

MULTICULTURALISM IN CANADA AND THE
USA:
Different representations in two newspapers

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**MULTICULTURALISM IN CANADA AND THE USA:
Different representations in two newspapers**

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Monikulttuurisuudesta puhutaan paljon nykyajan globalisoituvassa maailmassa. Ihmiset eivät enää asu ja elä omassa maassaan koko ikäänsä ja lisäksi maahanmuutto eri maiden välillä on hyvin yleistä. Maailma on pienentynyt ja sen seurauksena eri kulttuureista tulevat ihmiset joutuvat tulemaan toimeen keskenään asuessaan uudessa maassa.

Kanada ja Yhdysvallat ovat hyvin monikulttuurisia valtioita, mutta niiden lähestymistavat eri kulttuureista koostuvaan kansaan ovat hieman erilaiset. Yhdysvalloissa suositetaan maahanmuuttajien ”sulautumista” valtaväestöön, kun taas Kanada on yrittänyt pitää yllä monikulttuurista ”mosaiikkikyhteiskuntaa”. Tutkimukseni tarkoituksena oli selvittää, kuinka näitä kahta lähestymistapaa representoidaan maiden kahdessa suuressa päivittäin ilmestyvässä sanomalehdessä. Lisäksi vertailin eroja maiden välillä.

Tutkimustulokseni osoittivat, että vaikka Kanadan monikulttuurisuusajatus on yhä vahva, se on enemmänkin ideaali kuin todellisuutta. Nykypäivän Kanadassa kulttuurit sulautuvat yhteen kuten Amerikassa, eikä eroja juurikaan ole nähtävissä. Ainoa poikkeus on Kanadan englannin- ja ranskankielisten väliset kieliriidat, jotka jatkuvat yhä.

Tästä tutkimuksesta on hyötyä monikulttuurisuuteen suhtautumista mietittäessä ja erilaisia lähestymistapoja katsoessa. Lisätutkimuksia tarvittaisiin kuitenkin, jotta tutkimustuloksista voitaisiin tehdä laajempia johtopäätöksiä.

Asiasanat: multiculturalism, representation, Critical Discourse Analysis

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1. INTRODUCTION

Many previous studies point out that Canada has a long history of immigration. Throughout its history Canada has struggled between English and French relations and the closer the modern day has come, the more different nationalities have taken Canada as their home country. However, Canadians have been quite tolerant towards building their nation with various people and in 1971, Canada was the first country in the world to declare multiculturalism as official state policy (Canadian Heritage, 2008). Since then Canadians have been known to appreciate all cultures and their traditions, and encourage them to share the differences with fellow Canadians in order to build a stronger nation. In my opinion, that is quite a remarkable way of dealing with immigration.

For my Bachelor's thesis I studied how Canadian multiculturalism is represented in one of their daily newspapers and contrasted it with the representations of American multiculturalism in their equivalent newspaper. There is some research and journals already written about the issue of multiculturalism. For example, many Canadian websites talk about Canada's multiculturalism and policies towards immigration. However, I believe that my research will bring to the field a slightly different approach because I studied the issue from a foreigner's point of view with some previous knowledge of the culture, as I have lived in Canada for a year. This allowed me to explore the issue from outside, but at the same time I was able to relate to some Canadian ways of thinking.

Furthermore, I think that multiculturalism is becoming increasingly a global phenomenon in the sense that people live in other than their native countries more than ever before. It is important to study these issues in order to gain better understanding of them. Moreover, I did not find any research concerning this particular topic that would have used the same methods as my study.

My hypothesis based on my previous knowledge was that Canada as a country consists of diverse and separated pieces, where the USA on the other hand resembles a melting pot. What separates the USA from Canada is that people perhaps become or at least are somewhat required to become Americanized when they immigrate to the country. However, as I did my background reading I came across some studies that present the modern-day USA more as a

salad-bowl than a melting pot. I will look into that in more detail at the end of this paper in order to find out whether the findings supported this theory of the USA today.

I think that this topic is worth investigating because it will enhance the knowledge people have of Canada as a nation compared to the more familiar USA. The aim of my research is also to present Canada as a modern multicultural nation and show some aspects of this particular country's policies towards pluralism of ethnic groups. I feel that this is important as many people in Finland do not have knowledge of this issue. The reason why I chose to compare the situation in Canada with the USA is because although they are neighbouring countries, I believe that they are quite different in many aspects. Despite the final results of this study, I believe that it will provide useful information in many levels.

This paper proceeds as follows. In Chapter 2, I will explain the terminology related to this study. The previous research that has been done in the recent years will also be introduced. Furthermore, the basic ideas of Critical Discourse Analysis will be explained, as that is what was used as theoretical background to analyse the data. Afterwards the research questions will be presented. In Chapter 3 the data gathering and methods will be explained. In Chapter 4 I will present the results and analyse them. Finally, in Chapter 5, I will draw conclusions and finish the study.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In this Chapter I will briefly introduce the basic ideas of discourse analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis, often referred to as CDA, as well as talk about a few studies that have been conducted in the field of multiculturalism. Many studies related to CDA have been done since the idea was first introduced in 1970 (Wodak and Meyer, 2002: 5). However, I decided not to include those types of research into this part because even though the studies had used same theoretical background, they did not look at things from the same kind of point of view. In addition, they had a variety of topics which did not seem suitable for this particular study. Nevertheless, some of those studies were useful in terms of guidance with the analysis of this paper.

2.1 Basic terminology:

Here I will explain some of the basic terminology related to this study. These concepts are quite broad in the sense that they have multiple explanations, depending on the point of view or area of study in question. I chose to use the explanations that provided the most information and were beneficial to this study.

One of the key concepts for this study is **culture**, which can be defined in many ways. Basically culture means the total sum of ways of living built up by a group of human beings and transmitted from one generation to another, as defined in the field of anthropology. Culture can be related to one's ideology and traditions as well as other areas of living (Jouhki, 2008). In my research the concept of culture related to ways of how people see themselves in a surrounding society and whether the different aspects of their culture were clearly represented in the articles I studied.

Multiculturalism as a term is used in at least 3 senses: to refer to a society that is characterized by ethnic or cultural heterogeneity; to refer to an ideal of equality and mutual respect among a population's ethnic or cultural groups; and to refer to government policy proclaimed by the federal government of Canada in 1971 and subsequently by a number of provinces (Canadian Encyclopaedia, 2009). The Canadian meaning to the term "multiculturalism" is very often almost the same as a "mosaic". For example, Canadians seem to make a difference between the American "melting pot" and Canadian "multiculturalism".

A basic explanation for the term **nation** is that it is a cultural and a social community (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2009). For example, Canada and the USA are different nations of people. However, they both consist of various groups of people which together form one nation.

Representation in Critical Discourse Analysis is an important concept for this study as it formed the whole basis for the analysis. It can be said that language represents the world around us. From different points of view come different discourses. When these discourses are organized in a certain way a certain image, a representation is made of the issue in question

(Fairclough, 1995: 135). This is to say that representations are never the absolute truth about anything; they always depend on the world view of the person who is doing the analysis.

Metaphor is a concept of linguistics. Briefly explained it is a figure of speech in which a comparison is made between two unlike things that actually have something important or interesting in common (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2009). In my study I looked for metaphors and other ways of describing cultural differences in the texts.

2.2 What is discourse analysis?

Discourse as an act of using a language is very closely connected to social activity. Therefore it is an important part of everyday life. We use different discourses every day whether we are aware of it or not.

Discourse analysis as a field of study is a very vast concept. The basic idea of discourse analysis is that language is always in a context. When analysing language use one must pay attention to how the language is expressed in the society and in real life situations. As language has a different role in different situations, the meaning is always conveyed through context and interaction. The meaning of the context can vary by taking different approaches on analysing the text in question. In short, discourse comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with cultural, social and historical patterns. The development of use must also be taken into consideration (Blommaert, 2005: 3).

Next, I will talk in more detail about Critical Discourse Analysis and different ways of approaching texts. I will present Norman Fairclough's ideas on CDA and explain more about the concept of Representation in Discourse studies.

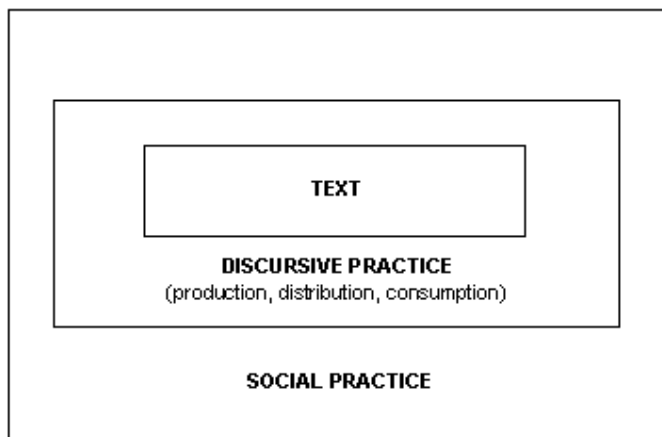
2.3 Basics of CDA

I used Critical Discourse Analysis, especially the field of Media Language as the base of my research. CDA is based on the idea that language users possess and exercise power through their language and vocabulary choices in different areas of discourse. Every time people use languages by producing texts for example, they make choices of how to present their ideas. According to Wodak (1996: 20), CDA explores, and aims at illustrating the relationship

between the text in question, and its ideologies, power-relations and social conditions. This means that every text should be studied by linking it to time and space.

Norman Fairclough is one of the pioneers in CDA. He has introduced a model of three dimensions which should be taken into consideration when doing Critical Discourse Analysis. An illustration of the model can be seen below.

Figure 1. Fairclough's Three Dimensions



(Fairclough, 1995: 82)

This three-dimensional framework illustrates how texts should be analysed in CDA. The first dimension is *discourse-as-text*, which means the linguistic features and overall organization of concrete discourses. These include patterns in vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure (Blommaert, 2005: 29). Fairclough calls the second dimension *discourse-as-discursive-practice*. In other words, discourse is something that is produced, distributed and consumed in society. Finally, the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which discourse is seen to operate is the third dimension called *discourse-as-social-practice* (Blommaert, 2005: 29).

I found this model beneficial for my study as it helped me to look at the different “layers” of my data in more detail. My data were quite different in terms of their context, but this model provided me with tools to analyse them in a similar manner.

2.3.1 Representation in written media texts

Representation is all about making choices. When analysing media texts the actual words that have been written are important. However, equally important are the things that have been left unsaid (Fairclough, 1995: 136). The issues to investigate are individual clauses and what sorts of elements they contain. These elements can convey meanings such as processes, participants and conditions (Fairclough, 1995: 137). In this study I looked at clauses containing utterances or clauses about culture and identity for example. However, I did not only concentrate on the utterances as such, but tried also to look behind the actual words and see where they were coming from. This is what representation is about.

2.4 Previous studies on multiculturalism

Multiculturalism has been broadly studied from many points of view. However, many of the studies I looked into concentrated mainly on one single culture being part of a big main culture and their problems trying to co-operate with each other. For example, a fairly recent study investigated the Greek culture in America, Australia and Canada. The study showed that Greeks living in the USA have different feelings towards their homeland than Canadian Greeks (Kennedy and Roudometof, 2002: 41). However, even though the study compared the Greek culture in the USA and in Canada, it did not concern the issue of representations of multiculturalism.

Canadian and American identities have also been studied by M. Henriksson. According to his studies, America resembles a melting pot in terms of its culture. In opposition, Canada is more of a mosaic (Henriksson, 2006: 275). Henriksson's studies support my idea of Canada and USA as nations, but as he states in the introduction of his book, he based his research on his own observations rather than analysing some types of materials as I did in my study (Henriksson, 2006: 14).

The research questions of my study are listed below. The focus of the study was more on the Canadian representations. I wanted to compare them to the representations of the Americans to prove the existence of the Canadian "mosaic".

Research questions:

1. How is Canada represented in terms of its multiculturalism in the articles?
2. How is the USA represented compared to Canada?

As mentioned before, I had the hypothesis that Canada is represented as a mosaic, where as the USA is more like a melting pot. However, this proved not to be the case in all of the articles.

3. DATA AND METHODS

In this part I will explain the data gathering process for this study, and tell more about the methods I used. In addition, I will introduce the newspapers the articles were chosen from as well as talk about alternative options that could have been used to conduct this study.

For my data I chose articles from two well-known newspapers, the *New York Times* from the USA and the *Toronto Star* from Canada. Those papers are the two main daily newspapers in their countries. I used the online versions of both of them to gather my data, because I found them more practical in terms of conducting the research.

The *Toronto Star*, founded in 1892, is Canada's highest-circulation newspaper. Its political stand is Liberal in the Canadian context (Toronto Star, 2009). Throughout its history it has been a voice of Canada's nationalism, which in my opinion is an important factor when considering this study.

The *New York Times* was founded in 1851 and has gradually grown to be the largest metropolitan paper in the United States. Its website is one of the most visited web pages, receiving several million visitors monthly (New York Times, 2009). The famous motto of the paper: "All the news that's fit to print", can be found printed in the upper left-hand corner of the front page. During its history the *New York Times* has moved from supporting Republican candidates to being politically independent. Nowadays it is seen as to be supportive to the Democrats.

3.1 Gathering the data

To gather the data I followed the websites of the newspapers for two weeks during February and March of 2009. The exact timeline for obtaining the data was February 16th- March 2nd. When gathering the data, I concentrated mainly on domestic news and opinions, and tried to find any articles that related to multiculturalism in a way appropriate to this study. I did not have any special criteria for choosing the articles as long as they seemed suitable to this study. After gathering several articles the number of them was limited to four by choosing different types of pieces of writing. The texts included a column, a news piece, a life-style article and an opinion text. The reason to narrow the number of the articles down to four was to have an adequate amount of data for a Bachelor's thesis. The issues that the final four articles were chosen from were Feb 18/09 and 22/09 on the *Toronto Star* and Feb 18/09 and 24/09 on the *New York Times*. The articles can be found in Appendix.

3.2 Using Critical Discourse Analysis

As I wished to conduct a qualitative study, I chose to analyze my data using Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA. This was because CDA provides good tools and working materials to analyze written data and it suited well my research questions. Furthermore, I was able to use some previous studies and models of discourse analysis as my guidance with CDA.

3.3 Alternative options

Instead of looking for representations in newspaper texts, the research could have been conducted by asking people's opinions on multiculturalism on online discussions, for example. However, I think that as anyone can write to those types of web-discussions, it would have been hard to ensure the true nationalities of the participants. As I wanted to concentrate on representations of multiculturalism in these two particular countries I wanted to guarantee that the points of view were of those in question. Newspapers are seen to be quite reliable in terms of who has written and what, even though the articles are always products of someone's own experiences and thoughts. Furthermore, doing an interview for instance would not have suited this research as a data gathering method as I wanted to investigate natives' representations in written material specifically.

4. RESULTS

Next the findings from the articles will be presented. The representations of both the Americans and the Canadians varied depending on the article in question. References and word choices were quite diverse in different articles. Furthermore, as the articles were from different categories, they naturally were written in different ways. The language, vocabulary and other aspects varied depending on the article in question.

The findings are reported below article by article, as that proved to be the most practical way of dealing with the results. Each article is discussed in terms of word choices and types of representations they suggest. Other findings such as metaphors are also presented. The examples of word-choices from the articles are in *italics*. Longer quotes are numbered and separated from the main text.

The most findings were found from the article *Melting Pot 1, Multiculturalism 0*. This was somewhat expected as it only had the actual topic of multiculturalism. Furthermore, a strong political context was present in all of the articles. This was not intended originally when the data were obtained. However, political issues are often quite important in multicultural matters, so some analysis of the politics is included as well.

4.1 Analysis of the *New York Times* articles

These two texts are a news piece and a life-style article. They both concern the issue of diversity, but from quite different points of view. The first article has somewhat negative approach were as in the latter one mixture of cultures is seen as a positive thing.

4.1.1 “*Study Shows Sharp Rise in Latino Federal Conflicts*” (the *New York Times* 18/09)

This article talks about the increased numbers of Latinos in American federal prisons, and how this causes trouble among the prisoners as well as the staff. American jails are crowded with non-English speaking people as the result of American immigration laws. The illegal immigration and other problems are also taken into consideration in the news piece.

Different ethnic groups are referred to in various ways in this article. For example, the word choices included *Latinos*, *African-Americans*, *Anglos*, *Native-Americans*, *Hispanics* and a *non-Spanish speaker*. The article talks about the American population by making a distinction between people with different ethnic backgrounds, as in:

(1) Latinos made up only 13 percent of the United States adult population in 2007.

Latinos are presented somewhat as a threat in the American prisons and in the society. As there now are so many people of Latino heritage immigrating to the country, people seem to be concerned that the Latino culture will take over. A clear example in the text of this was:

(2) “I have Anglo and Native American clients who tell me about being the only non-Spanish people in their pod.”...”Ten years ago, it just wasn’t that way. Everything is changing here, including the language, the television shows they watch and a lot of times the guards don’t speak the language.”

Although this article is about American prisons, one could argue that the problems with different ethnic groups can be present in the outside world as well. The USA is represented as a nation which consists of many separate ethnic groups, which might not interact with each other.

4.1.2 “For a New Generation, Kimchi Goes With Tacos” (the *New York Times* Feb 24/09)

This article is about the food culture in the Los Angeles area in the USA. Korean food has become very popular in the past few years and now competes with the more traditional Japanese cuisine in the area. However, the different food cultures also mix and create new flavours by trying to *marry two cultures*, as stated in the article.

In addition to mixing with other immigrant cultures, the different ethnic minorities in America each bring their own (food) culture to the main American culture. In that way they blend with the Americans, but some parts of their own heritage still remain with them.

A very strong food discourse is present throughout the article, as the relationships between people were described using cuisine vocabulary. Immigrants are compared by their food cultures and traditional dishes. Yet food is also seen as a thing that brings people of different nationalities together, as in:

(3) “It’s like this Korean Mexican fusion thing of crazy deliciousness.”

The people that are talked about in this article are referred to as *Koreans*, *Mexicans* or *Japanese*, even though they are all immigrants living in America. However, they are presented as trying to mix in with the local culture by blending with other ethnic minorities as well as the traditional American culture.

4.2 Analysis of the *Toronto Star* articles

These articles are a column and an opinion text. Both of the texts have a strong political context, first one about inner issues in Canada and the second with contrast to Canada’s closest neighbour.

4.2.1 “*No hero in the 2009 battle for Quebec*” (the *Toronto Star* Feb 18/09)

This text concentrated mainly on French-English relations in Canada, but I think that it is important to include a text like this in this research as those relations are a major factor in the Canadian culture. These relations are a great part of a Canadian identity even today, as one’s origins as a French-Canadian or English-Canadian can make a big difference in one’s life.

The columnist describes in her article the fight at the Plains of Abraham which took place in 1759. The re-enactment of the fight was supposed to be in 2009 to mark the 250th anniversary, but was cancelled due to the resistance of the francophones who lost the original battle.

The francophones are claimed to be separate from the rest of the Canada. Canadians are presented as two sides, English and French, without taking into consideration the other cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, the cultural relations in Canada are also mixed with politics and sensitive issues like this battle can lead to heated arguments.

The language in this column is quite colourful. Battle vocabulary is mixed with political discourse as in:

(4) In this instance, they successfully dragged Parti Québécois to the fore.

In addition, another instance of that type of discourse was found in:

(5) Cancellation of the re-enactment is the first and foremost a victory for hard-line sovereignists.

Other battle-related clauses were *a mere stone throw from, marching to the drums, and pours oil on a fire*. These all were used to describe the actions the Parti Québécois members had taken about the battle re-enactment issue.

4.2.2 “Melting pot 1, Multiculturalism 0” (the *Toronto Star*, Feb 22/09)

This article was written by a person who lives in Canada, but was not born there. Therefore it has a point of view of an immigrant. In this article the different views on politics and culture in the USA and in Canada are being discussed.

The article compares Canadian and American policies towards multiculturalism by observing a meeting with the President of the United States, Barack Obama, and Canada’s Governor General Michaëlle Jean. These two leaders are looked upon as the representatives of their countries and also the different political views of Canada and the United States.

In this article Canada is described as being *in a storm because of current economical conditions, and not able to handle change and cultural differences*. Furthermore, Canada is seen as a country where their *beloved multiculturalism* does no longer meet the demands of a modern world. The French-English relations were mentioned briefly as well, and they were seen as the foundation of Canada’s multicultural policies, which in the author’s opinion still has to be thought over. The author separates the terms *cultural integration, multiculturalism* and a *melting pot*. Canada’s multicultural policy is seen as an attempt of *cultural integration*, where as America’s model of melting pot is said to mean *assimilation*.

The author also claims that Canada’s culture is *legislated* in a way that perhaps the politicians try to control the way people should define themselves as Canadians. It is also said that the Canadian politics might possibly be *trapped in the past*, and not able to meet the demands of the 21st century.

The United States of America are portrayed through their president Barack Obama. Obama as a person represents everything that America is as a nation. The writer also claims that Obama is *looked upon as a hero* in Canada, because Canadians do not seem to be able to have heroes of their own. The USA is seen as a country where *race is no longer a factor* and the whole country represents *real change, power, form and future*, as opposed to Canada which is still in the past.

Furthermore, the USA is said to have moved on from the things that have happened in the past, such as the Civil War in contrast to Canada's French-English relations. In the author's opinion America's model of melting pot is also claimed to create *racial harmony* and Americans know that cultures cannot be legislated.

5. CONCLUSION

In this chapter the results will be analysed and compared with previous studies. Furthermore, recommendations for further research will be suggested, and the advantages and disadvantages of this study will be discussed.

5.1 Discussion and Previous studies

All of these articles dealt with the issue of multiculturalism, but from quite different points of view. As mentioned in Chapter 4.1, only one article *Melting pot 1, Multiculturalism 0*, had the actual topic of multiculturalism. In the others there was a main topic which somehow related to cultural representations. However, in my opinion this presented a wider picture of the different representations in these newspapers, than limiting the article types to one for instance.

The overall feeling of *the Melting pot 1, Multiculturalism 0* was that multiculturalism, which in this case means quite the same as *mosaic* is something that is trapped in the past. The writer of the article presents an argument that Canada as a nation has perhaps moved on, but the politicians are still trapped in their idea of multicultural Canada. An interesting fact is that the writer of the article is Canadian, but seems to appreciate more the American way of dealing with people from different backgrounds. The article *No Hero in the 2009 Battle for Quebec* about French-English relations also had to do with the same issue, as it too represented Canada as a nation where old events can still raise powerful emotions even today. A strong criticism towards Canadian politics came through very clearly from the text. In addition, both of these articles

represented the nation through political views without really taking citizens' views into consideration. Canadian multiculturalism seemed to be something that the politicians had created instead of peoples' own views about themselves as Canadians.

The two articles from the *New York Times* presented a different way of dealing with people from ethnic backgrounds than the *Toronto Star*, the Canadian newspaper. The Americans seem to be keen on labelling people by the culture they come from, instead of calling them immigrants or Americans for example. A clear distinction between ethnic groups was made in the texts. This suggests that even though America is seen as a melting pot, the cultures inside the country may be quite introverted. The only thing that unites the groups is perhaps the idea of "the all American dream".

As mentioned in Chapter 2, some studies have suggested that the modern USA resembles more a salad bowl than a melting pot. In my opinion, the USA did come across more as a salad bowl than the original melting pot, at least in the articles from the *New York Times*. In the Canadian articles the idea of melting pot was more apparent. Moreover, one could claim that because there was not a clear distinction in the representations of the two countries, describing them as salad bowls of people might be a good compromise.

These findings are somewhat supported by the study conducted by Kennedy and Roudometof (2002) about the different feelings of Canadian Greeks versus the American Greeks towards their homeland, which was briefly presented in Chapter 2.4. People immigrating to a foreign country often develop their own ways of adapting to a new culture, and those ways are usually affected by the new society around them. In the United States the surrounding society might encourage people to be more individualistic, but simultaneously expecting them to "melt" into an American way of living at the same time. Canadians perhaps celebrate individualism as well as being "Canadian", with still strong feelings towards one's personal heritage and background. This also relates to why the French-English relations are still a very sensitive issue in Canada. Even though all this did not come through very clearly in my research, it is something that a visitor to Canada is likely to notice.

These representations differed remarkably from my hypothesis, which was that Canada is represented as a mosaic. According to these findings this is not true, but Canada, at least in peoples' minds, is somewhat similar to its neighbour. There seems to be no real difference.

Furthermore, in the Canadian articles the USA is seen as a model to which Canada should aim for as well. However, according to Henriksson in his publications, Canadians perhaps would like to think that there is a difference. Whether it is just the “number of pavements in the cities (Henriksson, 2006: 345) does not matter, the important thing is that Canadians like to separate themselves from the Americans. This is what I came across during my time in Canada as well. Even though these results do not show any significant difference, it can still exist in people’s minds. Furthermore, my study only focused on representations, not peoples’ ideas of themselves as citizens of these two particular countries.

5.2 Further studies

This study provides some information about the representations of multiculturalism in Canada and the USA, but it is perhaps not very functional in terms of describing the attitudes of people in these countries. As this study was done on quite a small scale, the results cannot be interpreted in a very broad way. As described in Chapter 3.1, only four articles in total were chosen from the two newspapers, which clearly limited the possibilities of analysing the results in a large scale. This is why one cannot transfer the results directly to real life. Additional studies would be required for that.

Further studies relating to these issues could be done by choosing more newspapers and articles from them, which might give a more comprehensive picture of the attitudes and representations. The time period should also be lengthened in order to have a broader view on the issues. As both of these newspapers were from the East Coast of the American continent, it would be interesting to do a contrastive study on the West Coast to see if the representations were different. Furthermore, a study with smaller circulation newspapers might also present dissimilar results, which could then be compared to this study of larger circulation papers.

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6. APPENDICES

Appendix (1)

Study Shows Sharp Rise in Latino Federal Convicts

By SOLOMON MOORE

Published: February 18, 2009

Latino convicts now represent the largest ethnic population in the federal prison system, accounting for 40 percent of those convicted of federal crimes, according to a study released Wednesday by the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan research organization.



More Hispanics Sentenced

Latinos made up only 13 percent of the United States adult population in 2007, but they accounted for one third of federal prison inmates that year, a result the study attributed to the sharp rise in illegal immigration and tougher enforcement of immigration laws.

Nearly half of Latino offenders, or about 48 percent, were convicted of immigration crimes, while drug offenses were the second-most-prevalent charge, according to the report.

As the annual number of federal offenders more than doubled from 1991 to 2007, the number of Latino offenders sentenced in a given year nearly quadrupled, to 29,281 from 7,924.

Of Latino federal offenders, 72 percent are not United States citizens and most were sentenced in courts from one of the four states that border Mexico. Federal prisoners who are illegal immigrants are usually deported to their home countries after serving their sentences.

"The immigration system has essentially become criminalized at a huge cost to the criminal justice system, to courts, to judges, to prisons and prosecutors," said Lucas Guttentag, a lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union. "And the government has diverted the resources of the criminal justice system from violent crimes, financial skullduggery and other areas that have been the traditional area of the Justice Department." Last month, The New York Times reported that federal immigration prosecutions had increased over the last five years, doubling in the last fiscal year to more than 70,000 cases. Meanwhile, other categories of federal prosecutions, including gun trafficking, public corruption, organized crime and white-collar crime, declined over the same period.

The federal justice system accounts for 200,000, or 8.6 percent, of the 2.3 million inmates in federal and state prisons and city and county jails. Nineteen percent of state prisoners and 16 percent of jail inmates were Latinos, the Pew study found. African-Americans, who make up about 12 percent of the national population, make up 39 percent of state prisoners and jail inmates.

Deborah Williams, an assistant federal defender in Phoenix, said that the large number of Latinos in the federal system, particularly those who are not citizens and have limited English proficiency, had sharply changed federal prison culture.

"I have Anglo and Native American clients who tell me about being the only non-Spanish speaker in their pod," Ms. Williams said. "Ten years ago, it just wasn't that way. Everything is changing in there, including the language, the television shows they watch, and a lot of times the guards don't speak the language. How do you safely guard people who may not understand your orders?"

A spokeswoman for the federal Bureau of Prisons, Tracy Billingsley, declined immediate comment on the Pew report.

Mark Hugo Lopez, a co-author of the study, which relied on United States Sentencing Commission statistics, said, "It's hard to understand whether we're seeing a policy change or just a growth in the total number of immigrants coming to this country."

The number of illegal immigrants in the country increased to 11.9 million last year, from 3.9 million in 1992.

Under federal programs like Operation Gatekeeper, which hired thousands of immigration enforcement officials along the Mexican border, and Operation Streamline, which instituted a "zero tolerance policy" for illegal border crossings in the same region, immigration crimes have skyrocketed.

The large number of immigration crimes and low-level drug offenses account for the relatively light sentences that Latinos typically receive — about 46 months, compared with 62 months for white inmates and 91 months for African-American prisoners, according to the study.

The hearing for José Sánchez on Wednesday in Los Angeles was typical. Having been convicted of illegal re-entry, Mr. Sánchez, 37, who has prior convictions for assault and drug possession, pleaded guilty in exchange for a sentence of 46 months.

The hearing took less than 10 minutes. Mr. Sánchez, who has a wife and three children in the area, asked to be assigned to a prison nearby. He is likely to be deported to Mexico after serving his sentence.

Rebecca Cathcart contributed reporting.

Appendix (2)

For a New Generation, Kimchi goes with Tacos

By Jennifer Steinhauer

LOS ANGELES — As the sun begins to sink behind the Santa Monica Mountains and the northbound traffic thickens on the 405 freeway, the hungry refresh their browsers.

After obsessively checking the Twitter postings of the Korean taco maker to see where the truck will park next, they begin lining up — throngs of college students, club habitués, couples on dates and guys having conversations about spec scripts.

And they wait, sometimes well beyond an hour, all for the pleasure of spicy bites of pork, chicken or tofu soaked in red chili flake vinaigrette, short ribs doused in sesame-chili salsa roja or perhaps a blood sausage sautéed with kimchi, all of it wrapped in a soft taco shell.

The food at Kogi Korean BBQ-To-Go, the taco vendor that has overtaken Los Angeles, does not fit into any known culinary category. One man overheard on his cellphone as he waited in line on a recent night said it best: "It's like this Korean Mexican fusion thing of crazy deliciousness. "The truck is a clear cult hit in Los Angeles, drawing more buzz than any new restaurant.

A sister vehicle and a taco stand within a Culver City bar were recently added to quell the crowds, which Kogi's owner put at about 400 customers a night.

Kogi, the brainchild of two chefs, has entered the Los Angeles gastro-universe at just the right moment. Its tacos and burritos are recession-friendly at \$2 a pop. The truck capitalizes on emerging technology by sending out Twitter alerts so fans know where to find it at any given time.

Yet Kogi's popularity and the sophistication of its street food also demonstrate the emerging firepower of this city's Korean food purveyors.

In the last few years, second-generation Korean Angelenos and more recent immigrants have played their own variations on their traditional cuisine and taken it far beyond the boundaries of Korean-dominated neighborhoods. These chefs and entrepreneurs are fueled in large part by tech-boom money here and in South Korea, culinary-school educations and in some cases, their parents' shifting perspectives about the profession of cooking. In the last year, new Korean restaurants have popped up on the powerhouse restaurant strips of Washington Boulevard in Culver City and Beverly Boulevard in West Hollywood. In an area of West Los Angeles dominated by Japanese restaurants, bibimbop has joined the fray.

"We thought Korean food was under-represented here, and we were right," said Robert Benson, the executive chef of Gyenari in Culver City, who has two Korean partners. "There is a certain mysticism to Korean food, and we have tried to make it more accessible."

Korean food has blipped on the radar of culinary trend watchers before, but it never seems to gain momentum. In part, Benson said: "It is because there is a misconception about Korean food. Japanese food is high protein, low in fat and is this very clean cuisine, where Korean food has reputation as being not healthy. So it has not taken off like it should, but I think it is going to. I can feel the groundswell. David Chang in New York" — the Korean-American chef whose inventions include oysters on the half shell with kimchi consommé — "has helped that, too. I don't think it will be long before we see a P. F. Chang's-type chain of Korean food."

At the same time, an increasing number of Korean chefs and restaurateurs here have aligned themselves with other nations' cuisines, to great acclaim.

One of the city's hottest hamburger spots, Father's Office, is owned by Sang Yoon, 39, who immigrated to Los Angeles from Korea when he was a year old. He cooked at Michael's in Santa Monica before taking over an old bar nearby, now packed with people willing enough to wait in line for an Office Burger, served with Yoon's choice of accompaniments (caramelized onions, blue cheese, Gruyère, arugula), not theirs. A second Father's Office recently opened in Los Angeles. Scoops, an artisanal ice cream store in East Hollywood that whips up strawberry balsamic vinegar and brown bread treats, is run by Tai Kim, who came with his family to California from Korea as a teenager. Korean-Americans have made their mark in the frozen-yogurt trade, too. Pinkberry? Red Mango? Check, check. "The first generation of Korean immigrants here mainly catered toward a Korean clientele, or made grocery markets catering to a minority clientele," said Edward Chang, a professor of ethnic studies at the University of California, Riverside. "But more recent immigrants have ethnic and capital resources that enable them to branch out in the mainstream economy." Thus, "Korean-

Americans have gained visibility since the unrest of 1992," when riots targeted Korean-owned businesses, he said, "and over the last 10 to 15 years, they became much more visible. In terms of economic and political spheres, they are forces to be reckoned with." At the California School of Culinary Arts over the last two years, Korean students have been one of the fastest-growing immigrant groups, said Mario Novo, a spokesman for the school. "One of our brand new students told me how excited he was to go to the school because in his culture the men do not cook and his mother was fighting against him," Novo said. "Until they saw how serious he was. Now his mother is coming around."

The Korean taco truck may be the ultimate outgrowth of the evolving Korean-American culture and inventiveness, inspired in part, like so many entrepreneurial adventures, by a bit of desperation. This past September, the chef Roy Choi, 38, who began his career at Le Bernardin in New York and worked as the chef in several Los Angeles restaurants, including RockSugar, found himself out of a job and running out of cash. He had coffee with Mark Manguera, a former co-worker, who suggested that they operate a taco cart with a Korean twist. At home that night, Choi said, the idea, which had sounded half crazy in the morning, began to make some sense. "I have always been searching for a way of trying to express myself," he said. A business model with seven partners was quickly formed. The marketing plan included putting someone in charge of social networking, through which Kogi got its initial publicity when the truck first rolled out, two months after the fateful coffee date.

Then there is Choi, who called himself "the angry chef." He works every night with about five employees who squeeze into the tiny, pristine space, clowns-in-a-car style, grilling meats and whipping up sauces for the crowds who wait, sometimes as long as two hours, for their tacos. The idea, Choi said, was to bring his ethnic background together with the sensibility and geography of Los Angeles, where Koreatown abuts Latino-dominated neighborhoods in midcity and where food cultures have long merged. Former Mexican restaurants, now Korean, serve burritos, and Mexican workers populate the kitchens of Korean restaurants.

"We tried to marry two cultures," Choi said, "with this crazy idea of putting Korean barbecue meat inside a tortilla. We have never tried to make it any more pretentious or different from that, and we wanted to be very simple but delicious." To that end, Choi said, he buys from the meat purveyors used by some of the city's high-end restaurants and scours the farmers' markets for the best vegetables. The whole operation is part culinary event — the delicious tang of pickled cabbage, the melt-on-the tongue caramel of seared meats, the bite of red chili flakes and jalapeños — and part party. Choi likes to park his truck at the UCLA campus and outside bars and clubs around town, to take advantage of the street theater. This week, his team began leasing space in the Alibi Room, a lounge in Culver City, serving up kimchi sesame quesadillas (\$7) and hot dogs with kimchi sauerkraut and Korean ketchup.

"It has evolved into a socio-cultural thing for me," he said. "It is my vision of L.A. in one bite."

Appendix (3)

No hero in the 2009 battle for Quebec



NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

"The Death of General Wolfe" depicts the British leader at the Plains of Abraham in 1759. A re-enactment of the fight was cancelled Feb. 17, 2009.

MONTREAL CHANTAL HÉBERT

In a world where good judgment takes precedence over pageantry, the plan to mark the 250th anniversary of the battle of the Plains of Abraham by re-enacting the French defeat at the hands of the British army a mere stone throw from the Quebec National Assembly next July would never have left the drawing board.

While it is proper for a country to commemorate its history, common sense would dictate that sensitive founding myths be handled with care.

The decisively mixed feelings the 18th-century demise of New France still inspires in Quebec reach far outside the province's ultra-nationalist circles. In an interview given in 1999, then-prime minister Jean Chrétien mused that he would have liked the battle to have gone the other way.

Other watershed military engagements are regularly re-enacted, but the protagonists of the Battle of Waterloo, to name just that one, did not actually go on to live together within the same national space.

In contrast with the 1759 event, the 2009 battle over the Plains of Abraham was essentially fought among francophones and none of the political generals who entered the fray emerged a hero. Cancellation of the re-enactment is first and foremost a victory for hard-line sovereignists, the same faction that has: striven to rekindle the language debate since the last referendum; attempted to have Michaëlle Jean's appointment rescinded as governor general by outing her as a presumed sovereignist in 2005; and, more recently, went to the barricades over Paul McCartney's participation in Quebec City's 400th anniversary. In this instance, they successfully dragged the Parti Québécois to the fore. Pauline Marois actually reversed herself to jump in the lead of the cancellation parade, a precedent she might come to regret.

Past PQ leaders have tended to be wary of blinking in the face of the more radical elements of the sovereignist movement, especially when, as in this case, their rhetoric includes less-than-veiled threats of potential violence to come.

While Marois was marching to the drums of her hard-liners, the tone-deaf members of Stephen Harper's Quebec caucus were all singing from different hymnbooks.

There are only 10 Quebec Conservative MPs on Parliament Hill and it is a poorly kept secret that they don't all get along. In this case, their divisions broke out in the open. It started with Josée Verner, Harper's senior

Quebec City minister, saying that those who did not like the idea of the re-enactment could just stay home. It soon became apparent that the bulk of Jean Charest's cabinet, including the premier, as well some of Verner's own Conservative colleagues intended to take that advice to heart.

By the end of last week, Harper's Quebec lieutenant Christian Paradis had let it be known that he would not attend the re-enactment and Revenue Minister Jean-Pierre Blackburn was musing aloud about whether it was appropriate to even stage it. It is not the first time Verner pours oil on a fire she is meant to extinguish.

It was on her watch as heritage minister that the culture cuts that resonated so negatively for the Conservatives in Quebec in the last election campaign were approved. When news of cuts leaked, Verner went AWOL for the better part of a week, giving the Bloc Québécois a solid head start to exploit the issue. It is a fiasco she and her Quebec colleagues seem destined to re-enact in the next election.

Chantal Hébert is a national affairs writer. Her column appears Monday, Wednesday and Friday

Appendix (4)

OPINION

TheStar.com | Opinion |

Melting pot 1, Multiculturalism 0

Angelo Persichilli

Feb 22, 2009 04:30 AM

"Unhappy the land that is in need of heroes," wrote the German playwright Bertolt Brecht. I don't believe Canadians are unhappy, but they are looking for heroes.

Last week one of them, Barack Obama, the new president of the United States, came to see us in Ottawa.

But why do Canadians need heroes?

Heroes are to us what a lighthouse is for sailors during a storm – something to look to for guidance, something that can lead toward a better future, leaving behind stormy times.

Our society is caught in a big storm, much bigger than the deep recession that is creating such grave concerns. The storm that our society is facing goes well beyond our chequebooks. It is uprooting our way of life, shaking many of our beliefs.

One of the most powerful Kodak moments this week during Obama's visit to Ottawa was his meeting with Governor General Michaëlle Jean.

Both are the heads of state of their respective countries. Both reminded the world that race is no longer a factor in reaching the top.

We don't know what they told each other, but the spontaneity of their conversation was refreshing and it generated a lot of hope for all of us.

Unfortunately, this beautiful photo op was 50 per cent fake, because only one of them represented real change. The representative of the United States was carrying all the power. Through Jean, Canada was showing only cosmetic change. It was power versus cosmetics, form versus substance, future versus past, and real change versus political patronage.

The photo op provided striking evidence about where the hated American melting pot and our beloved multiculturalism can lead.

We all rejoice at seeing a woman from a visible minority as our head of state; still it would be utopia to see the same person as prime minister of Canada.

We use the institution of governor general to promote illusions. In fact, the only time Canadian media are interested in this institution is when they look at the expense reports and the travel schedule of the governor general. The conclusion is almost always the same: it is a waste of money.

On the other hand, the position that an African American citizen has been able to win, the U.S. presidency, is real. It comes from the desire of Americans to look toward the future while not wasting time debating history and ignoring events some refuse to accept.

We still don't know whether we should celebrate or mourn events such as the battle on the Plains of Abraham and some try to rewrite history. That is futile, just like trying to change the score of a game by editing the tape.

Still, it drains our economic, cultural and social resources at the expense of our future well-being.

We are obsessed with celebrating and widening our cultural differences, but we don't know how to handle them.

Looking at pictures of the meeting between Obama and Jean, I couldn't help but think about our multicultural policies and their supposedly miraculous power to keep people and cultures together in harmony.

It is such a powerful policy that we brag about exporting it around the world, even while we're still unable to find a lasting compromise between the two Canadian founding cultures. Since my arrival in Canada, I've been bombarded with praise for multiculturalism and demonization of the American melting pot.

Some time ago, a friend gave me a book whose author was talking about racial mixing in Hawaii.

"The legend was made of Hawaii," the author writes, "as the one true melting pot, an experiment in racial harmony."

The title of the book was *Dreams From My Father* and the author was a young African American lawyer who in January became the U.S. president.

So, while we preach about integration and multiculturalism, Canadians this week were looking at a hero who was the product of the melting pot. Why?

Well, it is said that multiculturalism promotes cultural integration, while "melting" means assimilation.

I am more and more convinced that this difference is just academic – culture is something that cannot be legislated, as it often is in Canada.

Governments can only help people to fulfill their cultural aspirations and project them toward the future.

Americans have understood that, and Canadians have too. Most Canadian politicians haven't: they are still trapped on the Plains of Abraham.

And being trapped in the past is tragic, especially at a time when people are losing their jobs and are afraid about their futures.

Angelo Persichilli is the political editor of Corriere Canadese. His column appears Sunday.