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Teaching Ethnic Diversity in Journalism School.

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Abstract

It has been found that the symbolic elites have a prominent role in the discursive reproduction of racism in society, because they control the public discourse through which many ethnic prejudices are spread and shared. This special position of the mass media requires that the professional education of journalists, also featuring such topics as ethnic studies, diversity and racism, is optimally adapted to the multicultural societies in Europe, North America and Australia. This paper reports about an extensive research project examining ethnic education of journalists in these white-dominated countries, by examining the websites of many journalism and communication departments. Consistent with the general finding that white symbolic elites primarily deny or ignore (their) racism in society, none of the academic programs, anywhere in the world, mentions special classes on racism in the mass media. Finally, a practical proposal is made for a course on ethnic reporting in multicultural societies.

Keywords: University programs, education of journalists, ethnic minorities, immigrants, racism.

Author's biographical note

Teun A. van Dijk was professor of discourse studies at the University of Amsterdam until 2004, and is at present professor at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. After earlier work on generative poetics, text grammar, and the psychology of text processing, his work since 1980 takes a more critical perspective and deals with discursive racism, news in the press, ideology, knowledge and context. He is the author of several books in most of these areas, and he edited *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (4 vols, 1985) the introductory book *Discourse Studies* (2 vols., 1997; new one-volume edition, 2011) as well as the reader *The Study of Discourse* (5 vols., 2007). He founded 6 international journals, *Poetics, Text* (now *Text and Talk*), *Discourse and Society*, *Discourse Studies*, *Discourse and Communication* and the internet journal in Spanish *Discurso and Sociedad*, of which he still edits the latter four. Teun van Dijk, who holds two honorary doctorates, has lectured widely in many countries, especially also in Latin America. With Adriana Bolivar he founded the Asociación Latino-americana de Estudios del Discurso (ALED), in 1995. For a list of publications, recent articles, resources for discourse studies and other information, see his homepage: www.discourses.org.

Introduction¹

Racism is not innate. It is learned. It is largely learned through the many discourses we are confronted with in our daily life: those of politics, the mass media, education, research, the bureaucracy as well as those of corporate business. These discourses produced and controlled by the symbolic elites in turn influence the everyday conversations in which people of European descent ('white' people) talk about people with a different color or culture.

The discourses of the mass media play a central role in this world of discourse and hence also in the (re) production of racism. It is through the mass media that we know what politicians, scholars and many other authorities say about minorities and immigrants. These elite discourses are not simply copied by the mass media, but selected, summarized, cited and commented upon by journalists. Journalists are also responsible for the coverage of 'ethnic' events in the press and on television. Hence, they are the ones who play a key role of the reproduction of racism in society. Fortunately they (may) also play a key role in the struggle against racism in society.

A vast amount of research in many countries has confirmed this hypothesis derived from the fact that racism is learned by text and talk, namely that journalists play a crucial role in the reproduction of racism (see below for references).

Just like racism, journalism as a profession is learned. By the same logic also racist journalism is learned — and hence taught. This chapter will focus on this crucial link of journalistic education and socialization in the complex process of the reproduction of racism in white-dominated societies. We shall first summarize some general findings on racism and the press, and then focus on the role of ethnic issues — teaching 'race' — in the academic education of journalists. After a review of some empirical data on curricula, courses, and syllabi of journalism and mass communication programs, especially in the USA, I shall finally formulate some general recommendations for the 'ethnic' diversity training of those professionals who crucially shape our knowledge and opinions about multicultural society.

Racism

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Since this chapter is not just about 'race' but focuses especially on racism and its reproduction, we first need to summarize our theory of racism. Racism — like sexism and classism — is a system of social domination, in which one ethnic group abuses of its power over other ethnic groups, as has historically been the case for the domination of non-European peoples by 'white' Europeans.

This system of ethnic domination consists of two interrelated subsystems, namely that of racist interaction (discrimination) and that of racist cognition (prejudice). Socially shared racist cognition is the basis of racist interaction because it categorizes the out-group (the Others, *Them*) not only as different, but also as inferior to the in-group (*Us*), so that discrimination can be morally legitimated, or simply taken for granted as 'normal' conduct towards *Them*. Thus, the symbolic elites of white societies developed racist ideologies that control all perceptions, understanding, beliefs, attitudes, and hence all actions and interactions, geared towards the reproduction of ethnic domination.

Racism and Discourse

In this complex social system of racist domination, discourse plays a crucial role. On the one hand, discourse is a form of social practice just like other forms of action and interaction in society. This implies that discrimination, defined as racist action, may also be discursive. On the other hand, and as we have argued above, racist social cognitions, prejudice, are largely expressed, acquired, confirmed and reproduced — and sometimes challenged — by public discourse.

It is through discourse, such as children's stories, TV programs, textbooks, classroom talk and conversations with parents and peers that children acquire their first knowledge, opinions and attitudes about their own ethnic group, as well as about others. Research has repeatedly shown that in white societies much of these discourse types are ethnically biased in many ways. Blatantly in the past and more subtly today, white children thus learn about the alleged differences between *Us* and *Them*, and how *We* in many ways are superior to *Them*. In other words, even before reaching adolescence and adulthood, many white people already have learned at least the core propositions of racist ideology. Even when their parents, teachers and friends are explicitly non-racist or anti-racist, the pervasive role of the mass media and its discourses in the lives of children may nevertheless have fundamental negative influences on their ethnic development (for details, see VAN DIJK, 1984, 1987, 1991, 1993, 2003, 2007; WODAK and VAN DIJK, 2000).

Adolescents and adults take more actively part in their education and socialization, including in the communicative events they are confronted with in their everyday lives. They may choose the newspapers, TV programs, novels, educational materials, and other discourses they are interested in, although many of these discourses are compulsory for their education or job. What they know about society, their own country, continent and ethnic group, as well as about Others, they learn from all these discourses. They also learn what other members of their in-group know and think of Others. Obviously, not all these discourses are explicitly racist. Many are non-racist, and some are explicitly anti-racist.

It is in this very complex way that people in white societies learn to be racist, as well as anti-racist, and more generally how to think and act in multi-ethnic societies. Given the prevalence of more or less subtly racist discourse, it is not surprising that racism as a system of dominance can be reproduced in white societies.

As suggested above, not all discourses play an equally prominent role in this reproduction process. We have seen that this is especially the case for public discourse,

that is the types of text and talk we are all more or less permanently confronted with in our daily lives as citizens — the discourses of politics, the mass media, education, research, our job, the judiciary, the bureaucracy and business and commerce (VAN DIJK, 1993). These public discourses are controlled by what may be called the *symbolic elites*, the professionals who produce talk and text for the multiple public domains of communication in society. It follows that the symbolic elites are crucially responsible for the reproduction of racism — and anti-racism — in society. They may not be more or less racist than other white folks in society, but their ethnic opinions, attitudes and ideologies have a vastly larger scope and influence than those of most other people. If they control public discourse, then they (indirectly and partially) control the minds of the citizens. And if they thus control the public mind, they also indirectly may control much of public action — including our everyday conversations about the Others. It is through this complex discursive and socio-cognitive process that racism is reproduced in society.

Racism and the Press

International research on racism and the mass media has consistently shown that, despite considerable variation among countries, periods and newspapers, the press continues to be part of the problem of racism, rather than its solution. These ideological influences of racism on news-making may be summarized by the following main findings of research²:

1. **Hiring.** Crucially influencing many forms of ethnic bias defined below, is the fact that in *all* white-dominated societies ethnic journalists are being discriminated against in hiring, so that most newsrooms are predominantly white. And those (few) minorities being hired will tend to be hired not only for their outstanding professionalism, but also because their ethnic ideologies (and especially their lack of radical antiracist ideologies) do not clash with those of the editors.

2. **News values.** Events are attributed higher news values if they are about ‘our own’ people or when our ‘own people’ are involved, whether or not these are ‘closer’ geographically.

3. **Beats and sources.** In ethnic or racial conflicts, white elite sources are consistently given priority, attributed higher credibility, found more reliable and (hence) are more likely to be quoted as such.

4. **Selection.** Available news stories are more likely to be selected for inclusion not only if they are about people like us (see News Values), but also when they are consistent with prevalent ethnic and racist stereotypes, as is the case for rioting blacks in the UK and the USA, black welfare mothers in the USA, black dictators in Africa or the terrorism of radical (Arab) Islamists.

5. **Topics.** Whereas (people like) Us may be represented as actors in virtually all kinds of news stories and on a large variety of social, political and economic topics, the coverage of Them tends to be limited to a few stereotypical issues and topics, such as immigration, integration and race relations, crime, violence and deviance, cultural (religious, linguistic) conflicts and entertainment (music, sports). On the other hand, topics that are important for Them, and that portray us negatively, such as discrimination, prejudice and especially racism tend to be ignored or played down.

6. **Perspective.** Another global constraint on news stories is the ethnocentric perspective in the description of news events. Ethnic conflicts, problems of integration and cultural differences, for instance, tend to be represented from ‘our’ (white) perspective, for instance in terms of Them not being able or wanting to adapt to Us, instead of vice versa.

² For details, see, e.g., Bonnafous, 1991; Cottle, 2000; Gabriel, 1998; Hartmann and Husband, 1974; Henry and Tator, 2002; Husband, 1975; Jäger and Link, 1993; Jiwani, 2006; Johnson, 1987; Martindale, 1986; Newkirk, 2000; Richardson, 2004; Ruhrmann, 1995; Said, 1981; Smitherman-Donaldson and Van Dijk, 1987; Ter Wal, 2002; Van Dijk, 1991, 1993, 2005, 2007; UNESCO 1974, 1977; among a many other books and a vast number of articles):

7. **Formats, order and foregrounding.** Whereas topics are the global meaning of discourse, schemas define their overall format and order, such as the distinction between Headlines, Leads, and other categories of news (Main Events, Context, Background, History, Reactions, etc.). We find that negative actions and events of ethnic minorities or other non-European others, for example, will tend to be placed in the prominent positions of Headlines and Leads (because they are defined as topics), but also more foregrounded in the overall order and categories of news reports.

8. **Quotation.** Given the ethnic bias of beats, source selection and evaluation, those who are quoted as reliable sources or spokespersons tend to be Our (white) elites, rather than Their elites or spokespersons.

9. **News actor and event description.** Ethnic Others tend to be described more often in negative terms, whereas people like Us tend to be described positively or more neutrally, even when engaging in negative actions.

10. **Style.** At the more manifest levels of style, such as the selection of words, sentence syntax and other variable expressions of underlying global topics and local meanings, we find that lexical items used to describe Others and their actions tend to have more negative connotations, whereas the syntax highlights their active participation in negative actions — and mitigates our negative actions (e.g., by passive sentences or nominalizations).

11. **Rhetoric.** All properties of news described above may be emphasized or de-emphasized by well-known rhetorical figures, such as metaphors, hyperboles and euphemisms. Thus, the arrival of new immigrants is consistently represented in terms of large quantities of threatening water: *waves, floods*, etc., their immigration as *invasion*, etc. On the other hand, our racism will usually be described in terms of mitigating euphemisms, for instance in terms of *popular discontent* or as political *populism*, or reduced to less negative notions such as *discrimination, national preference* or *bias*. As we shall also see in the rest of this chapter, the struggle against *racism* is today largely described in terms of a much more positively sounding notion of *diversity*.

This summary of the way the press contributes to the reproduction of racism in society show that this is a complex process that characterizes both the production context (hiring, promotion, beats, news gathering, source selection, writing, and so on) as well as journalistic discourse itself. Many of these properties show the familiar discursive expression of underlying ideology, based on the fundamental polarization between Us and Them – which may be summarized by the following strategies (for detail, see VAN DIJK, 1998), which we have called the *Ideological Square*:

- A. Emphasize Their Bad Things
- B. De-emphasize Our Bad Things
- C. Emphasize Our Good Things
- D. De-emphasize Their Good Things

Applied at all levels of discourse (visual lay-out, pictures, placement and size of articles, lexical selection, syntax, local and global meanings, rhetoric, argumentation, storytelling, etc.) these basic principles describe and explain most forms of racist reporting. These strategies explain why we read more about Their crimes, deviance, drugs, terrorism, etc. than about Ours, and so little about Our racism, colonialism, etc.

The denial of elite racism

This latter point is especially relevant: I have shown earlier that if anything characterizes the white elites it is their denial of racism (VAN DIJK, 1992). Of all topics closely associated with minorities and immigrants, that of Our racism is one of the least frequent. The negative or critical view of the journalists is classically directed at Others, and seldom at Our own people. Least of all at journalism and journalists themselves — virtually the only profession which, for obvious reasons, is never

portrayed negatively in the press. In the many thousands of articles I have analyzed in many years of work on racism and the press, *I have never come across one single article that critically and in depth reports on racism in the press — even when the facts on racism and the press are widely accessible and based on incontrovertible scientific findings.* Studies on racism in the press are seldom reviewed in the press, and if so, they are usually marginalized, ridiculed or attacked.

In a recent informal (and unpublished) study, I found that not more than about 30 of the more than 4000 articles about immigrants published in 2007 in leading Spanish newspaper *El País* were explicitly dealing with xenophobia or racism. Several of these were about racism abroad, and not in Spain (racism in dominant discourse is typically always in the past or elsewhere), and the rest dealt with a case of racism in soccer – that is by hooligans who also are dealt with as Them, as a social out-group. Racism of the elites is *never* a topic. And the only article that dealt with racism as a national (and not just a regional) issue largely denied and mitigated racism.

Note that *El País* is not a right-wing tabloid newspaper, but the left-oriented newspaper of reference in Spain, and among the best quality newspapers in the world. Again, also these data confirm that among the elites, elite racism is not a prominent topic, and tends to be mitigated, denied, ignored or found less important if not a ridiculous accusation. This is not only the case in journalism, but also in politics, science, and among other symbolic elites. If racism is dealt with at all the press, it is (violent and blatant) racism of skinheads and of the political extreme right, as was the case for Haider in Austria, and the current government of Berlusconi, Bossi and Fini in Italy. Again, for mainstream politicians, journalists and other symbolic elites, these are radicals, and hence ‘Others’ within our own in-group. Their racism is not representative of Us — although it should be recalled that the current racist immigration laws and procedures in Europe closely reflect the extreme right wing positions of yesterday — another fact not extensively covered in the press.

In sum, besides discrimination of minority journalists, biased news gathering and systematically incomplete, distorted and stereotypical coverage, one of the major ways the press contributes to the reproduction of racism is by denying, ignoring or mitigating racism, especially among those who matter most: the elites. In other words, the system of ethnic domination, largely based on elite policies and actions, is not critically examined and challenged by the press, and in more or less subtle ways it is daily symbolically reproduced by (mostly white) journalists. Ideological news production thus combines with various forms of discrimination in the form of seriously limited access of ethnic minorities and their news, perspective and opinions to the white news media.

The Education of Journalists

The struggle against racism always should begin in our own house, organization, institution, neighborhood, city or country. Elites are educated in universities, and if elites are part of the problem of racism, then We in the university are (also) responsible. After all, university professors, also in journalism and communication departments, are part of the symbolic elites.

It is therefore crucial to examine in what ways we educate journalists so that they are able to function adequately in a multicultural society. Part of a professional education of journalists is the expertise to write about ethnic Others in a non-racist way, that is, in the same way as one writes about Our Own.

Similarly, journalists who write about ethnic events need to be experts on such events, as well as about the ethnic communities and ethnic relations more generally, just like specialized journalists writing about the economy or science. So, as for other areas of knowledge, specialized journalists need specialized education. However, since smaller newspapers and other media cannot afford specialists in ethnic issues, obviously all journalists must be trained to write about ethnic issues and for an ethnically diverse readership. We at the university should provide such training, because busy schedules, deadlines as well as conformity pressures and consensus in white newsrooms hampers working journalists later to acquire independent and critical expertise to gather and report on ethnic issues.

This is especially relevant because, as we have seen, even minor biases in news production, news stories or opinion articles may result in the formation and reproduction of stereotypes and prejudices that sustain the system of racism. In other words, journalists who write about ethnic events not only need special knowledge to properly understand and report these adequately and professionally, or merely because of diversity norms, *but especially because of the likely consequences of racist reporting in society.*

It is true that a racist press reflects a racist society — simply because journalists are citizens like others. But the direction of influence is much more important in the other direction: In ethnic affairs, also because of lacking alternative sources of information and opinion, except on issues that are based on their everyday experiences, most citizens think what most elites think — and these are the only ones who have access to and control over the media and hence over public discourse. So, if journalists are (more) responsible than other citizens for the dominant attitudes about immigrants or minorities, and if much of their knowledge and many of their attitudes and skills have also been learned in the university, then we as professor-teachers are also responsible. Let us therefore look somewhat closer at what happens in our Own House, that is, in journalism schools.

Ethnic education in journalism schools in Europe

The education of journalists throughout the world is as diverse as there are different academic, professional and cultural traditions (DE BURGH, 2005; FRÖHLICH and HOLTZ-BACHA, 2003; GAUNT, 1992; JOSEPHI, 2009). In many countries, journalism is taught primarily in vocational schools, as a craft, rather than as a theory-based, academic subject. Even in many university departments of communication, practical training — interviewing, reporting, news writing, etc. — takes up most of the program, rather than the theoretical and critical analysis of such journalistic activities. Much journalism education, thus, tends to be normative, rather than descriptive and analytical. Sometimes, but not always, such is also reflected in the name of the program, e.g., Journalism vs. Communication (or Media) Studies.

Much training takes place on the job, and many journalists in the world do not have an academic journalism or communication background but degrees in one of the humanities or social sciences.

In other words, a systematic critical analysis of journalism and communication programs in the world only detects some features of the education of a relatively

reduced — but growing — number of journalists. Although for most of the world these are the only data we have at the moment, they may give us a first general idea of ethnic diversity training in white dominated countries and regions, such as the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and Europe (for one of the few studies on this topic, see the case study about the Netherlands by DEUZE, 2006). We shall also see that for the USA we have more data, such as statistics of minority employment among journalists, diversity courses in curricula, syllabi of such courses, as well as interviews with various kinds of participants.

In order to know about the existence of ethnic diversity modules and courses in journalism or communication programs, we examined the web-sites of dozens of departments in these countries. We also contacted local scholars of these programs (see Acknowledgements, below) at the following major universities with undergraduate and/or graduate journalism/communication studies (if not specifically named otherwise, the universities are called after the name of the city in which they are located, e.g., “University of Amsterdam” — even when there are other universities, with a different name, in such cities, such as the “Free University” in Amsterdam).

Ames, IA, Iowa State U (USA)	London, Goldsmith (UK)
Amsterdam (Netherlands)	London, LSE (UK)
Antwerp (Belgium)	Los Angeles, CA, USC (USA)
Athens, GA, U of Georgia (USA)	Manhattan, KS, Kansas State U (USA)
Austin, TX, U Texas (USA)	Melbourne, Monash U (Australia)
Barcelona, UPF (Spain)	Missouri, U of Missouri-Columbia (USA)
Barcelona, UAB (Spain)*(Master)	Montréal (Canada)
Baton Rouge, LA, Louisiana State U (USA)	Muenster (Germany)
Berlin, Free University (Germany)	New York, NYU (USA)
Bologna (Italy)	Nice (France)
Bowling Green, OH, BG State U (USA)	Paris, Sorbonne (France)
Brisbane, U Queensland (Australia)	Perth, Murdoch U (Australia)
Cardiff, U of Wales (UK)	Pittsburgh, IL, U of Pittsburgh (USA)
Chapel Hill, NC, U of North Carolina (USA)	Roma (Italy)
Chicago/Evanston, IL, Northwestern U (USA)	San Francisco, CA, SF State U (USA)
Copenhagen (Denmark)	San Marcos, TX, Texas State U (USA)
Erfurt (Germany)	Stockholm (Sweden)
Eugene, OR, U of Oregon (USA)	Sydney, U Sydney (Australia)
Fort Collins, Colorado State U (SA)	Sydney, UNSW (Australia)
Gainesville, FL, U of Florida (USA)	Tampere (Finland)
Gothenburg (Sweden)	Toronto (Canada)
Hamburg (Germany)	Toulouse (France)
Helsinki (Finland)	Uppsala (Sweden)
Lancaster (UK)	Urbana-Champaign, IL, U of Illinois (USA)
Liverpool (UK)	Utrecht (Netherlands)
London, Brunel (UK)	

Obviously, this selection is not, and cannot be, representative of all journalism departments in ‘white’ (‘western’) countries, also because of the large variety of curricula, courses, contents, aims and academic transitions. A fully fledged study of diversity education should examine the programs of hundreds of universities and journalism schools.

Hence, this study is limited in many ways: Not only many journalists (especially outside the USA) are not educated in journalism or communication departments, but even for those educated in such departments we only have a very approximate idea what kind of programs they have followed. Moreover, even the programs, course lists and course descriptions (if any) that appear on the websites only give a very approximate idea of

what really happens in class, what teachers and students do, and what future journalists learn (for such limitations see also the caveats of DEUZE, 2006). For this study, we have only had access to course descriptions ('syllabi') in the USA. Finally, many website, besides widespread more general limitations that make them very user unfriendly, often do not provide the detailed contents of courses offered, but only titles. In our study of the websites we examined the following kinds of information:

- General description of academic program: backgrounds, history, aims, mission, principles, and so on.
- Specification (if any) of the knowledge, abilities and attitudes students need to acquire through the program
- Undergraduate and graduate curricula or list of courses.
- If any, contents of courses, recommended readings, etc.

First results

The first general results of our analysis of the websites of journalism schools or communication departments in North America, Western Europe and Australia, may be summarized as follows:

1. The vast majority of journalism department websites outside of the USA do not list *any* aim, principle, mission, curriculum, courses or any other activity related to (ethnic) diversity, intercultural communication, racism, ethnic relations or related topics.
2. Ethnic diversity training in journalism schools is largely limited to the United States.
3. No teaching on ethnic subjects does not mean there is no interest among professors or students for such subjects. Generally, there is more *research* on ethnic issues and the media than *teaching* — which usually lags behind new developments in research.
- 4. Perhaps most significantly of all: We have found no program, anywhere in the world, that explicitly teaches a course on racism in the mass media.**

Whereas most journalism websites outside of the USA lack information about ethnicity or diversity courses, what they do tend to list are the stereotypical courses of most (other) journalism curricula, such as:

- Audience studies, reception analysis
- Audio-visual journalism
- Data gathering
- Ethics
- Law and the Media
- Media sociology
- New media
- News writing and production

- Grammar, style, semiotics
- History of Journalism
- Interviewing
- Online journalism, internet media
- Topics in social and political science

Europe

In the remainder of the chapter, I shall examine the data of journalism websites in more detail. I shall do so first for Europe and Australia, and finally for the USA and Canada. I shall not report on journalism training and mass media racism in Latin America here (for detail, see VAN DIJK, 2005, 2009).

In Europe the only journalism/communication programs that mention ‘ethnic’ or ‘multicultural’ issues or courses on their websites are the following (with some exceptions, generally pertaining to programs for 2008-2009):

- **University of Helsinki (Finland), Communication.** Course on “Racist and anti-racist discourse in the internet” (in English)(Instructor: Karina Holsti)(Year: 2007-2008).
- **University of Tampere (Finland), Journalism and Mass Media.** A course on “Asylum and Mass Media” (Teacher: Kaarina Nikunen), with a topic “Racism, xenophobia and problems of stereotyping”, and a course on “Multicultural Reporting” focusing on the immigrant community in Tampere (Instructor: Kaarina Nikunen).
- **University of Helsinki (Finland),** has a course Research Training Course Focusing on Ethnicity and Media, taught by Camilla Haavisto.
- **University of London. Goldsmith College (UK). Media and Communications.** One of the listed aims of the program is “You’ll be acquainted with debates surrounding the term ‘culture’, and will look at how experiences of gender, age, and race affect our understanding of the concept”. Not even this little is mentioned in the “What you study” summary of the MA in Journalism (as is the case in many journalism programs, the MA is taught by “journalists with many years of experience between them”).
- **University of Cardiff (UK). Communication.** Briefly mentions “ethnicity” among a long list of “contexts” of communication that will be studied in the BA program. But no mention at all of anything “ethnic” in the Aims of the **Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies** program, nor in the summary of the degree structure and modules. On the other hand, the MA in Journalism Studies mentions as one of its aims: “A consideration of how issues of citizenship, race, gender, ethnicity and class are shaping contemporary forms of journalism.”
- **Madrid. Universidad Complutense. Master in Social Communication.** A course on “Discursive construction of homogeneity and cultural diversity” and on “Communication and Misunderstanding in Multicultural Society”. The use of the euphemism “misunderstanding” instead of communication conflicts, inequality, racism, etc. maybe significant here. Despite a long list of obligatory and optional courses, there is no “ethnic” element in the undergraduate program.

From this very small list of a very minor presence of ethnic diversity in journalism and communication studies in Europe, we see confirmed what has been a major thesis of media research of the last decades, namely that reporting on ‘race’, racism and the multicultural society do not (yet) form a curriculum element in the academic education of European journalists.

Dozens of other topics regularly appear in the curricula, and not only those central and general in education of all journalists, such as news writing, interviewing, and so on, but

also standard special topics such as the history of journalism, ethics, media law and various topics of the social sciences. It is within these special topics, aiming at cross-disciplinary specialization, that some form of ethnic studies in general, and diversity in the media in particular could (or should) have a place.

This is especially problematic given the widespread debate in Europe, since the 1970s, about immigration and the multicultural society, today one of the main topics in all national and European media. *In other words, European journalists are not academically prepared to report about the crucial diversity issues in contemporary multicultural society.* It is not surprising therefore that as yet so few journalists are aware of, or actively engaged in, the promotion of diversity topics in the media themselves. If they have to daily report on questions of immigration, ethnic integration and minority communities, they do so mostly without any special training.

As suggested above, this situation in the standard curricula of journalism studies does not mean there is no interest at all among journalism professors in Europe. First of all, the topic may arise in the standard subjects, such as news writing, interviewing or media sociology — information usually not accessible via the internet. Such interest, however, shows more in research projects, publications, seminars or the organization of small groups of scholars, rather than in the standard curricula. For instance at Brunel University in West London, ethnic diversity is one of the topics in classes on Context and Issues. This may well be the case at many other universities in Europe, but as such we have no way of knowing this, because it is not the kind of information publicly available on the internet. This also means, of course, that new students do not have such knowledge, and cannot select a university on the basis of such information.

Secondly, research on media and minorities (see the references given above), has taken place in Europe since the 1970s, although it should be recalled that these studies generally amount to only a few monographs in most countries. There is vastly more research on immigration, minorities, refugees — that is, generally about *Them* — than about *Our* reporting about Them, and even less about racism in the mass media.

There are many causes and reasons for the sorry state of affairs of diversity education in European journalism studies. First of all, most university professors themselves are either not prepared, specialized or interested in the topic, also because especially the senior professors who shape the curricula received their own education and did their own research when the topic of immigration and the multicultural society was not yet very prominent. Secondly, there has not been a sufficiently strong movement among journalism students persuading their professors to include this topic in the curriculum. Thirdly, there does not seem a consistent and general call from the media industry, unions of journalists, minority organizations or NGOs insisting on (more) “ethnic” subjects in the curriculum.

Most media ignore the repeated calls to include such topics made by the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), headquartered in Brussels, and the experts of the RAXEN network aiming at monitoring racism in the mass media in Europe, and the ECRI commission (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance) of the Council of Europe. In other words, there is official activity on the topics of immigration, ethnic diversity, racism and the multicultural society, but it does not yet seem to have much effect on journalism education — nor on hiring, reporting and other policies of the media themselves.

Other observations on European journalism studies

Besides the more systematic analysis of journalism education discussed above, also relevant are the following observations:

- Most universities and/or journalism schools engage in what may be called the Rhetoric of Excellence, glorifying the unique, “among the best (largest, oldest, etc.)” nature of the institution or the program. Seldom, and only in the USA and Australia, such excellence is also measured in terms of (ethnic) diversity education and policies.
- Some program descriptions are very detailed. Thus, the BA and Master programs of Media Studies at the University of Copenhagen are described in documents of 40 pages. In all these pages we read about the modules of the program and what students should know or be able to do after having completed the program. Yet, we did not find a single word in all these pages about any ethnic topic. Also the “Regolamento didattico” of the Faculty of Communication Studies of the University of Rome (“La Sapienza”) is very detailed (13 pp.) and specifies many modules, but does not say anything on (ethnic) diversity. Similarly, the School of Politics and Communication Studies at the University of Liverpool, has a nicely designed brochure of 25 pages, with lots of self-glorifying rhetoric (“attractive modules”, “staff (who are) lead thinkers in the field”, “warm, friendly... learning environment”, “modern library”, “thriving graduate school”, “university has good reputation”, “Liverpool was one of the first universities to offer Communication Studies”, etc.), with several options of studies (English, Political Science, etc.) combining with Communication Studies. But, again, *nothing* on diversity, ethnic topics, racism, etc.
- Several programs (such as Media and Communication at the London School of Economics) are diverse in the sense of having courses on *gender* and the media, but these same programs, especially not in Europe, do not also have *ethnic* diversity elements.
- There are frequent aims and courses dealing with “culture”, but very few focus on intercultural or cross-cultural communication.

The USA

The USA, Canada and Australia are classic countries of immigration — and hence need to deal, first of all, with the history of racism and colonialism against their native populations. The presence of members of these native populations, both in the newsroom as well as in the newspaper itself, have been important issues in academic studies, also in journalism. Slavery in the USA and the arrival of new immigrants (mostly from Latin America and Asia), have further contributed to the ethnic diversity of North America and Australia (as well as New Zealand). Historically, the Civil Rights movement in the USA not only was focused on the struggle for civil rights and against segregation and racism in general, but also against ignorance, absence, stereotyping and explicitly racist reporting in the mass media.

In the last decades, this also means that ethnic diversity issues have been placed and maintained on the agenda of minority elites, both in politics as well as in academia, and with a significant effect on small but influential groups of white scholars and journalists. So much so, that the modest ethnic changes taking places in public discourse and institutions were increasingly seen, by conservative elites, as a threat against white hegemony in the cultural and scientific domains, and widely attacked, for instance in terms of “political correctness” (of many publications, see, e.g., BERMAN, 1992; FISH, 1994; WILSON, 1995). Critical voices also have been heard against increasing (but hardly dominant) diversity politics in the mass media (see, e.g., MCGOWAN, 2001).

Unlike in most of Europe — despite significant percentages of immigrants and minorities in several European countries — U.S. universities since the 1970s opened various kinds of ‘ethnic’ studies programs, such as African American, Native American, Asian American, Hispanic or Chicano Studies. Similarly, various disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences increasingly introduced ‘ethnic’ topics in their own curricula. Frequent recommendations are being made to make journalism education more diverse and reflecting the diversity among journalists and audiences alike (see,

e.g., BRISLIN, and WILLIAMS, 1996). The Journalism Education Association (JEA) recommends the “Necessity of journalistic diversity to allow for greater accuracy in coverage,” as a part of its Standards for Journalism educators (www.jea.org).

The present calls for diversity in journalism studies in the USA are not new. Many studies, reports and committees since World War II have advocated ethnic diversity, both in the newsroom, the classroom as well as in journalistic practices and discourse themselves. Thus, in 1947 the Commission on the Freedom of the Press (the Hutchins Commission), consisting of 12 white men, already advocated the inclusion and balanced coverage of minorities and formulated several standards of balanced reporting (de URIARTE, et al., 2003: 23 ff) — at a moment when segregation, lynchings and blatantly racist reporting still defined race relations in the USA. Twenty years later, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (The Kerner Commission), set up by President Johnson after the recent ‘race riots’, not only was asked to answer the questions What happened and Why did it Happen, but also what the effects were of the media on the riots. On the basis of an analysis of 3779 newspaper articles and 955 television sequences, the Commission concluded:

We have found a significant imbalance between what actually happened in our cities and what newspaper, radio and television coverage of the riots told us happened (...) The media report and write from the standpoint of white man’s world (cited in De URIARTE et al., 2003: p. 29; see also VAN DIJK, 1991).

One of the (necessary, but not sufficient) strategies to reach ethnic balance in the news is to promote diversity in the newsroom — and to hire more minority journalists (who made up only 4% of the newsrooms in 1979). It was only in 1978 that the American Society for Newspaper Editors (ASNE) began to call for parity in the newsroom, a goal they hoped to reach in 2000. The reality of everyday racism in hiring, promotion and workplace practices with the nation’s newspapers was however more resistant than expected, and by the end of the century the percentage of minority journalists had risen to only about 12%. More minority journalists in the early 2000s left their job than were hired (see also NEWKIRK, 2000). Interviews with them showed that many left also because of racism in the newsroom (De URIARTE, et al., 2003; see also BECKER, FRUIT and CAUDILL, 1987). Moreover, a more diverse newsroom is no guarantee that also the news will be more diverse, first because those minority journalists may preferentially be hired who comply with white editorial ideologies and practices, and secondly because minority journalists often adapt to the dominant attitudes in the newsroom so as to be promoted — or not to be fired.

While the ethnic situation in the newsroom (as well as in the news coverage) was hardly ideal, what about the journalism classrooms in the USA? This is a relevant question because in the USA the vast majority (more than 80% in 2000) of journalists have an academic education, many of them in journalism and mass communication (80% of senior editors have a journalism degree, see De URIARTE, et al., 2003: 12) .

After the war the Accreditation Council for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC) evaluates the academic curricula for the education of journalists. To get accreditation by the Council (as well as legitimacy, funding, etc.) departments must satisfy various standards, such as efforts to recruit and attain minority students (Standard 12), and to make sure also the curriculum is balanced and diverse, and students be allowed to take courses in other disciplines (Standard 3).

Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte, Cristina Bodinger-de Uriarte and José Luís Benavides, in their critical report *Diversity Disconnects: From Class Room to News Room* (2003), written on the basis of extensive fieldwork, interviews and analyses of curricula,

conclude that many departments (about one-third in 2002) did not meet both standards — despite the fact that the self-reports and visits of the ACEJMC hardly apply tough criteria to gauge the degree to which the Standards are met by the journalism departments (see also BECKER, PUNATHAMBEKAR and HUH, 2000). We shall see below, in our review of journalism syllabi of journalism departments in the USA, that ethnic diversity training in many such departments is indeed marginal.

Yet, there is no doubt that in the USA diversity education is at least broadly seen as a necessary component in the academic education of journalists. The small number of examples we give below are just a few among many in journalism studies in dozens of universities (The very rich website of the *Center of the Integration and Improvement of Journalism* — www.cijj.org — lists 134 graduate programs of Journalism in the USA).

Though much more common than in Europe, however, this official presence of diversity in the curricula of many universities does not mean, that ‘ethnic’, ‘diversity’ or ‘multicultural’ training is a fundamental and central feature of all journalism programs in the United States. As Leo Laurence, Editor of the San Diego News Service, and active member of the Committee on Diversity of the Society of Professional Journalists, comments (personal communication, Aug 22, 2008):

“Diversity training in journalism education at either the high-school or the university level is nearly non-existent.”

Because of this often observed lack of thorough (especially *ethnic*) diversity training in many U.S. universities, and the continuing biases found in studies on reporting, there are many national initiatives to improve reporting on ethnic issues. One of these is the project *The Authentic Voice*, featuring a book of the same name, with a DVD, as well as a website (www.theauthenticvoice.org), informing about “the best reporting on race and ethnicity”, with concrete stories, story suggestions and other resources. Similarly, the various ethnic communities in the USA may have their own initiatives and projects to stimulate diversity. Thus the *Latinos and Media Project* (www.latinosandmedia.org), directed by Federico Subervi, offers information, resources and a data base, especially for Latino researchers and journalists.

Another important project is *Masscommunicating: The Forum of Media Diversity*, organized by Ralph IZARD at Louisiana State University, whose mission is the following:

Our mission statement is a simple one. We are dedicated to national service as a source of information and scholarship about diversity in both higher education and professional journalism and mass communication. Our goals were developed by the National Task Force on Media Diversity, and we owe a major debt to the members who gave so freely of their experience and advice (from the website: <http://www.masscommunicating.lsu.edu/>).

The Forum has a searchable bibliographic database on diversity and the media, syllabi and other resources. In its opening page (in 2008) it says that 60% of journalism courses in the USA offer at least a course on diversity.

There also have been several studies and reports on diversity education in the USA. See for instance an analysis of programs by Ross and Patton (2000), the critical report by De Uriarte, et al. (2003), mentioned above, and the *Final Report of a National Study on Diversity in Journalism and Mass Communication Education*, by Ross et al. (2007).

We see that there are conflicting data and opinions about diversity education in U.S. journalism departments. Mr. Lawrence was cited to say that such education is minimal, but there are other voices that say that such education is widespread and broadly discussed. So, let us now focus on some concrete data culled from the websites of journalism schools. We do this by first summarizing information on some schools that

do have diversity programs³, then focus on the nation's elite universities, and finally give some information of concrete syllabi of diversity courses in various universities:

- **University of Southern California (USC), Annenberg School of Communication, Los Angeles, CA.** As one of the major communication and journalism institutions, the Annenberg school has various courses dealing with ethnic issues: “Intercultural Communication” (COMM 324m), “Race and Ethnicity in Entertainment and the Arts” (COMM 485m), “People of Color and the News Media” (COMM 466), and “Community Journalism” (JOUR 470), although also other courses deal with ethnic issues, such as “Reporting in Los Angeles” (JOUR 449). Many courses of other programs are mentioned in its “Diversity Course List”, such as “Diversity and Racial Conflict” (SOCl142gm), “Eurocentrism” (COLT445m), or “African American Popular Culture” — though on topics not directly related to journalism. Besides these courses as listed, we did not find a more general statement about the aims, mission or principles of this prominent school of communication. This is also the only curriculum we found that presented an explicit list of “diversity” courses outside of the school. As elsewhere, though, most of these courses are electives for journalism students.
- **University of North Carolina (UNC), Journalism and Mass Communication. Chapel Hill, NC.** Has several relevant courses, such as “Minorities and Communication” (JOMC 411/111), “The Black Press and U. S. History” (JOMC 342/112), “Latino Media in the United States” (JOMC 344/144).
- **University of Texas, Journalism, Austin, TX.** As may be expected from a southern state bordering on Mexico, the University of Texas has a course on “Covering U.S. Latino Communities” (J349T), and a course “Mass Media and Minorities, African Americans and the Media, Journalism and Religion ” (J340C) — apparently a course with a very broad scope.
- **Texas State University, Mass Communication, San Marcos, TX.** This State university has several relevant courses in its Mass Communication program: “Women and Minorities in the Media”, “Latinos/Latinas and the Media” (MASS COMM 3883 and 5304S), and “Gender, Race, Class and the Media” (MASS COMM 5309).
- **Northwestern University, Medill School of Journalism, Chicago, IL.** This journalism school has a course on “Enterprise reporting in Diverse Communities” (JOUR 301).
- **Several universities examined (e.g. U of Florida, UT Austin, Texas State at San Marcos)** have writing classes that (also) aim at avoiding bias in reporting.

If any department should have diversity in its program it should be the Department of Media, Culture, and Communication of **New York University**, located in the ethnically most diverse city of the U.S.A., and one of the most diverse in the world — and at the same time, as the website proudly proclaims, the “media capital of the world” (it does not specify by what criteria). One of the fields of study of the undergraduate program, “Global and Transcultural Communication” features courses such as

³ I am indebted to Mark Dolan (Dept. of Journalism, University of Mississippi) for his generous help with the collection of these data.

- *Media and Migration*: “The course examines the role of media in the lives and cultures of transnational immigrant communities [and] will explore how media practices and media representations (re)define and enable a re-imagining of national belonging, identity and culture in the context of global relocations.”
- *Latino Media*: “Examines the production, consumption and cultural meaning of Latino media produced in and around the United States”
- *Intercultural Communication*: “Consideration is given to verbal and nonverbal communication processes in United States culture as compared and contrasted with other interacting cultures; stereotypes resulting from differences in communication; and intervention strategies designed to strengthen effective intercultural communication.”

The graduate program at NYU only has one course that explicitly mentions “race” in its title “Communication Processes: Gender, Race and Cultural Identity”. The description of this course focuses on personal and professional relationships — as they are “connected to current local and global media representation. Also the other courses of the vast program reflect the international, intercultural and global orientation of media and communication studies at NYU. None of the course descriptions mentions racism. Few explicitly deal with the representation of ethnic minorities in the mass media (the course on Latino media is not on the representation of Latinos and Latinas in the dominant ‘white’ press). In other words, besides its course on migration and media, even in a major and very rich program there is not much explicit attention to the coverage of *ethnic* diversity in the USA. As elsewhere, diversity training is typically linked to gender (and other forms of) diversity — which often means, however, that ethnic issues hardly get much attention.

The **University of Texas at Austin**, which — as we have seen above — has a course on the coverage of Latino communities and on African Americans and the media — states the following in its Overview of the Graduate Program in the School of Journalism:

“We are committed to equal opportunity and aim to:

- Increase opportunities for employment and for participation in programs by faculty, staff and students without regard to race, religion, national origin, sex, age, physical disability, sexual orientation or veteran status”.
- Continue development of a curriculum representing the diversity of the publics we serve and the multicultural environment of our state, nation and the world.

More than ten years ago, in 1997, the faculty of the Journalism school at the University of Texas adopted a lofty “Mission Statement”, which also includes the following statement. “We value and affirm diverse individual, cultural and intellectual perspectives in the search for a more complete understanding of the truth.” This is quite general, and also elsewhere one searches in vain for a more concrete statement about the current or desirable state of the mass media in relation to minorities, immigration, ethnic diversity and racism. Yet, there are a few courses in journalism that realize some of the principles of these statements.

Although this kind of general declarations are quite common in the U.S.A, and not necessarily imply a detailed commitment “on the ground” of everyday courses, materials or relevant classroom interaction on ethnic issues, the importance of such statements of good intentions and policy, formulated “from above”, should not be underestimated. My work has repeatedly shown that racism in society is primarily pre-

formulated by the symbolic elites, especially in politics and the media (see, e.g., VAN DIJK, 1993). The same also holds for antiracism and diversity: Crucial, always, is the attitude, firm commitment and concrete policies of the leadership — as well as specific sanctions of non-compliance. Not one university or department we examined in Europe has such policies, at least not as formulated in their websites. Also in that sense, European universities are socio-politically lagging behind with respect to those of the USA.

Also the School of Journalism and Mass Communication of the **University of North Carolina (UNC)**, has a special diversity declaration, featuring the following statements:

The School is committed to diversity in all its missions of teaching, research and public service. We stress diversity of thought and opinion in our curriculum. The guiding philosophy in the School is that all students and faculty and staff members are enriched in an environment that reflects the diversity of the nation and the world.

The statement that goes on to specify special policies for minority students and relations to local and national ethnic professional organizations. Finally it lists some of the courses (mentioned above) that exemplify these diversity aims.

Next, we also examined the journalism or communication programs of the following major and prestigious universities in the USA:

- **Columbia University, New York.** The **Columbia Journalism School** is undoubtedly the best known of the country, and has a history of a century. It has the only graduate program of journalism of the Ivy League universities, awards the famous Pulitzer Prize and publishes the influential *Columbia Journalism Review*. Examining its Master of Science, Master of Arts and PhD programs, we have been unable to find any reference to diversity, ethnic minorities, race or racism — although these topics may of course come up in courses on other subjects. We see that age, prestige and influence, both in the media, as well as in journalism schools is no guarantee for an explicit diversity program.
- **Ohio State University, Columbus, OH.** The mission statement of the **School of Communication** begins with the usual academic Rhetoric of Excellence move: “(our) mission (is) to achieve national and international distinction in research, teaching and service (...)The overall goal is to design an innovative School that is among the best in the discipline in specific areas of expertise.” It mentions new developments and technologies of communication. But not a word about diversity and related topics. However, the long list of courses features one course on “Communication and Diversity” (950) and one on “Intercultural Communication in Organizations” (368, 668).
- **Southern Illinois University, St. Louis, IL.** The course description of the **Dept. of Mass Communications** does not mention any course (whether core, professional option, advanced core or elective) related to ethnicity, race, racism or multiculturalism. Nor do the desired characteristics and capabilities of graduate students or other information of the Student Handbook.
- **University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ.** The website of the **Dept. of Journalism** does not mention any ‘ethnic’ or ‘diversity’ topics, either as titles of courses, or as abilities students must acquire.
- **University of California, Berkeley, CA.** The **Graduate School of Journalism** lists a variety of courses (central of which a basic Reporting class), but one searches in vain for any reference to ethnic or diversity issues — even in the option of Urban journalism — despite the ethnic diversity of its student body.
- **Stanford University, CA.** The website of the Graduate Program of Journalism of the **Department of Communication** of this prestigious university claims that it has “a rich, century-long history, is actively engaged with next-generation media technologies,” and is proud of two Pulitzer Prize winners among its faculty. In that general statement about the program, there is reference to close-by Silicon Valley, and

hence new technologies and multimedia, but not to multiculturalism. The beautifully edited Journalism Brochure does not make any reference to ethnicity, diversity, race or racism. Courses listed are the usual: Reporting, Journalism Law, New Media, Public issues, etc.

- **University of Colorado, Boulder.** The Curriculum of the “News-Editorial” option of the **School of Journalism and Mass Communication** lists about 35 courses — none of which dealing with ethnicity, diversity, racism or related topics. Also here, virtually all courses are dedicated to general skills of journalists: reporting, editing, writing, news gathering or photography.

From this brief tour of the websites of some of the best universities and journalism schools of the USA, we must conclude that Leo Laurence and other critics may well be right for at least some of the prominent schools in the USA — namely that the issues of diversity, ‘race’, ethnic relations, minorities, immigration, intercultural communication, let alone discrimination, prejudice and racism in the mass media, do not seem to have a high priority. That is, we must conclude that the stimulating activities of many organizations, including the Center of Integration and Improvement of Journalism, the Diversity Committee of the Society of Professional Journalists, organizations of minority journalists, and many others, remain vital to make journalism education in all universities more diverse.

Fortunately, we also have seen that there are several national initiatives and projects and some universities that explicitly implement the diversity principles of their mission statement also into the curriculum of journalism and communication departments. These are the one that may serve as an example for other such departments, both in the United States, as well as internationally.

The USA: Some Good Examples

Let us therefore finally examine some of the good examples, as shown in the syllabi of some classes taught at various universities, and as published on the very useful website *Masscommunicating: The Forum on Media Diversity*. Whereas generally websites of journalism departments do not publish such detailed course descriptions (sometimes of dozens of pages, including Recommended Reading lists), this is the kind of resource that provides the best insight into diversity education in the USA. Of the 37 syllabi available online in September 2008, we examined half (18), a selection that required one of the keywords we have been using (e.g. “ethnic”, “race”, “racism”, “diversity”, “minority”, “Latino”, “African American”, etc.) in their course titles, and also limiting ourselves to major (often: state) universities. As above, we list, in alphabetic order of the name of the universities — and where available — the university, the department, the name of the course in italics, the course code, the year, the instructor, as well as some selected properties of the course.

- **Bowling Green State University. Dept. of Journalism. *Diversity and the Media*. 2008. (JOUR 445)(Kathy Bradshaw).** Concerned with both ethnic and gender diversity in newspapers, television news and internet news sites, based on social responsibility theory, and in order to develop an understanding of the relationship between diversity and democracy. Four books on the Reading List: on ‘white news’, gender and the press and the African American Newspaper. *No specific mention of racism, discrimination or bias.*

- **Colorado State University. Dept. of Journalism and Technical Communication. *Multiculturalism and the Media*. 2007. (ET/JT 316)(Donna Rouner).** Focuses on gender, ethnicity and other social groups, including the presentation in the media of various “protected classes in American society” (listed a large number of such groups), with the aim “to be able to understand the role the media play in creating and perpetuating stereotypical images of various social groups in American society”. Reading: Two books, and a selection (16) of articles — most of which on different social groups. No mention of “racism”, but of “stereotypes”.
- **Columbia University. Journalism School. *Covering Race and Ethnicity with an Authentic Voice*. 2007. (Arlene Notoro Morgan and Alice Irene Pifer).** See also the information about *The Authentic Voice* project — co-directed by Arlene Morgan — mentioned above. This class uses the corresponding book and DVD and the website. The aim of this course is: “to provide students with the skills, an intellectual comprehension of our racial and ethnic history and dynamics, as well as the self-awareness to enable them to do excellent journalism on race and ethnicity.” The course intends to teach how to report on marginalized and stigmatized groups — and is “not for white reporters only”. Reading: *The Authentic Voice* book, DVD, etc. Many different assignments, exercises, visiting journalists, etc. Many details in this 16 p. syllabus. Focus on reading, viewing and commenting on (concrete) “stories”, i.e. , journalistic products. Further Reading: two books. No mention of “racism” (except in the title of one of the books to be read).
- **Iowa State University. Journalism and Mass Communication. *Ethnicity, Gender, Class and the Media*. 2008. (JLMC 477)(Shelley R. Rouse).** This course “examines the link between media representations, institutional practices and how closely these images reflect reality.” Reading: Material of websites. Of the 16 week course, one is dedicated to ethnicity and race. No mention of the study of racism in the media.
- **Kansas State University. School of Journalism and Mass Communication. *Communication, Diversity and Social Change*. 2007. (MC 531)(Nancy Muturi).** Focuses on various ethnic-racial groups in the USA, but also on other issues of diversity (sexuality, disability), print and electronic media. “The course will critically examine the role of media and other communication strategies in enabling, facilitating and challenging the social construction of diversity issues in society”. Special focus is on theories of social change. Reading: 1 required text, and as other resources another book and a selection of articles. About half of the 16 weeks on ethnic-racial issues. Mentioned is “racialism in Public Communication”.
- **Louisiana State University. Manship School of Mass Communication. *Minorities and the Media*. 2008. (MC 3333)(Herman O. Kelly).** This school is one of the *Authentic Voice* Project (see above). Very succinct information on this course, which studies “the interplay of mass media and minorities.” Stereotyping, projecting negative images of minorities. Reading: Just one required text. No mention of “racism” (except in the title of the required text).
- **San Francisco State University. Journalism Dept. *Ethnic Diversity and the U.S. News Media*. 2007. (Journalism 611)(Cristina Azocar).** We cite the syllabus: “This one-unit course will explore issues facing the U.S. news media as they struggle to understand and cover an increasingly diverse society (...). Inclusiveness in news coverage is important if indeed the news media is to follow its

mission to reinforce the democratic process. Such inclusiveness is also important if news media wants to thrive. As some news organizations are learning, they must speak to a continually evolving American public. Some critics have called diversity efforts as a form of Political Correctness. But as we will learn throughout the semester it is really a matter of accurate coverage, reflecting what is out there.” Focus on struggle and challenges of journalists. No mention of bias, racism, etc.

- **University of Georgia. Journalism. *Media, Culture and Diversity*. 2007. (JPMC 8070)(Dwight Brooks).** Focuses on academic studies on media representation of race, gender and class, and audience interpretations of these representations. Goal: enhance understanding of the influence of the media, and how race and gender representations are shaped by power hierarchies. Reading: Collection of papers on various ethnicity issues — several on racial issues. No mention of racism. *Same professor also teaches a course on Race, Gender and Media*. 2007. (JRLC 5400), with overlapping program.
- **University of Texas. Journalism. *Minorities and Mass Media*. (J 359)(George Sylvie).** Focus on “minority communication problems: alienation, fragmentation, media access...”. How the media impact areas of race and gender. Reading: 1 text and a reading packet.
- **University of Texas. Journalism. *Latinos and Media*. (2001)(Federico Subervi, Loreto Caro, Joe Villescas).** Aims, e.g., portrayal of Latinos in the mass media, and their effect on different audiences, Latino media, etc. Readings: Two texts and a package of articles.
- **University of Texas. Journalism. *Communication and Ethnic Groups*. 2001. (Federico Subervi and TAs).** From the syllabus: “Studying race, ethnic, minority groups, issues, and cultures from a mass communication perspective is important because your careers will most probably require you to work with, portray, and/or represent people of diverse backgrounds.” Aims: study stereotypical representation and participation of ethnic minority groups in the media. Reading: 1 text and article package.
- **University of Florida. Journalism and Communication. *Race, Gender, Class and Media*. 2001. (MMC6936)(Michael Leslie).** Aim: “To examine the link between media representations, institutional practices and our experiences of race, gender and class in both U.S. and global context.” Approach: political economy, critical and cultural studies. Reading: 3 texts and a recommended 2 page reading list. “Racism” mentioned only in references (including Van Dijk, 1993).
- **University of Illinois. Speech Communication. *Race and the Mass Media* 2008. (496)(T. Dixon).** Overview of racial stereotypes in the mass media, especially portrayal of African Americans. Reading: List of 21 articles and book chapters – also focusing on the social psychology of prejudice, etc.
- **University of Oregon. Journalism. *Gender, Race, and Media*. 2008. (J610)(Debra Merskin).** Aim: examine media representations of socially etc. marginalized groups in “American” media. Theory, methods, stereotyping, impacts, “avenues for change”. Reading: 6 texts. “Racism” not mentioned. *See also the course “Women, minorities and the media”, 2007, by the same professor.*
- **University of Pittsburg. Dept. of Communication. *Seminar in Media Studies. Visualizing Race, Class and Gender in the City*. 2008. (COMMRC 3326)(Ronald J. Zboray).** Explores visual

representation of race, class and gender in the mass media in U.S. cities from the early 19th Century through the Cold War. Goal: introduce students to interdisciplinary visual culture scholarship, etc.

- **University of Southern California. Annenberg School for Communication. *People of Color and the News Media*. 2008. (JOUR 466)(Felix F. Gutierrez).** Goal: “we explore race and ethnicity in the United States and how the media have reflected, reinforced, and sometimes changed prevailing attitudes and practices affecting women and men of color (...).The course fulfills the Diversity Requirement by focusing on how news media practices and coverage have reflected, reinforced and sometimes changed prevailing attitudes and practices affecting people of color, including issues of gender, language, nationality and social class (...) At the end of class you should have a multidimensional understanding of people of color in the United States and the ways news media have addressed and treated them, how media today and in the future are addressing an increasingly multiracial society, the issues and opportunities facing women of color in media, an understanding of how race in the media has been addressed through initiatives advancing access, advocacy and alternatives.” Reading: Text co-authored by instructor (also used in other courses mentioned above).

Summarizing our findings of the examination of a selection of course syllabi used in journalism and mass communication programs in the USA, we may conclude the following:

1. Most courses are on diversity issues in general, focusing on ‘race’, gender, and class. Few are specifically on *ethnic* diversity.
2. Many courses deal with various types of media: newspapers, TV, the internet, etc.
3. Many courses focus on the *representation* of women, minorities and other marginalized social groups, and the interpretations of such representations on different audiences.
4. Also because of the predominant focus on gender and ethnicity, the focus on *class* (poverty, etc.) in journalism education is quite limited — and may even have decreased over the years (BENSON, 2005).
5. Although notions such as ‘bias’, and ‘prejudice’ are used in the course descriptions, **“racism” as a term is never used** — except occasionally in the titles of texts and recommended literature.
6. Most courses are interactive seminars, with various kinds of activities, assignments, exercises, papers, etc.
7. Readings are usually one or a few books, and/or a list of articles or book chapters, of which once or twice a week one article or chapter is read and discussed. All literature is in English. Very little literature is about racism and/or the media outside the USA.

We see that several (State) Universities do have at least one “diversity” course in journalism and/or mass communication, and that ethnic diversity, the (biased) portrayal of ethnic minorities, and sometime limited access of minorities to the mass media are being discussed in these courses. All in all, although such hardly means that students will become specialized in the coverage of ethnic issues, they will usually have a few weeks of classes and several readings on the topic of ethnic diversity, and related issues. As we have seen above for several of the (private) prestige universities in the USA, this may be more than is the case in many other universities and journalism programs, even the more prestigious ones.

The general lack of reference to racism (or to sexism for that matter) and the general use of the positive term “diversity” suggest that the programs might not be very critical in their analysis of the role of the mass media in the reproduction of racism in society, nor focus on racism in general.

There is no doubt though that the formulation of the mission statements, programs and course descriptions of several universities in the USA show an explicit commitment with diversity in the mass media, reporting, portrayal and related issues. In that sense, they may serve as an example of journalism education in Europe.

Canada

Canada is often mentioned as an example of good practice when it comes to ethnic minority policies, ethnic relations and antiracism programs. Yet, we know that racism, also in the Canadian mass media, is still a serious problem (see, e.g., HENRY, 1995; HENRY and TATOR, 2002; JIWANI, 2006). We may (very briefly) check this reputation in our study of diversity in journalism education, by examining the programs of two major universities:

University of Toronto. Journalism. “If you are curious and have an inquiring mind; if you love language and story-telling; if you possess strong interpersonal skills; if you are resourceful; if you work well independently and in teams; if you are energetic...this is the program for you.” No further information on the study program. No MA program in journalism, media or (mass) communication.

Université de Montréal. Journalisme. Very succinct information (a few lines) — about aims and addressees. And a brief list of courses. No mention of anything ethnic or diverse.

Hence, neither the major English language nor the French language university does seem to pay much attention to the issues of multicultural journalism.

Australia

Let us finally focus a moment on Australia, another major immigration country. Besides immigration, today mostly from Asia, ethnic relations and public debate in Australia are dominated by the issue of the history and the current position of Aboriginal people in white-dominated society and its media (HARTLEY and MCKEE, 2000; MEADOWS, 2001).

As is the case elsewhere, for instance in Europe and North America, also in Australia there are organizations that combat racism in the mass media and advocate diversity in the newsroom and the newspaper. One of these is the Living in Harmony Program of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship of the Australian Government, sponsoring the “Reporting Diversity and Integration” project of Murdoch University. Part of this project, supported by several other Australian universities, is “Journalism in Multicultural Australia”, whose aim is to develop curricula, a toolkit and other

resources for the reporting of multicultural issues and to encourage the inclusion of such curricula in the education of journalists. A related project, “Reporting Diversity”, further elaborates on the previous project, including proposals for research of ethnic issues, master degree curricula, and the development of research materials. The toolkit developed in relation to these projects includes concrete modules for case studies. For instance, students are asked to reflect and report about a case of a conflict of Islamic dress of women participating in netball. Concrete questions are formulated, such as “Why is the netball club management threatened by the idea that some players want to wear scarves and long trousers when they play?” Similarly, in this concrete (but stereotypical) case, questions about reporting this case are asked, e.g.

- Should this story be reported?
- Can the ethical values in this story be balanced with journalistic and commercial values?
- Are the interviewees appropriate? Are any voices missing from the story?
- How should the story be reported?
- Have you *assumed* anything?
- What headline would you write for this story?

Obviously, as emphasized above, all top-down initiatives are very important in combating racism and stimulating diversity. Yet, the real work must be done at the grassroots level of actual teaching, learning and reporting. So, we also examined the websites of some Australian universities to see whether ethnicity and diversity play a role in their journalism programs:

- **University of Sydney. Dept. of Media and Communications.** No mention of any ethnic or diversity elements, but students are expected to choose courses also in the social sciences, which may be on ethnic topics.
- **University of New South Wales. Sydney. Media and Communications,** now replaced by three other programs, including **Communication and Journalism.** No mention of diversity among the listed core courses or the aims of the program. As elsewhere new media technologies seem to have priority over new diversity policies.
- **University of Queensland, Brisbane. Journalism.** Besides a general course on “Identity, Culture and Communication” (taught by a Chinese Australian teacher), the BA in Journalism program does not list any ethnicity or diversity courses.
- **Monash University, Melbourne.** The objectives of the **Journalism** program do not mention any ethnic or multicultural skills. Nor are there any specific courses mentioned on these topics. The same is true for course description and objectives of the Master program of **Communication and Media Studies** of the National Centre for Australian Studies — which although “Australian” does not even mention relations between the mass media and Aboriginal people. But, of course we find reference to more “modern” topics, such as globalization and multimedia technologies, among others.
- **Murdoch University. Perth. Mass Communication.** No reference to diversity/ethnicity topics in information brochure on various studies in mass communication. Apparently the “Journalism in Multicultural Australia” project, located at Murdoch, has not yet influenced the journalism program in its own house.

The University of Queensland has this to say about the bachelor of journalism program, a fragment we cite in full, because it is prototypical of the kind of information universities and journalism departments offer new students:

Journalism is an exciting occupation that allows you to meet many different kinds of people and to travel. The basis of journalism is information, discovering, collecting, assembling, analysing and presenting information. To do this effectively, journalists require highly developed skills in language, a good understanding of the media, an interest in current affairs and a broad general knowledge.

A journalist must be able to communicate clearly, concisely, accurately and quickly, and have an inquiring nature and well developed people skills. The University of Queensland has offered a highly respected Journalism program since 1921, making ours the longest established and most extensive program in Australia. Our outlook is progressive and our journalism courses keep pace with the latest developments in, and thinking about, journalism. Many distinguished journalists (in Australia and overseas) participate in activities associated with the program.

More types of journalism are practised today than ever before as the number of media outlets proliferates. To stand out from the crowd, successful journalists need to enhance their all-round competence with personal enterprise, innovation, imagination and creativity. The UQ program encourages you to develop your own vision of journalism by drawing on our vast collective experience of journalism practice and our research into journalism and communication.

We see that the only “diversity” being mentioned explicitly is that journalists “meet many different kinds of people”. Despite being “highly respected”, progressive and the “longest established and most extensive program in Australia”, the information does not say anything about reporting and journalism in a multicultural society.

From the (published) programs of these 4 major universities in Australia we may conclude that ethnicity and diversity do not seem to be having much priority in the journalism programs.

Program for teaching ethnic diversity to journalists

After descriptively and critically reviewing ethnic diversity components in much of the White Western World, let me finally summarize some suggestions for teaching ethnic diversity to journalists, referring for details to the various NGOs and other diversity initiatives mentioned above. Obviously this is a very generic, normative proposal which does not take into account the vast diversity in journalism programs around the world. Also, it is limited to journalism for the printed media, whose discourses I have analyzed for more than a quarter of a century (see the references given above, and also VAN DIJK, 1988a, 1988b). Corresponding adjustments and additions should be made for audiovisual and internet media. The program can be taught as a special course, as additional training for practicing journalists, — and ideally as integrated elements in other courses. It presupposes that students already know the basics of reporting, so that the program is best taught to upper division undergraduates or graduate students.

Multidisciplinary

Communication studies in general, and journalism in particular, is a multidisciplinary field, and its teaching obviously needs to reflect this. This is *a fortiori* the case for teaching ethnic studies, another cross-discipline, and its integration in journalism. Due to the complexity of processes of communication, and although largely situated in the social sciences, journalism requires insights from cognitive and social psychology, sociology, anthropology, linguistics, discourse and rhetoric. Moreover, since reporting takes places within an organization, and mostly a private enterprise, also some insight into the economics of journalism should be recommended.

Obviously, students of journalism cannot be expected to master even remotely the basic contemporary theories and empirical findings of so many disciplines. So, they only need to know what is directly relevant to mass media communication, in general, and journalism, in particular. For this chapter, such knowledge is specifically geared to the accomplishment of ethnic diversity, so hence it should interface with the relevant insight of ethnic studies.

Ethnic Diversity

Diversity is a complex notion that may feature both descriptive (how things are) as well as evaluate and normative (how things should be) aspects. In contemporary debates, both within as well as outside of academia, the notion is mostly used in the negative descriptive sense (there is lacking diversity) and positive normative sense (things should be more diverse). It is also a very vague notion, and often used in a positively, euphemistic terms. Thus, whereas much of the struggle for civil rights in the USA, and against racism and anti-Semitism in Europe, tended to be motivated by what it fought *against* (racism, inequality, injustice, etc.), *diversity* has come to replace in more positive terms such 'negative' combative terms as *antiracism*. Moreover, as a much more general term, it at the same time has covered the feminist struggle against male oppression of women, sexual discrimination and other forms of inequality. Although both theoretically, as well as in journalist practice, these different forms of power abuse and inequality should be closely interrelated, this chapter only focuses on 'ethnic-racial' diversity.

Again depending on the country and region, also the notion of 'ethnic' may cover different things. Since 'races' have been shown not to exist, the common term 'race' will not be used here, but we shall use the more general term 'ethnic'. However, although 'races' do not exist, racism does. Indeed, it has been one hallmarks of racist science to construe different 'races', and then to associate these with a hierarchy of alleged positive and negative characteristics attributed to people of more or less different appearance.

One of the typical properties of contemporary 'new racism' is to play down the arguments based on 'racial' appearance (skin color, etc.), and to substitute these for *cultural* differences attributed to different communities, e.g. based on different origin, language, religion, customs, etc. (BARKER, 1982). Although such cultural discourse may often sound less racist and more 'objective', it is no less racist — and the sense that it is again being used to legitimate the differential association of positive and negative properties to different ethnic communities, and to use these as a basis of discrimination. In other words, the underlying polarized ideology, mentioned above, between (good) Us and (bad) Them is the same, and so are the social practices (including the discourses) based on them.

Thus, if we use the general term 'ethnic' here, this is merely intended as a general term that covers both cultural as well as 'racial' (appearance) properties as attributed to people in different parts of the world. This definitely does not mean that we think racism today is only based on cultural differences. Indeed, even where racism seems mostly 'ethnic', often also some aspects of appearance-discrimination is involved, as black or brown people who totally share 'white' culture well know. Virtually anywhere in the world, even slight differences of appearance, and especially of skin color and facial characteristics, are still widely used as a basis of racist ideologies and practices. This is most certainly also the case in all European-dominated societies in the Americas, Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Israel and elsewhere. Thus, cultural difference will

often be associated with alleged or construed ‘racial’ differences, and vice versa. These basis insights obviously should be part of any teaching program of ‘ethnic’ diversity.

Discourse, interaction and social cognition

Within the overarching normative principle of (ethnic) diversity, the interdisciplinary theoretical framework that forms the basis of ethnic diversity journalism may be organized around three key notions: **discourse**, **interaction** and **social cognition**. Any student of communication and journalism should know about these basic notions when dealing with the production and structures of news and opinion. That is, what journalists produce (write, assemble, program, etc.) and what they most of the time use as sources, are various types of *discourse*. They gather information, data, suggestions, etc. for such journalistic texts in various forms of journalistic *interaction*: beats, interviews, press conferences, phone calls, internet consults, and so on. Finally, the way journalists process source text and talk, interact with news actors, sources and colleagues, and the way they understand, recall and use such information in their own writing is based on various forms of *social cognition*: knowledge, attitudes, norms, values and ideologies (VAN DIJK, 1998). Similarly, the way readers construe their own understandings of journalistic discourse, and the way they are being influenced by it, is again based on these forms of social cognition, and at the same time contributes to the formation and contribution of these social representations (VAN DIJK, 1988b).

All ethnic properties of diversity in journalism are articulated along these three dimensions — so as to avoid racist journalistic interaction, racist journalistic discourse and racist social cognitions as a condition and consequences of journalistic practices.

The key terms of discourse, interaction and social cognition are not just handy labels to describe the journalistic process and to guide ethnic diversity teaching. They each summarize vastly complex theories in the humanities and social sciences. Discourse Studies itself is a vast cross-discipline that deals with language use, verbal interaction, grammar, style and rhetoric, argumentation and narrative, genres, specialized text and talk, as well as their cognitive, social, political, historical and cultural conditions and consequences — each large areas of study with their own approaches, theories, journals, specialists, academic courses, and so on. Something as apparently simple as the news report we write or read every day, is a enormously complex verbal structure, its production a very complex communicative event, a social and cultural construct that requires large amounts of knowledge and other beliefs, and that has similarly complex influences on the mental representations of the readers. News discourse in the press (or on television) alone is a special discourse genre with its own context, properties, contexts and consequences that have been studied by specialist in each of these properties of news (BELL, 1991; VAN DIJK, 1988b).

Similar remarks hold for *interaction* — which in the case of journalism nearly always is a form of discursive interaction, that is, talk of different kind: editorial meetings, dialogues with colleagues, interviews, press conferences, phone calls, and so on. Much of the development in sociology of the last decades has been dedicated to the systematic study of the ‘local’ order of society as it is being (re) produced by interaction (of a vast number of books on social interaction, see, e.g., ATKINSON and HERITAGE, 1984).

Finally, social cognition provides the ‘mental’ basis of both journalistic discourse and interaction, as well as its reception by the readers. No interaction is possible, no source text can be understood, no interview be conducted and no news report be written without vast amounts of various kinds of general knowledge of the world — as also shared by the readers. More specifically, such knowledge may also be specialized, as is

the case for journalistic discourse about local and global politics, society, culture and the economy. The same is true for the attitudes, norms, values and ideologies with learn and share as professionals (also as journalists), as well as those based on gender, ethnicity, origin, nation, political or sexual orientation, education and so on (for detail, see, AUGUSTINOS, WALKER and DONAGHUE, 2006).

It is at the interface of these three fields and their theories that any program of ethnic diversity must be based. We have defined racism as a social system of domination, manifesting itself in discriminatory social practices — such as discourse and interaction — and based on racist social cognition. If we want to struggle against this system of domination, and make sure not to reproduce it daily in our journalistic discourse and interaction, we need to make sure to learn how to self-critically analyze these dimensions of racism, and to contribute to the production of non-racist journalistic practices.

The program

After these general preliminaries, we are now ready to sketch the outlines of an antiracist program for diverse journalistic education. This program will be presented as a list of topics that need to be attended to, both theoretically as well as practically. It does not discuss, however, the many methods that may be used to teach these elements, as these also widely differ between different kinds of journalism schools in the world. It is however crucial that any theoretical instruction be accompanied by practical *production* (holding an interview, covering a press conference, writing a news report or an editorial), as well as detailed critical *analysis* of any of the discourse products of these practices. That is, journalists should learn to critically *examine* an interview, a press conference and a news report or editorial, be able to describe its different levels, dimensions, structures and strategies — and especially to study its intended or non-intended functions and effects in communication.

Here then are the main points of such a program of ethnic diversity education in journalism schools — presupposing theoretical and practical knowledge of news gathering, news writing, and so on. The program is designed to be taught in the form of several modules, to be distributed over several terms/semesters during one year, preferably in the third year of Bachelor study, or in Masters program. These modules are so designed that they may be taught as one coherent course during one year, or to be integrated in other, more general courses.

- 1. BASICS I. Ethnic Studies.** A general module that aims to teach basic knowledge, attitudes and abilities for journalists in multicultural societies. Parts of this module are, e.g. (i) Brief history and current situation of minority/immigrant communities in the country. (ii) Prejudice, discrimination, racism.
- 2. BASICS II. Racism and the mass media.** Review and discussion of some major national and international studies about the coverage of minorities/immigrants in the (national) mass media.
- 3. CONTEXT. Diversity strategies in the newsroom.** Experience-based, practical guidelines to develop strategies that promote diversity in the newsroom: (i) hiring and promotions, (ii) intercultural teamwork and cooperation (iii) ethnic topics in editorial meetings; (iv) diversity in assignments; (iv) how to combat stereotyping, prejudice and racism in the news and the newsroom.
- 4. PRODUCTION. News gathering on ethnic events.** Discussion of results of research on news gathering on ethnic events. Practical training in (i) definition of newsworthiness of ethnic events; (ii) diverse source selection; (iii) how to find and contact ethnic organizations, representative spokespersons and experts of ethnic groups; (iv) how (not) to interact with and interview ethnic news sources.
- 5. DISCOURSE. News writing in a multicultural society.** In this central module students learn how to avoid the many pitfalls of writing news, editorials, opinion articles and background articles about ethnic events, minorities or immigrants. The module presupposes some general knowledge about the structures of text and talk (language use, style, rhetoric, narrative, argumentation, etc), and journalistic discourse in particular (news reports, editorials, opinion articles, etc). Elements in this module are for instance: (i) How (not) to select

relevant news topics for coverage — and to avoid stereotypes, etc. (ii) Headline writing and the strategies of information salience; (iii) How (not) to describe ethnic actors, spokespersons, etc. (iv) Diversity of sources, evidentiality, perspective, authority, expertise and quotation: Whom (not) to quote in the coverage of ethnic events, and how (not) to quote them?

6. RECEPTION. The Effects of Ethnic coverage. Diversity in the newsroom, news gathering and news writing are not merely a question of social justice and professionalism, but being aware of the crucial role of the mass media (including the internet) in contemporary societies. Students should know and be acutely aware that the selection of one ‘wrong’ word on socio-politically volatile subjects may have vast, serious and unpredictable consequences. They should know and understand how journalistic articles are being read, understood, memorized and how the content and style of these articles can be abused to form and confirm stereotypes, prejudice and racism. This module presupposes some knowledge of the role of mass media in society. Hence, elements of this module comprise. (i) How are texts read, understood and memorized? (ii) How are ethnic prejudices and ideologies formed and reproduced? (iii) How do current ethnic prejudices bias the reading and understanding of journalistic text and talk? (iv) How to report and editorialize in view of combating ethnic prejudice and racism in society?

Obviously, the way these modules are taught depends on several conditions, which may be different from country to country and university to university, and especially on the previous knowledge and training of students of journalism. Sometimes they have been trained in general communication theory, with less practical hands-on education in journalistic practices, and sometimes this is the other way around. The modules should always be based on general theoretical insights, some of which should also be summarized in the course and its materials. On the other hand, students should learn to report and write ‘ethnic news’ while concretely doing so in concrete assignments and exercises, case studies and mini-projects. They should simulate real situations of how to write news and opinion on real, contemporary ethnic conflicts and debates. Fundamental in all theory, assignments and exercises is how to recognize and to avoid the polarization between — positive — *Us* (white) and — negative — *Them* (Others), in the newsroom, in news gathering and in news writing. It is crucial that they understand the possible effects of their coverage, and have insight into the role of the mass media in the reproduction of racism or antiracism in society.

Teaching about Racism

One of the basic elements in teaching ethnic diversity is teaching about racism. Indeed, no special diversity education would be necessary without sexism and racism in society. Teaching (positive) multicultural diversity is one side of the coin whose other side is teaching about (negative) racism. Teaching about racism is crucial for journalism students precisely because theoretically, or (for white journalists) experientially, most of them have very limited, and mostly stereotypical knowledge of what racism is. Here are a few of these false, stereotypical or incomplete beliefs about racism that may be corrected in an ethnic diversity module for journalists:

- a. Racism (in the USA) is largely a thing of the past — of the time of slavery and segregation.
- b. Racist behavior and discourse characterize bigots or people with little education.
- c. Racism is typical of the extreme right, neo-Nazis, racist parties but not of mainstream parties.
- d. Racist behavior is blatant, intentional and violent.
- e. Racism exist(ed) in other countries, for instance in Apartheid South Africa or the U.S. in the time of segregation.
- f. Democratic countries are not racist.
- g. Opposition to immigration is not racist.
- h. We are not racist.

These and many other beliefs about racism remain widely shared today. Denial, especially among the elites — who have a particular positive self-image, is one of the hallmarks of elite racism: racism is always then, not now, there but not here, of others and not of us, and so on (VAN DIJK, 1992).

The problem is that contemporary racism in all white-dominated countries is systemic and widespread, and dominates the everyday life and experiences of minorities and immigrants. They notice it especially when dealing with the political elites, the media, the police, the courts, and the bureaucracy, by which they are often treated differently and worse. It may happen on the street, in shops, on the job, at police stations and official agencies. True, it may often be subtle and indirect, and not blatant and violent (although also that still happen, especially by the police), but its accumulated everyday experiences are no less serious.

These and many other properties of racism that characterize the everyday lives of minorities and immigrants (especially those of another color and/or culture) need to be thoroughly known and understood when one covers ethnic events, ethnic conflicts and the everyday life of ethnic communities. It may help to be at least skeptical about the opinions of white officials or other elites when they provide their version and opinion about ethnic events and conflict.

Of course, the view of minority participants in such situations is not by definition the correct one, but it should be taken very seriously. As victims and survivors of everyday racism, many minority group members may be experts in detecting and interpreting it — as also victims of crime are usually more credible than its perpetrators. It is therefore essential that journalists who want to cover ethnic events learn to see and understand such events also from the perspective of the Others.

Such learning may take place, for instance, by reading about the everyday experiences of minority group members, for instance in novels, movies or scholarly reports. No ethnic diversity education is complete without this essential training in the empathic knowledge of the experiences of everyday racism. This is especially the case, obviously, for the everyday racism experienced by minorities because of their lack of access to, control over and balanced coverage by the media themselves.

Concluding Remarks

Racism as a system of domination is not innate but learned, a process of acquisition largely based on public discourse, especially in politics, the mass media and education. This means that the symbolic elites who control public discourse are specially responsible for the reproduction of racism — as well as antiracism.

In this chapter, we focus on the mass media. Research in many countries has repeatedly confirmed that the mass media are part of the problem rather than of the solution of racism, due to lack of diversity, discrimination of minority journalists as well as stereotypical and biased reporting. It is therefore crucial to examine not only the contents and structures of mass media messages, as has been done in much earlier research in many countries, but also one of the crucial conditions of their production: the academic education and professional socialization of journalists.

To do so, we examined the websites and syllabi of journalism and/or communication departments of major universities in Europe, the USA, Canada and Australia, in order to

examine whether the goals and courses of the programs exhibited ethnic diversity dimensions.

The result of that analysis can be summarized in brief sentence: With the exception of several universities in the USA, and an occasional course elsewhere in Europe, the vast majority of journalism departments totally ignore or marginalize ethnic diversity in their (published) programs. Topics such as racism and the mass media are *never* topic of a course — in the same way as it is virtually never a topic in the press. In that sense, journalism education and later journalistic practice are unfortunately quite consistent.

As suggested above, the analysis of websites and programs as published on website does not give a complete and reliable picture of what is explicitly being done in the classroom. General courses on reporting, writing, interviewing, ethics, or media history may well have significant ethnic elements (teaching, bibliographies, assignments, etc.). However, we may safely assume that if nowhere in the description, goals or syllabi of a department any reference is made to diversity, ethnicity, intercultural communication or racism, it is not likely that such a topic will be very prominent in more general courses. Also, we have recalled that many journalists do not have an academic journalism or communication background, but may come from the humanities and social sciences. This may mean, especially for social scientists, that they may be better prepared to report on the multicultural society that journalism majors.

Of course, lacking an academic education in diverse journalism is not as such a necessary condition of bad journalism. After all, journalists can learn on the job, and acquire the necessary knowledge and general antiracist attitudes that are required for appropriate ethnic reporting. However, once on the job, there is often no time to read the relevant literature, to practice alternative forms of writing and to get acquainted with the many dimensions of multicultural society that have not been learned in academia or everyday life. Moreover, we know that journalists for obvious reasons tend to adapt to the (white) consensus in the newsroom. This is even true for minority journalists, so that even a diverse newsroom is not a guarantee for diverse reporting if not all journalists — also the white ones — share the same criteria of diverse reporting. The probable result is what a massive amount of research continues to find, namely that the media in many ways contribute to the reproduction of racism in society.

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