Toronto Star’s total online and print readership is at 2.3 million adults (Pigg 2012). This is twice the readership amount of The Globe and Mail and more than triple the National Post (Pigg 2012). Furthermore, the survey found that the overall readership in the Greater Toronto Area went up by 1.1 percent in 2011 (Pigg 2012).

Overall between the three newspapers studied, there are 32 total newspaper articles and 3 main themes from the newspapers selected and examined. The first theme is ‘refugee claims,’ in this case, various quotes are looked at to see if placing the visa is legitimate (i.e., in order to reduce costs, prevent bogus claims). The second theme is ‘references to economic relations,’ this is if refugee claimants are coming to Canada to exploit Canada’s social system or for employment opportunities. Lastly, contradictions are explored (that the Czech

Roma refugees are in fact genuinely coming to Canada due to reasons of persecution back home).

Understanding Qualitative Data:

A qualitative data analysis software was used: QDA Miner. This helped with coding, reviewing and retrieving the data and documents that were collected for my thesis. Furthermore, QDA Miner was also used to help identify the various patterns and relationships that can be discovered from the coded information (QDA Miner 3.2: 2009).

When using QDA minor in order to highlight various patterns based on the 3 main themes, a keyword search of the each newspaper article was performed. For the first theme of refugee claims the keywords that were used were: refugee; queue; "queue jumping"; bogus; false; claimants; claimant; costs; cost; persecution; asylum; and Kenney. For the second theme of references to economics the keywords that were used were: job; jobs; employment; unemployment; welfare; "social assistance"; dependence; crime; tourism; tourists. The third and last theme of contradictions looked for a more sympathetic viewpoint and used keyword searches of: sympathetic; persecution; "persecution is real"; discrimination; genuine; and legitimate. When broken down, these themes also consisted of various subthemes that will be discussed in further depth in my analysis chapter, later on in this thesis.

In conclusion, by using an interpretive approach I drew out the meanings, ideas, themes and various interpretations in order to find support for my hypothesis.

Chapter 4: Analysis of Newspaper Articles: The Globe and Mail, National Post, The Toronto Star and the Canadian Visa Requirement on the Czech Republic

As previously stated, my main theoretical argument has been that the media take a more one-sided ideological stance rather than one that is even-handed. In my analysis I will examine common patterns found in three newspapers: The Globe and Mail, National Post, and The Toronto Star in order to show that they espouse a dominant ideological view. I will also see if other, more even-handed views are also present in the newspaper articles to disprove the validity of my hypothesis. To re-iterate, my hypothesis states that the ideological view presented in the media portray the Roma as entering Canada as economic refugees (for social assistance, and to attain employment opportunities in Canada) and thus as a burden on the Canadian refugee system.

For this analysis, I chose quotations that demonstrate a particular theme or subtheme. The full list of quotations, separated into newspaper and theme, is attached to Annex Two at the end of my thesis in a table format.

The first pattern that I examined was found in various articles that contained statements that either legitimized or quoted officials who endorsed the imposition of visas on the Czech Republic. In this case, I began my search by looking through the chosen newspaper articles in order to find the main arguments and patterns that the media expressed or reported as reasons for why a visa requirement was imposed on the Czech Republic.

Using QDA miner I was able to do keyword searches using the terms: refugee; queue; "queue jumping"; bogus; false; claimants; claimant; costs; cost; persecution; asylum; and Kenney in order to help narrow my search and discern patterns.

Theme 1: Legitimization of the Imposition of Visas

The theme “Legitimization of the Imposition of Visas” was extensive and therefore broken into six sub themes found within the three newspapers studied.

The first subtheme was ‘Czech Republic: ‘Not an Island of Persecution’; the second subtheme looked at the ‘Supporting Progressive Constitutional Context’; the third subtheme studied ‘Refugee Claimants as Problems’; the fourth subtheme was based on ‘Explicit Journalist Opinion’; the fifth subtheme was that ‘Canada is Soft on Refugees’; and lastly, the sixth subtheme looked at the ‘Legitimization of Maintaining Visas’.

Subtheme 1: Czech Republic: Not an Island of Persecution

This subtheme is of great importance as it highlights the discourse of legitimacy in the imposition of visas on the Czech Republic. Both the Globe and Mail and National Post referenced the Czech Republic as not being an island of persecution. In each and every case the newspaper articles cited comments from Minister Kenney, thus using his position as the Minister of Immigration to perpetuate the idea that the Czech Republic is a safe place to live and not a place that experiences high levels of persecution and/or discrimination. Therefore, it is assumed and stated as fact by Minister Kenney that the Czech Republic is not a place that consists of situations of persecution.

Minister Kenney, as the Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism, is an important political agent in this set of relationships and this perspective legitimizes the view that the Roma from the Czech Republic are in fact not experiencing persecution within Europe. Therefore, when entering Canada as refugees they are not entering as *genuine* refugees. The following statements were made by Minister Kenney:

“Czech Republic is "hardly an island of persecution in Europe," despite a high acceptance rate in Canada of Roma refugee claims” (Berger 2010: A16).

“The increase in asylum claims from the Czech Republic -- hardly an island of persecution in Europe -- is a real concern and Canada is monitoring the situation closely," Mr. Kenney said” (O’Neil July 2009: A4).

The use of this quotation from Minister Kenney lends political authority that legitimizes the imposition of the visa requirement on the Czech Republic.

The Toronto Star, on the other hand, depicts the Czech Minister in the following article as showing both an empathetic and non-empathetic view. This two-sided view is shown by portraying the Roma as economic refugees while also suggesting that there is discrimination occurring within the Czech Republic:

"The Czech minister has argued Roma are economic refugees, not refugees escaping persecution. But yesterday, addressing claims of systemic discrimination against Roma, she admitted that her efforts 'are not enough'" (Cohn 2009: A11).

Overall, the Czech minister suggests that discrimination is occurring in the Czech Republic, but admits that her efforts to address systemic discrimination were "not enough." This subtheme will also be analyzed in further depth later in Chapter Five.

Subtheme 2: Supporting Progressive Constitutional Context

This subtheme looks at newspaper articles that mention various human rights laws or policy documents that may support the view that discrimination or persecution of the Roma does not take place in the Czech Republic. By mentioning that the Czech Republic has high levels of human rights, it gives the reader a sense that proper laws are put in place to stop or limit acts of persecution. The Globe and Mail, National Post and Toronto Star each contained newspaper articles that indicated that the Czech Republic has a sound constitution and a high level of human rights protection. Overall, all three newspapers find that placing a visa on the Czech Republic is a valid decision and further helps legitimize the idea that the Roma claimants may not legally be considered as genuine refugees.

For example, in The Globe and Mail, one journalist gives their view (as the following is his opinion) that placing a visa on the Czech Republic is a valid decision:

"However, the Czech constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of national, racial or ethnic background, and the country is in compliance with EU human-rights laws" (Anonymous 2009: A18).

“The Czech Republic is a member of the European Union. Consequently, Czech citizens - Roma included - enjoy some of the best human-rights protections in the world. There are no impediments to travel to other EU states. Escape to Canada is not required, and such claims represent an abuse of Canada's refugee system, straining resources that should be reserved for legitimate refugees” (Anonymous 2009: A18).

The documentation gives one a sense that equality is upheld within the Czech Republic. However, the Roma within the Czech Republic still suffer instances of persecution and discrimination regardless of what is written within the Czech constitution. This ties in with my literature chapter as I had previously stated that the Roma have had a long history of being discriminated and persecuted against in Europe, and that many of the same long-lasting attitudes against the Roma prevail to this day. Thus, what is written in a constitution will not automatically change biased attitudes, nor reduce any of the current instances of persecution that the Roma face in Europe.

Furthermore, this newspaper article from the National Post discusses the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and cites Mr. Collacott, a senior fellow with research and educational organization The Fraser Institute, as describing the Convention as outdated, thus reinforcing the notion that there is a need for a visa requirement.

“[C]laims of discrimination amounting to persecution by non-state actors -- are at the centre of a debate that highlights what some see as Canada's problematic interpretation of the 1951 United Nations Convention on refugees, and are an example of why Immigration Minister Jason Kenney recently reimposed visa duties on Czech citizens” (Valiante July 2009: A3).

Martin Collacott states: “the idea that discrimination can amount to persecution -- has made Canada's refugee system virtually unmanageable” (Valiante July 2009: A3)... and the convention was never intended to cover such a broad range of people” (Valiante July 2009: A3).

“While people like the Roma may suffer from severe discrimination, if you do translate that into persecution ... we would have to accept for instance, 160 million 'untouchables' from India,” Mr. Collacott said, referring to a class of people who face discrimination and prejudice in the subcontinent” (Valiante July 2009: A3).

Subtheme 3: Refugee Claimants as Problems

For the third subtheme, Minister Kenney is quoted regarding the costs associated with not having a visa placed on the Czech Republic. All three newspapers studied had quotes from Minister Kenney on how the increased influx of refugee claimants are causing long wait times and undermining our ability to help those escaping real persecution. Words such as ‘spiraling,’ ‘sheer volume,’ ‘stem,’ and ‘illegitimate’ help espouse feelings that the visa is actually needed to put the refugee system in order, and to stop the heavy burden that is placed on it.

The following quotes are from Minister Kenney discussing the costs that occur due to the influx of refugees entering into Canada:

Minister Kenney: “creating significant delays and spiraling new costs in our refugee program” (Valpy 2009: A4).

Minister Kenney: "the sheer volume of these claims is undermining our ability to help people fleeing real persecution" (Valpy 2009: A4).

“Immigration Minister Jason Kenney said the move was necessary to stem what the government believed was a tide of bogus refugee claimants from the countries in recent years” (Fong 2009: A2).

“It costs Canada about \$29,000 to shelter and care for a single asylum seeker. More than 12,000 Czech and Mexican refugee claimants have arrived in Canada since late 2007 and the vast majority of the files have been ruled to be illegitimate, making the financial toll untenable, Kenney said” (Woods 2009: A8).

Mentioning the costs of asylum claims and adding that most of the claims are illegitimate and ‘bogus,’ gives the perception that imposing a visa is the legitimate thing to do. The argument is that imposing a visa would reduce the heavy burden placed on the Canadian refugee system by these economic and illegitimate refugees.

The National Post further consisted of political statements in which Minister Kenney compares and contrasts the Czech Republic to other countries, and questions the legitimacy of Czech refugees entering Canada.

According to Minister Kenney: "The Czech Republic, has emerged as one of Canada's top sources of refugees, well ahead of war-torn and ethnically-divided countries such as Sri Lanka and Somalia" (Anonymous 2009: A8).

"Immigration Minister Jason Kenney said his European counterparts were shocked yesterday when he told them about the number of asylum-seekers to Canada, many of them Eastern European Roma" (O'Neil Sept 2010: A4).

Minister Kenney stated: "We receive more asylum claims from the European Union than we do from Africa or that we do from Asia, and to me that's bizarre," he said. "I think we opened up some eyes with that statistic" (O'Neil Sept 2010: A4).

Overall, this finding gives us the perception that Europe is a more upstanding, discrimination-free region when compared to regions such as Northeast Africa, Asia, and South Asia. The perspective that Europe should not be a source of refugee claimants, particularly compared to other (war-torn) continents, can also be viewed as racist. Furthermore, invoking the Czech Constitution, within the context of the European Union, glosses over the possibility of racism and discrimination, especially when compared to the previously mentioned counterparts.

Subtheme 4: Explicit Journalist Opinion

In The Globe and Mail, it was found that there were no articles that indicated a journalist's opinion that refugee claimants were causing a burden to the refugee system. However, data were found in the National Post and The Toronto Star which fit this subtheme.

Overall, the National Post and The Toronto Star contained articles that included explicit journalistic opinions that supported the idea that refugee claimants were indeed causing a heavier burden on the system.

The National Post and The Toronto Star find that refugee claimants are a burden to our refugee system and that the costs to Canadian taxpayers are high (up to \$150, 000 per refugee family). Refugees are depicted as a burden by being described as bogus refugees who are attempting to enter into Canada for economic reasons. Furthermore words such as

‘swamping’, and ‘reaching capacity’ help to evoke the image that the number of refugee claimants is great and thus the visa requirement is needed in order to stem the flow:

“The cost to Canadian taxpayers can easily top \$150,000 per refugee family before their case is ruled on” (Anonymous 2009: A14).

“The flood of Roma refugee claimants at Pearson International is swamping southern Ontario social agencies, who say their shelters are reaching capacity and they don't have enough resources to handle the influx” (Valiante 2009: A17).

“[B]ogus claimants impose a huge expense on the taxpayer and bog down the process - burdening legitimate refugees whose cases typically take 18 months” (Cohn 2009: A11).

“The judgment that most of those Roma who flooded into Canada over the past two years, seeking asylum, were actually fleeing poverty rather than persecution- and covetous of Canadian welfare - prompted Ottawa to re-impose visa requirements in July” (DiManno 2009: A1).

Subtheme 5: Canada is Soft on Refugees

This subtheme looks at any evidence that Canada is labeled or mentioned as having a soft refugee system (i.e. easy entry). All three newspapers studied found instances in which Canada's refugee system is depicted as being soft. Evidence of Canada's soft asylum procedure or refugee system in newspaper articles further legitimizes the need for a visa requirement. It suggests that the refugee system is currently not restrictive enough because it gives the appearance that anyone can apply for refugee status and get in. The following quotation (written by the journalist) shows this point:

“In 1996, there was a surge of phony refugee claimants to Canada from the Chilean port of Valparaiso. Word had got around in a poor neighbourhood that Canada was an easy mark. These obviously economic migrants were told: Apply for refugee status in Canada, get into the multilayered refugee-determination system and melt into Canadian society. And the chances of getting caught, or being deported, are next to nil” (Simpson 2009: A15).

This quotation also depicts Canada as having a soft refugee system:

Topalanek (Czech Prime Minister): “‘Canada has a very soft asylum procedure,’ Topalanek retorted to reporters: “It is very easy to get an asylum in Canada and for that reason it is being targeted by individuals who are seeking economic, rather than any other asylum” (Cohn 2009: A11).

The above statements suggest that anyone can apply to Canada for refugee status, and the chances of being deported or getting ‘caught’ (which gives the assumption that the applicant is not a legitimate refugee) are very slim.

In the following article the word ‘generous’ is used in the following paragraph to evoke the softness and ease in which access to Canada is granted, followed by the idea that there is no reason to feel guilty about imposing a visa as it would be used against those who may illegitimately enter Canada. Thus, the visa requirement is depicted as a “positive” in that it would not give Canada the appearance of being too soft in its entry requirements, which could be considered a weakness to others.

“One of the first duties of a government is to protect the nation and its security, and one of the best ways to do that is to ensure its borders are tight against fraudulent immigration applications. Canada is already one of the most generous nations in the world in terms of the number of legitimate immigrants -- nearly 300,000 -- it accepts each year. We need not feel guilty about refusing to play patsy to tens of thousands more who seek to abuse our good nature” (Anonymous 2009: A14).

Subtheme 6: Legitimization of Maintaining Visas

This subtheme looks at various reasons why, after imposing the visa on the Czech Republic, removal of these restrictions would be unlikely to occur (i.e lifting a visa would cause a high influx of claimants). Overall, The Globe and Mail did not contain any articles which fit this subtheme, though data that fit this subtheme was found in the National Post and The Toronto Star.

The following newspaper articles enforce the idea that retaining the visa requirement is a good thing, as lifting it would cause a ‘flood’ of new refugee claimants.

“There would likely be a new flood of Roma refugee claimants arriving in Canada if the Harper government lifts its visa requirement for visitors from the Czech Republic, according to a Prague-based human rights activist” (O’Neil 2011: A6).

“Canada's decision last summer to require visas for visitors from Mexico and the Czech Republic has curbed skyrocketing refugee claims from the two countries, according to the latest statistics obtained by the Star” (Keung 2010: A8).

"The action has met the policy objective of significantly reducing the number of asylum claims. That has relieved some of the pressure on the refugee system" (Pedwell 2009: A24).

The above quotations also assume two things. The first assumption is that if the visa requirement was again lifted, the number of claimants may increase because there is indeed persecution within the countries. The second assumption is that that by lifting the visa requirement, the influx of new refugees would be economic in nature and would again burden the refugee system.

Theme 2: Economic Effect on Canada

The second pattern I looked at was the economic effect on Canada. When using QDA miner, I used the following keywords: job; jobs; employment; unemployment; welfare; "social assistance"; dependence; crime; tourism; and tourists. This pattern consisted of two subthemes:

- Tourism
- Czech Roma are unable to find work back home and thus go abroad to find work and/or take advantage of social welfare.

Subtheme 1: Tourism

This subtheme looked at the economic effects that would occur in Canada as a result of the visa requirement. The Globe and Mail, National Post and Toronto Star all contained newspaper articles in which tourism was depicted as likely to suffer from the imposition of a visa on the Czech Republic.

Here are some quotations that show that the effects on tourism will be felt immediately, as tourists from the Czech Republic who have presently booked any holidays will now be at a disadvantage due to the imposition of a visa:

"The Czech government said Ottawa's decision will affect thousands of Czech tourists - about 15,000 visited Canada last year - who already have planned and booked their holidays" (Valpy 2009: A4).

"Representatives of the hotel, restaurant and tourism industry from Quebec and Ontario told a news conference on Parliament Hill that the lack of advance warning of the new visa requirement would have a domino effect that would imperil the prepaid holidays of thousands of tourists" (Blanchfield 2009: A1).

The following quotes from The Toronto Star further argue that imposing a visa requirement would hurt Canada economically (as it would slow down travel and thus tourism from the Czech Republic) and diplomatically (as the visa requirement may affect future free trade agreements):

“New rules requiring visas for Mexican and Czech visitors are likely to have their biggest impact on Canada's already struggling tourism industry but observers warned the sudden move to clamp down on a flood of refugee claims could have the unintended effect of putting a ‘chill’ on trade relationships with Latin America in particular” (Sorensen 2009: B4).

"This will hurt our diplomatic relations, tourism and the close ties we have built over the years with these two partners," said Liberal foreign affairs critic Bob Rae. "It's not clear to me that the Harper government fully understands what a setback this will be" (Woods 2009: A8).

“But the impact of the visa decision on the Conservative government's foreign policy agenda could be just as costly, threatening a proposed free trade deal with the European Union and marring a strategy of closer engagement with Latin America, observers said yesterday” (Woods 2009: A8).

Subtheme 2: Czech Roma are Unable to Find Work Back Home and thus go Abroad to Find Work and/or Take Advantage of Social Welfare

This sub-theme looks at how the Roma cannot find work at home, so they attempt to go abroad to Canada to find better economic opportunities or to take advantage of Canada's social welfare system. There were no articles in the The Globe and Mail that fit this category. The National Post and The Toronto each contained references that fit within this subtheme.

The National Post and The Toronto Star depicted the Roma in the Czech Republic as having low economic opportunities, thus Roma go abroad in order to find employment. The following quotations validate the imposition of a visa because they suggest that some refugee claimants are arriving as economic migrants and not as genuine refugees. Furthermore, quotations found in the two newspapers suggest that the Roma are indeed fleeing situations of poverty rather than persecution and thus legitimize the need for the visa requirement in order to stop economic refugees.

“The need to bring order to how we handle refugee claims is more urgent now than ever with tens of thousands of people around the globe seeking better economic opportunities in

countries such as Canada without having to go through normal immigration channels” (Collacott 2010: A12).

“He said he couldn't find a good job in the Czech Republic because no one wanted to hire a Roma. The jobs he managed to get were the low-paying fast-food variety, and he was often fired soon after being hired. He said he had to rely on state assistance, so he eventually decided to leave” (Valiante July 2009: A3).

“The judgment that most of those Roma who flooded into Canada over the past two years, seeking asylum, were actually fleeing poverty rather than persecution - and covetous of Canadian welfare - prompted Ottawa to re-impose visa requirements in July” (DiManno 2009: A1).

“People in your Czech homeland call you Gypsy and treat you like a second-class citizen. Your friends and family have claimed asylum in Canada and are still enjoying the good life here years later. And Canada would be crazy to let you get away with it” (Cohn 2009: A11).

Overall, this argues that the Roma minority is traveling abroad to find a better quality of life (economically). This is also shown in the above quotations in which the Roma in the Czech Republic are described as second class citizens in their own country who would enjoy better lives in Canada.

Theme 3: Contradictions to Hypothesis

The last pattern that I looked at was contradictions found to my hypothesis. Using QDA miner, I used the following search terms: sympathetic; persecution; “persecution is real”; discrimination; genuine; and legitimate.

This pattern consisted of two sub-themes:

- Interfering with independence of the refugee board and/or criticism from NGOs
- The Roma do face persecution

Subtheme 1: Interfering with Independence of Refugee Board and/or Criticism from NGOs

This subtheme looks at the various critiques made by NGOs of Canada’s decision to impose visas on the Czech Republic. Overall, The Globe and Mail, National Post, and The Toronto Star contained various critiques based on this subtheme.

For example, the following quotes from the Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star, respectively, make reference to how the government is interfering with the independence of Canada's refugee board:

"Amnesty International seeks a reversal of Canada's visa requirements for Mexican and Czech nationals, and complains that the visa decision, together with statements by Mr. Kenney explaining the government's rationale, interfere with the independence of Canada's Immigration and refugee Board" (Anonymous 2009: A16).

"At issue is whether Kenney's reference to 'bogus' refugee claims to justify visa restrictions on Czechs and Mexicans crosses the line of 'political interference' into the board's independent decision-making power, Galati said yesterday" (Keung 2009: A12).

This newspaper article argues that imposing a visa on a country with a high out-flow of refugees shows a lack of trust, on Canada's part, in these countries to find a solution to instances of persecution and/or discrimination.

"Insisting on visas essentially says to friendly countries with actual or possible refugee surges: We don't trust you. We think there is persecution and discrimination in your country, or plausible grounds for believing it. And we don't trust you to do anything about it" (Simpson 2009: A15).

The following newspaper articles also show criticism from NGOs:

"Canada's decision to impose visa requirements on Mexican and Czech citizens as a way of curbing dubious refugee claimants was roundly criticized yesterday by their governments and business and civil rights groups as unnecessary, shameful and an unwelcome irritant" (Valpy 2009: A4).

In this newspaper article the director of the Women's Initiatives Network criticizes the imposition of a visa by stating that legitimate refugee seekers will become burdened and that discrimination within the Czech Republic will continue. The following newspaper article supports the empathic view that imposing a visa is not in the best interests of all people.

"'Business people will be encumbered, legitimate asylum seekers will be encumbered, and discrimination [in the Czech Republic] will continue. It's not a proactive approach," Gwendolyn Albert, director of the Women's Initiatives Network, told Canwest News Service in a statement" (O'Neil July 2009: A4).

Furthermore, one newspaper article presented survey results (The Toronto Star, July 18th 2009) which indicated that the federal government was not satisfactory in managing its immigration program.

In The Toronto Star, regarding an Angus Reid Survey: “The survey also indicated 64 per cent of respondents believe the federal government is doing a poor job of handling Canada's immigration programs” (Fong 2009: A2).

The following quotes are from lawyers that critique the imposition of a visa:

“Roma Canadians will sue Immigration Minister Jason Kenney and the Immigration and refugee Board for ‘institutional biases’ against Czech Roma refugees, says their lawyer Rocco Galati” (Keung 2009: A12).

“Kenney's recent comments blaming the Mexicans and Roma for Canada's refugee woes will prejudice many cases to be heard by the board, said refugee advocates and lawyers” (Keung 2009: A12).

“But Toronto immigration lawyer Max Berger warns the imposition of visas will shut the door "against genuine refugee claims" (Woods 2009: A3).

Subtheme 2: Roma do Face Persecution

This sub-theme gives evidence or provides input on the idea that the Roma do face persecution either historically through segregation, or by hate groups. In this case, all three newspapers provided evidence that the Roma minority does face persecution within their home countries.

The following quotes indicate that the Roma do face instances of persecution within their home countries:

“...[the Roma] historically have faced discrimination in the country and say they face constant attacks from skinhead and neo-Nazi groups” (Valpy 2009: A6).

“Theirs is a story of continuous struggle and persecution, their entry into Europe through Persia and Armenia a mysterious diaspora that historians have yet to comprehend” (DiManno 2009: A1).

The Toronto Star, while supporting the idea that the Roma do face persecution by hate groups (such as by skinhead and neo-Nazi groups), further finds that the Roma have

lower levels of education and are often termed as ‘Gypsies’ (as shown by the following newspaper articles), which is depicted in some cases as having negative connotations:

“Roma children also get poor educations or are herded into schools for the learning disabled, Canadian investigators with the Immigration and refugee Board said in the second part of a two-stage report” (Taylor 2009: A11).

“Roma, often derisively called ‘Gypsies’, are forced to live in what the report calls ‘socially excluded localities’ - ghettos - where they have ‘limited access to formal employment, acceptable education and adequate housing’” (Taylor 2009: A11).

“[C]laimants from the Czech Republic have largely been from the Roma minority - often referred to by the derogatory term ‘gypsies’ - who human rights groups say face discrimination” (Woods 2009: A3).

This National Post newspaper article similarly writes that the Roma do indeed face discrimination and that the Supreme Court of Canada's definition of persecution includes a country's inability to protect their citizens (Valiante July 2009: A3), which in itself can lead to a loose interpretation of what constitutes protection.

“Even though Mr. Suchy doesn't fear for his life, the fact that he cannot earn a living because of his race makes him a genuine candidate for asylum in Canada, according to his lawyer, George Kubes” (Valiante July 2009: A3).

"[Canada's] refugee board has found that an inability to earn a living amounts to persecution," Mr. Kubes said” (Valiante July 2009: A3).

“In 1993, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that a state does not have to directly persecute a citizen for that person to be a candidate for asylum status, citing 'persecution' includes situations where the state is not in strictness an accomplice to the persecution but is simply unable to protect its citizens" (Valiante July 2009: A3).

Overall, the above quotations portray the Roma as suffering from discrimination and persecution from within the Czech Republic. Thus, it can be found that the Roma are indeed leaving their respective countries and coming into Canada as legitimate refugees.

Chapter 5: Discussion of Media Analysis, Results found

In the previous chapter (Chapter 4) the analysis was broken down per the various themes and subthemes and then presented in detail. Furthermore, choice quotes, opinions, and references were presented in Chapter 4 if they were found to fit into the specific theme. The purpose of the following section is to compare, contrast and discuss the various themes. After analyzing each of the themes I will then use Althusser to see if my hypothesis as discussed in my theory chapter was correct.

Theme 1: Legitimization of the Imposition of Visas

For my theme ‘Legitimization of Imposing Visas’ there were six subthemes that were used.

Subtheme 1: Czech Republic Not an Island of Persecution

The first subtheme looked at various quotes and references from political actors who stated that the Czech Republic was not an island of persecution within Europe. For this subtheme each newspaper presented a case where political actors challenge the idea that a European country, such as the Czech Republic, could be explicitly racist.

This subtheme was of interest because in both The Globe and Mail and National Post, each reference that stated that the Czech Republic was not an island of persecution came from Minister Kenney (the Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism). The Toronto Star, on the other hand, quoted the Czech Minister stating that the Roma were economic refugees and thus not fleeing persecution. This is of importance because both Ministers are important political agents and they are giving the impression that refugees entering from the Czech Republic are not legitimate refugees escaping persecution. Furthermore, it also shows that the Czech Republic, as a European country, is discrimination-free and not a place where there are cases of persecution against the Roma.

Subtheme 2: Supporting Progressive Constitutional Context

The second subtheme looked at policy documents such as references or quotes based on the Czech Constitution, human rights in the Czech Republic, and the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. In this case, each newspaper had quotations that fit this subtheme. Overall, each newspaper had at least one example where mention was made of human rights in the Czech Republic, the 1951 Refugee Convention or the Czech Constitution.

The purpose of these policy documents was that they portrayed the Czech Republic as having a sound constitution that defended against human rights violations. The 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention is the international norm which defines what a refugee is, and as a signatory, Canada would have to, in good faith, take in refugees that fit the Convention's description. However, in the National Post the Refugee Convention was declared as outdated (Valiante July 2009: A3). Thus, the Visa requirement was deemed a contemporary tool to keep out illegitimate refugees.

Subtheme 3: Refugee Claimants as Problems

The third subtheme was based on various political actors' opinions of how the increase of refugee claimants causes high costs and long wait times, which forsake real and legitimate refugees. Overall, Each newspaper had 1 or more quotations that fit this subtheme.

For each of the three newspapers studied Minister Kenney was the political actor quoted each time and depicted the Czech Refugee claimants as creating delays and spiraling costs to the refugee system. Furthermore, Minister Kenney found that the high volume of refugee claims also undermined those who were "fleeing real persecution" (Toronto Star, July 14 2009).

Important findings in the National Post newspaper (addressed earlier in the analysis of Chapter 5), were from the following quotes by Minister Kenney:

Minister Kenney: "The Czech Republic, has emerged as one of Canada's top sources of refugees, well ahead of war-torn and ethnically-divided countries such as Sri Lanka and Somalia" (Anonymous 2009: A8).

"Immigration Minister Jason Kenney said his European counterparts were shocked yesterday when he told them about the number of asylum-seekers to Canada, many of them Eastern European Roma" (O'Neil Sept 2010: A4).

Minister Kenney: "We receive more asylum claims from the European Union than we do from Africa or that we do from Asia, and to me that's bizarre," he said. "I think we opened up some eyes with that statistic" (O'Neil Sept 2010: A4).

Overall, this finding shows some racist ideologies where Europe is depicted as discrimination-free compared to Northeast Africa, Asia, and South Asia. Furthermore, the high number of refugee claims from the Czech Republic in Europe is considered 'bizarre' and deemed abnormal. This also helps to create the illusion that compared to the above countries (Sri Lanka and Somalia), Europe is not a bad place to live. Similarly, it also depicts the Minister as calling into question the legitimacy of refugee claimants arriving from Europe.

Subtheme 4: Explicit Journalist Opinion

The fourth subtheme was similar to the third subtheme but differed in that it looked at statements which were directly from the journalist's point of view and which still supported the idea that refugee claimants create higher costs to the system. The Globe and Mail did not have any quotes or references in this case. The possible reasoning for this is because The Globe and Mail had the least number of newspaper articles studied (only nine) compared to the National Post (eleven newspaper studied) and The Toronto Star (twelve newspapers studied). The National Post newspaper and The Toronto Star each made reference to this subtheme.

The journalist's opinions in the National Post newspapers and The Toronto Star were similar, and comments were presented on how claimants were a burden to taxpayers and, similarly, helped clog up and create a backlog to the Canadian refugee system.

Subtheme 5: Canada is Soft on Refugees

The fifth subtheme looked at various quotes and references that depicted Canada as having a soft refugee system. In this case each newspaper (The Globe and Mail/National Post/The Toronto Star) had one newspaper article which made mention of this subtheme.

In each case, Canada was depicted as having a soft asylum procedure, being overly generous, and thus easily taken advantage of by economic refugees. In this case the need for a visa requirement is presented as necessary in order to protect Canada's border from economic refugees as opposed to genuine legitimate refugees due to its soft refugee system.

Subtheme 6: Legitimization of Maintaining Visas

The sixth subtheme looked at various reasons for not lifting the visa after it had been imposed. The reasons given were that lifting the visa would cause a large influx of refugees. Overall, The Globe and Mail did not have any examples that would fit into this subtheme; the National Post newspaper and The Toronto Star had newspaper articles that fit into this subtheme.

The reasons given to not lift the visa was that there would be an increase of refugee claimants if the visa requirement was lifted. Furthermore, with the imposition of a visa requirement, the burden that had been previously placed on the refugee system had been quelled.

Theme 2: Economic Effect on Canada

This theme looked at the possible economic effects that imposing a visa would have on Canada. The following two sub-themes were studied in regards to this specific theme:

Subtheme 1: Tourism

The first subtheme looked at Tourism and the possible negative or positive effects that could occur from imposing a visa requirement. Overall, all three newspapers mentioned this subtheme. In each case the overall viewpoint from these newspaper articles was that imposing a visa requirement would ultimately hurt tourism in Canada.

In The Globe and Mail, the visa requirement is depicted as damaging to tourism from countries such as Mexico and the Czech Republic because of the visa requirements imposed on both countries. National Post similarly also finds that the visa would have a negative impact on tourism, as it would affect holiday plans for thousands of tourists. The Toronto Star also indicated that the visa would hurt Canada's economy, bruise diplomatic relations, and hurt future free trade agreements.

Subtheme 2: Czech Roma are Unable to Find Work Back Home and thus go Abroad to Find Work and/or Take Advantage of Social Welfare

The second subtheme looked at references that depicted the Czech Roma as unable to find work back in their home countries, thus causing them to go abroad in order to find work and/or take advantage of social welfare. Nothing related to this subtheme was found in The Globe and Mail; but the National Post and The Toronto Star made mention to this subtheme.

National Post depicts the Roma in their home countries as unable to find a job or given low paying jobs. That is one of the reasons why many Roma attempt to go abroad, in order to seek better economic opportunities. The Toronto Star describes the Roma as perceiving themselves as second class citizens in the Czech Republic while contrasting this image to the ability to live a good life in Canada. The Toronto Star further depicts the Roma as entering into Canada for economic reasons (to escape poverty) rather than leaving for legitimate refugee reasons (to escape persecution).

Theme 3: Contradictions to Hypothesis

Subtheme 1: Interfering with Independence of Refugee Board and Criticism From NGOs

The first subtheme examined criticism by various actors (NGOs) on the new visa requirement and also considered various quotes which portrayed Minister Kenney as interfering with the independence of Canada's Immigration and Refugee Board.

Overall, all three newspapers fit this subtheme. For this subtheme, The Globe and Mail makes reference to various critics that denounce imposing the visa and to NGO Amnesty International, which argues that the visa requirement interferes “with the independence of Canada's Immigration and Refugee Board” (Anonymous 2009: A16). The National Post makes reference to the NGO Women's Initiatives Network and how it perceives the visa to be a burden to legitimate refugees who seek asylum. The Toronto Star, lastly, quotes various critics (lawyers and Roma Canadians) who find that the visa requirement shuts out legitimate refugees and that remarks from Minister Kenney (about ‘bogus’ refugee claims) are unjustified in imposing a visa. Furthermore, The Toronto Star (similarly to The Globe and Mail) also mentioned that the visa crossed a line in that it interfered with the Immigration and Refugee Board's autonomy and decision-making.

Subtheme 2: Roma do Face Persecution

The second subtheme looked at various quotes, comments or references that indicate that the Roma do indeed face instances of persecution, either historically, within their home countries, or by hate groups. For this subtheme, The Globe and Mail, National Post and The Toronto Star had newspaper articles that fit into this subtheme.

The Globe and Mail and National Post finds that the Roma do indeed have a long history of discrimination within their home countries, and mentions that they are victims to

attacks by neo-Nazi groups and skinheads. It is further depicted that the Roma face discrimination and persecution across Europe, that it is hard for the Roma to earn a living within their home countries, and that the visa requirement makes it difficult for those who experience real persecution to reach safe harbor. Journalists in The Toronto Star similarly write that the Roma also suffer from discrimination and from persecution in their European home countries, where they have limited access to employment, to housing, and to education. Similarly, human rights activists say that the Roma face discrimination, and that the term gypsy, used to describe the Roma, is in fact considered derogatory.⁴

Discussion of Themes and Althusser: My Theoretical Viewpoint

As presented in more detail in the theoretical chapter, and touched on previously in my introductory chapter, Althusser is used to support my hypothesis that the media (in this case the three chosen newspapers used) present an ideological viewpoint in which the Roma are entering into Canada as economic refugees. My analysis examined if the media portrayed an even-handed and more sympathetic viewpoint that the Roma are entering into Canada as legitimate refugees who are fleeing from persecution.

When looking at the first theme presented (Legitimization of the Imposition of Visas), The Globe and Mail did not contain references to the fourth and sixth subtheme (Subtheme 4: Explicit journalist opinion and Subtheme 6: Legitimization of Maintaining Visas) while the National Post and Toronto Star had at least one or more reference that fit each subtheme. As stated above, the reasoning for this could be because The Globe and Mail had the least number of newspaper articles studied (nine) compared to the National Post and The Toronto Star (eleven and twelve newspaper articles respectively).

⁴ This human rights activist viewpoint can be found on page 83 and 84 of my thesis.

There is a strong case presented for the legitimization of imposing visas on the Czech Republic. First off there were many quotes made by Minister Kenney that showed that the Czech Republic was not an island of persecution, that the Roma claimants were, in fact, creating a burden to the refugee system, adding to long wait times, and at high costs to taxpayers. The fact that Minister Kenney holds a lot of political authority in his position makes his references appear even more legitimate. Journalistic opinion also echoed these complaints. The constitutional contexts (policy documents presented) described the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention as being outdated (thus there was the need for a visa) and the Czech Constitution as holding high human rights standards. Lastly, Canada was depicted as having a soft refugee system which many economic refugees take advantage of. It can therefore be argued that there is a strong case for my hypothesis that the media takes an ideological stance. This ideological stance is that Canada has imposed visas on the Czech Republic in order to reduce any further delays and costs put on the refugee system, as well as to keep Canada's borders safe from fraudulent claims by those who are entering for economic reasons.⁵

For the second theme portrayed (Theme 2: Economic Effect on Canada), each newspaper made either one or more references to the first subtheme (tourism), but The Globe and Mail made no reference to the second subtheme (where the Czech Roma are unable to find work in their home countries, thus causing them to go abroad to find work and/or take advantage of Canadian social welfare).

In this case my hypothesis was both supported and critiqued as an even-handed view was also shown when journalists suggested that a visa would hurt tourism to Canada, as well hurt the possibility for future trade agreements. An ideological view was also presented, as

⁵ This ideological stance can be found on page 75, 76 and 77 of my thesis.

the Roma were depicted as leaving their home countries in order to come to Canada for economic purposes such as better job prospects.

For the third theme (Theme 3: Contradictions to Hypothesis), it was revealed that each newspaper had more than one reference that went against my hypothesis where the media takes an ideological point of view. In this case another perspective was presented that didn't support my hypothesis, as there were numerous quotes from NGOs and critics that found that the Roma do face instances of persecution and discrimination within their home countries. This includes attacks from hate groups, segregated education, and lack of access to good employment opportunities and adequate housing. Furthermore, the imposition of the visa requirement was denounced as an obstacle that in fact will keep away Roma who are entering into Canada for legitimate reasons.

Overall, while an even handed more balanced view was present in the newspapers studied, an ideological view for legitimizing imposing visas was dominant. Thus it is arguable that using Althusser for my theoretical framework can be critiqued to an extent, because while the media does use its ideology in order to present one stream of thought (which is backed up by political actors, such as Immigration Minister Kenney), there is also an even-handed view presented by the various critics and NGOs. Furthermore, my analysis found instances where a racist ideology was used in order to support the ideology of the ruling class as I outlined in Chapter 2. This occurred when Minister Kenney contrasted the Czech Republic as having a higher refugee rate compared to 'war torn' countries, such as Sri Lanka and Somalia. This comparison presents the refugees coming from the Czech Republic as illegitimate economic refugees rather than legitimate persecuted persons. The newspapers also highlight the fact that the Czech Constitution offers a high level of protection for

minorities. Ideologically, this depicts the Czech Republic as a safe, multi-ethnic country and thus visas are necessary to protect Canada from those intending to abuse the refugee system.

Of further interest, my Theory Chapter depicted the media as taking a more one-sided ideological and hegemonic point of view. Here, Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses were described as tools that were used by the ruling class to spread its brand of ideology in order to maintain the status quo in society. In this case, I chose to use an ideological hypothesis based on my theoretical viewpoint. Where those in power would use the Ideological State Apparatuses (for example newspapers) in order to spread a certain ideology. My Review of Literature, on the other hand, found that the Roma have experienced a history of hardships, persecution and discrimination within Europe. Thus I was aware of the possibility that there would be competing viewpoints to my hypothesis. This is one of my reasoning's for choosing themes in my analysis that would look for any contradictions to my hypothesis (i.e., criticisms from NGOS, and quotes which indicated that the Roma minority do in fact face persecution). Ultimately what was found was that there were two competing viewpoints found within my analysis. These two viewpoints were: an ideological viewpoint that supported my hypothesis that the Roma are entering into Canada as economic and illegitimate refugees and a more even-handed viewpoint that saw that the Roma as entering into Canada for legitimate reasons. Overall, the ideological viewpoint was found to be stronger, but the even-handed viewpoint was still a consistent factor within each newspaper.

Concluding thoughts

Overall, this thesis has argued that the Roma have a unique history in Europe. They were migrants who arrived with their own culture, language and identity from India, and through Communist times to the present day they have experienced marginalization (in education), destruction of their culture (way of dress, language), and been the subject of hate

crimes from various groups (such as skinheads). I have also discussed how in their current respective countries, many Roma live in impoverished conditions, in crowded homes with unsanitary conditions, with higher unemployment rates, and lower levels of health compared to the majority population within their countries. By looking at their history and present conditions, one can surmise that the Roma are indeed coming into Canada as refugees either for economic reasons (finding employment opportunities or obtaining social welfare) or, on the other hand, possibly because they truly have a fear of persecution (due to their race, religion, or political opinion). This is explained in the Review of Literature chapter as the Roma are described as being marginalized socially and politically within their various countries, victims of hate crimes, suffering high unemployment rates and living in unsanitary conditions (due to poverty and communal living). Furthermore, my analysis section showed that the media (the three newspapers studied) gave a sympathetic view where critics and NGOs reference that the Roma do experience instances of persecution and discrimination within Europe.

By doing a media analysis I was able to test out my hypothesis. My hypothesis was to study if the media can be regarded as having a certain ideological viewpoint. This viewpoint was of how the media legitimized the imposition of a visa requirement on the Czech Republic. Overall, the visa was legitimized by the media espousing the viewpoint that the Roma are entering into Canada as illegitimate economic refugees. By using Althusser (within my Theory chapter) as my theoretical viewpoint, I argue that the media are influential tools where certain political actors holding dominant positions in society can use the media in order to further advocate a certain ideological viewpoint. For example, one of the main political actors whose quotes were found in each and every newspaper picked (The Globe and Mail, National Post, and The Toronto Star) was from Minister Kenney. This can be

observed in the repeated quotations in the newspaper articles studied where Kenney stated that the Czech Republic is not an island of persecution. Minister Kenney is of great importance as he is the Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism and thus can be viewed as being a major political player.

As discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 of my analysis section, I found various patterns that helped portray the viewpoint of the media, which portrayed the Roma as entering Canada mostly for economic reasons. This was shown where placing a visa on the Czech Republic was a legitimate move as it reduced the burdens placed on the refugee system (long wait times and high costs) and by contrasting that the Roma within the Czech Republic do not have a sound quality of life (with difficulty finding employment) and thus go abroad to apply for asylum. Furthermore, racist ideologies were pulled from my analysis given how Minister Kenney depicted Europe to be discrimination-free in comparison to other countries such as Asia and Northeast Africa. This racist ideology gave support to the ideology of the ruling class, where credence was given to the requirement of a visa in order to stop economic refugees from entering into Canada.

Similarly, there were quotes found in each three newspapers that brought up the issue of tourism and how the visa requirement would ultimately hurt Canada's economy. In this case, an overwhelming pattern was found where imposing a visa was described as a negative consequence that would ultimately hurt tourism, hurt diplomatic relations, and possible future trade agreements in Canada.

In regards to my hypothesis it was determined that another even-handed view was present in the three newspapers studied. It was found that while there was coverage of critics' responses (that the Roma do face persecution) and sympathy was present, the newspaper articles would also fall back into the stronger ideological view that was supported

by various quotes by political actors, or from the newspapers themselves that legitimized the imposition of the visa (quotes that described Canada as having a soft refugee system, or how the influx of ‘bogus’ refugees created long wait times and spiraling costs.) This more even-handed view, while not depicted in my Theoretical Framework is supported by my Review of Literature which found that the Roma minority do have a long history of being persecuted.

Thus, while my original hypothesis attempted to depict the media as taking an ideological stance rather than one that is neutral (by attempting to portray the Roma minority from the Czech Republic as entering into Canada as illegitimate or economic refugees), it was ultimately found that while each newspaper did express a strong ideological one sided viewpoint, there was legitimacy in placing a visa requirement in order to reduce long wait times and spiraling costs, and that the newspaper articles also had another more balanced and even-handed viewpoint.

This even-handed viewpoint was expressed within the three newspaper articles by finding the visa requirement had negative impacts economically on Canada (such as hurting tourism); that there was criticism from various NGOs for placing the visa requirement; and lastly, that the Roma do experience instances of persecution. Thus, as described in my analysis chapter, both my ideological hypothesis and another even-handed viewpoint co-exist within these newspaper articles. While there was a leading ideological viewpoint presented that the visa requirement was of great necessity, there was also another even-handed viewpoint presented.

In conclusion, this thesis allowed me to explore the current Canadian situation where the Roma minority from the Czech Republic had visas imposed on them. The three newspapers studied allowed me to see how the media expresses certain viewpoints, and if this viewpoint is ideologically-laden in order to legitimize Canada placing the visa

requirement. Furthermore, this topic was of interest to me because as a fellow Canadian and a minority member (East Asian) it allowed me to see how Canada might treat different minorities who enter its borders and if they are welcomed or regarded as an economic or political threat to Canada. By doing a media analysis and conducting a literature review, it gave me a better understanding of the Roma minority, their lifestyle and history, and how and why the media may view them in a certain light. In the future, it will be of interest if Canada continues the trend of imposing a visa on countries that have high refugee claims (as they have with Mexico and the Czech Republic), and if so, how they assess the legitimacy of imposing the visa requirement.

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Annex One (Media Sources)

The following newspaper articles used for my analysis came from The Globe and Mail, National Post, and The Toronto Star.

The Globe and Mail consisted of nine newspaper articles:

Anonymous (July 4, 2009), "Visas to be revisited" *The Globe and Mail*, p. A18.

Anonymous (Aug 26, 2009), "No threat to true refugees" *The Globe and Mail*, p. A16.

Berger, Max (May 31, 2010), "An underserved Apology" *The Globe and Mail*, p. A16.

Bielski, Zosia (Oct 9, 2010), "Parkdale Roma: The neighbours may relate to their plight, but tensions prevail" *The Globe and Mail*, p. M1.

McArthur, Douglas (Nov 30, 2010), "The Roundup" *The Globe and Mail*, p. L4.

Saunders, Doug (Jan 23, 2010), "The next stop for the Roma: Canada?" *The Globe and Mail*, p. F3.

Simpson, Jeffrey (July 15, 2009), "Blame the Refugee System" *The Globe and Mail*, p. A15.

Valpy, Michael (July 14, 2009), "Mexico, Czech Republic criticize visa requirements" *The Globe and Mail*, p. A4.

Valpy, Michael (July 3, 2009), "Canada reimposing visa controls to stop asylum-seekers, Czech media say" *The Globe and Mail*, p. A6.

The National Post consisted of 11 newspapers:

Anonymous (June 26, 2009), "Czech Roma does not face state-sponsored discrimination: Kenney" *National Post*, p. A8.

Anonymous (July 16, 2009), "The right move on visas" *National Post*, p. A14.

Blanchfield, Mike (July 15, 2009), "Visa rule riles Czechs; Restricts visitors; Threaten to seek retaliatory visa against Canadians" *National Post*, p. A1.

Collacott, Martin (Apr 6, 2010), "Reigning in refugee chaos" *National Post*, p. A12.

O'Neil, Peter (July 3, 2009), "Ottawa to reimpose visa restrictions for Czechs" *National Post*, p. A4.

O'Neil, Peter (Sept 7, 2010), "Hungary visa restrictions not ruled out, minister says" *National Post*, p. A4.

O'Neil, Peter (Jan 25, 2011), "Lifting Czech visa ban will lead to Roma flood: activist" *National Post*, p. A6.

Valiante, Guiseppe (June 6, 2009), "Roma influx putting strain on services; Shelters crowded; Government probing situation in Czech Republic" *National Post*, p. A17.

Valiante, Guiseppe (June 8, 2009), "Canadian dream; Roma refugees play waiting game in quest for 'a better life'" *National Post*, p. A3.

Valiante, Guiseppe (July 14, 2009), "Mexicans, Czechs now need visas; New rules needed to slow refugee influx" *National Post*, p. A4.

Valiante, Guiseppe (July 29, 2009), "A refugee tale; Despite minor fame at home this Roma is seeking asylum" *National Post*, p. A3.

The Toronto Star consisted of 12 Newspaper articles:

Cohn, Martin Regg (July 21, 2009), "Unbearable lightness of refugee policy" *Toronto Star*, p. A11.

DiManno, Rosie (Sept 13, 2009), "Gypsies caught in political crossfire; Add Canada to the list of nations that, to varying degrees, make pariahs of Roma" *Toronto Star*, p. A1.

Fong, Petti (July 18, 2009), "Majority of Canadians back visa rules, poll finds; 69 percent favour minister's move to clamp down on flow of visitors from Mexico, Czech Republic" *Toronto Star*, p. A2.

Keung, Nicholas (Jan 27, 2010), "Czech, Mexican refugee claims plummet; Drop in asylum bids follows controversial decision to require visas for visitors from the two countries" *Toronto Star*, p. A8.

Keung, Nicholas (July 17, 2009), "Czech Roma to sue board for 'biases,' lawyer says; Mexico to require visas from Canadian envoys in tit-for-tat move" *Toronto Star*, p. A12.

Pedwell, Terry (Aug 20, 2009), "Visa rule cuts Czech asylum claims; Officials say new policy requiring travel documents has relieved pressure on Canadian refugee system" *Toronto Star*, p. A24.

Pedwell, Terry (Oct 17, 2009), "Hungary escapes visa rule; It is No. 1 source of asylum claimants, but Ottawa says it's not going the Czech route" *Toronto Star*, p. A18.

Sorensen, Chris (July 16, 2009), "Think-tank suggests easing visa rule; Government could offer secured traveler plan" *Toronto Star*, p. B4.

Taylor, Lesley (Nov 19, 2008), "Czech minister blasted by Roma; Angry audience demands end to ethnic persecution in homeland they fled for Toronto's multiculturalism" *Toronto Star*, p. A6.

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Woods, Allan (July 14, 2009), "Ottawa slaps new visa rules on Czechs, Mexicans; Move seen as bid to stop surge in asylum seekers" *Toronto Star*, p. A3.

Woods, Allen (July 15, 2009), "Visa restrictions spark backlash; Ottawa says high cost of asylum claims from Mexico, Czech Republic makes move necessary" *Toronto Star*, p. A8.

Annex Two (Newspaper Quotes Ordered by Theme):

Theme: Legitimization of the Imposition of Visas

	The Globe and Mail	National Post	The Toronto Star
Subtheme 1: Czech Republic: Not an Island of Persecution	“Czech Republic is "hardly an island of persecution in Europe," despite a high acceptance rate in Canada of Roma refugee claims” (Berger 2010: A16).	“Immigration Minister Jason Kenney, pictured, says a newly released report supports his contention that the Roma minority in the Czech Republic, which has emerged as a major source of refugee claimants in Canada, doesn't face state-sanctioned discrimination. ‘The report, as I've read it, says there are difficulties for Roma in the Czech Republic, we all know that, but the government is doing its best to improve the legal treatment of, and economic opportunities for, members of that community,’ Mr. Kenney said yesterday” (Anonymous 2009: A16).	"The Czech minister has argued Roma are economic refugees, not refugees escaping persecution. But yesterday, addressing claims of systemic discrimination against Roma, she admitted that her efforts ‘are not enough’" (Cohn 2009: A11).
	“[H]e is concerned about the sharp increase in asylum claims. The Czech Republic, he said, is "hardly an island of persecution in Europe" (Valpy 2009: A6).	“The increase in asylum claims from the Czech Republic -- hardly an island of persecution in Europe -- is a real concern and Canada is monitoring the situation closely," Mr. Kenney said” (O’Neil July 2009: A4).	
		"A spokesperson for Immigration Minister Jason Kenney said the government is monitoring the increased number of asylum claimants closely, but Mr. Kenney doesn't believe that the Czech Republic is "an island of persecution" (Valiente June 2009: A3)	
		“Mr. Kenney has said in the past that he doesn't think the Czech Republic is an "island of persecution” (Valiente 2009: A4).	

		"A spokesperson for Immigration Minister Jason Kenney told the National Post earlier this week that Mr. Kenney is 'monitoring very closely the rising number of asylum claimants from the Czech Republic [but] we find it hard to believe that [it] is an island of persecution'" (Valiante 2009: A17).	
Subtheme 2: Supporting Progressive Constitutional Context	"However, the Czech constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of national, racial or ethnic background, and the country is in compliance with EU human-rights laws (Anonymous 2009: A18).	"While many Roma claim discrimination of them is commonplace, Czech law forbids discrimination on the basis of ethnic identity, and Czech governments and police both have formal diversity programs. A recent investigation of the Roma plight by Immigration Canada officials found no official persecution" (Anonymous 2009: A14).	"No one doubts that Romas face discrimination, just as natives and visible minorities sometimes do in Canada. But that doesn't make them refugees under the UN Convention - defined as having a well-founded fear of persecution" (Cohn 2009: A11).
	"The Czech Republic is a member of the European Union. Consequently, Czech citizens - Roma included - enjoy some of the best human-rights protections in the world. There are no impediments to travel to other EU states. Escape to Canada is not required, and such claims represent an abuse of Canada's refugee system, straining resources that should be reserved for legitimate refugees" (Anonymous 2009: A18).	"[C]laims of discrimination amounting to persecution by non-state actors -- are at the centre of a debate that highlights what some see as Canada's problematic interpretation of the 1951 United Nations Convention on refugees, and are an example of why Immigration Minister Jason Kenney recently reimposed visa duties on Czech citizens" (Valiante July 2009: A3).	
		Martin Collacott states: "the idea that discrimination can amount to persecution -- has made Canada's refugee system virtually unmanageable" (Valiante July 2009: A3)... and the convention was never intended to cover such a broad range of people" (Valiante July 2009: A3).	

		"While people like the Roma may suffer from severe discrimination, if you do translate that into persecution ... we would have to accept for instance, 160 million 'untouchables' from India," Mr. Collacott said, referring to a class of people who face discrimination and prejudice in the subcontinent" (Valiante July 2009: A3).	
Subtheme 3: Refugee Claimants as Problems	Minister Kenney: "creating significant delays and spiraling new costs in our refugee program" (Valpy 2009: A4).	According to Minister Kenney: "The Czech Republic, has emerged as one of Canada's top sources of refugees, well ahead of war-torn and ethnically-divided countries such as Sri Lanka and Somalia" (Anonymous 2009: A8).	"Immigration Minister Jason Kenney said the move was necessary to stem what the government believed was a tide of bogus refugee claimants from the countries in recent years" (Fong 2009: A2).
	Minister Kenney: "the sheer volume of these claims is undermining our ability to help people fleeing real persecution" (Valpy 2009: A4).	"Mr. Kenney said on Monday the decision to require visas for Mexican and Czech visitors was necessary to stem the flow of asylum claimants that he said are clogging the refugee determination system" (Blanchfield 2009: A1).	"Immigration Minister Jason Kenney has said more than 12,000 Czech and Mexican claimants have come to Canada since 2007, with a vast majority deemed illegitimate. It costs Canada about \$29,000 to shelter and process one asylum seeker" (Sorensen 2009: B4).
		"Immigration Minister Jason Kenney said his European counterparts were shocked yesterday when he told them about the number of asylum-seekers to Canada, many of them Eastern European Roma" (O'Neil Sept 2010: A4).	"The sheer volume of these claims is undermining our ability to help people fleeing real persecution," Kenney said at the time" (Taylor 2009: A11).
		Minister Kenney stated: "We receive more asylum claims from the European Union than we do from Africa or that we do from Asia, and to me that's bizarre," he said. "I think we opened up some eyes with that statistic" (O'Neil Sept 2010: A4).	Minister Kenney: "The sheer volume of these claims is undermining our ability to help people fleeing real persecution," (Woods 2009: A3).
		"Immigration Minister Jason	"The financial cost of

		Kenney said in a statement that Canada's refugee system is burdened by refugee claimants from these two countries which are 'creating significant delays and spiraling new costs.... The sheer volume of these claims is undermining our ability to help people fleeing real persecution'" (Valiante 2009: A4).	handling the flood of asylum claims led directly to the controversial imposition of a visa requirement on Czech and Mexican travelers, Immigration Minister Jason Kenney says" (Woods 2009: A8).
			"It costs Canada about \$29,000 to shelter and care for a single asylum seeker. More than 12,000 Czech and Mexican refugee claimants have arrived in Canada since late 2007 and the vast majority of the files have been ruled to be illegitimate, making the financial toll untenable, Kenney said" (Woods 2009: A8).
Subtheme 4: Explicit Journalist Opinion	n/a	"These claimants are a huge burden on both our refugee determination system and our social programs. By requiring all potential Czech visitors to present themselves at a Canadian diplomatic mission inside the Czech Republic in order to obtain a visa to enter this country, those most likely to file unnecessary refugee claims can be weeded out in advance" (Anonymous 2009: A14).	"[R]efugee spikes have plagued the system for years under the Liberals, creating today's backlog" (Cohn 2009: A11).
		"The cost to Canadian taxpayers can easily top \$150,000 per refugee family before their case is ruled on" (Anonymous 2009: A14).	"[B]ogus claimants impose a huge expense on the taxpayer and bog down the process - burdening legitimate refugees whose cases typically take 18 months" (Cohn 2009: A11).
		"The flood of Roma refugee claimants at Pearson International is swamping southern Ontario social agencies, who say their	"There is an even bigger potential cost we risk undermining support for the refugee system. Public opinion polls show that

		shelters are reaching capacity and they don't have enough resources to handle the influx" (Valiante 2009: A17).	growing dissatisfaction with our refugee system cannot be wished away" (Cohn 2009: A11).
		"I would certainly be concerned that our system is close to capacity and if we continue to see more refugee claimants coming from the Czech Republic or from anywhere in fact, we would be challenged to meet the needs," said Sue Ritchie, manager of the community programs unit at the Region of Peel, which runs emergency shelters" (Valiante 2009: A17).	"[T]he more we allow refugee lawyers to clog our court system with endless appeals - the more we invite abuse by economic migrants and human smugglers gaming the system" (Cohn 2009: A11).
			"[W]ith many of those near-3,000 refugee claimants over two years misrepresenting their purported persecution - it was a two-way con Agents for Canadian employers luring cheap labour from among Czech Roma eager to migrate" (DiManno 2009: A1).
			"The judgment that most of those Roma who flooded into Canada over the past two years, seeking asylum, were actually fleeing poverty rather than persecution- and covetous of Canadian welfare - prompted Ottawa to re-impose visa requirements in July" (DiManno 2009: A1).
			"The move is aimed at what the federal government believes are thousands of bogus refugee claimants who have attempted to move to Canada from the two countries in recent years" (Woods 2009: A3).

Subtheme 5: Canada is soft on Refugees	“In 1996, there was a surge of phony refugee claimants to Canada from the Chilean port of Valparaiso. Word had got around in a poor neighbourhood that Canada was an easy mark. These obviously economic migrants were told: Apply for refugee status in Canada, get into the multilayered refugee-determination system and melt into Canadian society. And the chances of getting caught, or being deported, are next to nil” (Simpson 2009: A15).	“One of the first duties of a government is to protect the nation and its security, and one of the best ways to do that is to ensure its borders are tight against fraudulent immigration applications. Canada is already one of the most generous nations in the world in terms of the number of legitimate immigrants -- nearly 300,000 -- it accepts each year. We need not feel guilty about refusing to play patsy to tens of thousands more who seek to abuse our good nature” (Anonymous 2009: A14).	Topalanek (Czech Prime Minister): ““Canada has a very soft asylum procedure,” Topalanek retorted to reporters: “It is very easy to get an asylum in Canada and for that reason it is being targeted by individuals who are seeking economic, rather than any other asylum”” (Cohn 2009: A11).
Subtheme 6: Legitimization of Maintaining Visas	n/a	“There would likely be a new flood of Roma refugee claimants arriving in Canada if the Harper government lifts its visa requirement for visitors from the Czech Republic, according to a Prague-based human rights activist” (O’Neil 2011: A6).	“Canada’s decision last summer to require visas for visitors from Mexico and the Czech Republic has curbed skyrocketing refugee claims from the two countries, according to the latest statistics obtained by the Star” (Keung 2010: A8).
			“Visa rule cuts Czech asylum claims; Officials say new policy requiring travel documents has relieved pressure on Canadian refugee system” (Pedwell 2009: A24).
			"The action has met the policy objective of significantly reducing the number of asylum claims. That has relieved some of the pressure on the refugee system" (Pedwell 2009: A24).

Theme: Economic Effect on Canada

	Globe and Mail	National Post	Toronto Star
Subtheme 1: Tourism	"The site's top story blamed Canada's high airport taxes along with visa requirements for destroying tourism from Mexico and the Czech Republic. Despite Canada's safe, friendly and beautiful image, tourists prefer cheaper destinations 'without the insult of a visa and the financial burden of high taxes'" (McArthur 2010: L4).	"Representatives of the hotel, restaurant and tourism industry from Quebec and Ontario told a news conference on Parliament Hill that the lack of advance warning of the new visa requirement would have a domino effect that would imperil the prepaid holidays of thousands of tourists" (Blanchfield 2009: A1).	"Ottawa's visa rules have been condemned as a sledgehammer approach - for smashing the travel plans of legitimate visitors, and bruising our diplomatic relations with friendly nations" (Cohn 2009: A11).
	"The Czech government said Ottawa's decision will affect thousands of Czech tourists - about 15,000 visited Canada last year - who already have planned and booked their holidays" (Valpy 2009: A4).		"Mexican Foreign Minister Patricia Espinosa said there were no plans to impose visa restrictions on Canadian tourists" (Keung 2009: A12).
			"New rules requiring visas for Mexican and Czech visitors are likely to have their biggest impact on Canada's already struggling tourism industry but observers warned the sudden move to clamp down on a flood of refugee claims could have the unintended effect of putting a 'chill' on trade relationships with Latin America in particular" (Sorensen 2009: B4).
			"We spent three years telling countries in the region that we want to be closer, that we want to do more trade, cultural exchanges, students and tourists," said Carlo Dade, executive director of the Canadian Federation for the Americas. "Then we turn around (and) do the one thing that (IS) going to put a chill on all of that,

			with visas for Mexico" (Sorensen 2009: B4).
			"But putting visa restrictions on the millions of legitimate tourists and business travelers that enter Canada from the two countries IS like using a blunt instrument for a precision job, critics say" (Woods 2009: A8).
			"This will hurt our diplomatic relations, tourism and the close ties we have built over the years with these two partners," said Liberal foreign affairs critic Bob Rae. "It's not clear to me that the Harper government fully understands what a setback this will be" (Woods 2009: A8).
			"But the impact of the visa decision on the Conservative government's foreign policy agenda could be just as costly, threatening a proposed free trade deal with the European Union and marring a strategy of closer engagement with Latin America, observers said yesterday" (Woods 2009: A8).
			"We send a signal to folks in the Americas that our most important relationship, the one with which we have the most trade (in the region), the most commerce, tourists coming to Canada, that we don't care about any of this, so you kind of wonder what's important for Canada," said Dade (executive director of the Canadian Federation)

			(Woods 2009: A8).
Subtheme 2: Czech Roma are Unable to Find Work Back Home and thus go Abroad to Find Work and/or Take Advantage of Social Welfare	n/a	“The need to bring order to how we handle refugee claims is more urgent now than ever with tens of thousands of people around the globe seeking better economic opportunities in countries such as Canada without having to go through normal immigration channels” (Collacott 2010: A12).	“People in your Czech homeland call you Gypsy and treat you like a second-class citizen. Your friends and family have claimed asylum in Canada and are still enjoying the good life here years later. And Canada would be crazy to let you get away with it” (Cohn 2009: A11).
		"It's not good [in the Czech Republic] because we were different. They are always watching you. You look for jobs but people don't give it to you," Mr. Penicka said (Valiante June 2009: A3).	“The judgment that most of those Roma who flooded into Canada over the past two years, seeking asylum, were actually fleeing poverty rather than persecution - and covetous of Canadian welfare - prompted Ottawa to re-impose visa requirements in July” (DiManno 2009: A1).
		“He said he couldn't find a good job in the Czech Republic because no one wanted to hire a Roma. The jobs he managed to get were the low-paying fast-food variety, and he was often fired soon after being hired. He said he had to rely on state assistance, so he eventually decided to leave” (Valiante July 2009: A3).	

Theme: Contradictions to Hypothesis

	The Globe and Mail	National Post	The Toronto Star
Subtheme 1: Interfering with Independence of Refugee Board and/or Criticism from NGOs	“Amnesty International seeks a reversal of Canada's visa requirements for Mexican and Czech nationals, and complains that the visa decision, together with statements by Mr. Kenney explaining the government's rationale, interfere with the independence of Canada's Immigration and refugee Board” (Anonymous 2009: A16).	““Business people will be encumbered, legitimate asylum seekers will be encumbered, and discrimination [in the Czech Republic] will continue. It's not a proactive approach,” Gwendolyn Albert, director of the Women's Initiatives Network, told Canwest News Service in a statement” (O’Neil July 2009: A4).	In The Toronto Star, regarding an Angus Reid Survey: “The survey also indicated 64 per cent of respondents believe the federal government is doing a poor job of handling Canada's immigration programs” (Fong 2009: A2).
	“Insisting on visas essentially says to friendly countries with actual or possible refugee surges: We don't trust you. We think there is persecution and discrimination in your country, or plausible grounds for believing it. And we don't trust you to do anything about it” (Simpson 2009: A15).		“At issue is whether Kenney's reference to ‘bogus’ refugee claims to justify visa restrictions on Czechs and Mexicans crosses the line of ‘political interference’ into the board's independent decision-making power, Galati said yesterday” (Keung 2009: A12).
	“Canada's decision to impose visa requirements on Mexican and Czech citizens as a way of curbing dubious refugee claimants was roundly criticized yesterday by their governments and business and civil rights groups as unnecessary, shameful and an unwelcome irritant” (Valpy 2009: A4).		“Roma Canadians will sue Immigration Minister Jason Kenney and the Immigration and refugee Board for ‘institutional biases’ against Czech Roma refugees, says their lawyer Rocco Galati” (Keung 2009: A12).
	“the minister was taking Canada back to the days when it closed the door to Jewish migrants trying to flee Nazi Europe. He [Berger] called it shameful” (Valpy 2009: A4).		“Kenney's recent comments blaming the Mexicans and Roma for Canada's refugee woes will prejudice many cases to be heard by the board, said refugee advocates and lawyers” (Keung 2009: A12).
			“But Toronto immigration lawyer Max Berger warns the imposition of visas

			will shut the door "against genuine refugee claims" (Woods 2009: A3).
Subtheme 2: Roma do Face Persecution	"...[the Roma] historically have faced discrimination in the country and say they face constant attacks from skinhead and neo-Nazi groups" (Valpy 2009: A6).	"The Roma are scattered across Europe, where they say they face segregation, discrimination and often violent attacks. These cases are increasing with the rise of neo-Nazi groups and nationalist political parties with paramilitary branches composed of young men from the countryside" (Valiante June 2009: A3).	"Theirs is a story of continuous struggle and persecution, their entry into Europe through Persia and Armenia a mysterious diaspora that historians have yet to comprehend" (DiManno 2009: A1).
	"Virtually all Czech refugee claimants are members of the minority Roma community who have a long history of facing discrimination and persecution" (Valpy 2009: A4).	"The boyish-looking 32-year-old has been in Canada since May 11, when he arrived at Pearson International Airport in Toronto and applied for asylum status. He said that because he is Roma, he has been discriminated against to such a degree in his homeland that it amounts to persecution" (Valiante July 2009: A3).	"If some gypsies are thieves and pickpockets, more substantial crime is being committed against them, provoked by resurgent fascism and marauding skinheads, the kind of louts who march through the streets chanting 'Gypsies to the gas chambers!'" (DiManno 2009: A1).
		"Even though Mr. Suchy doesn't fear for his life, the fact that he cannot earn a living because of his race makes him a genuine candidate for asylum in Canada, according to his lawyer, George Kubes" (Valiante July 2009: A3).	"Canadian probe finds Czech Roma mistreated; Refugee Board finds attacks by skinheads" (Taylor 2009: A11).
		"[Canada's] refugee board has found that an inability to earn a living amounts to persecution," Mr. Kubes said" (Valiante July 2009: A3).	"Two weeks after Canada imposed visas on Czech travelers to stop a flood of Roma refugee seekers, Canada's refugee board has released a report outlining neo-Nazi brutality and harsh lives experienced by Roma in the central European country" (Taylor 2009: A11).
		"In 1993, the Supreme Court	"Roma children also get

		of Canada ruled that a state does not have to directly persecute a citizen for that person to be a candidate for asylum status, citing 'persecution' includes situations where the state is not in strictness an accomplice to the persecution but is simply unable to protect its citizens" (Valiante July 2009: A3).	poor educations or are herded into schools for the learning disabled, Canadian investigators with the Immigration and refugee Board said in the second part of a two-stage report" (Taylor 2009: A11).
		"But human rights advocates claim that in both the Czech Republic and Mexico, citizens cannot be adequately protected by their governments from persecution and are legitimate candidates for refugees status" (Valiante 2009: A4).	"Roma, often derisively called 'Gypsies', are forced to live in what the report calls 'socially excluded localities' - ghettos - where they have 'limited access to formal employment, acceptable education and adequate housing'" (Taylor 2009: A11).
		"Paul St. Clair, executive director of the Roma Community Centre in Toronto, said the visa requirements on Czech citizens are 'preventing genuine refugees from reaching safe haven.' Paul is depicted as saying that 'the Roma minority in many central and eastern European countries face discrimination at the hands of neo-Nazi groups, which have increased in popularity in the past few years'" (Valiante 2009: A4).	"[C]laimants from the Czech Republic have largely been from the Roma minority - often referred to by the derogatory term 'gypsies' - who human rights groups say face discrimination" (Woods 2009: A3).
			"[C]laimants from the Czech Republic in Canada have largely been from the Roma minority - often referred to by the derogatory term 'gypsies' - who human rights groups say face discrimination" (Woods 2009: A8).