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Abstract

Peace journalism has been developing as a field since the 1970s. However, confusion remains about its central theoretical problematics, its core methodologies and its political project. In this article, we aim to contribute to the development of peace journalism in two ways. Theoretically, we develop peace journalism theory to support analyses of 'cold' conflicts by incorporating insights drawn from critical race theory. Methodologically, we propose that research driven by peace journalism should incorporate both agenda-setting and framing theory. We propose an analytical model that emerged from a dialectical consideration of theory and grounded observation of a strategically chosen empirical example drawn from a broadsheet newspaper series.

Keywords

Aboriginal representation, framing, peace journalism, race and media, racialization, reconciliation

When we began presenting the research in this article to academic audiences, the discussions that followed invariably focused on answering this question: 'What is peace journalism?' Even though peace journalism has been developing as a field since the 1970s,

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confusion remains about its central theoretical problematics, its core methodologies and its political project. Briefly, the field of peace journalism is a blend of normative theory, empirical analysis and reform-oriented journalism practices covering war, conflict and violence. It draws from broader work on media and conflict that seeks to theorize a self-reflexive set of journalism norms that reject the 'regime of objectivity' (Hackett and Zhao, 1998) and recognize the potential of news media to exacerbate direct and structural violence (Becker, 1981; Cottle, 2006; Wolfsfeld, 2004; Young, 2008). Peace journalism theory specifically draws on principles of conflict analysis to promote news production practices that aim towards conflict transformation (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005a; Shinar, 2003). Proponents argue that peace journalism can help expand the discursive field of conflict and render more visible its logic and effects. This helps to open policy options and issues to public discussion (Spencer, 2005). Peace journalism researchers like Lee and Maslog (2006) conduct quantitative empirical studies to investigate the interplay between media representations and violence in news content, including its role in taking an interventionist 'preventative advocacy' stance, for example in editorials and columns urging reconciliation (p.314; see also Galtung, 1998). Finally, practice-oriented peace journalism scholars and activists advance tools and guidelines that working journalists can employ in their everyday activities to increase their awareness of conflict resolution techniques in coverage of war and violence (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005b). The wide-ranging approaches that peace journalism scholars pursue constitute an exciting and dynamic direction for the fields of communication, journalism, and media studies, but at the same time, their breadth has contributed to a lack of coherence in this area of scholarship.

Scholars attribute this inconsistency mainly to a gap that emerges when peace journalism scholars move from theorizing to media reform proposals without producing empirical data to inform and guide these initiatives. Until recently, few peace journalism scholars have operationalized peace journalism theory for empirical research. In this article, we aim to contribute to attempts to close this gap by developing a robust new peace journalism analytical model that incorporates elements of critical race theory and a grounded, strategically chosen empirical example. This exploratory project develops the field of peace journalism in two ways. The first development is theoretical. One of the shortcomings of the field noted by peace journalism scholars is its focus on 'hot' conflicts (see El-Nawawy and Powers, 2010). Peace journalism critics like Hanitzsch (2004) and proponents like Hamelink (2008) question whether peace journalism theory appropriately addresses the unequal power relations underlying some forms of conflict. We suggest that peace journalism theory can address some of these critiques by expanding its focus to include prolonged and extended or 'cold' conflicts, such as struggles over representations of race and racism; what Gramsci refers to as a war of position. As scholars of critical race theory point out, the wars of position over the racial order and the meaning of 'race' in society take place across different social institutions, including the media, which play an important role in the formation of 'racial' identity (Entman and Rojecki, 2000; Hall, 1995; van Dijk, 2009). Media representations of racialized communities include well-identified problems of under-representation, stereotypical categorization, negative, problem-oriented coverage, and a tendency to ignore structural and lived racism (Cottle, 2000; Downing and Husband, 2005; Wilson et al., 2003). While peace journalism theory and research already implicitly seeks to expose these kinds of

challenges, we argue it can benefit from certain elements in critical race theory to support more direct, explicit analysis.

Second, to facilitate this focus on 'cold' conflicts and the contributions of critical race theory, we argue that peace journalism theory must be operationalized to incorporate the insights of *both* agenda-setting and framing theory. This approach integrates both quantitative and qualitative methods. This methodological argument is grounded in research that points to the impact of agenda-setting (McCombs, 1994; McCombs and Shaw, 1977) and framing (Entman, 2007; Weaver, 2007) on media practices and the narrative structures of news. The selection of news stories, the salience of issues and the sources that journalists draw from are all points of negotiation over the relations of representation. Journalists employ discursive frames to interpret and structure meanings about events or people, and make choices about what parties are included and excluded and how they are portrayed in media content (West, 1990). Each of these choices and the aggregate story that is told (or left untold) are key moments in the racialization of the public sphere (Omi and Winant, 1994).

To bring together these theoretical (critical race theory) and methodological (agenda-setting and framing) contributions to peace journalism theory and research, we develop a robust analytical model that researchers can use to critically examine mediated representations of 'cold' racial conflicts. Our model builds on the work of scholars who have operationalized peace journalism theory (Lee and Maslog, 2006), and of critical scholars of race and media (Entman and Rojecki, 2000; Hall, 1995). We also ground our exploratory model in a strategically chosen empirical site: a broadsheet newspaper series that examines the 'state of affairs' of First Nations peoples in British Columbia, Canada. Since this empirical site is a self-reflexive attempt by working journalists to highlight conscious processes of reconciliation between First Nations and non-Aboriginal communities, we selected it to see how these media representations resonate with the theoretical literature we draw upon. We argue that the analytical model that emerged from this dialectical process of theoretical reasoning and empirical observation offers a tool that researchers can use to critically interrogate news discourse about 'cold' conflicts in a variety of contexts, including in state-based, reconciliation-oriented racial projects. While we do not intend to offer a definitive answer to the question: 'What is peace journalism?' we do hope to contribute to the ongoing efforts of peace journalism scholars and practitioners engaged in innovating this emerging field. In emphasizing and building on the critical analytical function of peace journalism-oriented research, and particularly the promise it holds in the exposure and analysis of 'cold' conflicts, we suggest that our model can compliment established approaches of media analysis.

News media, race and 'cold' conflicts

Peace journalism research has largely focused on 'hot' or direct conflict such as media coverage of wars or other forms of direct violence. Scholars of peace journalism suggest that it needs to extend its field of analysis to address the roles that structural factors such as religious, national, transnational and ethnic identities play in conflicts (El-Nawawy and Powers, 2010). Specifically, by drawing on certain elements of critical race media theory, peace journalism theory can investigate representations of

long-term cultural conflicts, such as those that exist between racialized communities in multicultural societies (LeBaron and Pillay, 2006). For example, van Dijk writes that racial discourses 'are a form of ethnic hegemony, premised on seemingly legitimate ideologies and attitudes, and often tacitly accepted by most members of the dominant majority group' (2009: 34).

From considerations of news values and organizational routines to critiques of the 'regime of objectivity' (Hackett and Zhao, 1998), critical scholars have explored how journalism practices can inadvertently reproduce broader power inequalities, including those articulated in the coded language of 'new' racism (Downing and Husband, 2005; van Dijk, 2009). Scholars such as Bonilla-Silva argue that new forms of racism that emerged in the latter part of the 20th century are seemingly more benign forms of racial discourse, and make reference to culture, rather than biology (Barker, 1989; Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Chow-White, 2009). The new racism comprises several elements, including: increasingly covert discourses and practices; the avoidance of racial terminology; the invisibility of structural mechanisms that reproduce inequalities; and the re-articulation of old practices in new forms. For example, van Dijk (2009) argues that while overtly racist discourses are absent in most news discourse, repetitive structural patterns of 'new' racism remain. These structural inequalities are revealed by critically oriented research that exposes 'naturalized' racialized hierarchies. The work of sociologists (Omi and Winant, 1994), political philosophers (Fraser, 2003), and critical scholars of race and media (Downing and Husband, 2005; Jiwani, 2006) highlights the potential of discursively constructed boundaries between racialized communities to result in material inequalities and systemic domination; that is, in structural violence (Galtung, 1969). As Cottle writes, 'once institutionally sedimented and taken for granted, these boundaries all too often harden into exclusionary barriers legitimized by cultural beliefs, ideologies and representations' (2000: 2). Some critical race scholars describe this naturalization process as a political racial project that does the ideological 'work' to link material social structure with symbolic representation (Omi and Winant, 1994). For example, Green (1995) and Lawrence (2004) argue that legal and discursive frameworks naturalize categories of racial formation and justify the systemic domination of Aboriginal groups by the Canadian state. From this perspective, media representations can perpetuate an ahistorical, hierarchical, racialized social structure that can become codified in discursive forms, including 'common sense', public opinion, government policy and institutional practice. Jiwani writes:

Representations of racialized minorities in the dominant media of a nation are, then, indicative of how that nation perceives itself and the groups within it. The association between representation and violence lies in the way in which groups are objectified, dehumanized, and inferiorized in the media. In this sense, media discourses can and do exert a form of symbolic violence. (Jiwani, 2006: 37)

These insights of critical race theory can help peace journalism researchers investigate media representations of long-term 'cold' conflicts. Peace journalism researchers aim to expose and critique the naturalized logics of news production. Focusing primarily on war reportage and 'hot' conflicts, they uncover those news production practices and narrative structures that promote a 'culture of peace', as well as those that harden dichotomies

between discursively constructed ‘enemies’ in a mediated field of conflict (see for example Dente Ross et al., 2009). Where ‘hot’ conflicts erupt between parties in violent displays of direct force, ‘cold’ conflicts take place in more subtle (though still damaging) arenas of culture and media representation (Cottle, 2006; Shinar, 2003). For example, news representations of postcolonial negotiations over ‘cold’ processes of reconciliation must be as critically scrutinized as those representing ‘hot’ forms of violence, like war. This approach presumes that mass media (and other forms of communication) are implicated in the escalation of ‘material’ conflicts – and their potential de-escalation (Erni, 2009; Leung, 2009; Spencer, 2005; Wolfsfeld, 2004).

We argue that critical race theory offers several theoretical insights that can help peace journalism researchers analyse these ‘cold’ conflicts. This perspective treats the media as a critical site in the war of position over racial representation. Along with constructing and maintaining racial inequality, the media can also serve as a site of contestation and resistance, offering alternative discourses of self-determination and racial equality (Entman and Rojecki, 2000). As Cottle writes:

The media occupy a key site and perform a crucial role in the public representation of unequal social relations and play of cultural power ... [but] at the same time, however, the media can also serve to affirm social and cultural diversity and, moreover, provide crucial spaces in and through which imposed identities or the interests of others can be resisted, challenged, and changed (Cottle, 2000: 2).

Peace journalism theory holds that this ambivalence is in part the result of the representational logic embedded within ‘naturalized’ news production processes. We argue that peace journalism theory, when enriched with the insights of critical race theory, offers a basis from which to develop an analytical model that can help researchers expose the implicit discursive constructions of ‘cold’ racial conflicts.

Peace journalism, agenda-setting and framing

In this section, we operationalize elements of agenda-setting and framing theory to develop a peace journalism-oriented model focused on the analysis of ‘cold’ conflicts. To date, most peace journalism-oriented researchers employ a methodology based in agenda-setting theory (see for example Lee and Maslog, 2006). These quantitative analyses focus on overt expressions of language and representation. According to agenda-setting theory, by highlighting certain issues, the news media confers on them a level of social relevance and importance, and issues are more likely to be debated, attacked or justified if they are validated in the media (Coleman et al., 2009; McCombs and Shaw, 1977). As Coleman et al. write: ‘it seems likely that an increase in the salience of certain issues, and certain attributes of these issues, does have an effect, perhaps indirect, on public opinion’ (2009: 151). We argue that to capture more accurately the intricacies of ‘new’ racism discussed earlier, peace journalism researchers must also incorporate framing theory in their work.

While McCombs and other agenda-setting scholars argue that the media tell us what to think about, some push that argument further. Kuypers, for example, argues that the

media do more than tell the public *what to think about*; they also tell the public *how to think about a given topic* (Kuypers, 2002; see also Nesbitt-Larking, 2001). Where agenda-setting measures the presence and salience of issues, a framing approach focuses on the qualitative meanings attached to issues and the values embedded in media representations. Jiwani explains that the news media do this by 'framing the parameters of debate and providing us with the very categories of language by which to make sense of the issues' (2006: 37; see also Entman and Pellicano, 2009; Pan and Kosicki, 2003; Weaver, 2007). This approach moves beyond a consideration of overt content analysis to also examine the implicit frameworks media producers employ to interpret and structure the placement of issues, events and actors in discourse.

Framing theory already resonates with some peace journalism researchers, such as Lee et al., who suggest: 'theoretically, peace journalism is supported by framing theory ... [which] refers to the process of organizing a news story, thematically, stylistically and factually, to convey a specific story line' (2006: 501–2). Framing theory is also supported in analyses conducted by critical race scholars. These researchers found agenda-setting research a useful and necessary tool in analysing racial representation in the media. However, when seeking methods to uncover 'new' racism, critical race scholars found that agenda-setting is not sufficient on its own to accurately capture these more subtle or implicit representations (Hall, 1996). We suggest that the theoretical and methodological contribution to critical media analysis made by Hall and others can be incorporated in peace journalism-oriented research on 'cold' conflicts. In short, parallel to the methodological developments made by critical race scholars, peace journalism researchers can incorporate the insights of both agenda-setting and framing to more comprehensively expose indirect, 'cold' forms of conflict.

A peace journalism model for researching media representations of 'cold' conflict

In this section, we describe our peace journalism-oriented analytical model for exploring representations of 'cold' conflict in news discourse. Based in peace journalism theory, our model draws on theoretical insights developed by critical race scholars that work to uncover examples of value-based language, highlight the perspectives of various stakeholders party to the conflicts examined, and explore the discursive field of power relations these statements operate within. The model also emerged from our engagement with a strategically chosen empirical site made up of feature-length articles on First Nations issues published by the *Vancouver Sun* newspaper. We examined this series to see how working journalists are representing self-reflexive examples of racial reconciliation. These examples help ground and enrich our peace journalism-oriented theoretical and methodological development.

The eight *Vancouver Sun* feature stories we examine here ran as a series titled 'Dark past, hopeful future' over an eight-day period from 13 to 21 June 2008 (see Table 1). The series is an attempt by the newspaper to document a perceived shift in race relations following the Canadian government's 2008 apology for its treatment of First Nations children in residential schools. The Canadian state is presently engaged in a Supreme Court of Canada mandated process of reconciliation with its Aboriginal populations. In 2008,

Table 1. Stories from the *Vancouver Sun* series 'Dark past, hopeful future'

Headline	Date published	ID
Aboriginal educators find hope amid dismal student results	13 June 2008	Steffenhagen
Many paths to healing	14 June 2008	Todd
First Nations have key role in Games	16 June 2008	Lee1
First Nations resort turns the corner	17 June 2008	Constantineau
First Nations celebrate new cultural centre	18 June 2008	Lee2
First Nations take early steps towards better health	19 June 2008	Fowlie1
New treaty negotiations spark cautious optimism	20 June 2008	Fowlie2
Currents of history	21 June 2008	Sinoski

Note: The series is available at: <http://www2.canada.com/vancouver/sun/features/apology/series.html>

the federal government instated the \$60 million Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as part of the 2006 Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement negotiated between former students, churches, the federal government and Aboriginal organizations. The TRC is mandated to document the history of abuses that took place in these government-funded, church-run schools (Milloy, 1999).

We selected this empirical site to look for examples of journalistic representations that seek to capture optimistic attempts at reconciliation and the aftermath, and ongoing effects of the systemic abuse of generations of First Nations individuals and communities. In peace journalism terms, this points to a self-conscious form of journalism that highlights post-conflict or reconstruction activities, alongside recognition of the after-effects of violence. We view this series as a publicly symbolic attempt at relationship-building between First Nations and non-Aboriginal communities in British Columbia. At the same time, the series demonstrates the continuity and re-articulation of old and new racism. In grounding our discussion in this material, we focus on the series as a whole, and treat it as a complex set of discourses resulting from implicit media production practices, rather than critiquing the actions and productions of individual reporters.

'Dark past': old racism and new racism in media representations of reconciliation

Old racism: The persistence of colonial stereotypes

In this section, we draw on critical race theory, peace journalism theory and our empirical site to discuss processes of 'old' racism apparent in news discourse. Our analysis of old racism draws on Hall's foundational analysis of racial representation in the media. Hall argued for the need to analyse both the 'relations of representation' and the 'politics of representation' (Hall, 1996). The relations of representation seek to explore levels of inclusion and exclusion of racialized minority voices in media discourse (see also West, 1990). The politics of representation focus on the language used in news discourse and the quality and accuracy of media representations of race.

Media researchers describe the historical prevalence and contemporary persistence of negative representations of Aboriginal Canadians in the mass media (Roth, 2005; Winter, 1992). Drawing on critical race theory, we focus on two processes that contribute to these representations: the exclusion of Aboriginal voices in the news (Henry and Tator, 2002) and recurring examples of negative stereotypes (Harding, 2006; Lambertus, 2004). In methodological terms, we operationalized these processes by looking for the presence and/or absence of First Nations voices in the news discourse, and for evidence of previously identified, historically persistent stereotypes.

All of the stories in the *Vancouver Sun* series include First Nations voices, an indication that, at the level of access, racialized communities are making progress in this area. Most of the stories in the series include the voices of both elite sources and everyday people, moving beyond a two-party source dichotomy to demonstrate differentiation within the First Nations community. However, not all voices are represented, and so the relations of representation continue to be restricted in stories where the voices of everyday or oppositional First Nations people are limited or excluded. For example, the voices of organized groups opposed to the 2010 Olympics, such as Mostly Water (Mostly Water, 2009), are not included, despite several mentions of the event.

The series also contains several examples of persistent colonial-era stereotypes. Harding (2006) discovered when researching stereotypes of Aboriginal peoples in the Canadian news media that negative representations are remarkably stable over time. We find continued evidence of his findings. For example, one issue explored in the series is the contemporary legacy of the Canadian state's residential schools policy. While representations of this issue include several First Nations voices, journalists convey their stories using a technique that (re)opens personal histories of pain and suffering to public witnessing. Scholars argue that the process of public witnessing is an important part of 'reconciliation' (Llewellyn, 2002). However, its mediated representation in this case is problematic given the chain of associations invoked by the inclusion of long-standing negative stereotypes. The negative descriptors include images of alcohol and drug abuse, criminal deviancy and 'savage' behavior that recall stereotypes like the 'drunken Indian' or 'savage' (Hall, 1995; Harding, 2006). As Jiwani notes: 'in projecting onto the colonized traits that were considered excessive (sexuality, immorality, emotionality, fecundity, and so on) the colonizers were able to construct an image of themselves as intelligent, rational, superior, moral, and controlled' (2006: 33). Marshalling the frame of the 'violent and irresponsible native' in this manner offsets simultaneous attempts to build a narrative of community struggle and individual redemption, as is evident in this example that leads one of the stories:

Life at the Penticton Indian Band took a dramatic turn about four years ago after Dustin Joseph Paul killed three friends in an unprovoked drug-and-alcohol-fuelled shooting rampage. Paul, who snorted cocaine and drank heavily at a popular party spot on the reserve before the killings, said at trial he began shooting because a voice in his head told him that doing so, and then slitting his own throat, would lead to a better life. (Fowlie1)

While this example in part reflects conventional storytelling practices such as personalization and dramatization, framing the story in this way is problematic given the attendant (and in this case, unacknowledged) historical and cultural stereotypes it invokes.

New racism: problematizing the 'culture of negotiation'

Our model explores the more subtle discourses of new racism through three analytical techniques. These techniques operationalize the insights of critical race scholars who argued for the need to look for: the positioning of parties in representations of conflict; the re-articulation of old racist frames in new forms; and the omission of key historical, legal and cultural contexts.

First, we examined the framing of parties in conflict and negotiation to explore whether it obscures and naturalizes asymmetrical power relations by failing to acknowledge their existence. Evidence of this process is apparent in discursively formed allegiances or conflicts. In British Columbia, First Nations and non-Aboriginal parties have made public statements expressing a desire for negotiation rather than litigation to manage conflict (see for example Transformative Change Accord, 2005). However, this goal can be undermined when public discourses about these negotiations include problematic representations of some of the parties involved. In the series we looked at, one recurring example of this process contrasts 'reasonable' state negotiators with 'emotional' First Nations leaders. In a story about the 2010 Olympic Games, Squamish nation hereditary chief Joe Mathias is initially described as a 'defender of native rights who preferred to negotiate rather than litigate' (Lee1). The rest of the story constructs and employs a binary division between 'negotiators' (benevolent government and corporate groups and the First Nations communities that cooperate with them), and 'litigators' (First Nations communities that express reluctance and suspicion of their initiatives). Echoing the tendency of news frames to gain salience through repetition (Entman and Pellicano, 2009), this frame is elaborated on in another story about treaty negotiations. Minister of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation for the province of British Columbia Mike de Jong points out the successes of the treaty negotiation process as based in reasoned negotiation and compromise, while in contrast, oppositional First Nations parties are described as expressing 'immense frustration', 'anger', 'scepticism and, at best, 'cautious optimism' (Fowlie2). Minister de Jong is described as:

hopeful that over the next year there will be further progress with reconciliation deals, such as the one recently approved by the Musqueam Indian Band. De Jong said that deal is an example of an approach 'designed to build a culture of settlements through *negotiation rather than litigation*'. (Fowlie2, emphasis added)

This quote concludes a story filled with optimistic, negotiation-oriented statements from government representatives and pessimistic, emotional and reluctant statements from oppositional First Nations leaders. The 'litigators' are portrayed using generalized, negative language, as apparent in this quote:

The common table itself was born out of immense frustration by a group of first nations.... 'We cannot accept the current one size fits all approach with inadequate policy/mandates being imposed by your governments' negotiators,' wrote a group of then about 50 first nations that called themselves the Unity Protocol. 'The level of anger and frustration is reaching levels of which you have been repeatedly warned.' (Fowlie2)

Viewed across the series as a whole, this process serves to construct a racial binary that positions 'good' First Nations communities in relation to 'bad' ones and the dominant society. Parties in negotiation become valorized as either 'positive' and 'negative' depending on their synchronicity with the dominant corporate/government frame.

New racism is also present in the series through the re-articulation of old racist frames in new forms. Critical race theorists demonstrated that overt expressions and physical instances of old racism transform into more subtle discourses of 'common sense'. The *Vancouver Sun* series demonstrates a shift in language from the historical frame of the 'White Man's Burden' to its re-articulation as a benevolent, government and corporate-driven 'culture of negotiation'. While some Aboriginal political groups support the principle of a 'culture of negotiation', when employed in a way that undermines the agency of these groups and increases the relative discursive position of government/corporate decision makers and their allies, it becomes another example in the long struggle over the language of Aboriginal rights – and of state attempts to define and structure access to those rights through discursive and legal strategies (Green, 1995). Viewed in this way, the theme of 'rescue through benevolence' can naturalize pre-existing power structures and render oppositional perspectives non-threatening, homogenized and contained. As Jiwani points out, in such a frame 'the freedom to choose which side is "right" is accorded only to those who have the power to define and decide the limits of the debate' (2006: 44).

The 'culture of negotiation' frame discussed earlier is positioned throughout the series as a result of government largesse, rather than First Nations self-determination. Words like 'giving', 'allowed' and 'building' imply agency and benevolence on the part of government/corporate parties, and are positioned against the passive acquiescence or litigious resistance of First Nations groups. For example, in a discussion of the legacy of residential school policies, portrayals of government benevolence appear in language that reflects active attempts at reconciliation: 'the apology gave first nations a chance to press their point' (Steffenhagen, emphasis added). This quote undermines First Nations agency in this process: rather than the culmination of First Nations-led demands for justice and hard fought legal battles, the apology is framed as 'giving' these communities a chance to present an argument for self-determination. Even stories that work to document First Nations communities' shift towards greater independence portray their actions as stemming from state benevolence. This is seen in quotes like '*giving first nations a hand* in developing programs to fit their needs' (Fowlie1, emphasis added). This frame neglects the relevant context of VANOC's (Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 and Paralympic Winter Games) court-mandated requirement to seek permission (or 'duty to consult') when conducting business on unceded First Nations territories.

Finally, new racism is supported in the decontextualization of certain issues; specifically the omission of appropriate legal and historical contexts (see BC Treaty Commission, 2007; Cairns, 2000; Union of BC Indian Chiefs, 2007 for examples of contextual information). Aside from the legal context elaborated on in a story about treaty negotiations, the series suppresses discussion of important cases such as Delgamuukw (Culhane, 1998) and cornerstone reports such as the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996). This oversight represses the long history of First Nations-led political and legal struggle that preceded the 'culture of negotiation'.

Decontextualization is further highlighted in the language used to describe First Nations communities' frustration with the treaty process. Rather than highlighting specific, concrete problems and challenges faced by negotiators, a story on treaty negotiations includes vague terms, such as 'six key issues' and 'significant roadblocks' that are never explained. At one point, the treaty process is described as having 'dragged on for years with only a few notable successes' (Fowlie2), but without any context as to why.

Peace journalism and a 'hopeful future' for media representation

In this section, we develop four analytical frames that can highlight examples of peace journalism at work in media discourses about 'cold' conflicts. These frames draw on existing peace journalism theory, incorporate insights from critical race theory, and develop emergent themes from our strategically chosen empirical site. In order to present a comprehensive analysis of representations of 'cold' conflict, our model includes these four frames alongside previously discussed techniques that reveal processes of 'old' and 'new' racism. In combining all three techniques, our model helps reveal the complex and contradictory processes at play in mediated representations of 'cold' conflicts.

Cooperation and reconciliation in conflict transformation frame

The first frame identifies instances of cooperation, reconciliation and hope that simultaneously acknowledge past and present injustices. Peace journalism scholars note the important role that mediated representations play in (re)constructing the ongoing effects of conflict transformation (Peleg, 2006; Shinar, 2003). They analyse conflicts as long-term processes of transformation, as opposed to discrete events with a fixed start and end. In this way peace journalism works to 'broaden the field within which contestation, argument and disagreement can take place' (Spencer, 2005: 180–1; see also Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005a). LeBaron and Pillay, in their analysis of conflict across cultures, argue that the goal of intercultural conflict transformation is not to eliminate conflict, but rather to find ways to 'live well' with it (2006: 3). They write: 'the perception that cultural differences cause or escalate conflicts obscures the way that cultural differences can contribute to constructive relationship-building' (2006: 92).

Despite notable examples that reproduce and re-articulate overt and new forms of racism (as discussed earlier), in the *Vancouver Sun* series there is a clear attempt to focus on the ongoing transformational effects of reconciliation processes. Change is expressed as bringing about long-term conflict transformation (including material transformations and attempts to address structural violence) as opposed to framing 'reconciliation' as an event with a fixed start and end, hardening dichotomies between parties and operating only on a symbolic level. Several stories emphasize community-driven cooperation and hope (accompanied with an acknowledgement of past injustices). For example, some stories highlight concrete examples of cooperation through formal mechanisms like public apologies and financial reparations delivered from non-Aboriginal institutions such as the United Church and the federal government. Other instances of cooperation and reconciliation include community-driven economic development and other activities.

For example, one story describes how a First Nations community transformed a former residential school into a thriving business. In acknowledging the site's past alongside its optimistic future, the story offers a symbolic and physical example of reconstruction. Another story frames the economic partnership between the First Nations host communities, government and corporate parties in the lead-up to the 2010 Olympics as a 'history-making opportunity'. This partnership is presented as the result of entrepreneurship, First Nations agency and local initiative. Importantly, the story includes the relevant legal context, such as the Delgamuukw case, that 'implicitly gave strength to first nations' claims that their aboriginal title hadn't been extinguished' (Lee1). By noting this fact in the lead paragraph, the story sets up a frame that the business negotiations result from the history of ongoing legal and political struggles on the part of First Nations communities to achieve self-determination.

Reporting 'invisible' effects of structural racism frame

The second frame identifies media discourses that highlight the long-term impacts of violence, both direct and indirect, on racialized minorities. Peace journalism scholars argue that comprehensive coverage of conflict must move beyond the direct effects of violence to also consider its invisible and structural impacts (Becker, 1981; Spencer, 2005). Peace journalism theory can help researchers 'by creating awareness of differing types of violence which relate to groups or individuals.... [In this way] a conflict analysis approach is developed which opens up the space for wider debates and contributions' (Spencer, 2005: 176). When the impacts of conflicts are made more visible and concrete, they become discrete objects that can be examined and critiqued (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005a; see also Zandberg, 2010). This approach can be enriched by elements of critical race theory, which seeks to expose the long-term, structural effects of 'new' racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Hill Collins, 2004). Critical race scholars argue that problematic memories and impressions of racialized pasts reside deep within the psyche of majority audiences, serving as a persistent threat to hopes for racial reconciliation (Entman and Rojecki, 2000: 43). The *Vancouver Sun* series offers examples of media discourses that highlight the long-term repercussions of the structural violence of colonial public policies. For example, the series describes the ongoing negative effects of the government's residential schools policy, while also acknowledging the successes of indigenous forms of health and spirituality. This relational approach to representing structural racism is apparent in this quote:

The school dropout rate is still high among aboriginal students ... and first nations students are still being taken into care by government agencies. *Much of this stems from the pain and loss they suffered by being forced into residential schools...* 'The residential schools were like a shock, an explosion on the people, and we still feel the reverberations' [said Shawn Atleo, then regional chief of the Assembly of First Nations]. (Sinowski, *emphasis added*).

Journalists tend to write about the experiences of individuals, to 'humanize' otherwise abstract issues. At the same time, it is important to situate individuals in the appropriate social, cultural, political and economic structures that impact their lives. This frame and the example highlighted above offer a means for researchers to uncover both of these techniques.

Complicates stereotypes frame

Building on some of the techniques described in the 'old' and 'new' racism sections, the third frame highlights examples of attempts by journalists to confront and counteract stereotypes about racialized minorities. It also works to identify instances where reporters directly challenge stereotypes through the presentation of individuals in non-stereotypical positions, including the recognition of hybridity. Peace journalism scholars point out the tendency of journalists to employ 'demonizing' or 'victimizing' language in the representation of conflict between parties and to represent individual humans as ciphers for generalized, group-based identities. For example, Dente Ross (2006) argues that peace praxis requires the deconstruction of national identities and a movement towards a representation of humans as individual people, rather than exemplars of a group. In their discussion of conflicts across cultures, LeBaron and Pillay note 'people in destructive conflict begin to dehumanize their adversaries when the conflict polarizes relationships' (2006: 90). As discussed earlier, critical race theorists similarly pointed out how journalists sometimes describe the actors involved in conflicts in uni-dimensional terms, thus reducing them to stereotypes that are connected to ideologies embedded in distinct chains of meaning activated and reproduced in recurring images (Hall, 1995; see also Dennis, 2009; Entman and Rojecki, 2000; Henry and Tator, 2002). Stereotypes are representations of individuals held up as 'THE symbol or symbols to the exclusion of others' so often that they become 'a 'common' representation of something or someone in the minds of viewers' (Attille and Blackwood, 1986: 205). Media institutions are involved in producing and disseminating these stereotypes, as seen in recurring tropes of the 'slave-figure', 'native' and 'clown/entertainer' in media content (Hall, 1995). To address these problems, critical race scholars like Jiwani (2006) argue that media producers must break the chains of associations activated each time a problematic racialized representation is invoked. This is one of the discursive techniques that researchers can identify by using this analytical frame.

Hall's (1995) analysis of the politics of representation describes how stereotypes can be directly challenged through the presentation of individuals in non-stereotypical positions. The *Vancouver Sun* series offers several examples of First Nations leaders working in fields like law, politics and education – moving beyond the historical stereotype of uncertain, emotion-driven First Nation leadership (Harding, 2006). As well, the series includes representations of Aboriginal cultural forms that are expressed in the language of contemporary business. While references to 'artistic branding' bring up arguments about the commodification of material culture and community-'owned' intellectual property (see Brown, 2003) that are beyond the scope of this article, they nonetheless demonstrate a shift in the portrayal of Aboriginal art as an 'exotic remnant of the past'. For example, a story about a new cultural centre and challenges the stereotype of Aboriginal culture as the relic of a lost culture:

The new \$30-million Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre, [is] a living museum that pays homage to the art, history and culture of the first nations. (Lee2)

Critical race theory also demonstrates how stereotypes can be challenged through the recognition of hybridity, which counteracts a static, homogenizing approach to identity

(Hall, 1995). An analysis of hybridity highlights the complexities and contestation of multiple 'subject positions' present in contested cultural spaces, suggesting a more fluid and complex conception of identity (Cottle, 2000). The *Vancouver Sun* series illustrates several examples of cultural hybridity. It discusses the history of religious syncretism in First Nations communities, through which some former residential school students combined Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal religious traditions in a new form of spiritual practice. This serves to highlight the fluid and diverse nature of religious practice in British Columbia:

Like many aboriginals, [David] Belleau was trying to heal through a complex mix of aboriginal rituals, Western psychotherapy, Alcoholics Anonymous, traditional art and dance and, surprisingly to some, Christianity.... Many aboriginals are accepting church apologies and offering forgiveness, *while exploring a blend of spiritual and psychological practices, both aboriginal and Western.* (Todd, emphasis added)

Community leadership and self-determination frame

Our last frame identifies racialized groups and individuals as rational, goal-oriented political actors rather than passive, emotional, 'victims' and identifies the historical continuity of leadership in a variety of institutional fields. This helps researchers expose tendencies of 'common sense' and media representations to remove agency from the subordinate parties in conflict. The frame highlights multi-faceted representations that demonstrate the agency of all involved parties in enacting change and struggling for justice and self-determination, as opposed to portraying one side as 'oppressors' and the other as dominated 'victims'.

Postcolonial scholars demonstrated the tendency of dominant narratives to marginalize and silence the voice of colonial subjects (Fanon, 1963; Said, 1978). Henry and Tator (2002) write that since non-dominant peoples are often not represented as part of Canada's imagined community, their voices are erased and silenced – and repeated occurrences of this situation suggest a pervasive and systemic bias. One of the racial projects of postcolonial scholars has been to recoup subaltern voices in historical texts, tell counter-stories and frame colonial subjects as agentic actors (Shome and Hegde, 2002; Spivak, 1999). Peace journalism researchers similarly seek to expose instances of parties in conflict that are portrayed along a 'zero-sum' axis, where one side is represented as 'oppressors' and the other as 'victims' in an asymmetrical binary logic. Lynch and McGoldrick (2005a) write that this kind of representation dominates conventional media depictions of conflict. Peace journalism theory seeks to highlight the agency of all involved parties in enacting change and struggling for justice (Spencer, 2005).

Some of the stories in the *Vancouver Sun* series portray First Nations leaders as pushing forward ongoing efforts of constructive change in fields like law, politics and education. These developments are accompanied with an acknowledgement of past struggles and successes achieved by First Nations leaders. As opposed to the frame of government/corporate benevolence (as discussed in our 'new' racism analysis), this frame highlights the long struggle of First Nations peoples to achieve social justice in a variety of institutional fields. They are presented as rational, goal-oriented political actors rather than

passive, emotional, 'victims' of colonial power. This frame also highlights the historical continuity of leadership in First Nations communities, as is apparent in this quote:

They were born into a world bent on assimilation, but first nations elders like Frank Arthur Calder and Grand Chief George Manuel refused to buckle under colonial control. Instead, following a trail blazed by their ancestors, the two men pulled themselves from the residential school mire to doggedly pursue a centuries-long fight for the rights of their people. (Sinowski)

Another example of this frame presents reconstruction in the field of education through an acknowledgement of the historical movement from state control to First Nations self-determination. This shift is framed in terms of hope, pride and reconciliation between First Nations and non-Aboriginal institutions through concrete mechanisms like an agreement that gives First Nations more control of educational administration:

A result of a landmark deal signed in 2006, which recognizes the right of first nations to control their own schools and gives them a stronger role in educating aboriginal students in public schools ... [is] *recognition, finally, that first nations people can do it, and they need to do it for our own children,*' said [First Nations educator Kathi] Dickie. (Steffenhagen, emphasis added)

The frame of First Nations self-determination is further echoed in discussions of community-led health projects. Where warranted, existing problems are explained in the context of government (not First Nations) neglect, and efforts to recoup culture and build relationships are led by First Nations community members. The series also validates different knowledge systems, as demonstrated with descriptions of First Nations professionals who 'don't have academic degrees but do have firm community roots' (Fowlie1). This comment serves to counteract tendencies to diminish First Nations knowledge by contrasting it to Western 'rational' belief systems (Dei et al., 2000). In short, this frame offers researchers a means to identify examples of the strength and agency of First Nations leadership, based on their own community's criteria of success, as well as that of 'mainstream' society.

Conclusion

Peace journalism theory and research has largely focused on analysing 'hot' conflicts. In this article, we explored how critical race theory might enrich established approaches to peace journalism theory and analysis, arguing that it might help researchers navigate the more subtle discursive terrain of 'cold' conflicts. In constructing an analytical model to achieve this goal, we also drew on a strategically chosen empirical site that highlighted 'reconciliation' processes between First Nations and non-Aboriginal communities in Canada. The dialectical process employed in the development of our peace journalism model highlighted the ambivalent and contradictory processes inherent to self-reflexive media coverage of a government mandated 'racial project' of racial reconciliation. The *Vancouver Sun* series exhibits some characteristics reflective of peace journalism and critical race theory; however, many of these brief articulations are far overshadowed by the ongoing representations of and new and old racism towards First Nations people. Our

model demonstrates these contradictions most clearly in the recurring frame of the 'culture of negotiation'. This recurring frame may be a prima facie example of peace journalism, since it appears to highlight a process of negotiation and conflict transformation between equal parties. However, when analysed in the context of the theoretical and methodological techniques developed by critical race theorists, it in fact undermines First Nations agency and constructs an asymmetrical binary between 'benevolent' corporate/state parties and 'frustrated, emotional' First Nations groups. Explained this way, the 'culture of negotiation' is an expression of new racism. This demonstrates that putatively self-reflexive, reconciliation-oriented news representations (including those that may be employed under the broad rubric of 'peace journalism') can at times negate their stated precepts, instead working to perpetuate systemic domination of racialized communities.

While our incorporation of critical race theory demonstrated that tendencies towards peace journalism can be tempered by ongoing discourses of old and new racism, we also found they simultaneously contain seeds of reform. Our model can help critical researchers expose these nascent tendencies towards peace journalism. Researchers can highlight examples of discourses that challenge stereotypes, expose the structural effects of violence, demonstrate the fluid and contingent nature of group-based identities, and offer appropriate contextual explanations. Of course, as critical race theorists have long contended, structural racism is not solely based in media discourses. This point is reflected in some critiques of peace journalism (for example Hanitzsch, 2004), which question whether it appropriately addresses the unequal power relations underlying some forms of conflict, and argue that it assumes direct and linear media effects and misdirects attention from policy-makers to journalists. That said, by helping researchers highlight examples of peace journalism while also exposing ongoing processes of both old and new racism, our analytical model may help in the ongoing project of critically analysing discourses around 'cold' conflicts in a variety of contexts.

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