HUMAN RIGHTS AND MEDIA

STUDIES IN COMMUNICATIONS

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STUDIES IN COMMUNICATIONS VOLUME 6

HUMAN RIGHTS AND MEDIA

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

INTRODUCTION: HUMAN RIGHTS AND MEDIA

The *Studies in Communications* book series presents contemporary scholarship on the central dynamic of society – communications. Theoretically grounded empirical studies drawn from the social sciences focus on the institutional patterns, media, and the dynamic process of meaning construction. Incorporating communications, mass media and communications, sociological and critical theories, comparative and historical analysis, with combinations of qualitative and quantitative research provide compelling themes for each volume of the series. Volume 6 develops the "Human Rights and Media" theme. The collective rights associated with age, class, gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, and disability are framed by the media. The studies in this volume explore the connections and discourse of media and human rights, through media production, social policies and responsibilities, human rights violation and the social, institutional, and global contexts of social movements for human rights protections and about human rights violations.

Volume 6 situates the topic in the social and historic context of human rights study. Also, the selection of studies include media analysis of mainstream media, corporate media, newspapers, television, photojournalism, the internet, and official documents on human rights that have universal claims and global reach. The newer social media, altering media landscape, and changing public sphere today are indicated and will be studied in the future to compare communications media dynamics. The studies in this volume dwell on social conditions predominantly over the past decade, and the past century, and the research builds on and adds to the substantial scholarship on human rights, whereas emphasizing the communications media in relationship to human rights. The interface of communications media with human rights provides a dynamic for further exploration of human rights ideas, ideals, and ideologies. Complex relations of social movements, media representations of diverse populations in a globalizing culture, and the construction of meaning human rights meaning through media frames add to the social science of communications.

A substantial history literature on human rights is accessible. Micheline R. Ishay's (2004) *The History of Human Rights* establishes controversies on the origins and legacy of human rights, cultural relativism versus universalism, the tension between security and human rights, and the question of globalization's advance of human rights. Such complex issues do not address the way the information age and modern media impact on these issues. Instrumentally, however, the author provides a chronology of events and writings related to human rights, establishing a documentary base in the speeches, writings, and documents list comparing national/regional contexts before and after the world wars. Subsequently historian Samuel Moyn's (2010) *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* describes the burgeoning of a new field, with contemporary historian adopting a celebratory attitude toward the emergence and progress of human rights. The author's approach to human rights as a moral agenda establishes the interpretation that current human rights fill a vacuum, a utopian program. Different from Ishay and others he de-emphasizes the history of human rights origins from the Greeks or the Jews, medieval Christians or early modern philosophers, democratic revolutionaries, or abolitionist heroes, American internationalists or antiracist visionaries. He challenges other historians (e.g., Ignatieff, 2001) who see human rights as an old ideal that came into its own as a response to the Holocaust. A persuasive alternative to prior universalistic schemes and the construction of human rights are posed, and documented with analysis and the evidentiary base of ascendant, spiking news media coverage in the 1970s in the Anglo and American press. However, his analysis does not see the social context of this press data that he interprets. The social production perspective of press coverage is part of the constitutive reality and significance of human rights social movements (Altheide, 1976; Gans, 1979; Schudson; Tuchman, 1978). He argues that human rights were brought to new geographic areas around the globe and into the difficulty and drama of transformation from antipolitics to program. Differently, human rights movement and "governance" is studied and developed further by political scientists (Power & Allison, 2000) and international advocates like Mary Robinson (2006) former U.N. High Commissioner on Human Rights in her book, *A Voice for Human Right*, that assume the importance of media in framing and influencing the public. A rare volume, *Human Rights in the International Public Sphere: Civic Discourse for the 21st Century* (Over, 1999) addresses the human rights challenge, channels of discourse, knowledge and power in the global village: finding that during the 1970s the debate began in the United Nations over the dominance of the U.S. television programming around the world. The New World Information Order focused attention on

the dominance of the First World of the Third World with controversy, resulting in the United States withdrawal from UNESCO, (Preston, Herman, & Schiller, 1989) which may explain part of the 1970s press coverage spike observed by Moyn above. The following decades have brought global politics to the issues of human rights. Much of the responsibility for the exposure of human rights violations has resulted from such NGO's as Human Rights Watch and independent journalists, who function as worldwide watchdogs and whistle blowers. The internet has intensified this process. Understanding the complex dynamic of social actors, media environments, and human rights agendas requires empirical research by social scientists and communications specialists. The media and human rights can be understood further through social science and empirical studies, and this volume contributes to the sociological and communications-based analyses. Three approaches have been conducted by media-aware sociologists: the study of social movements (Gamson; Klandermans); discourse and framing analysis (Altheide, 1976; Fine; Snow); structural analysis of the global information society (Castells, 2005, 2007); the sociology of news (Gans, 1979; Schudson; Tuchman, 1978). Also, Sjoberg, Gill, and Williams (2001) and Morris (2006) have written on a sociology of human rights that includes contextual factors and complements other disciplinary approaches. Media sociologists have collaborated with communications specialists (e.g., McChesney & Pickard, 2011) and an increasing number of new scholars study political communications, and create a field for the study of human rights and media, which this volume advances.

Volume 6's contributors are sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and technology and communications specialists, who bring disciplinary and multidisciplinary perspectives to their studies on human rights and media. The empirical work has been conceptualized from a range of theories in these disciplines. Each contributor has a global perspective, often drawing upon years of prior engagement in the field of human rights work and research; see the About the authors section.

Mahin Gosine, "Toward a Sociology of Human Rights" raises sociologically informed questions about the social contexts of human rights, historic, global, and challenges assumptions about human rights documents/media that present universality, inclusion and exclusion of ethnic diaspora peoples. Sam Cherribi poses Elias (2000) theory of the civilizing process to explain the way that such influential organizations as the Council of Europe devotes resources to document developments in the media and human rights violations of its member countries, furthering the universalism of human rights. Josh Klein embraces the critical perspective to analyze the increasing

human rights violations in the world today, the mass media's evidentiary lack of interest in the sources of these social problems and a lack of sufficient political will for real social change.

In their study, ''War Making and Propaganda: Media Responsibility for Human Rights Communication'' David L. Altheide and Jennifer N. Grimes focus on the selective news coverage and propaganda that preceded and followed the 9/11/01 event, using a model of news coverage or ''war programming'' developed by Altheide in his earlier media. By analyzing the news media context and organizational reasons for propaganda, the authors find a predictable war story was told by mainstream media, which omitted from the story a focus upon human rights violations. The authors argue that media framing and format must change if future wars, aided by propaganda, are to be avoided. Helen Fein, and co-authors Walter Ezell and Herbert F. Spirer present their study ''Recognition of Genocide in Bosnia: Frameworks of Interpretation in U. S. Newspapers.'' The study addresses why bystanders did not intervene to stop the genocide and to check war crimes by asking how the situation was framed by an influential segment of the press. The authors share a critical media perspective and agree on the failure of social responsibility to respond adequately to gross human rights violations.

Nayia Roussou studies ''National and Ethnic Discourses on Cyprus Television.'' Finding Cyprus to be an appropriate example of modernizing states faced with the influx of media pluralism and rich information systems, whereas not resolving it indigenous political problems. A complex empirical study was done in three stages: a statistical survey, a discourse analysis of top programs, and interviews and group discussions among Cyprus youth. Roussou finds that issues of human rights, identity and nationality in an age of globalization are complex, with nations facing internal political realities. Finding internal social and political contexts to explain human rights issues in the United States, Timothy Shortell's article ''Human Rights Discourse in the Antebellum Black Press'' looks to the 19th century resolution of the slavery issue in the context of economic development and political power. Abolitionist human rights discourse played a role in the expansion of America's republican vision and ideological conflict. Potential answers to the human rights question – who is to be included in the American republic? – involve contentious claims about group identities. The Black newspapers, in which Northern Blacks expressed their outrage and their hopes in their own voices played a key role in the development of African-American culture, and challenged white America to fulfill its promise as ''the shining city on the hill.''

Edoardo Gianotti provides a reflective and evaluative review of photographic practice "Child Labor and Photojournalism" on human rights violation and forced child labor. The human rights standards of the United Nations International Labor Organization provided the framework for child rights. His anthropological and political science education informs his field work in Africa, South Asia, South America, and Northeastern Europe. Human rights implications and the broad issue of social and professional responsibilities are raised and visual media pose particular ethical and political challenges to the study of human rights, particularly with vulnerable groups. Use of new media, the "Internet, Computer-Mediated Communications and Gay Rights Movements in Taiwan" is a study by Chung-Yi Cheng and Kenneth C. C. Yang. Different from the child labor study, the gay rights research elaborates the internet's communication role in mobilizing local gay populations to pursue their gay rights. Case analysis and in-depth interviews identify key functions that the internet can play: to share and exchange information, to coordinate gay rights movements, to record and store historical information, and to lead social and value changes in the future. This is an early study of net activism and sees empowerment as an outcome.

Doris Zames Fleischer and the late Frieda Zames (2001) combined life-long scholarship and public leadership in the disability rights movement. The chapter presents a mediated history of the movement in the United States from the 20th to the 21st centuries.

A detailed account of media images of disability include sampled mainstream media and fewer advocacy media represent the diversity of this human rights movement. Media accounts, including those of successful legal reforms and events, revealed that in the new century, many of the rights battles had to be fought over again. The study finds that while disability cuts deeply across all social strata, media coverage of disability still remains largely under-reported in the mainstream press, marginalizing voices. As a growing global social movement, alternative media could change this dynamic to enhance human rights, and further research will be needed.

In a United Nations briefing paper *Human Rights Today* we are introduced to the idea that "We are living in an era of dramatic change and transition, in a world that is being transformed by complex financial systems and revolutionary information technologies into a vast global marketplace. Globalization is creating new patterns of interaction among people and States …" The notion that these changes promise unprecedented opportunities progress in larger freedom, is suggested, along with the

qualifier that changes are also threatening to compound many existing challenges before the international community while increasing the economic marginalization of those most vulnerable. Making human rights, which were formally embedded at the UN through the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a possible set of universal standards, provides one context for this analysis of human rights. The standards set forth in terms of the rights of political choice, and association, of opinion and expression, and of culture; freedom from fear and from discrimination and prejudice, the freedom from want and the right to employment and wellbeing is an expression of universal goals in a global society, one that recognizes collective rights amidst sustainable development and global priorities of peace, development and democracy. Human dignity and respect is the primary value implicit in the rights declarations. The effectiveness of the UN human rights instruments is an on-going focus of needed research evaluation.

This volume involved a long process of fielding original scholarship by leading people in the field working with both human rights and media. The research in each area has proliferated, but the relationship of the two research paradigms has been enhanced by this volume, and is still emergent. The media, new information technologies, and the cultural agendas of freedom, including press freedoms and individual/collective expression and association freedoms are central to the study of human rights and media. Such communications scholars as Cees J. Hamelink have researched the human rights of and for communicators, and this editor is preparing a chapter for a new *Handbook on Human Rights*, regarding "Information and communication." Since these topics exceed the time and space for Volume 6, we expect that *Studies in Communications* will go forward with plans to produce Volume 7 on *Public Communication* and Volume 8 on *Iconic Communications*.

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The results of Volume 6 are fully my editorial responsibility, but Thelma was a constant inspiration. Our authors deserve extra thanks for their persistence despite publisher changes and several unavoidable delays by this editor. The many courageous, committed, and compassionate people I have met in the course of this project – as human rights activists, documentary film makers, journalists, as well scholars provide the virtual community that supports the solitary editing and writing process. The collegiality found through the professional associations: ICA, ISA, IVSA, ASA, ESS, SSSP, SWS, provide the professional academic based that is essential, and I hope that I have reciprocated adequately for all their uncompensated counsel and support.

Finally, I Dedicate this Volume to:
The Honorable Naoum George Papademas
(1922–1999)
Who loved the law and loved justice more.

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Diana Papademas

TOWARD A SOCIOLOGY OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Mahin Gosine

ABSTRACT

A sociology of human rights is a modern challenge, and this study draws on the universalizing codification in the history of human rights documents from ancient societies to the present challenges of modern society. Power contradictions and conflicts are analyzed in the case study of historic inequalities and the modern deprivation of human rights of the People of Indian Origin in their diaspora in the modern world. Insider perspectives are posed to increase awareness and knowledge to the forming of community identity and to challenge others to study these complex social conditions. A public sociology is assumed in this chapter, derived from the author's public speech to further the development of a sociology of human rights, one that will reflect the complexity, universality, and inclusiveness protected by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Established methods and theories may be augmented by challenging their bases and working collaboratively to research contemporary human rights.

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INTRODUCTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS DOCUMENTS, POWER, AND NEED FOR THEORY

The third American President (1801–1809) Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) (Blassingame, 1996), writing in the Declaration of Independence on the eve of the birth of the American nation in 1776, and the convening of the Second Continental Congress, noted that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness…" (Brinkley, 2004). Indeed Jefferson was envisioning that everyone, by virtue of the fact that he or she was a member of the American nation, was entitled to certain basic human rights. To say the least, Jefferson might have been well intentioned. However, was everyone who lived in the United States at the time regarded as a citizen of the American nation? The answer to this question is not difficult to discern. American citizens were white men who possessed power and property. They did not include Native Americans, blacks and women. Even some poor white folks were disenfranchised. At the time the American nation was born, slavery was still in effect. The slave trade was not halted until 1807. Slavery was not abolished until 1834. The emancipation proclamation was not passed until 1863, which became law in 1865 with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment. The Fourteenth Amendment that made blacks citizens of the United States was not passed until 1868 (Pinkney, 1975). And blacks did not become citizens of the United States until 1870 with the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. Likewise, Native Americans did not become citizens of the United States until 1924. In fact, there were well over five hundred Native American reservations at the time who fell under the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs that was created in 1824 and which was directly under the control of the Department of War of the United States (Schaefer, 1993). Similarly, women did not get to vote until 1920. Thanks, in part, to the efforts of such people in the Sojourner Truth, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and others, who championed the cause of women following the formation of the Women's Rights Movement in 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York (Biber & Carter, 2000).

Despite the irony of Jefferson's statement, one thing is quite evident. That is, being a part of the human race entitles one to certain basic rights. Moreover, the forging of a new nation carried with it an entitlement to certain basic human rights and freedoms, and the notion of citizenship is rendered meaningless if these are not present (Rosmini, 1996). At the same

time the idea of effecting a civil social order is altered if individual liberties are not accorded the person or, shall I say, citizen (Rousseau, 1947).

Thomas Jefferson was writing in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and it is true that the concept of the nation state received a good deal of attention from social thinkers during this time and in the period that followed. Furthermore, the forging of the nation state was inextricably intertwined with the concern for human rights. Accordingly, in the period following the eighteenth century, the issue pertaining to human rights took on a much greater meaning.

Not withstanding the above, the quest for basic human rights and freedoms dates back a few thousand years ago. One can argue that this process started with the advent of sedentary life. We must remember that society developed in terms of six stages. First, there was hunting and gathering society. Second, there was pastoral society. Third, there was horticultural society. Fourth, there was agricultural society. The fifth stage marked the advent of industrial society. And sixth, we saw the emergence of post-industrial society (Crapo, 2004). Let us remember that sedentary life is associated with a fixed place of abode. Sedentary life begins with the advent of pastoral society. Furthermore, pastoral society marks the beginning of western civilization. Now we see the Neolithic revolution emerging where man is transformed from a food gatherer to a food producer. Hunting and gathering society also known as band society or foraging society was now something of the past (Stavrianos, 1988). Leisure, the absence of permanent settlements, and constant movement from one place to another to ensure survival were increasingly being rendered obsolete.

Sedentary life marked the beginning of a civil social order. If people were going to live together in the same geographic and ecological region, then a civil social order was crucial to this process. Rules and guidelines would have to be established to ensure survival and prevent chaos. At the same time, institutions of the social system like the family, the church, the polity, the economy, and the school would have to be created to enhance social life (Robertson, 1983). And when we look at the history of past civilizations, we see this process at work. We see it with the Harappans and Indus Valley civilizations especially in the cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa; we see it in the Egyptian civilization along the fertile regions of the Nile. We see it in the Chinese civilization that emerged along the banks of the Yangstze. We see it in ancient Mesopotamian civilization along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. And we have seen it with Greek, Roman and European civilizations. Didn't the same thing take place in satellite societies and nations of the semi-periphery and periphery (Stavrianos, 1988).

Although it is true that basic human rights were accorded to individuals since the establishment of the first permanent settlements in human history, these rights were not extended on an equitable basis. Throughout history we see the extending of human rights based on the system of inequity. In addition, the church was one of the first social agencies to deal with peoples' rights and responsibilities. So religion played a crucial role in this process. Historically many societies were initially governed by theocratic rule where the church and state were lumped together, and there was not separation of church and state (Stavrianos, 1988).

When we look at organized religion and the many texts associated with it, the process is highlighted. Also, certain philosophies of life – if not religions – extol some of the same concerns. Do we not see it in the Vedas of the Hindus and discussions of caste? Do we not see it in the Torah and Talmud of Judaism and, the many discussions pertaining to this religious doctrine? Do we not see it in the teachings of Gautama, Buddha and Buddhism, although recognizing that he tried to reform Hinduism and this make Buddhism more equitable? Do we not see it in the Analects of Confucius where family background and learning was important in attaining privileged status? Do we not see it in the Babylonian Code of Hammurabi where such things as class and slavery were parts of the social order? Was it also not present in Greek and Roman societies where women and slaves had no rights, and where the priests were privileged to learning? Was it not present in the teachings of Mohammed and the Quran where some sects were regarded as intrinsically superior to others? Is it not true that the teachings of John Calvin and the advent of Protestantism tells us that the priests stood a better chance of attaining heaven rather than being condemned to eternal damnation (Weber, 1958). Although Guru Nanak was a reformer and tried to bridge in many ways the existing schism between Hindus and Muslims, didn't his philosophy enter manifestly or latently negate the concerns of other religious and secular groups who felt disempowered at the time and whose members saw themselves as the targets of collective discrimination and social neglect? The list can go on endlessly.

It should be clear by now that, whether intended or not, religion and scriptural teachings are imbued with social injustices and many have used these over time to legitimize and thus give credence to their various ideological positions. But an interesting question remains and that is: with the emergence of the modern state, did things change much? And a quick answer is no. The modern state merely promoted, and sometimes with intention, the idea of social injustices and the according of rights on an unequal basis. When one looks at the first codification of the law by Isaac in

early Greek society in 621 BC, for example, one sees that women and slaves were virtually removed from the mainstream of social life. In addition, the laborers and non-artisans did not have the same privileges as the philosophers and those engaged in military service (Jowett, 1964).

Given universal inequities of the past, and despite our increased concern for human rights more recently, will oppression of people and the world subside? I am not sure. When one looks at recent history one sees a similar trend. Documents dealing with individual rights such as The Magna Carta (1215); The English Bill of Rights (1689); The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789). The first 10 amendments of the United States Constitution called the Bill of Rights (1789); The Pax Romana (27 BC); and the Pax Brittanica (1880); were not fair and equitable in their outlooks. They excluded certain groups such as women, people of color, and certain religious and class groups. A summary from Stavriano's *A Global History* outlines the following documents:

The *Magna Carta* is regarded as the Great Charter of Feudal Liberties. It was signed by King John (1199–1216) in 1215 at Runnymede. It divided the growing power of the Plantagenet dynasty. It gave written recognition to mutual rights and obligations of kings and vassals. It was considered to be the earliest document in the British constitution.

The *English Bill of Rights* was issued by Parliament in 1689 after the accession of William of Orange and Queen Mary to the Throne of England. It laid the foundations of constitutional monarchy in England. It was the key document of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 (22).

The *French Declaration of Rights* was the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen." It was issued in July 1789 as a formative document of the French Revolution. It recognized liberty, quality, and fraternity as the natural rights of Frenchmen. It did not endorse the rights of women.

The *United States Bills of Rights* was a part of the US Constitution. It was adopted as the first 10 amendments of the Constitution in 1789 and ratified by the states. It incorporated freedom of religion, press, the assembly, trial by jury, and the freedom to bear arms.

The *Pax Romana* represented a period of peace and prosperity through the first 200 years of the Roman Empire (27 BC to 180 AD). It was largely a result of the clever politics of the Emperor Octavian Augustus who upheld traditional institutions of the Roman Republic but who also strengthened them with centralizing the power of the Emperor.

The *Pax Brittanica* prevailed during the colonial era of 1880–1914. The term is an allusion to Pax Romana, which came to express the visions of 1,000 years of British rule over one-fifth of the globe. It reflected the ideas of civilizing missions of the British over the Orient.

When one looks at the above documents, questions arise with regard to the creation of the state and those who govern. These questions are: how and why was the state created? Who created the state? What was the motive of those who created the state? On what basis was law formulated? And was law formulated on the basis of mala en se or mala prohibita? (Sigel, 1992). In other words, did law reflect the collective will and moral conscience of the society or was it formulated by special interests?

These questions have been crucial to social thinkers of the past and present. In his ideological treatise, *The Prince*, Niccolo Machiavelli (1971) tells us why leaders act the way they sometimes do. Machiavelli tells us that leaders should try to follow the path of good. They should be trustworthy, humane, and moral. At the same time, if the necessity arises, they should also learn how to follow the pattern of evil, for the preservation of the state often compels them to do so. Similarly Thomas Hobbes (1964), writing in his book *Leviathan* – a discourse on the commonwealth – tells us that government is a necessary evil but it is required for the protection of the people. And the French-Swiss philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau tells us in the *Social Contract* about the notion of civil society and the role it plays in the process of social evolution and nation building. Moreover, civil society serves as a backdrop for human action, and it is the yardstick with which human action is measured. According to Rousseau, ''if there were a people of Gods, than it would govern itself democratically. Such a perfect government is not suited to men'' (Orum, 1983).

Today, and in the past, inequities promoted by the state and those who govern are found in almost every type of political order. We see this in a democracy, rule by the people; in an autocracy, rule by a single individual who holds hereditary status; in a system governed by a Military Junta, rule by a few military officials; in a Theocracy, in a system of dual control by the church and the political arm of the state; in a Dictatorship, rule by a single individual who cannot be removed from political office by legal means; Totalitarianism, rule by the state; Oligarchy, the rule of the many by a few civilians; and Democratic Socialism, a basic system of democracy where state intervention is crucial for the operations of the body politic. Suffice to say that none of these political systems are exempt from inequality in their functioning, and one can truly say that their basic agenda – whether manifest

or latent – is not without serving the interests of some as opposed to others. There is a belief, however misguided, that democratic states are more equal in their outlook and thus tend to promote the interests of all citizens on a fair and equitable basis. Democratic systems do have certain basic advantages over other types of political systems like freedom of the press, access to information, advanced economic development, and so on, but they have never been totally equal. Democracy, one should note, is an abstract and theoretical concept – it is not one that can stand up to the rigor of reality. The democratic state is well known to promote the interests of a privileged few and advocate a disagreement on consensual norms (Robertson, 1983).

Social injustice and the slighting of the interests of some by the state are also clearly visible in medieval society. The power of the church and the establishment of rigid class boundaries, as well as a system of exploitation and neglect, were firmly entrenched, and it later served as the basis for rising tensions and class warfare in many European and Asian societies in particular. It also set in motion widespread political dissident activity and brought many of these societies to the doorsteps of bloody revolutions and socio-political change (Stavrianos, 1988).

The periods of the renaissance and the reformation were no different. The renaissance witnessed the emergence of a new society and a new man through arts and education, among other things. And the reformation of Martin Luther, Ulrich Zwingli, John Knox, and John Calvin saw a departure from traditional Catholicism as envisioned by St. Augustine in De Civitas De, *The City of God*, and St. Thomas Aquinas, the two modern founding fathers of Catholicism (Walsh et al., 1958). But the protestant reformation of Luther and others, like the renaissance of which DiVinci, Michaelangelo, and Gutenberg were an integral part, did not empower all with equity and fairness. It is time that Luther's protestant reformation was a religious reformation. Yes, Luther was creating the new sect of Protestantism, but Luther's protestant reformation was also a political reformation. Luther was breaking the power of the Catholic Church and handing it over to the state. The protestant reformation, many social thinkers have argued, was the final nail in the coffin of the rule of the Roman papacy. Now there was a separation of church and state, and the state began to assume a more critical function in the lives of its citizens. However, oppression continued to loom large. Luther himself initially resisted the empowerment of women through recognizing, of course, that he ultimately relented owing to the pressure from co-makers of the reformation like Zwingli, Knox and Calvin.

The period of colonization echoed the sentiments of the preceding periods in human history. Colonialism was a highly exploitive system. In many

societies around the world, people were treated inhumanely. Colonial outposts were, in a real sense, colonial outhouses. This was the outlook of the colonizer (Memmi, 1965). Indigenous people were exploited physically and emotionally. Resources were drained, and cultural expression was stymied. There was also a process of cultural and psychological emasculation (Fanon, 1963).

With the advent of the industrial revolution, nothing changed much. In fact, one can argue that exploitation became more intense (Marx, 1974). Capital accumulation was predicated on an industrial mode of production. And the industrial revolution facilitated capital accumulation at unprecedented levels (Williams, 1964). Exploitation was at the core of the factory system. The exploitation of children and the elderly was profound. Furthermore, it was from this process that child labor laws emanated.

The proliferation of nation states in the nineteenth and especially the twentieth century helped to bring some social injustice into the limelight. In the twentieth century, in particular, one of the first organizations to address social inequality and social injustice was the International Labor Organization (ILO). In the wake of black emancipation, but not black equality, and the end of slavery, the ILO was formed to oversee treaties protecting workers. This organization was formed to protect workers' rights including health and safety.

Following this, The League of Nations also tried to voice concern about people who were oppressed and who were denied basic human rights. This happened before World War I. This meant that the onslaught of the war altered the League's ability to make its agenda profound. Also, since the League of Nations was formed mostly by European nations, and did not have the support of the United States, its ability to become a viable organization was severely curtailed. Because of this, Japan was able to invade China and Manchuria in 1931, and Italy attacked Ethiopia in 1935 (Stavrianos, 1988). Ultimately, the League withered away with the advent of World War II.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Concern for human rights became overwhelmingly preponderant after World War II. The trials held in Nuremberg and Tokyo culminated in the punishment of many who had committed what were deemed "Crimes Against

Peace'' and ''Crimes Against Humanity.'' After World War II and the cultural genocide of six million Jews by the avowed megalomaniac Adolph Hitler and the Nazis, as well as the killing of some gypsies and homosexuals, the concern for human rights became more pronounced. Many governments now committed themselves to the forming of the United Nations. This was achieved in 1946. Moreover, the United States played a critical role in the process. This was important if the human rights agenda was to go forward.

The concern for human rights in the American context was given leverage by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in his 1941 State of the Union Address to the American people. President Roosevelt, in that address, spoke of four basic freedoms – Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Religion, Freedom of Want, and Freedom of Fear. In addition, people from countries around the world were now voicing strong concern about human rights abuses. Many felt that some governments were abusing citizens and so must be held accountable for their actions. These concerns were crucial to the drafting of the Charter of the United Nations at the San Francisco meeting in 1945.

The United Nations established a Commission on Human Rights, and members of this body pledged to promote an agenda dealing with human rights. The Commission on Human Rights had the responsibility of drafting a document delineating basic human rights and freedoms as proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. The wife of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt, played a key role in this Commission as it captured international attention. In December of 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted. The UDHR was adopted by 56 member states of the United Nations, and the vote was unanimous. The UDHR is today referred to as the ''International Magna Carta'' (Flowers, 2004). How governments around the world treat its citizens is not only a concern of these nations, but instead it is a legitimate international issue.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL)

Now, therefore, the General Assembly proclaims this UDHR as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in

mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms:

Article 1 – Right to Equality
Article 2 – Freedom from Discrimination
Article 3 – Right to Life, Liberty, Personal Security
Article 4 – Freedom from Slavery
Article 5 – Freedom from Torture, Degrading Treatment
Article 6 – Right to Recognition as a Person before the Law
Article 7 – Right to Equality before the Law
Article 8 – Right to Remedy by Competent Tribunal
Article 9 – Freedom from Arbitrary Arrest, Exile
Article 10 – Right to Fair Public Hearing
Article 11 – Right to Be Considered Innocent until Proven Guilty
Article 12 – Freedom from Interference with Privacy, Family, Home and Correspondence
Article 13 – Right to Free Movement in and out of the Country
Article 14 – Right to Asylum in other Countries from Persecution
Article 15 – Right to a Nationality and Freedom to Change It
Article 16 – Right to Marriage and Family
Article 17 – Right to Own Property
Article 18 – Freedom of Belief and Religion
Article 19 – Freedom of Opinion and Information
Article 20 – Right of Peaceful Assembly and Association
Article 21 – Right to Participate in Government and in Free Elections
Article 22 – Right to Social Security
Article 23 – Right to Desirable Work and to join Trade Unions
Article 24 – Right to Rest and Leisure
Article 25 – Right to Adequate Living Standard
Article 26 – Right to Education
Article 27 – Right to Participate in the Cultural Life of Community
Article 28 – Right to Social Order assuring Human Rights
Article 29 – Community Duties essential to Free and Full Development
Article 30 – Freedom from State or Personal Interference in the above Rights

In establishing mechanisms to enforce the UDHR, the UN Commission on Human Rights drafted two treaties. They were The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. Collectively, they were called The

International Bill of Human Rights (Lawyers for Human Rights, 1991). This International Bill of Human Rights deals with such issues as: rights to life, freedom of speech, religion, and voting. It also deals with issues such as food, education, health and shelter. At the close of the second millennium, well over 135 nations had ratified these covenants.

In addition to the International Bill of Rights, the United Nations has adopted nearly two dozens treaties concerning human rights. These include genocide and torture, refugees and refugee status, discrimination against women and the rights of children. In addition, many regions around the world have adopted their own Bill of Rights. For example, in 1981, some African states created their own Charter of Human and Peoples Rights. And in 1990, Muslim States created the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights on Islam. China, North Korea and some other Asian states are becoming more committed to Human Rights, though recognizing that the track-record of these Asian states is not good. Today, Asia is one of the worst violators of human rights. The size and diversity of the region, some argue, is responsible for this. Traditional authority also plays a role in this process, and so too population size. Remember that old traditions die hard and in these societies, privileges and entitlements are sorely lacking (Gosine).

Malaysia and Singapore, though somewhat economically prosperous, have been some of the worst violators of human rights. While it is time that the recent Asian economic crisis has added to this process, yet the problem is a long standing one. Internal security and freedom have been targeted by the International Human Rights Commission, among other things, and in the decades of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the death penalty, torture, and cruel and inhumane punishment was meted out to citizens in an extraordinary way. In Myanmar and Vietnam, the situation is no different. On a global scale, Myanmar has been cited as one of the worst violators of human rights. The present dictatorship, which assumed power in 1988, has used its heavy but brutal hand to suppress its citizens. While this country is rich in natural resources, such as timber, minerals and fish, yet Amnesty International sees it as one of the worst violators of cultural and civil rights (Christie & Roy, 2001).

Life in Vietnam is also a living nightmare because of the heavy hand of state rule. Likewise, the political economy of Indonesia, and the situation in Thailand and the Philippines leaves much to be desired. Freedom of speech, religion, and other civil liberties, are clearly lacking, and this is something they have in common with China and North Korea.

NON-GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Let it be clear that it is private citizens and socially minded groups and organizations that initially championed the cause of human rights and not governments. According to Nancy Flowers (2004), "NGO activities surrounding the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on women in Beijing, China, drew unprecedented attention to serious violations of the human rights of women. NGO's such as Amnesty International, The Anti-Slavery Society, The International Commission of Jurists, The International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs, Human Rights Watch, Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, and Survivors International, monitor the actions of governments and pressure them to act according to human rights principles".

This argument is consistent with many others. Help to the poor, the championing of human rights, and the formation of philanthropic organizations were generally initiated by civic-minded individuals and groups and not by the body politic. This is a pattern in the American context as well as in other countries of the industrialized world (Gans, 1962; Lopreato, 1970; Sklare, 1971). One can build a similar argument for countries of the semi-periphery and the periphery.

HUMAN RIGHTS TODAY

So, where are we now? Are we better off today? The answer might be one of a mixed bag. As time went by, especially after the establishment of the League of Nations and the United Nations, human rights abuses declined in many countries but certainly not in all of them. In many countries of the more developed world, and most in the less developed world, human rights abuse continues to loom large. In the United States, Canada, England, Japan, France, Holland, and Germany, abuses pertaining to terrorism, international security, class, gender, and race, are an integral part of everyday life. In the semi-periphery or second world, problems of color, class, citizenship, stagflation – unemployment and inflation – among others, continue to bring havoc on the economic and political infrastructure of these nation states. And in the periphery or third world, the heavy hand of dictatorial leaders, overt violence, and human suffering of every imaginable kind alter the ability of nations to move forward.

Today in countries such as Haiti, Bangladesh, Guyana, Afghanistan, and others, despair and human suffering have become paramount. The twin

variables of innovation and modernization have yet to arrive and so the process of human degradation continues with each passing day. In addition, ethnic and racial conflict around the world has surfaced with an intensity never witnessed before. There are many situations that I can note: Japan between the Koreans and the Japanese; India and Pakistan between the Hindus and the Muslims; Belgium between the Dutch and the Flemish; Iraq between the Kurds and the Iraqis; Turkey between the Kurds and the Turkish; Rwanda between the Tutsis and the Hutus; South Africa between blacks and the whites; Bosnia/Herzogovina between Muslims, Slavs, and Christians; Kosovo between the Monetnegrins, Albanians and the Slavs; Northern Ireland between the Protestants and the Catholic;. Canada between the French speaking and the English speaking Canadians; United States between blacks and whites; Latin America between Spanish speaking people of lighter and darker skin complexion;. Trinidad, Guyana, and Surinamese between Indians and black. Indeed we have a medley of human rights conflicts, and many more could be noted today.

COMMUNICATING HUMAN RIGHTS AND A PERSPECTIVE ON THE PEOPLE OF INDIAN ORIGIN

The Global Organization of people of Indian Origin (GOPIO) was founded in 1989 with an initial thrust to fight for human rights. For the nearly 20 million people of Indian origin (PIO), we need review the effectiveness of this enlarging community, observing within first then and outside the organization to achieve moral integrity. Human rights violation based on race continues in many forms, and as a PIO and scholar, this author provides a perspective for continuing discussion. PIO are settled in all global regions, and I have written extensively from my sociological research, participant observation, and in collaboration with others to document the Caribbean region. GOPIO has treated Indians from the Caribbean and other countries where Indians settled, as less worthy than their Indian National brothers and sisters. This is something that Indians in the receiving societies will simply not tolerate. As Indians from the receiving societies, we respect all of our brothers from GOPIO and India. But we wish to note that over 160 years ago our ancestors left the Gangetic plains and other parts of India with nothing. They went to the other side of the world and carved a beautiful life for themselves. They did so through hard work, faith in God, sacrifice, and the cunning art of thrift. It was these Girmitivas who braved

the harsh conditions of life to give us what we have today and it is on their shoulders that we, their sons and daughters, proudly stand today. And we refuse to succumb blindly to the demands of any, and hoodwinked into believing that some one will save us. My dear brothers and sisters, no one will save us. We will have to save ourselves. GOPIO must take a hard look at the Indian sub-continent, where every person in India deserves food, clothing and shelter and a decent quality of life. Caste is outlawed, but doesn't it have a real effect in practice? Must Indian Fundamentalists desecrate the altar of Christians on Valentines Day? Must Zamindars abuse serfs and peasants in their employ? This is wrong! If we speak a good line about human rights, then we must also try to live it.

Who created the labels PIOs and NRI (people of Indian origin and resident Indians)? These are labels and we don't want, and the impact of labels is well known (Szasz, 1961). So we propose that these labels go. We are Trinidadian-Americans, Guyanese, and Surinamese Americans – and we are proud of that. Please, please don't label us! We will not allow you to do it, and we will not succumb to your labels. When Indians in Uganda, Guyana, Fiji, and other countries were massacred, India sat idly by and did nothing to help. The most we can say is that the Mother Country issued a few statements concerning these atrocities which, in the end, were virtually meaningless. They did not help their desperate brothers and sisters in societies of diaspora. India must ensure that Indians all over the world must live a life of decency and dignity with full human rights. This is a clear message it must be sent. India has done nothing for over 160 years.

The days of colonialism are gone, but neo-colonialism is with us and the process has remained. During colonialism the white man defined who we were. Now it is some of our own trying to tell us who we are. This cannot happen and will not happen. We will define who we are and not anyone from the outside. Our identity must be conferred on us by us. If Jihad and fundamentalism are parts of the cultural make-up of the Indian sub continent, then we fully understand that. But please don't impose your ethnocentric outlook on us. Respect must be accorded to us by using the perspective of cultural relativism, and no other. We simply say that you must use our cultural standards, and not yours, to define who we are. Yes, it is true that we have Indian roots and we take much pride in our cultural heritage, but we left the homes of our mothers and fathers many years ago and went to the other side of the world to carve out a life for ourselves. We are Indians who live in the West and who have no intentions of debunking our great culture (Gosine).

Writing about his own experience on his first visit to India, Naipaul (1976), in his novel *India: A Wounded Civilization*, captures most vividly the typical Caribbean East Indian feeling towards India. In his words:

> India is for me a difficult country. It isn't any home and cannot be my home; and yet I cannot reject it or be indifferent to it; I cannot travel only for the sights. I am once too close and too far. My ancestors migrated from the Gangetic plain a hundred years ago; and the Indian community they and others established in Trinidad, on the other side of the world, the community in which I grew up, was more homogeneous than the Indian community Gandhi met in South Africa in 1893, and more isolated from India. India which I visited for the first time in 1962, turned out to be a strange land. A hundred years had been enough to wash me clean of many Indian religious attitudes; and without these attitudes the distress of India was-and is-almost insupportable. It has taken me much time to come to terms with the strangeness of India, to define what separates me from the country and to understand how far the 'Indian' attitudes of someone like myself, a member of a small and remote community in the New World, have diverged from the attitudes of people to whom India is still whole … in India I am a stranger … Because in myself, like the split-second images of infancy which some of us carry, there survive, from the family rituals that lasted into my childhood, phantasmal memories of old India which for me outline a whole vanished world … In India I know I am a stranger; but increasingly I understand that my Indian memories, the memories of that India which lived on into my childhood in Trinidad, are like trapdoors into a bottomless past.

We are a part of a culture where Christmas, Easter, Holi, and Divali are celebrated. Folks take pride in the cuisines we offer to the world that include, among others, Doubles and Dalpuri, Curry and Karaila, and Phoolouri and Prasad. Indeed we are a truly diverse and eclectic people, and we intend to keep it that way. We believe in universalism and the existence of one soul, and we believe that all of God's children, regardless of color or creed, are beautiful. This is true human rights.

THE PERSISTENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Despite a greater concern for human rights in the twentieth century, human rights violations and abuses continue on a scale never witnessed before. So an important question arises and that is: Why has it happened? Did the initial input and historical development of different political orders around the world culminate in human rights abuses over the years? Are some political orders more conducive to the protection of human rights? Is democracy the preferred type of political order in the protection of human rights? Can we say

that political orders such as totalitarianism, oligarchy, autocracy, dictatorship, military junta, democratic-socialism, and theocracy are less capable than democracies of protecting individual and group rights? Do political systems necessarily advocate legitimation or is this more the domain of civic minded groups? What is the relationship, if any, between the body politic and civic associations in bringing about a greater degree of human rights?

How do political systems work? What drives them? What is the idealized outlook of its participants? And does this affect their outlook on decision making as it pertains to human rights? Are there prerequisites to democracy such as advanced economic development, access to information, absence of major cleavage, the diffusion of power that enhance the process of the protection of human rights? Despite its concern for human rights, is the democratic system flawed? And, if so, where can these flaws be located in discussions pertaining to human rights? Is the United States, and other western democracies, guilty of human rights abuses? Are there hidden political agendas on the part of the core societies towards the semi-periphery and the periphery and the recent increase in human rights abuses?

Despite growing concern for human rights since World War II, why have petty thugs and other world leaders who abuse others physically or emotionally, go unpunished? What role, if any, does capital accumulation play in human degradation around the world today? Is the abuse of human rights economically and politically functional for the underdeveloped world and especially the developed world? Does NAFTA and the European common market abuse human rights in the name of capital accumulation? Do the sweatshops of Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America, and some times even within the core societies themselves, help to sustain the system of capital accumulation? Isn't child labor a violation of basic human rights? Is neo-colonialism old wine poured into new bottles to maintain a system of exploitation? Does this have anything to do with the creation of a new world order? Is this new world order one in which the developed nations talk a good line about human rights but has another agenda, which often includes the desire to dominate the world economically and politically?

What role will terrorism play in discussions pertaining to human rights? Will terrorism give political leaders a mandate to violate legal systems? How will this play-out ethnically and racially? Which group will be targeted and which not? How will that affect mobility and life chances, and even the according of basic human rights? Where do Indians fit into the picture? Will we continue to be a model minority? How will the violations of human rights affect migration patterns? How will human rights concerns affect inter-group relations in the receiving societies? But how will human rights

concerns affect the intra-group relations of Indians and others. Will human rights concerns galvanize or break apart the relations between and among Indian communities around the world? What role will such institutions as the family, education, and religion play in aiding or altering the rights of Indians? What will be the role of women in a society that emphasizes or de-emphasizes human rights? Is traditional culture an impediment to the conferring of increasing rights on the individual, or is it not? Does ethnocentrism have anything to do with human rights, and how so? What role will education and the media play to advocate and portray basic human rights? These are just a few of the questions we ought to examine in our on-going discussions about our culturally mediated human rights.

TOWARD A METHODOLOGY AND THEORY OF HUMAN RIGHTS

What methods should be adopted? Methodology is a system of rules and procedures that guide scientific investigation. When we look at research on human rights, we see that it is disorganized, and academics and practitioners have begun to codify the data on human rights violation as well as platforms for action to support human rights. The data include treaties, conventions, and documents, accessible, now through the United Nations and the work of nation states and affiliated non-governmental organizations. Further research and codification of the data are important, and this could be done arranging the data according to region, culture, social institutions, government and non-governmental agencies, legal systems, cross cultural variations, funding, and communication information technologies. We must also keep in mind that when we do research on human rights, there is a wide variation of data that range from recognized law to psuedo-legal guidelines, to official decisions and recommendations at the local levels that needs to be accessible in the modern global context.

We should also keep in mind that human rights is an inter-disciplinary topic that postulates points of convergence and departure but which, in the end, must arrive at some workable synthesis towards addressing the problem. This will help in the international recognition of the problem and serve as a baseline to guide socio-economic and political action by those responsible for implementing policy. Indeed the topic is complex, and finding the right materials takes dedication and persistence. Also, the specific methodologies we use will be crucial to this process, relying on both

qualitative and quantitative methods. The incorporation of hermeneutic methods will be crucial to this process, so that all levels and contexts may be understood in connection with human activities. Documentation of human rights abuses and protections at every level of the social order is necessary.

In building a theory on human rights, we should extrapolate and deduce from data to make theoretical statements that can be tested and explain empirical reality. Solid research involves the integration of theory and data. Moreover, in terms of a specific theory, functionalists and neo-functionalists, conflict, symbolic interaction, information, social psychological, feminist, and social control theories have been useful. Researcher on human rights can develop theory based on socio-economic and political structure, racial and ethnic concerns, as well as the intersection of race, class, and gender; the forms of human rights abuses, resources, the process change, which also would include documentary media studies.

Theories must be eclectic and should be formulated against a backdrop of the historical development of each society in question. Also, the input of both the more developed and the less developed world is important in this process and must include the downtrodden and the disenfranchised as well as those who are least able to care for themselves. Doing so will alter the dominant human rights theories and ideologies formulated by the core societies which also give them greater leverage in the semi-periphery and the periphery, impacting on policies and raising the question of ethnocentrism among other conflictive issues. New issues of universalism will be raised as new information technologies are accessed and applied to community formation and social movements for human rights. New theories and methods may emerge. What conclusions can be drawn and for social thinkers and policy makers in the future?

CONCLUSION

The history and social evolution of human rights reveals clearly a number of things. Ever since the beginning of sedentary life, some form of human rights have been accorded western civilization, and the growth of human societies could not have been possible without some notion of civility and organized social life. However, the according of these rights were never contingent upon the process of equity nor were they intended to be. Political systems have often used the heavy hand of political authority and legitimate power to accord rights to some and to deny others the same rights. Thus persisting inequities of political systems, the according of human rights

needs further research. Such topics as the process of legitimation and the duality of the aims and objectives of political systems must be given credence in research pertaining to human rights.

When one looks at the according of human rights across civilizations, one sees a certain imbalance in processes pertaining to equitable rights and social organization. Given the history of power relations, and forms of traditional charismatic and legal rational systems, we can be easily deduced that universally governments have favored certain groups over others for a medley of reasons. It remains to be said then, that civil social orders do not always act in concert with all of the people all of the time, and the notion of civility is not interpreted to mean the empowerment of all in the social order. Civility and the empowerment of both the affluent and the disenfranchised is often a segmented process by those who govern. Historically the shortcomings of the state and those who govern have been duplicated by religious institutions. The notion of praxis lets us see that religions and values today are intertwined with the state, though at given moments in time, however, its role has been overshadowed by the power of the state. Thus any concern for human rights must examine the relationship between the state and the religion over time and with how this impacts on the rights of citizenship.

The codification of law did not bring about true equality nor did it empower all citizens. Human rights were accorded segmentally. Although it is true that much law is formulated on the basis of mala en se and genuinely concerned with the moral conscience of the society, yet much law is formulated on the basis of mala prohibita and this promotes divisions. For this reason, the codification of law and the instituting of a legal system must find a central place in studies of human rights. Moreover, the constituent part of a legal system must be examined against a backdrop of civil rights and the social, political, and economic contexts in which they are accorded.

Can political structures affect identity formation? Indeed there is a direct correlation between the two. In the process of imposing its political will on the citizenship, the rights of some groups as opposed to others are often violated. Although some groups are tortured and brutalized, others are labeled and repressed. Colonialism might be a thing of the past, but neocolonialism persists. Human rights research should also consider the issue of identity formation, empowerment, and the social dynamic.

Do different world political systems affect how human rights are accorded? A quick answer is yes, but also no. It is customary to think that democratic systems are open and flexible and thus accord more human rights. This is usually the case, but not always. Polities can be repressive due to their connection with systems that foster class stratas that are locked in

conflict. The variances of capitalist and socialist systems are open to further research in connection with human rights definitions and the accordance of those rights to peoples. Similarly religious/theocratic systems consolidated power in the hands of a few, and decisions are based on protecting certain selfish and reactionary interests rather than empowering the people they are called upon to serve. Even as noble a reformer as Martin Luther, and his associates, Ulrich Zwingli, John Knox, and John Calvin were not total in their commitment to the affording of basic human rights to women, slaves, non-citizens, and others. Historically religious agencies, and their inability to act in accordance with the state, whether intended or not, has altered the forging of the collective will to promote full human rights.

The process of colonization and the building of the empire, namely colonialism and imperialism, did more to oppress people all over the world than any other system producing a world of macro level oppression. In the colonial world, a system of exploitation of resources was used to amass huge individual fortunes. The multi-national corporations were born in this period. Eric Williams, the late prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago, raised the issue of how the more developed countries underdeveloped the others in his ideological treatise, *Capitalism and Slavery*? In this view slavery provided a base for capitalism in the Americas and Europe, which brings the negation of the human rights of some people vis-à-vis others. Was the system of neo-colonialism any different? I don't think so. Neo-colonialism emphasized such things as the rise of the multi-national corporation, the international monetary system, and Yankee military and technological might, which we argue have helped to subdue the less fortunate people of the world. Indeed, capitalism has been a system of exploitation in the marketplace. Legal systems were introduced and included the enactment of laws pertaining to child labor, slavery, the abuse of the elderly, and systems that opted to impose on others.

The formation of global and regional bodies like the United Nations and the regional confederations moved to reduce human rights abuses. Their charters may reflect parochialism that was driven by the first world, and this resulted in the continuation of human rights abuses. This brings into question the role of government in addressing ethical, moral and legal concerns.

Also, citizen participation in matters pertaining to human rights is crucial in any bill of rights advocating a more humane social order. The civil society movements and such groups and organizations as Amnesty International, The International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs, Human Rights Watch, and many other NGOs make human rights programs. Voluntary

associations and civic-minded individuals and groups must play a key role in the decision-making processes; new social media should be researched to learn the ways such activities may be facilitated and/or impeded.

Globalization has created an ethnic backlash, and religion and tribal issues are central in this regard. Although advertising and the media have helped to heighten awareness of human rights violations, media also galvanize groups and help them to rally around geographic, class, and cultural issues. Although it might be true that corporate media helped to create a kind of universal culture, yet populations are segmented, as Barber (2001) describes in Jihad vs. McWorld. Moreover, will racial and national profiling become an integral part of the agenda of the more developed countries? Will those who are supposed to be championing the cause of human rights become some of the biggest violators of human rights in the end? What will this do to the future of human rights? A sociology of human rights that encompasses these complex questions, building on established and new theories and methods, will begin to answer the questions, and there is much research to be done.

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THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE'S HUMAN RIGHTS: PERSPECTIVE ON THE MEDIA

Sam Cherribi

ABSTRACT

The theory of the civilizing process, first introduced by sociologist Norbert Elias, refers to the process by which aggressiveness becomes "domesticated" through an individual's or community's adoption of civilized codes of conduct and patterns of social behavior. From the perspective of this theory, fundamental civil liberties and human rights, as defined in the European Convention for Human Rights, can be seen as an essential catalyst in the civilizing process. Human rights is a topic high on the agenda of many international and non-governmental organizations. Yet little is known about the way that these organizations operate in their aims to further the universalism of human rights, and in particular with regard to human rights and the media. The Council of Europe (CoE) is a major non-governmental organization involving dozens of countries from around the world, and it plays a major role in political bargaining with nations. In addition to the CoE's commitment to human rights, it devotes considerable resources to investigate and document developments in the media as well as human rights violations in its member countries, it takes measures to sanction countries that are in violation of its codes, and it sets forth a policy agenda for the future. In this chapter, the author has drawn

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on his experiences as a member of the parliamentary Assembly of the CoE, interviews with journalists, judges, and politicians, and the reports of the CoE, to explain the work of the CoE in the area of human rights and the media. The chapter begins by making the argument that the theory of the civilizing process elaborated by Elias, providing important insights into understanding the role of the CoE in the area of human rights and the media. In conclusion, a critical assessment of the role of international organizations and their efforts to further the development human rights particularly in the field of journalism and the media is offered.

THE CIVILIZING PROCESS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

In 1939, sociologist Norbert Elias predicted that the major tensions in Europe would not only lead to World War II but that in the long run this crisis would generate ''world government'' (Mennell, 1989, p. 219). Many international institutions indeed developed after World War II. In 1945, NATO and the European Community were founded. In 1949 the Council of Europe (CoE), an inter-governmental organization, was formed with five-member west European countries (Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Holland, and the United Kingdom). One of its major concerns, as stated in Article 3 of the CoE's constitution, is human rights and fundamental liberties. Although some may describe Elias's notion of world governance as utopian, the growth of these intergovernmental organizations is evidence of what he has termed ''the civilizing process,'' which concerns the learning process by which people domesticate their behaviors and feelings. The civilizing process not only applies to individuals, but may also be extended to groups, societies, and states. It is an ongoing process. Fundamental human rights may be described as both a basic component of Elias's theory of the civilizing process and one of the most important achievements of that process: more interdependence between states, more cooperation, more respect, more human rights. The more interdependence, the more respect for human rights.

Such intergovernmental organizations as the United Nations (UN) or the CoE, in Elias's terms, can be described as a ''biological universal.'' This refers to ''the automatic response of an organism to threats,'' to escape from, prevent, or stop the danger (Mennell, 1989, p. 220). In the words of Elias, the goal of the human endeavor or the civilizing process is ''to civilize the aggressive instinct, and to tame aggressive impulses'' and one of the key

purposes of these organizations is to reduce aggressiveness in the world and to protect individuals who are weak (Elias as quoted in Mennell, 1989, p. 220).

Independent media are very important to triggering the "biological universal" or the alarm reaction of these intergovernmental organisms. The watchdog role of the media can be described as the human rights watch. The governments of the states that do not respect the independence of the media, therefore, also do not respect Article 3 of the CoE's constitution that is the guarantee of human rights and fundamental civil liberties

THE HUMAN RIGHTS ROLE OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Hamelink (1994, p. xii) situates the CoE among the "major players" in the UN network that includes specialized agencies, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and non-UN Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs). The CoE is described as a non-UN intergovernmental organization, along with others such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the International Satellite Consortium (Intelsat), and the International Maritime Satellite Organization (Inmarsat). Hamelink argues (1994, p. 272) that: "The IGOs play a significant role in political bargaining and perform in world politics as relatively autonomous actors. They foster coalitions, shape agendas and often provide support for less powerful states. Secretariats of IGOs have often very actively promoted links among governments, with governments and with NGOs."

In 1951, the Committee of Ministers who had power to take all decisions in the CoE agreed to give the member national parliaments of these European governments more authority to scrutinize the Committee's decision making, and the CoE's parliamentary Assembly was therefore formed (Burban, 1996). The size of the CoE and its Assembly expanded with Germany in the 1950s, Cyprus, Malta Switzerland in the 1960s, Portugal, Spain, Lichtenstein, St Marten in the 1970s, Finland in the 1980s, and many countries in the 1990s.

Today 43 countries are members of the CoE, with Ukraine and Azerbijzan the most recent entrants. Russia was admitted in 1996, after controversial debates over Checenya. Russia's admittance to the CoE

followed the admittance in the early 1990s of Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Estonia, Lithuania, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, Romania, Albania, and Moldavia, among others. In addition to the member countries, some countries have "observer" status such as Canada and the United States, and other countries have an associated member status such as Costa Rica. The Assembly has quarterly sessions, and the various committees that report to the Assembly meet on a regular basis between sessions.

Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights guarantees freedom of expression and states explicitly: "freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers." Given the expanded size of the CoE, almost the entire European continent is now covered by this Convention. At the same time, the growth of the Internet and the expansion of satellite communications have made it more difficult than ever before for governments to cut off access to all but government-controlled information.

In 2000, the CoE's Committee on Culture, Science and Education, of which I am a member, was formed from the merger of two committees (Committee on Science and Technology; Committee on Education, Culture and Media). Although the word "media" was dropped from the title of the new committee, the subject of the media remains one of the most important ones facing the committee. The subcommittee on media, on which I served, conducts research on all topics concerning media and human rights in all countries of the CoE. In the past decade, developments in eastern Europe have dominated the activities and concerns of the CoE and its committees, and the subcommittee on media is no exception.

The Committee on Culture, Science and Education recently agreed to appoint a General Rapporteur on the media in Europe. This will enable to the committee and the CoE to more closely follow developments in the media systems of member countries and give the CoE an opportunity to react swiftly and publicly to events. The committee believes that such a response is more effective in mobilizing world opinion as well as opinion within the country.

The CoE issues conventions and protocols that are to be respected and implemented by its member states. In the terminology of Elias, these conventions or protocols can be described as "standards of behavior" and "codes of conduct." The process by which a convention or protocol is issued can involve different paths. One of the most common is through the committee and its subcommittees. The media subcommittee, for example, has a budget to conduct research, talk to experts, invite ministers from member countries to speak on special subjects, and on the basis of these

activities reports are written. These reports form the basis of protocols that are then put before the full Committee on Culture, Science and Education, for debate and after amendment and approval, this will go before the full assembly for discussion and debate. Amendments made after the assembly's debate result in a document that urges the Committee of Ministers and its civil servants to prepare a convention or protocol, which will later be submitted to the assembly for amendment and approval. The CoE is now in the process of considering a new protocol on transnational television.

In 1958 the CoE elaborated a convention to allow more exchange of television programs, and this was ratified by the 13-member countries as well as Tunisia and Israel. Then followed five additional protocols on the protection of TV programs in 1960, 1965, 1974, 1983, and 1989. The new protocol is now under discussion in the subcommittee on the media, and one of the major concerns is new technologies, satellites, and transnational television.

The European Court of Human Rights becomes a player and an enforcer when a country that is a CoE member is in violation of a convention. A judge on the European Court recently explained how the Court can become alerted to these violations: ''We receive letters in the Court, from individuals in countries, stating examples of how their country does not respect a convention. As a prosecuting Court, we can then take action against the country and initiate a legal process to force the country to respect a convention.'' From the interview with a judge from the European Court of Human Rights, Strausbourg, I learned that the problem, the judge noted, is that many people are not aware of the role of the court in this process. Despite this lack of information, an increasing number of people contact the court directly. Until 1970, only 9 cases concerning human rights had been brought before the court. A decade later it was 40. From 1981 to 1991, an additional 175, and between 1991 and 1995, there was ''not just explosion but a big bang of cases,'' with 506 cases, and this signals ''that people have more confidence in the Court'' (Burban, 1996, p. 67). Some of the most recent cases of violations of Article 10 before the European Court of Human rights have been against western European governments otherwise thought of as long-established democracies.

THE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION REPORT

According to Burban (1996, p. 55): ''In the history of international relations, the CoE is the first serious effort for the protection of the international human rights.'' In April 2001, after a year of activities and investigations,

the Committee on Culture, Science and Education issued a report called "Freedom of expression and information in the media in Europe," presented by the rapporteur, Mr.Gyula Hegyi. The report was debated in the plenary session of the CoE on April 24, 2001, and a vote was taken. The report was adopted, almost unanimously, by the assembly of the CoE, and therefore it is now on the political agenda of the Committee of Ministers. The report identifies cases of human rights abuse of journalists and it makes recommendations for action. Here I would like to highlight some of the key findings from the report.

The report expresses concern that although a number of European countries have made major progress toward freedom of expression over the past decade, and now officially declare their support for freedom of expression, existing laws in some CoE member countries still enable governments to imprison journalists for expressing their opinions. Armenia, Azerbaijan, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Ukraine are among these countries. The report also notes that in some countries too, media are "being used as propaganda tools, spreading words of hate, racism and xenophobia" (Introduction: point 16), and singles out Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as Russia towards the Chechens as examples.

The report details some of the most extreme examples of violence against journalists. Appalling cases of beatings and brutality, torture, imprisonment, kidnap, and even murder, as well as mysterious disappearances and deaths attributed to strange causes, have been common in Ukraine, Russia, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Belarus, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Numerous examples of violence against journalists in Turkey and other countries are discussed. The report also cites *Agence France Presse* for noting that "the Union of Russian Journalists has claimed that more than 120 journalists have been killed in the country since the end of 1991" and that "many of these murders or aggressions have not yet been elucidated."

The cases of Slavko Curuvija in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Georgy Gongadze in Ukraine are especially well known and their names have become symbols of government repression. Some aspects of these two cases are worth mentioning here, because they reveal the extreme nature of the aggression and the government reaction and possible involvement in these crimes against journalists. Slavko Curuvija, a well-known Yugoslav intellectual, owned and published Belgrade's daily *Dnevni Telegraf* and was a harsh critic of the Milosevic regime. He was shot dead in April 1999 in central Belgrade by two masked gunmen, and there was considerable evidence pointing to Milosevic's regime as being responsible for his death. The government investigation into his murder at the time produced nothing.

In October 2000, a document circulated in Belgrade revealed that State Security agents had been following him on the day he was murdered but that they had been deliberately withdrawn on the order of the head of the Security Service shortly before the shooting. A new investigation was undertaken by the new Serbian government.

Georgy Gongadze managed Ukraine's most popular Internet newspaper called "Ukrainska Pravda" (www.pravda.com.ua), and he and the newspaper were often critical of President Kuchma and his team. The father of two-year-old twin girls, Gongadze disappeared on September 16, 2000, on his way home from work in Kiev. The events that followed are discussed in detail in the report of the Committee on the Honouring of Obligations and Commitments by Member States of the CoE. Document 8946 presented to the Committee on Culture and Education contains a more general description of the media situation in the country. After a tortured headless body was discovered in a woods outside the city, which was assumed to be Gongadze's, the Socialist Party opposition leader Mr. A. Moroz gave a speech in the Parliament in late November 2000, in which accused President Kuchma and his team of conspiring to have the man killed. Moroz claimed that evidence existed from an audiotape made of Kuchma's private conversations in his office in which his involvement in the killing was made clear. Patrick Tyler later (2001) wrote in *The New York Times*:

> A former presidential bodyguard, Mykola Melnychenko, who says he was motivated by outrage and patriotism in the face of Mr. Kuchma's alleged involvement in corruption, recorded hundreds of hours of Mr. Kuchma's conversations. He then fled to Europe in November and has released the recordings piecemeal ever since. [In April 2001] … Mr. Melnychenko and his family were granted political asylum in the United States, a fact Mr. Kuchma's supporters have used to bolster their allegations that the 63-year-old leader's troubles are the result of a conspiracy from abroad.

The assembly of the CoE held an urgent procedure debate on this case at the January 2001 part-session. Following this debate, the report notes that the "Assembly deplored 'the fact that the authorities' ostentatious efforts to investigate the case seem incompetent, unimaginative and heavy-handed.' The assembly called on the relevant Ukrainian authorities to conduct an expeditious, full and transparent investigation as regards the disappearance or death of Mr Gongadze, to make known the results of this investigation as quickly as possible and bring to justice those responsible for committing this crime."

In late April 2001, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and American military forensic experts went to Ukraine to re-examine the headless corpse found near Kiev last November. Russian forensic experts

had already identified the body as that of Mr. Gongadze, but German experts claimed the evidence was inconclusive. The investigation has to date revealed no answers on who is responsible for the crime.

Censorship is not only brought about through violence. Legitimate arms of the state are often used to intimidate journalists and media organizations. In many of the former Soviet republics, for example, the government's tax office has become the new censor, with required police searches and confiscation of material. Pressure can also be put on advertisers to stop buying space in a newspaper on a television or radio station, and suppliers of newsprint and the distributors of newspapers can also be pressured. In Ukraine, on the orders of the Health and Anti-Epidemic Service, or the Fire Safety Department, media organizations can find themselves being shut down on a moment's notice. Bomb scares and power cuts have also been used to prevent those in the media business from doing their work. The report (point 71) recounts the example of the "taste" of censorship that the Committee on Culture and Education experienced in September 2000 when during an "Assembly part-session a teleconference between Committee members and Ukrainian journalists was prevented from taking place by an alleged bomb threat in the building in Kyiv where it should have been held (a detailed account of this incident and other forms of pressures on the media in Ukraine can be found in Doc 8946)."

The report goes into some detail about Russia's efforts to prosecute Vladimir Gusinsky, the owner the Media-Most empire including NTV, one of the only nationwide television channels critical of President Putin, which has been an ongoing story that has received considerable attention in the international press in late 2000 and early 2001. The media outlets of Media Most have been critical of the present Kremlin administration, have denounced corruption in the country and were among the very few that dared show the events in Chechnya in their true light. In June 2000, Mr. Gusinsky was jailed briefly and accused of embezzlement in the privatisation of a regional TV company. According to the report (point 92): "He was freed under a secret agreement with state-dominated gas giant Gazprom, signed by the Minister of Information. The agreement guaranteed dropping of charges in return for a majority stake to the state-run company. Mr. Gusinsky publicly denounced this agreement and flew to his Spanish home. Since then prosecutors have filed a new case, accusing him that Media Most and its daughter companies have assets lower than required under the Civil Code (a situation which is common to an overwhelming majority of Russian media companies, but for which they are not being prosecuted)." Until recently, Mr. Gusinsky was under house arrest in Spain fighting

extradition to Russia. In mid-April, a Spanish judge rejected the grounds for extradition, and Gusinsky was freed from house arrest.

Celestine Bohlen (2001) writing in *The New York Times* on April 29 noted:

> The swift and brutal dismantling of Media-Most, Russia's largest privately held media empire, and its flagship television station NTV, has raised questions about the future of independent media in pos-Communist Russia … the case of NTV stands out. Nowhere else in Eastern Europe have men in black masks wielding guns prowled the headquarters of private television stations, seeking evidence of financial misdeeds and political espionage. (www.nyt.com)

Mr. Gusinsky addressed the powerful Washington DC National Press Club on May 3 and said (Reuters, 2001):

> It is very important that during the dialogues that the Western leaders and the U.S. leaders have with the Russian leaders, certain red lines should be drawn and beyond these lines one cannot go if one wants to live in a civilized world. This is the free press, this is human rights, and it is many, many other things that have to happen in Russia for it to be able to call it a civilized country.

By this time, Gusinsky had lost the battle with Gazprom, the state-dominated gas firm, which took control of NTV, until then a channel outside of Kremlin control and often critical of the Putin government. Gusinky described the Russian fraud and money-laundering allegations as "politically motivated" and that it is "evidence that the Kremlin was using the system of justice to fight against their opponents" (Reuters. 2001). At the same time that Gusinsky was being hosted by the press in Washington, President Putin was named by the Committee to Protect Journalists, based in New York, as one of the "Ten Worst Enemies of the Press for 2001."

The CoE report notes: "The fraud investigation and the struggle for control of Media-Most has been punctuated by more than two dozen searches of the company headquarters, arrests and short-lived deals." Another Russian example is the case of the other media oligarch, Boris Berezovsky, who assisted Mr. Putin's accession to power with his *partially state-owned* television *channel ORT*, who fled into exile in November 2000.

Throughout central and eastern Europe, provisions in the law for defamation have become a tool for silencing journalists or other critics of those in power. The report notes in point 74: "It is revealing that almost all new democracies go through a period of a huge number of court cases (in 1999 Ukrainian media were sued over 2000 times for the total of almost three times as much as the country's whole budget!). Reforming such laws has become one of the most important battles that the media in these

countries have had to fight.'' These provisions also still remain in some of the criminal codes of west European countries. Greece is one example where the Minister of Justice has brought cases against journalists who have criticized him.

The report also notes in certain countries in transition a critical problem is ''that the courts are not independent and they have to interpret the law in the most suitable way for their masters'' (point 76).

The report notes two external developments that make it even more difficult today for journalists to perform their jobs. One is the increasingly competitive media environment that results in more effort to bring in news stories from areas of the world in which conflicts and wars are ongoing. The dramatic coverage of these developments is often provided by young or inexperienced freelancers because media organizations have had to cut budgets in the increasingly competitive environment. A second development is the within state, rather than between states, nature of many of the recent conflicts. These within state conflicts, between factions or terrorist organizations, usually do not respect such international rules as the Geneva Convention, and journalists in these areas are in very dangerous positions.

In light of these competitive trends, the report notes the possible negative consequences for media content such as infotainment rather than serious and investigative journalism. In the report's conclusion, the assembly recommends that the Council of Ministers:

- consider as a priority the defence of freedom of expression and information in member and candidate states
- set up a more efficient system of defending freedom of expression and information in Europe, involving all relevant sectors of the organisation dealing with this issue and allowing it to increase pressure on governments
- make public the findings of its monitoring procedure in the field of freedom of expression, formulate on this basis specific recommendations to individual member states and make these states publicly accountable for their implementation
- ensure that the expertise provided by the CoE in the field of media legislation is duly taken into account by member states, particularly on points challenging attempts at political control over the media
- instruct its relevant bodies to step up work on challenges to freedom of expression and information and to media pluralism and diversity stemming from globalisation and from the further development of the information society

- enhance public debate within its specific bodies on necessary changes and improvements in the field of freedom of expression and information in member countries
- provide the necessary means for the implementation of assistance programmes and make governments better aware of the urgent need for voluntary contributions
- ensure coordination and complementarity of the aforementioned activities with other international institutions, and in particular the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, the European Union and UNESCO, as well as with relevant journalist associations and trade unions.

CONCLUSIONS

In the field of human rights, institutions are needed to advance, implement and monitor progress, and call attention to stagnation or regression. No single institution can do this work alone. Some form of coordination and cooperation with different actors in the field is a must. Since the end of the 1990s the UN has began to establish and to work with existing national and regional institutions around the world in order to promote and protect human rights. The CoE has embarked on many technical projects to provide assistance for national human rights institutions in the Ukraine, Azerbabaijan, Kosovo, Latvia , Georgia, and the Republic of Moldova. The UN also has a similar initiative with the Network of National Human Rights Institutions of the Americas, which was established in Mexico City in November 2000, and involves Bolivia, Canada, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, and Peru. In Asia and the Pacific, there is support for the annual meetings of the Asia Pacific Forum of National Human Rights Institutions held in 2000 in New Zealand and in 1999 in the Philippines. In Africa the UN participated in the third Regional Conference of African Institutions for the Promotion and the Protection of Human Rights held in Lome in 2001.

The UN and its agencies are not interested particularly in the media as a human rights issue per se. The topic of the media and freedom of expression may get a mention in UN special rapporteurs' reports on a country or a region.[1] But it almost never receives the amount of time and attention it is afforded in the CoE. One of the reasons the UN pays less attention to this issue is that as a major world organization the UN has to prioritize which

issue is the most important: HIV, basic needs for survival, stability, peace, terrorism. Another reason that human rights and the media receive comparatively little attention from the UN has to do with the organization's complex social, cultural, geopolitical and economical configuration, which make political decisions difficult and the topic itself is often considered a political one.

There are also some major differences between the UN and the CoE as organizations. Whereas every county can be recognized as a member of the UN, a country needs to abide by a set of democratic standards in order to be a member of the CoE and one of these standards is to subject itself to the CoE's immediate democratic scrutiny. Countries or governments that do not abide by these standards can be sanctioned by the CoE. Another major difference between the UN and the CoE is that while civil servants and international diplomats are the prime movers in the UN, in the CoE national parliamentarians do the work. The involvement of elected members of national parliaments gives a greater openness and a participatory allure to the whole process of scrutiny. The direct involvement of elected members of national parliaments may help to make the very idea of human rights tangible and acceptable to citizens.

The activities of the CoE and its various committees, and in particular the Committee on Culture, Science and Education, put at the top of concerns the developments the media and the rights of journalists to perform their work freely. Yet the aforementioned examples of flagrant violations of human rights come from countries that are members of the CoE. These countries have officially declared their support for the CoE's constitution and the European Convention of Human Rights.

In its March 2001 report entitled "Freedom of expression and information in the media in Europe," which outlines these and other examples of human rights violations and abuses of journalists, there is also a revealing reference to the CoE's own internal procedures (points 20 and 21):

> In April 1999 the Parliamentary Assembly adopted Recommendation 1407 on media and democratic culture in which it asked the Committee of Ministers to monitor closely the state of freedom of press in European member and non-member countries, so as "to exert moral and political pressure upon governments which violate freedom of expression"; "defend and protect journalists who are victims of such violations".
>
> It is regrettable that the Committee of Ministers has been unable in two years to reply to this recommendation. Moreover, several sectors of the Council of Europe are working on the issue of freedom of expression and the need for a well-coordinated, flexible and efficient mechanism of reaction to violations of freedom of expression is greater than ever if the organisation is to enhance its political role.

These two examples, first, that some country members agree with the rules but continue to break them, and second, that the CoE's own internal policymaking machinery does not always result in concrete action being taken, point up the difficulties of human rights politics in the international arena.

Within the CoE's parliamentary assembly itself, there are times when it is not possible to have an urgent debate on human rights issues because of the alliances among some countries. On April 24, 2001, France, Germany, and other major western countries as well as Poland and many of the smaller former eastern bloc countries voted against having an urgent debate on the situation of the media in Russia (e.g., the difficulties surrounding the independent television channel NTV) and the media and political developments in Ukraine. The United Kingdom, The Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium, Sweden, among others, however, voted for the urgent debate, despite the arguments made by some politicians that the CoE should be especially careful in not upsetting Russia because it could provoke a dangerous reaction. An urgent debate provides an especially powerful signal to the world's press that something alarming is occurring, and this in turn can be of great value in mobilizing world opinion and opinion within the offending country. But on April 24, 2001, the majority in the CoE's parliamentary assembly voted against the urgent debate, so it did not occur.

Despite these disappointing examples, the work of the CoE and the fundamental values on which it is based has enlarged the circles identification, both between and within countries, with the codes of conduct respecting human rights. An urgent debate may be avoided on one occasion, but not necessarily the next time. The Committee of Ministers cannot always postpone taking action. The press itself is also in large part responsible for this growing identification with and respect for human rights as a universal value.

Human rights in this way becomes a strategy of the universalization of the civilizing process. In the trial and error civilizing process, there have been serious setbacks. What has happened, and at times now still continues to happen, for example, in Bosnia and in Chechenya, are concrete examples of the failure of both the civilizing process and the machinery of international governance.

According to sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986), the accumulation of successes in the civilizing process through international laws and their successful implementation, can be seen as providing a concentration of "juridical capital" that can be seen, for example, in the European Convention on Human Rights and enforced by the European Court of Human Rights. This juridical capital is the codification and the objectivization of symbolic

capital, which is different from other forms of concentration such as military capital and financial capital, as Bourdieu (1994) argues. In this case, symbolic capital concerns the respect and admiration gained by being seen to endorsing and providing fundamental civil liberties and human rights. Symbolic capital creates values and virtues, which are universally shared. The symbolic capital as embodied in the CoE is an instrument of legitimation of the process of civilization in a state, which is the respect of human rights as described in the Convention. Human rights as a rule that has to be respected creates spaces that are universally recognized, and in that sense we can say that human rights can be a strategy of the universalization of values, virtues, attitudes, and social standards. The media are both the guardian of these virtues and values and too often the victim of states that violate them.

NOTES

1. According to a note by the Secretary-General of the UN on the African country Burundi (doc. A/56/479, October 17, 2001 pp. 11–12), "The media have encountered many problems including difficulty of access to information, censorship and intimidation." He gave concrete examples: a reporter for an African radio program was beaten, one Reuters journalist was harassed by the police, others were arrested on charges of sympathizing with the enemy. The Secretary-General in this case calls the arrest of the journalist M. Nikundana illegal and that it "constitutes a violation of the code of criminal Procedure, the decree-law on the press and article 19, paragraph 2 of the International Covenant on Civil and political Rights. The Special rapporteur requests authorities to respect the work of the media so long as it is in compliance with domestic legislation and international law."

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THE RHETORIC AND IDEOLOGY OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE MEDIA

Josh Klein

ABSTRACT

Using a critical perspective, this study reviews human rights and media in the context of capitalist empire, using Habermas' notion that capitalism offers formal but not substantive democracy. The author draws the reader into an impassioned discussion of the failure of government and media to address the significant inequalities in the world and the resulting human rights violations to demonstrate that human rights encompass concerns about economic and social inequalities as well as political and civil rights. Criticism of how capitalism treats rights has been part of the international human rights conversation since World War II.

Increasing human rights violations in the world today and the mass media's evidentiary lack of interest in the sources of these social problems underlie the author's earnest search for a better way. The study draws from the social science literature, while observing and gathering data on media coverage. Data limitations on media human rights indicate further research by the author that would explain the ideology and rhetoric as well as historic shifting patterns.

Western social reality is alienated from its own criminal past to an alarming degree, and is therefore encompassed by it.

– Richard Falk

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A sociologist from another planet visiting the United States who knew political history might conclude that the concept of human rights is an idea the nation has forgotten. If this alien visitor stayed in a hotel room and only watched TV or surfed major media web sites, he or she would see violations of every kind of human right: civil, political, social, and economic. But the talking heads on the tube would rarely use human rights language to describe these violent and discriminatory acts. If this hypothetical alien were to venture out to the newsstand or the bookstore and had a critical eye (or two), he or she would probably find that print news contained a higher proportion of human rights violations than did the TV or TV network-related web sites. Yet even in the more sophisticated print media, the term "human rights" or just "rights" would still be hard to find. I have used my hypothetical alien to evoke a seldom-mentioned contradiction between the world human rights situation and the American news media's interest in human rights. Despite a worldwide human rights crisis, the language of rights is rare in major US media and elite circles. (The alien visitor idea is borrowed from Noam Chomsky, who wrote about how a Martian journalist might cover the war on terror.) My point here is that unburdened by nationalism and fear, an observer would be impressed by the gap between the global human rights tragedy and the lack of media interest.

This chapter argues that the dominant US media framing of human rights reflects the media's role in constructing a reality that serves elite interests. Furthermore, I maintain that during the resurgent US neoliberalism and chauvinism of recent decades, the media treatment of human rights has become more obviously dismissive and biased, more ideological. This long-standing pattern and its recent exacerbation are due to the media role in the larger ideological system, which includes parts of the state, the family, education, and religious institutions. This larger ideological system maintains hegemony by promoting and legitimating the worldview and values of US capitalism's upper class. In recent years, the media, like these other institutions, have increasingly reflected the aggressive top-down agenda of large corporations. This process is global, but I am focusing on the US in this chapter.

An obvious question arises. Since the world supposedly changed after September 2001, can the recent dismissal of human rights be attributed to an innocent preoccupation with security? Is the media reflecting changed popular priorities? Have Americans concluded that the right to their security is more important than other rights like free speech or the right to a job, taking the media with them? The answer to all these questions is no. For starters, the decline in media interest in human rights started well

before 9/11, which I will examine in more detail later. Before examining the US media's treatment of human rights, I offer some thoughts about the role of human rights in a capitalist society.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND CAPITALIST EMPIRE

Salmi (1993) summarized the problem of rights under capitalism clearly: "the constitutions of Western capitalist nations formally guarantee property rights by explicitly condemning theft, but make no provision for certain fundamental human rights, such as the right not to starve, the right to medical care and proper shelter, or the right to a minimum income."

Historically, the struggle for rights came out of feudal and early capitalist struggles against royalism and oppressive authority. The modern emphasis on rights is part of capitalism's break with the feudal past. One useful legacy of these struggles is a discourse (and limited practice) of rights and democratic norms. This history makes it easier for today's pro-capitalist intellectuals to claim that capitalist society emphasizes political rights.

However, what capitalism gives with one hand it takes away with the other. It is characteristic of capitalist social order that it offers formal rights and freedoms while at the same time restricting most people's access to the resources and power that make those rights real. The majority, who experience various levels of economic and social discrimination, find it hard to make use of formal political rights due to limited resources. For example, the constant need to work for a living limits the time and money available to learn about politics and restricts the opportunity to meaningfully speak out on community issues. In part, this notion is what Habermas meant when he said capitalism offers formal but not substantive democracy.

Elite discourse focuses on civil and political rights. These "first-generation" rights include voting, speech, expression, assembly, and protection from torture. Because of this tendency to focus on political and civil rights, the term "human rights" in the popular mind refers to only these kinds of rights. This means that human rights, in popular discourse, like capitalist thinking, marginalizes concern with economic and social inequities. Despite popular and political cultures' emphasis on political and civil rights, human rights literature and major treaties include what have been called "second-generation" rights – economic, social, and cultural rights such as the right to work, the right to adequate health services, the right to housing, the right to education, the right to economic security, and the right to freedom of cultural expression. Jim Ife (2001) has summarized

how the media slants its human rights coverage away from these second-generation (economic and social) rights: ''These are often not associated, in media reports, with 'human rights'; for example a country with inadequate health services or a poor education system would not be described as a country with a 'poor human rights record'. Yet such human rights are just as important as the first generation of civil and political rights, and indeed they go together.''

There are ''first-generation'' rights that relate to economics. These include the right to join a trade union and the right to minimum labor standards. These economic rights are rarely mentioned in everyday discussions, which is another example of the ideological bending of rights consciousness away from material and economic issues. First-generation (civil and political) rights are, broadly speaking, claims to be protected from something, such as abusive punishment or censorship. Second-generation (social and economic) rights tend to be claims for benefits, like having a job or health care. The claiming process, whether first or second generation, is the struggle to overcome avoidable human suffering (Krieger, 1993, p. 791).

This combination of human rights-oriented laws and rhetoric on the one hand, and social and economic violation of rights on the other, is endemic to capitalism. Despite the increase in the number of formal democracies worldwide in recent decades, participation continues to be a sham (Blaug, 2000, p. 146). For instance, promoters of the new era of democracy often point to the transitions from military to electoral rule in Latin America. However, these political developments stayed ''largely within the shell of neoliberal economies and authoritarian state institutions'' (Petras & Veltmeyer, 1999).

Criticism of how capitalism treats rights has been part of the international human rights conversation since World War II. Major human rights documents and socialist and Third World governments have emphasized the importance of social and economic rights. The US media, like US governmental regimes, has always downplayed social and economic rights. The famous partial exception is the Carter administration, whose exceptional emphasis on human rights was still limited, focusing on Latin America and the USSR after its 1979 Afghanistan invasion (Krieger, 1993). Carter's administration has been criticized for its shallow human rights concern, but it did enhance the legitimacy of discussing human rights, including in international affairs. In progressive and grassroots activist circles, rights have been a growing concern, and they certainly got a boost from the Carter rhetoric. The language of rights is part of the enculturation and socialization of Western people. Defenders of capital are justly proud of

the historical association between the emergence of capitalism and the Western world's increased realization of political and democratic rights. This pride, however, becomes propaganda when these same pundits say that capitalism and democracy are Siamese twins and that wherever there is private ownership of the means of production there will be a flowering of respect for human rights. Twentieth-century fascism as well as recent neoliberal top-down globalization offer evidence that "free" enterprise more often than not coexists with unfree polities. In the US socialization process, the idea of formal political rights, or in current language, American freedom, is central. This makes the idea of human rights both attractive and dangerous to elites, including media decision-makers. Attractive because the United States can boast of having more formal protection of rights than many nations, and this helps to legitimate policy and privilege. Dangerous because social and economic rights in the United States are not well protected, and the rights discourse is a resource for anti-systemic social movements. Witness the gains of the civil rights, disabilities, gay/lesbian, and women's movements.

The media are prime ideological state apparatuses – they are channels for the transmission of rules of conduct and dominant values. As Todd Gitlin has argued, the hegemonic consent that they construct is absorptive as well as exclusive (Watson, 2003). Media productions include the absorption of potentially challenging discourse, making it less threatening to the status quo. A high-profile example is popular music, where rock or rap musicians expressing frustrations with social norms are regularly turned into fashionable profit-generating mass commodities and represent little threat to the powers that be. The exclusion aspect of hegemony consists of the routine omission of facts and history that tarnish the US image. The historic near silence in the mainstream media about US support of human rights violations at home and abroad is one example. Although I am not advocating for a "strong effects" or indoctrination model of the media, the media are part of many institutional orders that are hegemonic in the Gramscian sense. That is, these institutions are dominated by certain values and messages and are contested terrains that include (weaker) dissenting voices and messages.

Hegemony was absorptive in the area of human rights during and after Carter's administration. NGO and social movement organizations used Carter's rhetoric to press for an expanded understanding of rights and to apply human rights concern at home. This pressure posed some challenge to US discriminatory and oppressive policies. Here is where we see hegemony's absorptive process. The late 1970s (weak) coverage of US foreign policy in

Latin America was transformed into a Cold War campaign. Under Reagan, the superiority of capitalism and winning political points against socialist countries dominated the media rhetoric.

Media also exclude arguments or topics that might make life harder for the powers that be. The tendency of news accounts to frame poverty and discrimination as purely economic issues, and not as rights violations, is an important example of ideological exclusion. The implication is that economic problems like poverty are the result of natural or uncontrollable forces. When inequalities are not defined as human rights issues, then they are not matters of avoidable suffering. As media cultivation research has shown, the news media have, over recent decades, mainstreamed a version of the human rights issues that have reflected corporate concern, over labor, for example. The human rights issues, like other policy areas, have become soaked in a business-oriented neoliberal ideology that marginalizes the issues and interests of working people, the poor, and anyone who might challenge the dominant political-economic system. The media role in this cultivation process is mostly a dependent one. Big media, as Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model posited, are constrained to defending elite interests. This happens in five ways: corporate ownership, advertising, dependence on official sources, flak from powerful critics, and shared ideology (Herman, 1998).

In recent years, affirming rights has been part of neoliberal rhetoric. Like previous human rights ideologies, the neoliberal view limits human rights to the civil and political rights of the individual. Economic, social, and cultural rights, so important to the poor areas of the world, have been until most recently mainly unmentioned. More than just ignoring social and economic rights, neoliberal ideology implies that social and economic rights threaten civil and political rights "because of their tendency to consolidate power in the state and to undermine individualism" (Falk, 2000).

The official protectors of rights like the US State Department and the UN produce documents expressing a dedication to defending rights. A February 2004 State Department report began: "Promoting respect for universal human rights is a central dimension of U.S. foreign policy" (Anon, 2004). This rhetoric does not reflect the real US priorities. Disrespect for social and economic priorities is indicated by the United States regularly using its overwhelming power in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to undermine economic and environmental rights. For example, the United States promotes fiscal austerity at the IMF or supports excluding worker protections in the WTO (Tabb, 2001). Others have researched and documented direct assaults on popular

rights by US proxy organizations, covert actions, and war in Latin America, South Asia, and the Middle East (Blum, 2000; Guyatt, 2000).

HUMAN RIGHTS AND SECURITY

Current global conditions constitute a human rights crisis, particularly in socioeconomic inequality and material deprivation in many areas. The US media have provided scant coverage historically. When the issues of great inequality were covered, ideological emphasis tended to defend the interests of the few against the needs of the many. The media, as part of the ideological state apparatus, help protect capitalism and empire by framing social and economic rights out of conventional discourse. More recently, as "war on terrorism" discourse has predominated, news coverage seems to be promoting the idea that Americans' right to security is before, and in conflict with, other kinds of rights and the rights of other peoples. Even within discussion of the need for, or right to, security, there is a nationalist and racist double standard.

The relative neglect of social and economic rights is, again, an example of ideological exclusion – leaving politically problematic issues and claims off the news agenda. An even more intense example of exclusion is the marginalization of how the war on terrorism violates civil and political rights that Americans know well and hold dear. A growing chorus of critics have pointed out that "Many of the measures adopted by the U.S. government after the September 11 attacks violated fundamental provisions of international human rights and humanitarian law," and "the campaign against terrorism has led to human rights violations in many countries worldwide" (Human Rights Watch, 2003). State and media pronouncements legitimating the wars in Iraq also violated international laws against war propaganda as well as violating the rights to information and freedom of expression (Harrop, 2004). These complex issues are matters for future empirical examination, but my experience of mainstream media indicates that it is virtually a taboo subject.

Human Rights Watch recently summed up the culture-wide move away from human rights priorities by quoting an influential pundit: "These developments led Michael Ignatieff to ask, after September 11, 'whether the era of human rights has come and gone.' There is no doubt that the human rights movement faces a new challenge" (Human Rights Watch, 2004, p. 386).

The emphasis on the overriding importance of security has intensified the ideological obfuscation of most rights. Not only has security eclipsed human rights as a mainstream concern, but the connection between security and other rights is kept out of the dominant media frame. For instance, the violation of economic and political rights, and its causal contribution to conflict and terrorism, is taboo in mainstream media. The whole war on terrorism culture marginalizes thoughtful examination of the problem of terrorism. Former President Bush's rhetoric, referring to US war on terror captives as "bad people" and "evil-doers," partly precludes curiosity about the motivations of both terrorists and nationalist rebels fighting against US occupation.

Terrorists often justify their acts by claiming human rights or sovereignty violations. Even without taking on whether the claim is legitimate, we must consider the fact that human rights conditions in much of the world give terrorist or rebellious leaders reason to think a large audience will agree with them. This whole issue of the "enemy's" perceptions and rights is largely framed out of media coverage. In sum, today's human rights politics are based on a double standard: "In effect, the United States acts as if human rights were a series of obligations binding on others" (Falk, 2000). Research will need to pursue the promise of change, political rhetoric, and actions.

In the remainder of this chapter, I offer a few facts about the recent human rights situation to make the case that there have been important human rights trends about which American media have shown limited interest. I then use a rough measure to quantify recent news media coverage of human rights. I examine some possible explanations for the patterns and conclude with comments about the need to increase human rights awareness.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS REALITY

It is not the purpose of this chapter to elaborate the worldwide human rights situation, but I must offer evidence for my claim that the reality differs from its treatment in US news. My perspective is echoed by the UN General Assembly' resolution discussing "globalization and its impact on the full enjoyment of all human rights:" The General Assembly was "deeply concerned that the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries, and within countries, has contributed, inter alia, to deepening poverty and has adversely affected the full enjoyment of all human rights, in particular in developing countries … " (United Nations, 2002). Not only are

there severe deprivations of human rights worldwide, but in human rights law there is an "extraordinary and awful gap between existing international legal standards and practice" (Human Rights Watch, 2004).

Massive patterns of rights violations involve everything from those rights traditionally acknowledged in Western nations such as freedom of expression, association, and equality and due process before the law, to rights mentioned less often, such as those having to do with social and economic well-being and security. Documentation of social and economic changes that threaten rights shows that the social structure is less and less amenable to workers and oppressed people's rights. These changes also undermine formal civil and political rights.

There were worldwide improvements in both formal political rights and in socioeconomic statistics during the 1990s, but absolute deprivation and inequality remains enormous, and large areas of the world are in more trouble. In 1945, the difference in living standards between top and bottom 20% was 30:1. More recently, it was 82:1 and rising. An unprecedented number of countries saw development slide backwards in the past two decades. In 46 countries, people are poorer today than in 1990. "In 25 countries more people go hungry today than a decade ago" (Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko).

US MEDIA AS PURVEYORS OF IDEOLOGY

What role do the media have in all this? For various social and structural reasons, the media adhere to the dominant ideology, representing human rights issues in a similar way as other social and policy topics. One major influence on how media address human rights is the preexisting news frame. This affects the amount and quality of human rights coverage. Framing is an ideological process with both long-term and short-term aspects. In the long term, media coverage remains loyal to basic ideological tenets and include premises such as privilege and inequality are justified, the political regime is legitimate, and the present social structure is preferable to social change from below. Short-term aspects of the dominant ideology are the temporarily dominant discourses. Anticommunism, limiting human rights to political rights, and the war on terrorism are themes that have reflected policy priorities and been emphasized in the media.

Reconsidering the 1980s is instructive in understanding the ideological process that engulfs the media and human rights. The Reagan administration interest in human rights was part of it, a pro-business, anticommunist

hysteria. Consider the example is Central America: Three close US allies, El Salvador, Guatemala, and the Contras in Nicaragua, were terrorist human rights violators on a massive scale. During the first half of the 1980s, the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala were responsible for close to 150,000 civilian deaths (Chomsky, 1987).

What did the US media and state do about this? Despite human rights investigators' exposure of a "rich compendium of horrors," elite interest in the United States was almost nonexistent. The media described the occasional reports of this terrorism, then the reports were "quickly forgotten, sometimes even dismissed as 'propaganda' by political figures and eminent Western intellectuals …" (Chomsky, 1987). The media's disinterest followed the government's disinterest, which was extreme. Chomsky noted in 1986 that "[a] high State Department official concedes privately that the Department is following a policy of "intentional ignorance on this matter … ."

The double standards that were part of Carter's comparatively strenuous interest in human rights are sobering. A year after Indonesia launched its bloody invasion of East Timor, Carter became president and increased weapons shipments to Indonesia's rulers. Before Carter left the White House, the death toll in East Timor was 200,000 (Solomon & Cohen, 1997).

The more recent campaign to focus popular concern on Iraq's human rights nightmare has been effective, but documented torture in bordering Turkey and Saudi Arabia, long-time US allies, has remained outside the media spotlight. These positions do not go unchallenged by critics, whose voices are underrepresented in the mainstream press.

There are excellent examples of double standards regarding human rights in the stories of two infamous atrocities in Iraq, one real, the other imagined. The real one was the Saddam's 1988 gassing of Kurds in Halabja. This and other uses of chemical weapons happened while Iraq was getting US military and economic support. During the 1990 buildup to Operation Desert Storm, because Halabja was so recent, it would have been obvious to at least some people that any US government expression of moral outrage about the Halabja gassing was insincere. Probably for that reason, the first Bush administration officials avoided mentioning it, and reporters seldom mentioned it. During the decade after 1991, there were an average of 16 mentions per year of the gassing of the Kurds. Occurrences in the media increased again when the second Bush administration began the public push for war with Iraq. Still, only a few journalists writing about Halabja in 2002 and 2003 mentioned that Saddam committed his worst atrocities while getting US aid (Rampton & Stauber, 2003).

The imagined atrocity that shows US double standards on human rights was the story offered in Congress by a 15-year-old Kuwaiti girl who described Iraqi soldiers taking hundreds of babies out of incubators and leaving them on the floor to die. This horror story was mentioned 138 times by national news media in the seven months from the invasion of Kuwait to the end of Desert Storm. It was later revealed that the girl was a member of the Kuwaiti royal family and that she had been coached by a vice president of the top PR firm Hill and Knowlton. ABC TV, Amnesty International (AI), and Middle East Watch all later found that there were only a handful of incubators in all of Kuwait, that there was no evidence it had occurred, and that Kuwaiti government "witnesses" changed their story or were discredited (Rampton & Stauber, 2003). This story, probably invented, served as a keynote in the US campaign to portray Saddam Hussein as another Hitler, legitimating the 1991 US war. An insight into the attitude of at least some media power-holders about human rights is the statement that PBS executives made to Dan Schechter before he started producing a public TV show called *Rights and Wrongs*. These executives (of a comparatively liberal network) told Schechter that human rights issues were an "insufficient organizing principle" for a TV series (Solomon & Cohen, 1997). In other words, the media decide for the people whether they would be interested in vital human rights issues.

The recent development that the United States has joined other nations as a victim of terrorism has not changed the content of US media coverage of worldwide human rights violations. The state and its allies in the news media still play favorites when they decide who is to be condemned. Chomsky (1987) described the ideological pattern long ago: "suppression or apologetics with regard to crimes of the United States and its clients; anguish and outrage … with regard to the crimes of its official enemies."

State and media are not the only political actors colluding to misrepresent the human rights picture. Most NGOs share with Western governments the limiting of human rights to civil and political rights (Falk, 2000). Even those NGOs that are not loyal to Western ideology sometimes end up having their work used to promote antihuman rights agendas. When AI investigated Iraqi abuses before the 2003 US invasion, for example, they ended up unhappy with how their work was used, accusing Britain of showing a belated interest in human rights abuses in Iraq. The human rights group pointed out that Britain steadfastly ignored Iraqi violations during the 1980s when Saddam was waging an eight-year war on Iran, largely supported by the West. To AI's dismay, its research, which was used in a British human rights report, was only now being brought to the attention of the

international community. AI said that the timing showed that the purpose was to support a war that might encourage even more such abuses. (Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), 2003).

HOW THE MEDIA COVER HUMAN RIGHTS

I have made the case that the objective human rights situation in the world remains dire and even worsening with regard to social, economic, and security rights. I have indicated some evidence that the mainstream media primarily defend business interests and elite views. Given all these considerations, what might we expect of media coverage of human rights? To investigate this, I counted the number of times that the US print and TV/radio news headlines mentioned the phrase "human rights" over the past few decades (Fig. 1). The graph shows that, by this crude measure, interest in human rights was nonexistent until the mid-1970s, growing to a peak in the late 1990s. For TV and radio news, the peak was 1996, and for print, 1999. After the peaks, both media sectors showed rapidly declining interest in human rights. An extension of this basic measure would likely show the media peaking in 2011 with the "Arab spring uprisings" and the struggle for and oppression of human rights.

Explaining these patterns and the complex relationship between media and human rights is a matter for further research. Some comments about the development of human rights coverage are possible using the data here. Print and TV/radio media follow similar curves. Whatever the mix of human rights events and political and ideological pressures on the media, regardless of what combination of external and internal forces were at work, all news media followed a similar pattern. These patterns illustrate the social and political construction of the topic of human rights. The first point to make is that TV and radio's major downturn happened when the 1996 Telecommunications Act was passed, and print's major downturn happened in 1999, when there was a communications merger wave and an FCC decision allowing greater TV network concentration. The 1996 media deregulation resulted in a massive consolidation of companies, and this probably reduced the range of news sources and reporting. Another relevant change is the drop in overseas coverage in the 1980s and 1990s (Solomon & Cohen, 1997). We know that in the United Kingdom, the quantity and quality of news coverage of the "developing world" declined dramatically (Thomas, 2000). A similar process probably happened in the United States.

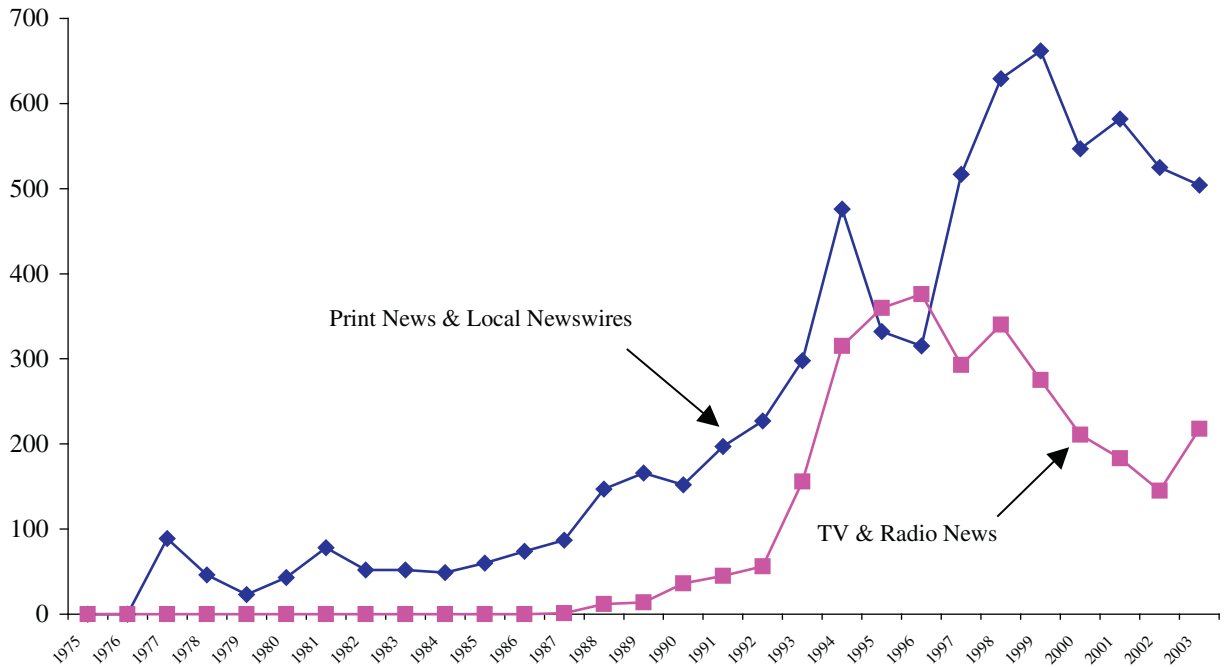

Fig. 1. Number of Mentions of Human Rights in US News Headlines (*Source*: Lexis/Nexis).

Both the print and the TV/radio patterns are too simple to reflect the worldwide human rights situation over the years, but they probably do reflect rhetoric of US government officials. As the graph shows, there were no print mentions of "human rights" before 1976, and no TV/radio mentions before 1987. This is not an artifact of how Lexis/Nexis stored TV and radio transcripts – their transcripts had headlines well before 1987.

We can gather that print can be more sensitive to government rhetoric than TV and radio, although this sensitivity may tend to select information that supports a more liberal view. The first print mentions of human rights coincide, logically, with the 1977 start of Carter's presidency, characterized by an unprecedented US government interest in international human rights. TV and radio news have almost always shown less interest in human rights than print. It appears that TV and radio virtually ignored the Carter emphasis on human rights, at least compared to print media. The major downturn in coverage of human rights happened earlier for TV and radio. We might expect this, given that TV and radio news is more conservative and less independent than print news.

In at least some major respects, the media pattern diverges from worldwide human rights developments. For example, since 1995, improvement in the "human development index" for Arab states has slowed down almost to a flat line, while for sub-Saharan Africa, the index has been going down (Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko, 2004). Meanwhile, news mentions of human rights have been declining since 1996 in TV and radio, and since 1999 in print. Therefore, the downturn in news media coverage of human rights has roughly coincided with sharpening social and economic polarization and erosion of its associated rights, changes that interest media, but not as human rights issues.

MEDIA DISTORTION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE IS PERNICIOUS

De facto censorship and ideological distortion are part of a long history of (anti) human rights ideology that has served to keep the US population in the dark about the human rights implications of global social processes and policies. This exclusion is harmful not only for the direct victims of neoliberal and neoconservative policies but also for the American people, who are also victims. From the viewpoint of the currently dominant ideology, some people may find it ridiculous to be complaining about

human rights, when the world is becoming a more dangerous place. Yet it is a desperately needed reorientation, which asks people to break out of their narrow individualist perspective and think sociologically and critically. This consciousness expansion is not just a matter of enriching our lives by considering other points of view. As Richard Falk (20002) has written, ''realizing human rights is tantamount to achieving global justice.'' And that, in turn, is the only route to real democracy and security.

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WAR MAKING AND PROPAGANDA: MEDIA RESPONSIBILITY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS COMMUNICATION

David L. Altheide and Jennifer N. Grimes

ABSTRACT

This chapter focuses on the selective news coverage and propaganda that preceded and followed the 9/11/01 event, using a model of news coverage or War Programming developed by the first author in earlier work. The ordered sequence of activities in War Programming begins from reportage and visual reports on the most recent war to the reports on the next war. The model is applied to the Iraq war to enhance our theoretical capacity to explain modern propaganda and the resultant lack of focus on human rights. By analyzing the news media context and organizational reasons for propaganda, the authors find a predictable war story was told by mainstream media, which omitted from the story a focus upon human rights violations. The authors develop the contention that a new approach is needed to offer critique before the event of war. Media framing and formats must change if future wars, aided by propaganda, are to be avoided.

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Mass media messages about human rights concerns in general, and particularly areas of conflict and war in which human rights violations (e.g., killing, unlawful detention, torture) occur are very important. Messages delivered by the mass media help audiences and other decisions makers understand key issues over which wars and conflict may occur and they justify such actions, particularly the treatment and proclivity toward the "other," the enemy. This enemy inevitably includes women and children, who often become the first victims associated with human rights violations.

The relationship between human rights violations and the media is particularly important in a global communications era, especially when state propaganda is used routinely to set agendas and justify state action, including boycotts, other sanctions, and even war. Ironically, human rights language (e.g., protecting the innocent, bringing freedom, respecting individuals) is often used to justify strong action against an enemy (Dodds, 1998). Declarers of war often proclaim that they are invading a country as "liberators" rather than "occupiers," with a conflicted and volatile occupation inevitably resulting. The use of propaganda and rhetoric to demonize leaders and certain policies forwarded by other nations usually precedes military action. This pattern has been well documented in research about propaganda regarding Panama, Grenada, Somalia, and the first Gulf War. In each case war was justified to protect "innocent victims" who were being killed and tortured by arbitrary dictators and war-lords.

As of October 2004, the war with Iraq has resulted in more than 8,000 dead or wounded American soldiers, the death of numerous contract workers (excluding mercenaries), in addition to an estimated 22,000 dead or wounded Iraqis (Cooney & Sinan, 2004; Yousef, 2004). As the conflict and casualties mount, the issue of human rights violations in Iraq as a result of the United States' invasion has received very little news coverage. This essay focuses on the selective news coverage and propaganda that preceded and followed the aftermath of the infamous 9/11/01 attacks on the United States by hijackers who transformed airliners into missiles of death. Our attention focuses upon key themes that predefined the enemy in broad terms and linked the hijackers to Iraq and Saddam Hussein, whose avowed arsenal of "weapons of mass destruction" was cast as a threat to human rights as well as a source for future terrorist attacks; this is largely where media coverage of human rights issues in Iraq tends to stop. We attend to the claims makers who were involved in the construction of messages about Hussein and Iraq to illustrate how these messages were carried uncritically by the major

United States news media, which unwittingly became part of the propaganda campaign to justify a preemptive strike against Iraq. We organize our argument around a model of news coverage, or War Programming (Altheide 1995) that was developed through previous analyses of war planning and coverage. This processual script of war coverage does not provide for an emphasis on extensive coverage of ongoing human rights violations.

WAR PROGRAMMING

Analyses of news media coverage of previous wars indicates that each "current" war is greatly informed by images, symbols, language, and experience associated of "previous" wars, including the demonization of the enemy, the virtues and necessity of waging war, and the social and political benefits for doing so. Sociological theory suggests that social actors' definitions of situations are informed by previous experiences and meanings (Altheide, 1987; Blumer, 1962, 1969; Couch, Saxton, & Katovich, 1986; Denzin, 2003; Hall, 2003; Hewitt, 1991; Nash & Calonico, 2003; Perinbanayagam, 1986; Stone & Farberman, 1970). This process holds true for audiences, politicians, and journalists (Shapiro, 1997). The irony, of course, is that each new "war situation" is presented by producers as something unique and novel, while the informational and emotional context for relating to it is historically embedded in previous wars, often experienced mainly through the mass media. Thus, we draw on War Programming, an ordered sequence of activities.

War programming:

1. *Reportage and visual reports of the most recent war (or two);*
2. *Anticipation, planning and preparing the audiences for the impending war, including "demonizing" certain individual leaders, for example, Noriega, Hussein;*
3. *Coverage of the sub-segments of the current war, using the best visuals available to capture the basic scenes and themes involving the battle lines, the home front, the media coverage, the international reaction, anticipation of the war's aftermath;*
4. *Following the war, journalists reaction and reflection on various governmental restriction, suggestions for the future (which are seldom implemented);*

5. *Journalists' and academics' diaries, biographies, exposes, critiques and studies about the war, and increasingly the media coverage;*
6. *Media reports about such studies, etc., which are often cast quite negatively and often lead to the widespread conclusion that perhaps the war was unnecessary, other options were available, and that the price was too high; all of this will be useful for the coverage of the next war.*
7. *For the next war, return to step 1.*

Our aim is to apply this model to the Iraq War and make conceptual adjustments to enhance our theoretical capacity to explain modern propaganda and the resultant lack of focus on human rights violations.

The challenge of the Iraq War is that while it officially ended on May 2, 2003, with Bush's dramatic photo op landing on an aircraft carrier – "major combat operations in Iraq have ended" – the war has continued a year later, and troops are likely to remain in combat for many more months, possibly even years. Nevertheless, critiques (steps 4 and 5) were forthcoming. (Indeed, this report falls within step.) This model is different than conventional propaganda analyses because War Programming builds in critique as part of the narrative and script of promotion. However, critiques of human rights atrocities, and the plights experienced by victims during the war and those that remain suffering after the war is over, are often limited to inclusion in special news magazine stories; very rarely does everyday reporting of war include a focus upon human rights issues. Human rights violations make for disturbing, and not entertaining, journalism; therefore, many news programs do not incorporate these violations into everyday programming. If they are forced to, by a scandal such as Abu Ghraib, the coverage is limited to the height of the scandal and then War Programming returns to its normal sequence.

We propose that the current structure of policy and critique is now institutionalized and, essentially, connects criticism and "challenge" within the action as a War Program. The scope of the action is so immense that it precludes and preempts its critique. We contend that a new approach is needed to offer critique before the event. This can be accomplished by theorizing as praxis, or stating, by drawing on previous experiences, how an action's planning, execution, successes, and failures will produce social consequences. That this has already been anticipated is apparent from certain web sites that forewarned journalists to avoid making mistakes and promoting propaganda. For example, in an open letter to "editor, publisher, producer, reporter" dated March 4, 2003 – two weeks before Baghdad was

bombed, a list of academics, journalists, politicians, and celebrities besieged "media people" to avoid common mistakes:

We are writing to convey a level of heightened expectation in your forthcoming coverage of the U.S.-Iraq situation.

> War coverage, and coverage of the period preceding war, tests the reliability of our news media. Access to truly independent sources of information is essential, given the government's control of knowledge, data, pictures and other information during this period. The media's display of all significant points of view is especially important because of the tendency of our top officials to equate patriotism with uncritical support of official policy. Precisely for this reason, the public expects its media to meet this challenge by maintaining its independence for the good of the country. It is your professional duty and your obligation to our democratic ideals.
>
> Unfortunately, objectivity and critical questioning of official sources, which is a measure of your separation from officialdom, have not been true in war-time reporting during Gulf War I and during the present proposals for Gulf War II. (http://www.essential.org/features/mediacoverage.html)

All indications are that these warnings – indeed, pleadings – had little if any impact on media reports that followed. The problem, then, is not simply lack of "knowledge" and information on the part of the press. Our argument is that an alternative format to the current sequence of action-then-research/critique of social policy, particularly war making, is essential. We will set forth some elements of this approach in the conclusion.

MASS MEDIA WAR

Before the invasion, as well as after the president triumphantly declared from the deck of an aircraft carrier that victory had been won, the Bush administration insisted that Hussein had supported the terrorists and had weapons of mass destruction (WMD) that he planned to use. Administration news sources provided a compliant news media with ample material and conjecture about both of the claims that linked Iraq and Hussein with the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Even though no one in the administration directly stated that Iraq was involved, the innuendo, tone, and slant of numerous media reports stressed this relationship before, during, and after the invasion of Iraq. Indeed, it was not until October 2003 that President Bush acknowledged that Hussein and Iraq were not involved in the 9/11 attacks, but even then Secretary Cheney was reported to still believe that Hussein was implicated.

> As The Associated Press put it: "The implication from Bush on down was that Saddam supported Osama bin Laden's network. Iraq and the Sept. 11 attacks frequently were mentioned in the same sentence, even though officials have no good evidence of such a link." Not only was there no good evidence: according to The New York Times, captured leaders of Al Qaeda explicitly told the C.I.A. that they had not been working with Saddam. (Krugman, 2003, p. 29)

Several opinion polls tracked public perceptions of administration claims, especially after the invasion of Iraq. Public opinion surveys provide one way to assess how public support could be influenced by information about Iraq. The results make it clear that when the public has more information about critical issues, they are less supportive, and moreover, actually prefer, when asked, for more information from the administration. One thing the major opinion polls did not ask the American public, however, was how an invasion of Iraq would affect innocent Iraq civilians.

Public support gradually eroded as the connection between Hussein and WMD became more and more distant, and the number of casualties among American soldiers and Iraqi civilians increased. The Bush Administration managed to obtain public support by implying that, given time, Saddam Hussein would have obtained the materials necessary to create WMD and used them against the United States and our allies. As time went on and no WMD were located in Iraq, public opinion about the U.S. occupation began to wane. The doubts among the American public about the Bush administration's justification for the war with Iraq have gradually increased over time, as more press information has been forthcoming about the elusive WMD as well as much stronger evidence that Hussein was not directly involved with those who drove planes into US buildings on 9/11/01. Hussein was also cast a vicious dictator who committed horrific acts against his own people, therefore removing him from power was an act of liberation for the Iraqi people. Still, the propaganda project created by the Bush Administration following the 9/11/01 attacks resulted in many people being unwilling or unable to objectively evaluate the data, let alone the damage being conducted in Iraq and with our relationships with other nations. The better informed people are the less they support the war, but political propaganda and the media's reliance on War Programming prevents the necessary information from reaching the public.

The documents and plans to topple Iraq were known about but were not widely covered by the major news media for the decade preceding the Iraq invasion, nor were they covered by network TV in the months preceding the Iraq War. Publicizing these materials for the American people may have made a difference in public support for the Iraq War and an emerging

foreign policy that included "preemptive strikes" and bypassing the United Nations and international agreements about aggression. However, previous conflicts and wars provided experiences and a context that prepared audiences for what would follow. We turn briefly to this context.

FRAMING WAR

Public understanding of issues, particularly those involving non-Western cultures, is filtered through the daily information and visual images. Moreover, public perceptions are greatly informed by the repetition of certain themes, slogans, and symbolic representations of problems and issues. The general public derives most of its understanding of international affairs and foreign policy from news, and particularly TV news (Adams, 1981, 1982; Alali & Byrd, 1994; Aldridge & Hewitt, 1994; Altheide, 1997, 2003; Barson & Heller, 2001; Bennett, 1988; Best, 1999; Chiricos, Padget, & Gert, 2000; Comstock & Scharrer, 1999; Douglas, 1970; Doyle, 2001; Edelman, 1985; Graber, 1984; Hall, 1988; Hertog & Fan, 1995; Hunt, 1999; Jackall, 1994; Margolis, 1996; Shaw & McCombs, 1977; Wasburn, 2002). The propaganda campaign used to justify the Iraq War and the continued U.S. presence includes those stories and images that were omitted from presentation to the public as well as what was selected for coverage, and the way in which information was managed. The American public's window on the world of foreign affairs is framed by what is presented on the nightly newscasts of ABC, NBC, CBS, and CNN. This does not mean that the only source of foreign affairs news is TV, but that it is the most consistent and widely used source of information for the American public.

> War stories are told with the flourish of explicit moral discourse. Trade stories are told with the patient repetition of words suggesting, but not directly stating, that the rival nation is unreasonable and unfair. (Wasburn, 2002, p. 125)

The dominant "story" since the attacks of "9/11" was the "war on terrorism."

The neglect of the media to provide this information contributed to the human rights violations against all the people of Iraq. The American news media, and especially network TV news organizations, have chosen not to present important human rights information about the Iraq war because it was not consistent with other news themes nor was it as entertaining. In addition, any news coverage that designates the United States as the perpetrator of human rights violations is limited to isolated incidents (such as the case of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal) and is not presented as the

norm of conducting war. This broad story included U.S. retaliation, the hunt for Al Quaeda leaders (e.g., Osama bin Laden), and plans to attack countries and "outlaw regimes" who supported or harbored terrorists. Implementing these programs involved invading Afghanistan and expanding the U.S. military presence throughout the world. Other adjustments were made in foreign policy, military budgets, domestic surveillance and attacks on civil liberties. Threats to invade other countries – the "axis of evil" – that included Iraq were part of an effort to "defend" the United States from future attacks. It is hard to believe that the American people would not have been interested in carefully presented reports about systematic efforts to undermine international treaties, destroy the United Nations, expand the military, and engage in more military attacks, including preemptive first strikes.

THE NEWS MEDIA CONTEXT FOR PROPAGANDA

The neglect of these issues reflects major organizational shifts in the production and presentation of news. Nowhere is this more apparent than with network TV news. The infotainment urge to "pander" to the audience to gain viewers would soon become the networks' established way of doing business.

Changes in technology and marketing approaches helped "normalize" infotainment, particularly the expansion of the entertainment for network TV news. Dan Rather's reluctance to embrace infotainment was gradually eroded by increased competition with traditional rivals as well as CNN and Fox. Research on network trends shows that between 1977 and 1997 "hard news" declined from 67.3% to 41.3% while celebrity news tripled, from 2% in 1977 to 7% in 1997, "soft" lifestyle news doubled during the same time period from 13.5% to nearly 25%, or one fourth of all network news offerings! Network news time was increasingly devoted to celebrity news, and the "morning news" shows emphasized more commercial and product advertising to promote the conglomerates, which owned them. In June 2001, network morning news programs had become, in significant part, a way of selling things, often lifestyle products, books, movies, TV shows, cookbooks, products for the home and the like. Excluding commercials and inserts for local news, 33% of the news time on these programs was devoted to selling some product.

The challenge of censorship and credibility became even more acute after the first Gulf War as military officials joined news organizations, often as

reporters. The first Gulf War (1991) followed "photo op" combat footage from Grenada, and Panama, bridged the military–media divide that had engulfed the Vietnam debacle. The military expanded their arsenal of savvy media consciousness. "Today, when you get an opportunity to stand up and represent your command, you've got to hit a home run," Army Maj. Bob Hastings told the students in his public affairs course (Vogel, 1998, p. 6). This contributed to the expansion of the "military-media complex" that refers to the cooperative alliance between the military and news organizations in sharing personnel (generals and other military spokespersons become reporters or consultants) to promote public relations campaigns and provide entertaining coverage of various crises and conflicts (Altheide, 1999, p. 1)

ORGANIZATIONAL REASONS FOR PROPAGANDA

The lack of reporting about human rights violations as a result of the U.S. invasion of Iraq illustrates embedded propaganda as a feature of institutionalized news sources and media formats. Several analyses of U.S. news reports found an overwhelming emphasis on victimization at the time of the initial attacks, but gradually turning to war preparation, the conduct of war, and then victory over Iraq.

The major TV networks, with an occasional exception, were tightly aligned with the war scenario. We wish to stress the critical contribution of news formats and the emerging common definition of the situation – that the nation had to act, that audiences supported action against enemies, and that simplistic emotionally tinged messages would carry the day. Key to the Bush administration's success was journalists' penchant to get on the "war" band wagon, not only for patriotic purposes, but also because that was what "people were interested in," and that's "where the story was." Network TV played to the administration.

The organizational and format limitations of War Programming misdirected journalists from major topics, and journalists now acknowledged that they did not cover many aspects of the impending war with Iraq. Moreover, as our conceptualization of War Programming suggests, news organizations began to reflect on "what went wrong" in their coverage of Iraq. A *Columbia Journalism Review* "debate" between a foreign editor, Leonard Doyle, for the British newspaper, *The Independent*, and the ombudsman, Michael Getler, for *The Washington Post* illustrates this awareness.

> Getler: Any analysis of how the American press performed in the run-up to the war in Iraq is a complex task. And it is also vulnerable to the easy cheap shot. So much that was forecast by the Bush administration in the strongest possible terms and imagery has turned out, as of this writing, to be wrong. So it is easy to say the press did not do its job. That is true, in part. But it was a very hard job….
>
> How did this happen? One factor, in my view, was a failure by editors, a lack of alertness on their part, to present stories that challenged the administration's line in a consistent way and that would have some impact on the public. That's why, I believe, so many of those public events were played inside newspapers rather than on page one….
>
> Doyle: Mike Getler accepts that the press fell down on the job, that it was outflanked by the Bush administration. Surely it is now time for a fundamental reappraisal of the way the press operated. Because, like it or not, the media were co-conspirators in America's rush into this illegal war. How badly we needed – before the war – solid reporting that explained how a kitchen cabinet of neoconservatives and their bellicose friends were cooking up a war that has brought so much bloodshed to Iraq and danger to the world. Surely we need to reassess the whole concept of "embedded" reporting. Consider this conundrum: How could it be that Scott Ritter, the most famous U.S. inspector and the one person who got it right about Saddam Hussein's supposed arsenal of WMD, was treated with total suspicion? Meanwhile, dubious exiles with no inherent knowledge of WMD were treated with great respect by TV and newspapers. (Columbia Journalism Review Staff, 2004, pp. 46–47)

The New York Times also acknowledged their systematic oversight and reliance on official news sources:

> "In some cases, information that was controversial then, and seems questionable now, was insufficiently qualified or allowed to stand unchallenged," the newspaper said. "Looking back, we wish we had been more aggressive in re-examining the claims as new evidence emerged or failed to emerge."
>
> The *Times* also said it had featured articles containing alarming claims about Iraq more prominently than follow-up stories that countered those claims.
>
> Many of the stories used information from Iraqi exiles and critics of Saddam Hussein…. (AP in *The Arizona Republic*, May 27, 2004, p. A1)

Consistent with War Programming, other journalists joined in reflecting on the news coverage of the Iraq War.

> In the rush to war, how many Americans even heard about some of these possibilities?[the numerous problems that would follow the war, e.g., interim government, health and water resources, Halliburton's contract that basically gave it control over the oil] Of the 574 stories about Iraq that aired on NBC, ABC, and CBS evening news broadcasts between September 12 (when Bush addressed the UN) and March 7 (a week and a half before the war began), only twelve dealt primarily with the potential aftermath…. (Cunningham, 2003, p. 24)

A veteran producer for a major network TV news program indicated that the story was about the preparation for war. In his words, things were set in motion for over a year and the "rock was rolling down hill," that's where the story was (Interview notes).

That other network news producers must have surely agreed with this position is suggested by a dearth of network TV news coverage of virtually any congressional opposition to the impending war, including Senator Robert Byrd's impassioned speech on the floor of the senate on February 12, 2003, just weeks before Baghdad was bombed, in which he referred to the drastic changes in foreign policy. Although there was some discussion in newspaper editorial pages, Senator Byrd noted, there has been little in the Senate:

> This nation is about to embark upon the first test of a revolutionary doctrine applied in an extraordinary way at an unfortunate time. The doctrine of preemption – the idea that the United States or any other nation can legitimately attack a nation that is not imminently threatening but may be threatening in the future – is a radical new twist on the traditional idea of self defense. It appears to be in contravention of international law and the UN Charter.

Network news shows were quite consistent with guests who supported the war. An analysis by FAIR of network news interviewees one week before and one week after Secretary of State Colin Powell addressed the United Nations about Iraq's alleged possession of WMD found that two-thirds of the guests were from the United States, with 75% of these being current or former government or military officials, while only one – Senator Kennedy – expressed skepticism or opposition to the impending war with Iraq (FAIR, 2003).

Journalists did not present this very important story for various reasons. Studies of news rules and news values support Robert Snow's (Snow, 1983) observations that the news media, like much of popular culture, tend to support and reflect "ideal norms," or preferred ways of living, feeling, and behaving. Likewise, research on "news decision making" suggest that commercial news organizations' tend to select items and events for news reporting that can be told in narratives that express ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, small-town pastoralism, individualism, moderatism, social order, and national leadership (Gans, 1979; Wasburn, 2002). In other words, reports are favored that sustain news audience's world views about social order and legitimacy. This includes the conduct of their leaders. Thus, reports will be less favorable or "sensible" to audiences if they suggest that the institution of government has failed, that the process

of selecting leaders if corrupt, and that decisions about life-and-death, such as declaring war, are made with the national interest in mind, and with the well-being of citizens as a priority. Network TV news relied on the administration for news.

> It exacerbates our tendency to rely on official sources, which is the easiest, quickest way to get both the "he said" and the "she said," and, thus, "balance." According to numbers from the media analyst Andrew Tyndall, of the 414 stories on Iraq broadcast on NBC, ABC, and CBS from last September to February, all but thirty-four originated at the White House, Pentagon, and State Department. So we end up with too much of the "official" truth. (Cunningham, 2003, p. 24)

MANUFACTURING WAR PROPAGANDA

As long as the media follow a proscribed script in which to present war coverage and fail to provide the public with objective, all-inclusive truths, media propaganda can be manipulated to incite anger or fear into the public through the presentation of select symbols and images. The photographs of the prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib and the pattern of hostage-taking and graphic beheadings of contract workers in Iraq are two examples of how media symbols can be manipulated to promote anger or fear. Until the photographs about the prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib surfaced and were publicized by the mass media, the only stories of human rights violations in Iraq since the U.S.-led invasion began in March 20003 were those portrayed as isolated incidents of military miscalculations during offense strikes that resulted in the death or dismemberment of innocent Iraqis, particularly children. When the photographs of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal surfaced and were circulated around the globe, a flurry of media activity focused upon the human rights violations of the persons in Iraq under U.S. custody. Suddenly the fact that the Red Cross and other humanitarian groups had been prevented from visiting the prisoners at Abu Ghraib became a central focus of the media's war story, even though members of these groups stated that they had been complaining for some time about their lack of access to this and other prisons. The stories also included some references to the mysterious deaths of some of the prisoners at Abu Ghraib. As the media attention to the conditions of Abu Ghraib piqued, the language in the story shifted from one of a prison in which American soldiers had re-created the horror and atrocities committed by Saddam Hussein, into one of blame-shifting in which Abu Ghraib became referred to by military officials as an "isolated innocent." Blameshifting also occurred when soldiers lamented

that no one was in charge or that they had been inadequately trained to serve as prison correctional officers, thus no one was truly to blame for these human rights violations. Then, just as suddenly as the media frenzy surrounding the Abu Ghraib prison scandal erupted did it end, with only a few lingering stories emerging and some reports regarding the outcomes of the speedy military trials of the soldiers most associated with the prison scandal. Had the photographs of the prisoner abuse not surfaced, it is unlikely that the story would have been told at all.

Coincidentally, members of insurgency groups have manipulated the media into promoting fear among nations that currently have troops in Iraq or who are considering deploying troops to the country. The graphic footage of the kidnapping victims pleading for their lives under the threat of beheading if their nations do not comply with the hostage-takers' demands created riveting video footage that sent people to their televisions and computers to download the latest information regarding the plight of the latest hostages. The videos are even more ominous with their theatrical presentation of masked hostage-takers standing behind the doomed victim(s) as one of the masked men reads a message to the world just before decapitating the hostage, all of this captured on video for the world to see. This episode does not fall within the traditional sequence of War Programming because the insurgents, frustrated by the occupation of their country and the lack of media attention to the conditions of Iraq following the U.S. invasion, have taken it upon themselves to create dramatic imagery and symbols to instill fear into occupying nations. Videos of the beheadings are presented on Islamic websites and eventually make their way to the Internet, where the images are available to a larger number of people than ever before. The tactic has worked, with some countries deciding not to deploy troops to Iraq. In still other countries, massive protests have erupted among the public when a hostage is killed because their leaders would not meet the kidnappers' demands. These events demonstrate that actions outside of the mainstream media's proscribed coverage of war can indeed incite a range of emotions in addition to critical thought about the conditions and consequences of war. However, this type of critical thought is not generally promoted during traditional war programming.

CONCLUSION

A predictable war story was told by the mainstream U.S. media, but omitted from the story is a focus upon the human rights violations that have

occurred as a result of the United States' invasion of Iraq. Absent the attention paid to the Abu Ghraib prison scandal, few news stories have covered the major human rights violations that have occurred since the U.S.-led invasion. Our analysis of the general coverage of the Iraq War, and the specific construction of the war story suggests that the predicted direction of War Programming is accurate. The news media did not present much information on human rights or human rights violations for several reasons. One is organization. News agencies, like the military and other large organizations, must plan ahead. News media plan future coverage with broadly defined "themes" or "story lines" to anticipate staffing and logistical needs. Even though satellite technology makes "global coverage" more manageable, there are nevertheless complex logistics involved in covering a war half way around the world. There is always a "game plan" for future news coverage, although events may alter the plan, for example, a catastrophic event. Moreover, news organization's planning often follows that of the relevant organization that will be involved in upcoming and anticipated events. Military planning is key for the conduct of war, but so too is media planning to cover that war. It is hardly surprising, then, that the news media tend to follow the military's lead in planning, and the military rarely discloses evidence of its own acts of human rights violations. Analysis of numerous news reports suggests that key themes dominated much of the news coverage. The coverage of the Iraq war was shaped by themes of: victims and suffering (including heroism and compensation); retaliation and the war on terrorism, fear, homeland security and surveillance; and the conduct and preparation for the wars with Afghanistan and Iraq (Altheide, 2004). These "forward looking" themes were future and action-oriented (except for the constant retrospective about victims of "9/11"). The news coverage was presented as series of unfolding plans and events, that often included scripted language to prepare audiences for future news, for example, anticipating that the United Nations and all allies may not support U.S. efforts; laying the foundation for preemptive strikes as a way to "defend ourselves," and attacking Iraq to prevent them from harming the U.S. with alleged WMD. Discussions concerning U.S. responsibility for the human rights conditions of persons living in Iraq were not part of the script, and they remain absent from the script with the exception of the attention paid to the plight of prisoners in U.S. custody in Iraq and elsewhere who may have suffered abuse at the hands of their captors.

Serious problems with administration claims were known about well in advance of March 20, 2003, but these received very little attention because the "story" was about the "coming war," which was the mantra of

organizationally endowed "legitimate" claims-makers. The hundreds of hours of combat visuals by heavily censored "embedded reporters" carried the war to a worldwide TV audience. There were no dead in most American scenes, but mainly tanks and other equipment racing across the Iraqi plains. If it were not for the coverage of the atrocities at Abu Ghraib, the suffering of Iraqis would have received very little media coverage. Indeed, American audiences were not permitted to view dead American soldiers' at Dover Air Force base to "respect the soldiers and their families." Most of the world saw different war coverage or burned and mutilated children, grieving parents, and angry civilians. Only later in the "program," when the president, clad in aviator attire, announced the victory on an aircraft carrier, did more attention shift to question the major claims about Iraq's support of the 9/11 attacks and the elusive WMD. The stronger criticism, associated with stages 4 and 5 is just beginning, because, the "occupation and rebuilding of Iraq" has not been completed.

The mass media did not start the war with Iraq, but they shaped the context, the audience expectations, the discourse, and the production of symbolic meanings. We live in a post journalism era, when there is no longer separation between event makers, event promoters, and event chroniclers (Altheide & Snow, 1991). All rely on media logic and the sense about what will look good to relevant audiences, how to promote appropriate meanings, and above all, how to market and sell it all as something desirable. We have seen that War Programming is now a package; propaganda is joined to the news process when journalists and news sources operate with media logic, share in the construction and emotional performance of events, and limit the public forums for discussion, and especially dissent. The problem is that it is now packaged and sequenced; war has always been brutal, and war in the modern age has relied on propaganda to deliver support and bodies to the hungry cannon. Today war is also formatted; it is a feature of programming, planned and directed to bring visual and evocative images – albeit largely censored by "handlers" – and this has grave consequences for dissent, and particularly the relevance of knowledge and dialogue to redirect policy and stop murder.

What should be done? First, it must be recognized that the way in which modern wars have been covered is quite predictable, and now is part of the planning for the conduct of war. A second step in breaking format, then, is to remove it and replace it with an alternative model, which, in time, may also have to be replaced or substituted for alternative media, including the "internet" and more accessible, albeit perhaps less reliable. This model must include the communication components essential for a free society,

including access by multiple perspectives and voices, welcoming dissent and challenging basic assumptions, for example, that powerful people are capable of hubris, deception and lying. Journalists cannot wait for events to occur before trying to cover and analyze or critique them, because the news process (e.g., creating news sources, creating and developing visuals) will have taken place, and the script written for the social construction of another episode of War Programming. Media framing and formats must change if future wars, aided by propaganda, are to be avoided.

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RECOGNITION OF GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA: FRAMEWORKS OF INTERPRETATION IN U.S. NEWSPAPERS

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ABSTRACT

The breakup of Yugoslavia and the development of conflict and massacres from 1991 to 1993 was widely reported in the West, in contrast with prior patterns of denial, concealment of evidence, lack of recognition, misperception, and avoidance of massacres and genocides since World War II. The chapter addresses reasons why bystanders did not intervene to stop the genocide and check war crimes by asking how the situation was framed by an influential segment of the press. An intensive content analysis in nine leading U.S. newspapers revealed that a majority of articles conformed to moral obligation and rational choice models. The study concludes with a critique of political will for action and the position that it was not the direct influence of the media, which reflected rather than refined perceptions and the recognition of genocide.

One of the problems during and since the World War II has been the denial, concealment of evidence, lack of recognition, misperception, and avoidance

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of notice of ongoing genocides and massacres by officials of other states and by officials of other states and by the media (Ezell, 1992; Shawcross, 1984). The same questions about these events persist: can reports of an event of mass killing be credited; should we infer a pattern behind a series of events; why is this set of persons killed; are they truly innocent victims or are they also aggressors; are they victims of war, war crimes, or genocidal massacre; were these attacks planned and what authority sanctioned them; how can we credit reports of unconventional means of destruction-gas chambers, gas bombing, bacteriological warfare-and of induced murder through prolonged starvation and disease?

Between 1945 and 1988, virtually all the 14 states assessed by researchers to be perpetrators of genocide and attempts at genocide (Fein, 1993a, p. 87) were in regions labeled as the ''Third World'' or ''the South'' – outside Europe and North America. Many occurred in states in which few reporters from countries with a free press enter because of government restrictions and little interest on the part of the managers of their papers. And if journalists enter, they are unlikely to roam, for conditions of reportage are dangerous (Fein, 1992, p. 9).

By contrast, the breakup of Yugoslavia and development of conflict and massacres from 1991 to 1993 was widely reported in the West. In 1991–1992, military attacks by Serbia in three of the six successor states of what-was-Yugoslavia (Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia) were widely observed and usually interpreted as aggression. In the case of Croatia and Bosnia, the conflict was also viewed as a civil war because of the demands for independence made by local Serbs in these states. Hayden reports that the leaders of Serbia and Croatia met secretly in 1991 to agree to partition Bosnia between them. Meanwhile, all ethnic parties met and with the aid of a commission of the European Community drew up various maps that would have divided Bosnia in cantons giving the three religio-ethnic groups predominance in different cantons. However, in October 1991, the Croatian and the Muslim parties in Bosnia joined together to pass a resolution declaring the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was confirmed ''virtually unanimously'' by the Bosnian electorate in a referendum, boycotted by the Serbs on February 29 and March 1, 1992. The Serbian party then proclaimed its own republic in Bosnia. The independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina was recognized by the European Community and the United States on April 7, 1992, prompting the Serbian republic to declare its independence (Hayden, 1993).

War broke out in April 1992 in Bosnia. Although all sides fought to gain or retain territory and committed violations of the rules of war, the Serb

forces, having access to the stockpiles of the Yugoslavian National Army, the JNA, in Bosnia were the best armed and were committed to driving out non-Serbs to change the map. Bosnian-Serb militias and paramilitary Serbian gangs aided by the JNA attacked the non-Serbian and predominantly Muslim population of Bosnia: massacres, systematic rape and humiliation, striping of civil rights, expropriation and expulsion of non-Serbs followed in a repeated pattern. This pattern was called "ethnic cleansing" by its perpetrators. "Ethnic cleansing" and the "death camps" of Bosnia were reported by two American reporters, John Burns (*New York Times*) and Roy Gutman (*Newsday*), who were awarded Pulitzer Prizes in April 1993 for their reportage. In the next four months, a number of organizations publicly recognized that this pattern constituted genocide and called for action to stop it: the Institute for the Study of Genocide, Helsinki Watch, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Helsinki Watch also condemned instances of expulsions of civilians and war crimes by all sides. Events in Bosnia were widely reported in newspapers, television and radio in the United States and Europe. To date (January 1994), no state, international or regional organization has done anything effective to stop the genocide and the slaughter. Although the United Nations (UN) has delivered large amounts of humanitarian aid, it has not prevented the deprivation of food, energy sources, water, and supplies for shelter and medical aid to civilians by warring militias who persistently block attempts to deliver humanitarian relief, despite resolutions authorizing the use of force. At the same time, there have been repeated rhetorical resolutions by the UN Security Council (28 by January 1994) without allocating resources or authorizing military defense to enforce them; the hypocrisy of this disparity was denounced by the UN Commander in Bosnia, Lieut.-Gen. Francis Briquemont, before he resigned in January 1994 (*New York Times*, January 5, 1994). There have also been 18 months of negotiations organized by the European Community and the UN, by the team headed by Lord David Owen. Going into the third year of the war, there is no peace, all truces in Bosnia have been broken. Lord Owen himself acknowledges that the representatives of all parties lie (*New York Times*, January 5, 1994). Conflict between Bosnian government forces and Croatian forces has broken out – that is, there is a three-way war – and the truce ending the war between Serbia and Croatia may break down. The problem we address relates to the reasons why the bystanders did not intervene to stop the genocide and check war crimes insofar as the perception and recognition of genocide may be conditioned by the images

and the definition of the situation of the media. Previous research has shown how media construction of events or frames may influence public perception and opinion (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). This chapter asks how the situation has been framed by an influential segment of the press in the United States and then considers how this may relate to U.S. policy: how the situation was defined, what assumptions were made, and what objectives were advocated.

METHOD AND SAMPLE

We did a content analysis of 219 articles of opinion (editorials, columns and op-ed pieces) in nine leading U.S. newspapers at three critical periods in 1992 and 1993. The newspapers were selected by their rank of circulation in the United Sates and were drawn from major metropolitan areas, omitting the one paper without a regional base, *USA Today*. The newspapers are (in rank order of circulation): *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, *Newsday*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Detroit Free Press*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Boston Globe*, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. The three time periods are the months of August 1992, December 1992, and April 1993; they were selected because of change or highlight of news about the events themselves or the possibility of action. In August 1992, there was the disclosure and controversy about death camps in Bosnia. In December 1992, there was documentation about systematic rape and rape camps and an election in Serbia. In April 1993, the Serbian republic in Bosnia rejected the Vance-Owen plan and there were renewed calls for action. The new U.S. administration was reported to be considering air strikes in Bosnia. The following exposition of our findings is based on an interdisciplinary collaboration with Ezell, a journalist, doing the coding and most citations; Spirer, a statistician, elaborating the statistical design; and Fein, a sociologist, offering the initial hypotheses and interpretation. Robert Hancke, a political scientist, was responsible for most of the cross-tabulations. Ezell coded 219 articles in the nine newspapers generated by a computer search, omitting duplicates of the same article produced by multiple publication of syndicated columns. The coding sheet was devised by Fein and Ezell; their preliminary agreement on coding was about 80% for most items before redefinition of items and establishment of coding rules.

The coding sheet classified the following characteristics of the argument: motives for involvement or inaction, assertions about the definition of the

situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the attribution of guilt to one or more parties, who were the agents (states and organizations) held responsible to act, what should be the aim of policy, what means were advocated, what was the best time for action, and the metaphors and analogies used. To enable the reader to follow our argument and illustrations without pause, we do not include numerical tables or cite numbers. However, such tables are available upon request. We follow some ordinary linguistic conventions to describe our findings: a majority is greater than 50% of all arguments or articles; a plurality, the greatest percent in a single category when there are more than two categories (but under 50%); a large majority (62 to less than 75%); an overwhelming majority (75% or more); and a large minority, (25% to less than 50%).

EXPECTATIONS AND FINDINGS

We expected the arguments proposed and policies advocated by writers of editorials and op-eds to relate to their acknowledgment of the victims as within their universe of obligation, and their recognition of the situation in Bosnia as a genocide. Two models or "packages" were traced: the moral obligation model and the rational choice model. These models are both deductive and inductive, stemming from a theory of collective altruism (Fein, 1987) and from the reading of these articles. The moral obligation model begins with an assumption of a universal circle of moral obligation that impels us to redress and punish crimes against humanity. These arguments assume that Muslims (and other Bosnians) subject to these crimes are innocent victims. This leads the advocate to an activist policy predisposed to humanitarian intervention. Such arguments, we expect, use metaphors of the Holocaust (death camps, Auschwitz, cattle cars), Milosevic as Hitler, and of the pre-war appeasement period (Munich, the rise of fascism, and Republican Spain).

The rational choice model begins with national interest or realpolitik assumptions and aims to protect the United States and avoid costs. Such arguments assume that all sides are perpetrators and either that there are no innocent victims or all are victims. Rational choice advocates are expected to oppose intervention and to avoid unilateral costs. These arguments, we expect, use metaphors of situations associated with losses, quandaries, disagreement over national purpose and sensed futility over the costs: Vietnam, Beirut, Lebanon.

We found that the overwhelming majority of articles coded conformed to the basic assumptions of these models, drawing on either moral obligation or rational choice assumptions. The numbers and percent of each type of argument stayed about the same in the three periods in 1992–1993. A large majority assumed universalistic moral obligation. Among those defining the situation as genocide, the large majority express or imply moral obligation. During all three periods, there was a continuing debate between advocates of both orientations (and among the minority drawing on both) rebutting each other's arguments, to sway elite and public opinion. Moral obligation advocates addressed the question of feasibility of measures proposed and the costs the consequences of action and inaction, relating these to the national interest. Rational choice advocates spoke about the question of moral obligation. This debate crossed over partisan lines: some editorialists and public officials usually termed conservative espoused a moral obligation for involvement and others considered liberal on human rights espoused noninvolvement.

Nevertheless, there is a similar perception by the majority in both camps who define the situation as a war of aggression by Serbia and/or war crimes at the three times surveyed. However, moral obligation arguments were about twice as likely to define the situation as genocide as were rational choice arguments. The majority of moral obligation arguments spoke of ethnic cleansing in August 1992 but fewer of them did so in December 1992 and April 1993. During the latter months, rational choice arguments spoke more of ethnic cleansing and differentiated it (we shall later show) from genocide. Both moral assumptions and Western interests were articulated by Margaret Thatcher in an op-ed in the *New York Times* on August, 6, 1992, titled, "Stop the Excuses. Help Bosnia Now." She lashed out at aggression, concentration camps, massacres, expulsions, and atrocities, viewing "the Serbian 'ethnic cleansing' policy-[as] a term for the expulsion of the non-Serb population that combines the barbarities of Hitler's and Stalin's policies toward other nations." Thatcher advocated a clear threat of military action against Serbia and an ultimatum to comply with certain Western demands: recognizing Bosnia, stopping to support the war, and allowing the refugees to return. While she offered a realpolitik rationale, projecting escalation of conflict, irredentist wars, and Muslim terrorism in Europe if the aggression is not stopped, her argument rested on moral assumptions as well as legal grounds – that is, the fact that Sarajevo government is internationally recognized and is the target of aggression.

A large minority of rational choice arguments labeled the situation as ethnic conflict or civil war in August 1992: they were over twice as likely to

call it ethnic conflict than to call it genocide. But by December 1992, many of these arguments called it genocide as called it ethnic conflict or civil war. There was another reversal by April 1993 in rational choice arguments, recalling the arguments made in August 1992; a large minority defined the situation as an ethnic conflict or civil war and a minority labeled it as genocide. As we shall show later, the ethnic conflict framework implies moral equivalence and negates any obligation to intervene. Charges of genocide imply such an obligation.

Cvijeto Job, a retired Yugoslav diplomat and columnist for the independent Belgrade weekly, Vreme, put it concisely in a December 2, 1992, article in the *Washington Post*, "One discerns a prevailing tendency to separate the imperatives of moral obligation and humanitarian responsibility from considerations of Realpolitik, security and strategy … One prays that this doesn't mean that genocide 'just' in Bosnia is tolerable. Already, it serves as a convenient cop-out for some to dismiss the Yugoslav war as a bunch of 'crazy' Serbs, Croats and Muslims waging 'tribal wars.' Crazy equals alien equals incomprehensible equals unmanageable-and therefore nothing really can be done about it."

When they used metaphors, arguments of moral obligation were many times more likely to use metaphors of the Holocaust and pre-World War II period (Munich, the Spanish Civil War) than of recent American experience that we termed "traps" – U.S. intervention in Vietnam and Lebanon. Rational choice arguments were more likely to use metaphors of the Holocaust than of traps in August 1992 but as likely to use the former as the latter in December 1992. By April 1993, rational choice arguments were many times more likely to pose the situation as a trap than a Holocaust. While the overwhelming majority of moral obligation advocates said that the time to act is now in the three time periods, the overwhelming majority of rational choice advocates advocated non-involvement in August 1992. But in December 1992, a large majority of rational choice advocates urged action now. In April 1993, the large majority of rational choice arguments again advised not getting involved. Walter Russell Mead, a rational interest advocate, is an example of this transition. In the *Los Angeles Times* on August, 16, 1992, Mead depicted the war as a revival of ancient hatreds suppressed during Tito's rule. He rejected the policy choices he examined because of their calculated costs and concluded, "Whether we stand aside or jump in, the killing is likely to go on and on and on."

However, on December 27, 1992 (*Los Angeles Times*), he asserted that "The United States is neither altruistic nor stupid enough to intervene with no regard for its national interests. Important national interest, not just

humanitarian concerns, dropped us into Somalia and now they're dragging us into the Balkans." Mead argued that the credibility of the U.S. stand for human rights and international law was at stake in the Muslim world. Furthermore, he viewed Bosnia as a step toward Greater Serbia; Kosovo and Macedonia were next. Western passivity would embolden Russian fascists, leading to Russian aggression. Therefore, Mead advocated a "clear warning backed up by overwhelming force." If this did not "bring Serbia back to its senses," the next stop would be war. By April 18, 1993 (*Los Angeles Times*), Mead found there were only "ugly" choices: "there is only on realistic thing to do: cave [in] and run up the white flag. The Serbs have won the Bosnian war, there is nothing we can say or do that can change that." He argued for threatening war to deter new Serbian aggression.

Although a large majority of all arguments of both types urged acting now in December 1992, they did not wholly agree on what should be the aim of policy and what means should be used. The end advocated by a majority of moral obligation arguments in all periods was to stop genocide and atrocities. In sharp contrast, a minority of rational choice arguments focused on avoiding genocide in these periods. No one goal was advocated in a majority of them. However, a plurality of them stressed avoiding involvement in August 1992. By December 1992, the first preference of a plurality was to avoid the spread of conflict; the second ranking choice was to stop genocide. In April 1993, a plurality advised avoiding involvement; the second ranking choice endorsed safe havens.

There is little difference between advocates of these camps over who should act: the U.S. and the UN, the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); or all three actors. There are similar bounds as to what should be done. Only a small minority of arguments of both camps called for the use of U.S. ground troops. A majority of moral obligation arguments called for some military measure involving the United States or lifting the arms embargo in the three times. A plurality of rational choice arguments supported similar U.S. military action in August 1992. However, in December 1992, a large majority of them called for such actions. But by April 1993, the percent of rational choice arguments for military action or lifting the embargo had dropped but a large minority still supported such action.

We can attribute changes among the rational choice advocates between December 1992 and April 1993 to calculations of interest, of feasibility, of consequences of the war spreading, to changes in the situation on the ground and weighing U.S. commitments elsewhere. Some examples of these factors include the negative evaluation of intercession by the Chairman the

Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, the U.S. decision to send a token contingent of troops to Macedonia, the extension of Serb-held territory in Bosnia and the U.S. intervention in Somalia. Consistent with the axioms of the rational choice position, a change in costs for the intervener affects their readiness to act.

CREDITING AND DISCREDITING GENOCIDE

A counter-view denying there was anything special going on in Bosnia was that of Fareed Zakaria, a Fellow at the Harvard University Olin Institute of Strategic Studies, who advanced the "realist case for caution" in an article in the *New York Times* of August 8, 1992, titled, "Stay Out of Bosnia." He asserted that the United States had no strategic interest in the situation as the "Yugoslav cauldron" did not threaten to erupt into a general European war. Bosnia was but one instance of "the murder of civilians and of one ethnic group by another … [which is] occurring nightly in several parts of the world, from Nigeria and Somali in Africa to Azerbaijan and Armenia in Central Asia … .But these same interventionists who rage with anger at the bloodshed in Bosnia are silent about these bloodier ethnic wars … One is forced to conclude that the great moral principle that the United States is being asked to fight for in the former Yugoslavia is not justice – but justice for Europeans alone. Orphans are killed by rival ethnic groups all over the world. White orphans are dying only in the Balkans." By emphasizing group communal violence, Zakaria denies Bosnia is an instance of state-organized or tolerated genocide. Furthermore, he takes the moral offensive by implying that advocates of intervention are racist, concerned only about white orphans.

Protestors from inside the State Department were important sources affirming that there was genocide in Bosnia. George Kenney, former acting chief of Yugoslav affairs in the U.S. State Department, resigned his position in protest in August 1992 and wrote in the *Washington Post* on August, 30, 1992, that "What galls me about the administration's handling of the crisis is that it doesn't really want to know the facts of the horror in Bosnia, because the more we know, the greater the public pressure to act.

For months, I found little interest in the State Department to know more about starvation, about Serbian shelling, about 'ethnic cleansing,' about all the things that amount to genocide." Kenney said he had no patience with "quagmire" arguments (recalling the United States in Vietnam and in Beirut and the German experience in Yugoslavia in World War II) that were used

to justify "classic appeasement … [and] feckless diplomatic negotiations" as a response to genocide. He urged putting an air cap over Bosnia, threatening (followed by action) to destroy Serb artillery if they continue shelling besieged Bosnian towns, cutting off of military supplies from Serbia and Montenegro to Serbian forces in Bosnia, and arming and training the Bosnians.

George Schultz, Secretary of State from 1982 to 1989, also asserted that there was an ongoing genocide in Bosnia in his responses on the MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (published in a *Washington Post* op-ed on December 13, 1992). He said, "The next time you do a program on Bosnia, start by showing some films of Bergen-Belsen or Auschwitz, because the message is the same. What does 'ethnic cleansing' mean? It goes right back to what Hitler did. And when we say, never forget, never again, what are we talking about?" Schultz advocated arming the Bosnians to enable them to defend themselves and the use of airpower (through NATO and the UN) to enforce the cease-fire over Bosnia, disabling Serbian planes.

About the same time, Charles Krauthammer, contributing editor of The New Republic, denied that Bosnia was an instance of genocide in an op-ed in The *Philadelphia Inquirer* of December, 15, 1992, titled "Why Somalia and Not Bosnia? The U.S. Apparently Draws the Line at Genocide." He says: "Why Somalia and not Bosnia? One wit put it this way: We don't do mountains. Principle 1 of humanitarian intervention is: It must be doable. Bosnia is not doable … Doability, however, is only the first requirement for intervention. Intervention must be not just doable but also worth doing … At what point does a violation of humanitarian norms become so extraordinary as to justify, indeed morally compel, military intervention? At the point of genocide … Hence, Principle 2 of humanitarian intervention: Only the ultimate crime justifies the ultimate sanction (military intervention)…. Bosnia looms somewhat larger on the moral scale [than Liberia and Mozambique] because of an attempt by some factions (the Serbs and Croats) to take territory by force and expulsion. The taking is cruel, often murderous.

Nonetheless, expulsion is not extermination … Ethnic cleansing is brutal, indeed barbaric. It is systematic land-grabbing. But it is not genocide. What is at stake in Somalia, on the other hand, is the physical survival of a people. The point is not intent. Serbian marauders may have more murder in their hearts than Somali gangsters whose chief interests are money and power. But the Somalis have infinitely more blood on their hands. Genocide may not be the intent of those stealing food from the mouths of starving millions.

But it is the effect.'' Krauthammer simply ignores here the definition of genocide in the UN Genocide Convention in which ''intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnical, racial or religious group as such'' (Article II) is a necessary element of genocide.

Richard Cohen (syndicated Washington Post columnist) also discredited labeling Bosnia as a case of genocide and the Holocaust analogies in the *Detroit Free Press*, December 29, 1992): ''Similarly, these pro-intervention intellectuals and opinion-makers have the Holocaust on their minds. To them, the parallels between yesterday and today are obvious: concentration camps, massacres, ethnic hatred and – above all – no response from the West. A 'never again' theme permeates their writings just as the term 'genocide' is carelessly used in their arguments. But ethnic cleansing, while vile and evil, does not amount to genocide-the attempted eradication of a people. And Serbia under Slobodan Milosevic is not Germany under Adolf Hitler. Serbia does not threaten Europe, except, maybe, as an example to other aggressors. But even this argument is not exactly ironclad.''

In April 1993, the new U.S. administration itself tried to discredit the charge of genocide. Thomas Friedman noted in the *New York Times* (April 8, 1993) that ''the Clinton Administration … shifted gears, and is now telling the American people that Bosnia is a quagmire about which very little can be done…. Administration policymakers vigorously deny that they have given up trying to press the Serbs into making concessions to the Bosnian Muslims, and insist that they are now working on lifting the arms embargo to give the Muslims more of a fighting chance. But they also concede that they have begun to talk about Bosnia differently, to cast the problem there less as a moral tragedy – which would make American inaction immoral – and more as a tribal feud that no outsider could hope to settle…. The first sign of the Administration's new tone on Bosnia came on March 28, when Secretary of State Warren Christopher, … on the CBS News program 'Face the Nation' [said] … In a remark that aides said Mr. Christopher rehearsed in advance, he depicted the conflict as the re-emergence of ancient European tribal feuds. 'Let me put that situation in Bosnia in just a little broader framework,' he said. 'It's really a tragic problem. The hatred between all three groups-the Bosnians and the Serbs and the Croats-is almost unbelievable. It's almost terrifying, and it's centuries old. That really is a problem from hell … The United States simply doesn't have the means to make people in that regions of the world like each other'.''

Yet calls from citizens, editorialists, and human rights advocates for action continued: air strikes, lifting the arms embargo, protecting ''safe havens'' for Bosnian with additional peacekeepers on the ground were

among the options. Adherents of the moral obligation model advanced many arguments. The demand for action and the impediments advanced by opponents (often citing the worst case scenario) often overlooked the question of how means were related to ends of proximate objectives. The Clinton Administration vacillated, denied vacillation, and dispatched Warren Christopher on a trip to U.S. NATO allies without calling a meeting of NATO to mobilize a sense of emergency. Not surprisingly, it led nowhere. By May 18, Christopher completed the backtracking by denying that what was happening in Bosnia was genocide: "Mr. Christopher said Bosnia was a 'morass' of deep hatreds … where 'there are atrocities on all sides.' His clear message was that the Muslims in Bosnia are not the Jews of World War II Europe, and that if there is no victim, then there is no moral imperative for the United States to intercede. 'It's somewhat different from the Holocaust,' Mr. Christopher told Representative Gary L. Ackerman, the New York Democrat, who asked whether 'ethnic cleansing' wasn't the same as genocide. 'It's been easy to analogize this to the Holocaust, but I never heard of any genocide by the Jews against the German people"' (reported by Elaine Sciolino, *New York Times*, May 19, 1993).

Thus, the victim had been equated with the victimizer, despite discrepant facts. The International Court of Justice on April 8, 1993, enjoined the Federal Republic or Yugoslavia not to commit genocide against the "Muslim population of Bosnia and Herzegovina" rather than vice versa (UNSC S/25686, 8 April 1993).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Opinions in the major U.S. newspapers surveyed at critical times in 1992–1993 presented a range of competing frameworks, interpretations, and views on Bosnia. Because the op-ed pages were grounds for competing political actors to build support, they included some high-ranking officials and former officials. The majority of articles at all times supported a proactive position, assuming an American moral obligation to thwart genocide, atrocities, war crimes, imposed-starvation, and aggression. Press opinion surveyed favored the United States acting to check genocide, war crimes, and aggression through the NATO and the UN. By December 1992, there was more agreement on this approach than in August.

It was not the influence of the media but the lack of political will by the Bush and Clinton administrations that inhibited U.S. action, although President Clinton had criticized the position of President Bush in August

1992. Any intervention or change in policy would have involved articulating a clear goal, advancing a defensible strategy, and leading the Congress, the bureaucracy, and the public to support the goal.

It is beyond the purpose of this research to explain the decisions of these administrations or propose the ends and means of such a campaign but we can note examples where these same presidents did mobilize such campaigns: President Bush in the Gulf War (1991) and President Clinton in his drive for the North American Free Trade Alliance (1993).

Examining opinions in the press yields the opportunity to view the confusion of definitions of the situation, of actors who might instigate action or inaction, and the uses and misuse of metaphor. There were multiple and, in some cases, opposing definitions of the situations; three states fighting in former Yugoslavia and three sides with forces in Bosnia (which turned, with Croatia switching sides, into different two-against-one coalitions at different times); at least three intergovernmental organizations that might be interveners (the UN, the NATO, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe), and four member-states of the Security Council (and more states in Western Europe) involved.

This is not to say that all interpretations are equally valid. One could, by judicious selection of facts, assert (1) that this was a civil war or an international war of aggression (invoking a claim of legitimacy and right of self-defense and assistance by others); (2) that these groups had been involved in cycles of vengeance for centuries, or that people had mixed, intermarried and lived in peace and harmony for 45 years before being misled and manipulated by politicians to view each other as mortal enemies; (3) that the Vance-Owen negotiations were the only road to peace, or that they were a dishonorable sell-out, a mask for appeasement; (4) that only group segregation (voluntary or involuntary) was possible to protect peace and security, or that a pluralistic democratic state in Bosnia was possible if perpetrators of genocide and war criminals were prosecuted. Similarly, if one defined the situation as a civil war and ethnic conflict, one would infer that this was a case of multilateral war crimes rather than genocide. The latter inference was a serious step, for defining the situation as genocide immediately invoked international obligations under the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide as well as moral obligations. For this reason, advocates and officials who sought to disengage from the mobilization for action sought to deny or discredit the labeling of the situation in Bosnia as genocide.

Foremost among these arguments were the denials of any likeness between ethnic cleansing and the Holocaust. This overlooks the fact that

"the final solution of the Jewish Question" – as the German objective was put – was designed to make Germany and German-occupied Europe judenrein (cleansed of Jews). It also overlooks the fact that the Holocaust is not the archetype of most genocides (Fein, 1993b, pp. 28–29, 55). Genocide, since the World War II, most often occurs between competing ethno-classes with the perpetrator striving to retain dominance and to destroy and expel the other (Fein, 1993a). Furthermore, in the UN Genocide Convention (Article II), "genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such a) Killing members of the group; b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

Besides making a prima facie case of genocide on the basis of organized killing, stripping of civil rights, jobs, and property of the Muslims and other non-Serbs in Bosnia and destruction of mosques, one can show how the mass rape of women and forcible impregnation to make them produce Serb children is a violation (under Article IIb) and can lead to their inability to procreate in their group of origin, and is thus a violation of Articles IIc and IId of the UN Genocide Convention (Goldstein, 1993, pp. 22–23; Quindlen, 1993).

Defining the situation as genocide and using the Holocaust as the only example of genocide was both a political resource and problematic. It was a political resource because the Holocaust is so well known and evocative in the West. But when the Holocaust is used as a metaphor and the pattern is more complicated than the metaphor suggests, it can lead to discrediting the definition of the situation. For example, the labeling of camps in August 1992 in which Bosnian males were being regularly starved, battered, and killed as "death camps," implying an analogy to Auschwitz, obscured the fact that the Bosnians were being killed in place (as the Jews were in eastern Europe in the Einsatzgruppen massacres in 1941) and not deported and most Bosnians who were interned were exchanged for Serbian prisoners. Some writers reevaluated the genocide argument when they found that the metaphor did not fit mechanically and discovered that some Bosnian Muslim fighters were not just innocent victims but had also committed crimes. Another aspect of Holocaust–World War II analogies is the aggression-appeasement-expanded aggression linkage. The Munich metaphor or analogy is problematic as is comparison of Milosevic to Hitler because of the difference between Serbian aims and German goals (1933–1939) and the differential

power of Serbia and Germany relative to other European states. Furthermore, it restricts the focus to external aggression, which can be deterred as the United States may have done in Macedonia.

The press reflected rather than refined perceptions and alternatives, neither clarifying the genocide model nor examining the alternatives to stop genocide: to defeat the perpetrator, to remove the victims, or to enable the victims to fight back. Nor did it differentiate between the international obligation to the Bosnian Muslims and to Bosnia as a polity. Political leaders – not editorial writers – ultimately bear the responsibility for the failure of will in Bosnia. However, the fact that the large majority of opinions among both moral obligation and rational interest advocates in December 1992 called for action strongly suggests that it would have been possible for the new American President to take a stand if (a) he had had the will to do so and (b) had thought through a strategy consonant with U.S. objectives and means. Instead of action, the U.S. in the UN focused on establishing a war crimes tribunal to ensure war crimes and genocide would not go unpunished just as on December 17, 1942, the allies publicly vowed that the extermination of the Jews was a crime whose perpetrators "shall not escape retribution" (Fein, 1979, p. 169), making no attempt to deter the ongoing extermination. Finally, this study documents the press and the frameworks of interpretation of the Bosnian situation before the U.S. intervention in 1995, after the genocidal massacre of over 7,000 Bosnian Muslim men in Srebenica in July 1995. Further research would explore the historic and comparative study of genocide and press frameworks of interpretation about genocide, a major form of human rights violation.

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NATIONAL AND ETHNIC DISCOURSES ON CYPRUS TELEVISION

Nayia Roussou

ABSTRACT

Cyprus, a small island state in the far eastern corner of the Mediterranean, is an appropriate example of modernising states faced with the influx of Media pluralism and all the boons of a rich age of information communication systems, while its indigenous political problems remain unsolved. The invasion of Cyprus by Turkish troops in 1974 and the dichotomy of the land, with Turkish-Cypriots occupying and living in the Northern part and Greek-Cypriots living in the southern part of the island, has created a state in transition, from nationalism to internationalism, from the stage of ethnic cleavage to the stage of modernisation and globalisation. Media pluralism with the proliferation of imported programmes is another dimension in the life of the island. The ethnic/national issues, together with the content of television programmes, were the subject of the present study among youth. The discourses in these issues are presented through the three stages of the research conducted: the statistical research survey, the discourse analysis of 5 out of the top 10 programmes popular among the sample and the 23 interviews and 2 group discussions conducted with members of the sample. The results establish a relationship between television and national/ethnic issues and opens areas

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of research on television/media discourses about human rights, identity and nationality in an age of globalisation. The world may be sharing images, but individual countries are called upon to face internal national and political realities.

INTRODUCTION: THE CYPRUS NATIONAL PROBLEM

The history of Cyprus has been marked by centuries of foreign occupation, adventures and political vagaries. Its strategic position at the geographical crossroads of three continents, combined with the indigenous resilience and cosmopolitan consciousness of its people, has helped the population not only to survive but also to adjust to and integrate the ongoing process of modernisation, which began with the British rule of the island, in 1878, when the Ottomans ceded Cyprus to the British Empire. After the 1955–59 EOKA struggle and the ensuing Independence Treaties of Zurich and London, in spite of the strong Enosis-with-Greece movement in the island still existing at the time, as mainland Greeks and Greek-Cypriots shared the same culture, this Enosis vision began to fade out and was ultimately relegated to historical nostalgia. This, according to Kyriacos Markides (1977), was due to a number of differences in the political and economic institutions in the structure of Greek and Cyprus society:

> Although mainland Greeks and Greek Cypriots shared the same culture, the structure of their societies and their political and economic institutions were diametrically different and often contradictory. Cyprus was spared the various historical convulsions that plagued Greece during the twentieth century and obstructed the normal evolution of the Greek society. It was spared the two world wars, the Asia Minor disaster of 1922 and the bloody Greek civil war of the 1940s. The Cypriots were able to develop their social and economic institutions relatively unhampered. (p. 78)

Cyprus remained a member of the British Commonwealth after Independence, most of its external trade was conducted with the former colonial metropolis and there was an abundance of goods in the island. In spite of this modernising process, however, internal forces of tradition, like the church and its power, education in the sense of Hellenistic paedhia (body of cultural knowledge) and even forces like the cooperative movement preserved the sense of historical continuity and cultural progress in the island.

Parallel to the ongoing modernisation or continuous secularisation of Cyprus, with the influx of technology, automobiles, mass media and modern economy, there was, according to Markides (1977), a 'decline and debunking of cherished traditional values and ideologies' (p. 79).

The end of the EOKA national liberation struggle in 1959 and the inauguration of independence were not the beginning of a new era of peace in the island, but the beginning of a sharp, inter-communal cleavage between the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot communities, known henceforth as the Cyprus conflict.

After 1963, the sociopolitical balances were radically changed. Politically the question of Enosis was still a major issue with disloyal political Government opponents – and EOKA B, a terrorist group created in 1972, together with the dictatorship at the helm of the Greek government paved the way to the coup of 1974. This gave occasion for the coup d'état against Archbishop Makarios and the subsequent Turkish military intervention by the Turkish troops in July, 1974, an event that brought about the final 'territorial consolidation of the two communities' (Groom, 1986, p. 128).

Economic progress in the years after 1974, however, still continued to carry Cyprus along the course of modernity, and in spite of this progress, during the years after the invasion, there has occurred not only just a territorial but also sociocultural consolidation as well. The national identities of the two communities have become reinforced along parallel lines in a triple direction: On the Greek side, people tend to consider themselves either as 'Greeks' (the affiliation being with Greece, the motherland), 'Greek-Cypriots' or 'Cypriots'.

On the contrary, in the Turkish sector, one can almost identify a similar pattern of cultural nationalism, with Turkish-Cypriots rating themselves as 'Turks', 'Turkish-Cypriots' (strongly affiliated with mainland Turkey) or just 'Cypriots', with a strong emphasis on their 'Cypriotness' (citizens of the Cypriot Republic).

Other than this common trend, however, there are more cultural differences between the two communities today, than there are similarities. The dispersed identities and the hyphenated nationhood that the two communities have adopted, as Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots have created a dichotomy, instead of a conflation of their ethnicity and nationhood, which would have been a natural state of affairs in a newly formed nation state. And, whereas the conflation of ethnicity and nationhood is a natural process in the case of ethnic groups claiming self-determination (Gillespie, 1995) in the case of Cyprus citizens, this claim to self-determination, because of the different feelings of nationhood among

the two communities (Greek-Turkish), it has brought about the opposite result – a cleavage between ethnicity and nationhood. Gillespie (1995) suggests that 'ethnicity, as consciousness of shared ethnic identity tends to crystallise in situations where people of different backgrounds come into contact or share the same institutions of political systems'. (p. 10). Hall (1993) defines ethnicity as the astonishing return to the political agenda of all those points of attachment, which give the individual some sense of place and position in the world, whether these be in relation to particular communities, localities, territorialities, languages, religions or cultures.

This kind of crystallisation has been absent in the state of Cyprus: its ethnic communities – Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots – have been and still are caught in a painful process of survival counter to a political problem and a climate of dispersed communities, which look to language, religion, locality and culture, sometimes beyond the borders of the nation state of Cyprus: Greek-Cypriots – looking to Greece – and Turkish-Cypriots to Turkey.

It is no coincidence, therefore, that the two communities in Cyprus have, for one, developed distinct cultural elements that have given them, especially after 1974, a feeling of separate ethnicity and a 'place-bound nationalism', which has negated the other side. This has been one of the main impediments in the way of forming a unitary nation state in Cyprus, as would have been the case in any other country coming out of colonialism. A nation state involves 'coherence and integrity of identity' according to Morley and Robins (1995, p. 24). This has been lacking in the newly established state of Cyprus, as the differences between the two communities did not allow them to respond to the requirements for the construction of a nation state, which involved the elimination of complexity, the extrusion or marginalisation of elements that compromised the 'clarity' of national attachment. This process was about the purification of space and of identity. 'The nation state does not easily tolerate difference' (p. 23).

Kyriacos Markides (1977, pp. 185–186) referring to Cyprus realities describes this decisive lack of homogeneity, which was one of the historical cornerstones of the modern nation state in Europe, in the following words:

> It is a tragedy that Greeks and Turks developed their national identities on the basis of their mutual traditional antagonisms. The national celebrations of the Turks are Greek defeats and vice-versa. A durable republic cannot be maintained when Turkish Cypriots celebrate the twentieth of July, the invasion date, as a national holiday and Greek Cypriots treat it as a day of mourning. Nor is the diligent commemoration by Greek Cypriots of the Greek War of Independence of 1821 and the Greek Cypriot rebellion of 1955 conclusive to intercommunal trust.

Of course, population shifts have also occurred after 1974, as the influx of refugees from the occupied area has been absorbed by the cities of Nicosia, Limassol and Larnaka, as well as unoccupied Famagusta. This has changed the character of the population and the sociocultural features of these cities. A new factor entering these changes is connected to the demarcation line, which today runs across the entire island, not just the capital, Nicosia, which was, at any rate divided as far back as 1963.

Greek-Cypriots along this demarcation line live closer to the threat of incidents by the Turkish soldiers stationed in the occupied area, and for this reason, many of the areas along the borderline are not inhabited. In spite of this, however, there is an effort at resistance, in the sense that sometimes people choose to live by the demarcation line thus declaring their persistence in claiming their land, and to declare their human rights (of movement and choice of residence), close to the territories in which they were born and raised. The Dherynia incidents in August, 1996, along the demarcation line in the unoccupied Famagusta area, are good evidence in point: When a crowd of Greek-Cypriots tried to cross the demarcation line, one Greek-Cypriot – Tassos Isaac – was beaten to death by Turks from Turkey, while Solomos Solomou, who climbed the flag pole to bring down the Turkish flag, was shot dead in cold blood, by the same bunch of 'grey wolves' from Turkey.

Therefore, the political conflict in the island has created a set of new, harsh realities, which must, if a proper solution is to be found, be faced by a new attempt at a political and cultural rapprochement. Today, Cyprus is partaking in a world process of the diffusion of global cultural values spread by the media, the Internet and an international communication and information system. Its cultural identity is open to world influences on one hand, whereas, on the other hand, its local (social, ethnic and cultural) identity is being dichotomised by internal political problems.

THE MEDIA SCENE IN CYPRUS

In Cyprus, apart from the tradition or the national voice that is apparent in many cultural traditions or national symbols that have prevalence in the life of the country, the media have been a powerful socialisation agency that has gone through a very radical change during the past decade. From 1953 until 1990, the only radio-television station in the island was the public channel, CyBC (Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation) established by the British Colonial Government. The onset of independent broadcasting in the

beginning of the 1990s introduced pluralism in the island with phases of deregulation and re-regulation taking place, as they indeed do in many European countries, after the 1980s.

Aside from the ongoing discussion about the encounter, or confrontation of public and private television channels today, in many countries, global–local dialectics and the trend in globalisation – that is, 'the spreading of economic and cultural practices' (Ang, 1996, p. 171) seem to be a very potent factor in the national and cultural identity of different nations. And even though these globalisation processes may not be 'determinist', they still seem to be 'determining' (Ang, 1996, p. 171).

Regional and generational as well as dislocation and change factors are also present in the historical meeting between CyBC and private television in Cyprus, a country that aspired to join the European Union. The question of a globalised television, versus the formation and continuous re-processing of a national cultural identity, has been a dominant issue in the unification of Europe itself, where questions of national cultural identities have to test their uniqueness against the internal cultural coherence of a united Europe. The Commission of the European Communities (1984, p. 28) maintains that television can be an instrument of integration: 'Television will play an important part in developing and nurturing awareness of the rich variety of Europe's common cultural and historical heritage. The dissemination of information across national borders can do much to help the peoples of Europe to recognise the common destiny they share in many areas'.

Television is one of the mirrors of history, together with the family, the church, the formal education system and the informal agencies of socialisation. Friedman (1995, p. 141) argues that 'the constitution of identity is an elaborate and deadly serious game of mirrors. It is a complex temporal interaction of multiple practices of identification external and internal to a subject or population'. These mirrors, or these constituents of history and therefore of identity, must therefore be placed in the contexts of time and space, if the assessment of their role will be close to any degree of reality. The problem is that with the globalisation of the media, there is, today, what Harvey (1997, p. 296) describes 'a time-space compression, in reference to the rate of transport of people, sound, pictures and any other forms of information, including of course , money'. This time-space compression, an inherent feature in the process of globalisation, is both a subjective and an objective process in any society or nation, as it 'refers both to the compression of the world and to the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole'.

John Tomlinson (1996) phrases this concept of compression in describing processes of Westernisation, which seem to spread this common consciousness around the globe, in the following terms:

> When people talk about 'Westernisation' they are referring to a whole range of things: the consumer culture of Western capitalism with its now all-too-familiar icons (McDonald's Coca-Cola, Levi Jeans), the spread of architecture and of music, the adoption of an urban lifestyle consuming extensively the information and entertainment products of the electronic mass media, a range of cultural values and attitudes regarding personal liberty, gender and sexuality, human rights, the political process, religion, scientific and technological rationality and so on.

The consciousness of Western standards, practices and lifestyles, as well as the wider use of the English language in both real life and imported Media products, has been very prevalent in Cyprus, after decolonisation. Of course, language in Cyprus and its use in television programmes are in essence of crucial importance as the three languages prevalent on Cyprus home screens are English, Standard Modern Greek and the Cyprus dialect. This is in perfect accord with language as part of the cultural identity of Cypriots, a theme studied by Lydia Sciriha (1996) in 'A Question of Identity: Language Use in Cyprus'. The research was conducted in the context of the association of language as an instrument and also an expression of ethnicity and identity.

In Cyprus, English is widely spoken, whereas Standard Modern Greek is the basic language of instruction in formal education, on all levels. The Greek-Cypriot dialect is, on the contrary, generally spoken by the Greek-Cypriots, whereas Turkish is also a language spoken by only a small part of the Greek-Cypriot population. Sciriha's research concluded that while English is in reality widely spoken, only about 4% of Greek-Cypriots know Turkish, leaving the two languages – Standard Modern Greek and the Greek-Cypriot dialect, in competition with each other (1996, pp. 104–105).

It is interesting to note the ambivalence existing around Standard Modern Greek and the Cyprus dialect, with reference to language use in programmes, as quoted by Sciriha (1996, p. 86) in her research, which was conducted after the introduction of media pluralism.

The statement in the research, which declares that the Greek-Cypriot dialect should not be used on television as a language medium, obtained the third highest rating (56.67 points), whereas the highest rating (58.07 points) was given to the statement that the dialect should not be acquired by children as a first language and the second highest rating (57.93 points) was given to the statement that considers that the dialect is spoken by uneducated people.

Furthermore, it is also interesting to refer to Prodromou's (1995, p. 87) argument that the Cyprus dialect has been losing ground in industrialised (modernised) Cyprus for half a century now. 'As it was a dialect corresponding to an "agricultural traditional society", without great demands on written communication and intellectual (participative) education, it could not be an adequate language instrument or horizon of thought'. This 'gap', according to Prodromou, was filled by a foreign, international language (English in this case). This has survived colonialism and the 'pseudo-dilemma' as he terms it, is whether Standard Modern Greek or English will be the language of contemporisation in Cyprus.

RESEARCH ON TELEVISION AND IDENTITY OR ETHNICITY ISSUES IN CYPRUS

In Cyprus, a conscious effort at modernisation of many of its contemporary educational, social and economic institutions is definitely on hand. One such area that has known a lot of progress during the past five to eight years is that of social research, especially research that has to do with young people and characteristics of their personality.

Up until today, however, media research in Cyprus has been using earlier methods of strictly quantitative approaches, an approach that has to be enriched as television itself has become more complex and sophisticated and as sociocultural conditions in the island have been going through sweeping changes because of political, historical and technological developments. Television today is local and at the same time global, fragmented, but also ubiquitous in nature and in context pluralistic but also fragmenting its audiences with an abundance of viewing opportunities.

Between the years 1997 and 2000, the author conducted a three-phase research project about *Television and the cultural identity of Cyprus youth*. The study focuses on lifestyle and ethnicity issues of identity and used a combination of the following quantitative and qualitative methods:

- A field questionnaire to be answered by a statistical sample of 600 students, 13–18, from all over Cyprus.
- An analysis of 5 from among the top 10 television programmes, preferred by the respondents to the questionnaire.
- A series of one-to-one, in-depth interviews, again with respondents selected from among the questionnaire sample.

- And a group discussion with selected respondents from among those that participated in the field survey.

Even though the above combination of quantitative methodology and the qualitative approaches of discourse analysis and interviews is a newer approach to media methods, there are supporters of the combination:

Blumler, Gurevitch, & Katz (1985, p. 258), speaking for quantitative approach to social science, did raise 'the prospect of a meaningful cross-paradigm dialogue' and Lull (1985, p. 220) from the qualitative side suggested that 'a convergence of quantitative and qualitative research offers the greatest potential for accurate description and explanation of the significance of communication in all contexts'. The author is confident that even though one would not expect corroboration of data resulting from different methods, the findings from the different stages supported each other, thus achieving general consistency in the answers to the research goals sought. The establishment in the present study of self-stated preferences, attitudes and social or ethnic values, which led to the analysis of programmes, was concluded with a series of interviews and discussions to support and verify programme interpretations, in the social and historical context of the respondents, by the establishment of meanings they derive from their television viewings, thus procuring a set of different discourses, for the first time in the history of Cyprus media research. The findings from all three different stages of the research study cross-fertilise each other in this triangulation approach (Schroder, 1999, p. 50). For the purposes of this chapter, an integrated discussion of national and ethnic discourses, indicating the relationship between television and the identity of Cyprus youth, is presented. The results derive from the statistical survey, the discourse analysis performed in 5 out of the top 10 programmes of the sample and the interviews and group discussions.

NATIONALITY/ETHNICITY TRENDS IN THE STATISTICAL RESEARCH SURVEY

Before giving the statistical percentages derived from the answers to nationality/ethnicity questions addressed to the Cyprus sample, it is of interest to indicate the television programme preferences of the sample, as the language, the country origin of these programmes and their cultural value systems, essentially mapped out other trends in the sample's identity

and national/ethnic discourses, which were also traced in the remaining stages of the research study. The top 10 programme preferences of the sample were stated to be the following:

	Regularly	Always	Total
1. *News at 8.30 – ANT.1* (locally produced)	32.3	23.7	55.00%
2. *To Kafenion* (tthe coffee shop) (Locally produced)	46.8%	20.8	26.0 (CyBC)
3. *Kalimera Zoi* (good morning life) (Imported from Greece)	21.3	22.9	44.2% (ANT1)
4. *Efharisto Savvatovradho* (pleasant Saturday night) (Locally produced)	27.3	16.9	43.12 (CyBC)
5. *Pater Imon* (our father) (Imported from Greece)	27.5	15.7	43.2% (ANT1)
6. *Beverly Hills* (Imported from America)	18.8	21.1	**39.9% (PIK1)**
7. *Athlitikes Idhisis* (sports news) (Locally produced)	14.2	25.2	39.4% (PIK1)
8. *Epitelous Mazi* (at last, together) (Imported from Greece)	29.0	9.9	38.14% (ANT1)
9. *Istories tou horiou* (stories from the village) (Locally produced) (RIK1)	19.9	19.3	38.12%
10. *Costas Costa stis Okto* (Costas Costa at Eight) (Locally produced) (SIGMA)	24.4	13.2	37.6%

It is also important to note that many other imported, English language programmes were popular among the statistical sample, with lower percentages, for example, 'Baywatch', 'X-Files', 'Melrose Place' and 'Robocop'. What is apparent from the above illustration is that 6 out of the top 10 programmes were locally (Cyprus) produced, 3 imported from Greece and 1 from America.

The percentages of the sample's answers given below illustrate statistically their responses to questions touching on national/ethnic issues:

- The question about whether they 'believe that Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots can live together peacefully in the future after a solution?' received the following answers:

	%
Certainly	20.3
Very probably	25.7
Perhaps	40.7
Never	12.4

- The question about whether they considered Turkish-Cypriots, *'violent' 'backward', 'human'* or *'no different from Greek-Cypriots'* obtained a majority percentage of 30.6%, who replied that they consider them *'backward'*. The word *'backward'* (in Greek *'opisthodromiki'*) insinuates lack of modernism and a contemporary attitude in thinking, behaviour and living in general. A similar question, relating to Turks of Turkey, drew a much bigger negative majority description – 70.7% considered them *'violent'*.

Of course this attitude towards the mainland Turks drew from the invasion of the island in 1974, but also from the more recent (1996) Dherynia incidents.

- Answers about the character of the Cyprus University rendered the following frequencies:
  - 64.7% believed it should be *'strictly Greek'*
  - 28.3% 'international'
  - 6.4%, 'bi-communal and bilingual'
- The question that sought answers as to whether they believed *the use of the English language in official Cyprus documents is justified* obtained the following percentages:
  - 59.8% answered no
  - 39.5% answered yes

Again the above are further illustrations of the emphasis placed by the sample on Greek language as a factor of national culture.

- The question about which flag did they *consider characteristic of the Republic of Cyprus?* brought up the following preferences of percentages:

• Both the Greek and Cyprus flags together depending on the occasion	% 44.6

• The Cyprus flag	43.0
• The Turkish and the Cyprus flag together depending on the occasion	1.0

• Answers to the invitation to state their self-perceived identity gave the following self-descriptions:

Self-perceived identity	%
• A Greek-Cypriot	48.3
• A Cypriot	18.8
• A citizen of the world	12.9
• A Cypriot, not a Greek	9.9
• A European	4.8
• A Greek, not a Cypriot	4.0

• Finally, the question about the prioritisation of current issues by the sample gave the following frequencies:

Priorities	%
• The Cyprus problem	30.0
• A possible war with Turkey	24.9
• Drugs in Cyprus	17.0
• Cyprus joining the EEC	14.2
• Violence in Cyprus	7.4
• Equality of men and women	4.4

The strong trend towards the use of the Greek Demotic and the Cyprus Dialect, in regard to language preferences, language being a strong element of nationality and ethnicity, was not only indicated in their top 10 programme preferences but also reaffirmed in their responses to questions about the use of language. Parallelwise, the equal percentages given to the use of the Cyprus flag (alone) and the two flags together provided a good hint for further discussion with the sample. It also pointed back to the persistence of a 'place-bound nationalism' in spite of the featured global trends in Cypriot society. The same can be said about the future of peaceful coexistence with Turkish-Cypriots in the island, after a solution, which seemed to draw undecided responses – 40.7% (the highest value in the responses) answering 'Perhaps' – a pointer to the ignorance of the Turkish-Cypriot 'Others' on behalf of the younger generation of Greek-Cypriots. Further pointers as to ethnicity were the replies about the self-stated identity of the sample, the greatest number of which (48.3%) perceive themselves as

'Greek-Cypriots', dis-identifying or perhaps counter-identifying with the Turkish-Cypriots, those 'Others' missing from their actual or their television experiences. Generally, the picture derived from the first part of the statistical survey was one of a locally oriented society, exhibiting a high sense of place-bound ethnicity, in an age where 'time-space compression' is, according to Harvey (1997, p. 296), a high feature of the globalising process.

NATIONAL/ETHNIC DISCOURSES IN THE ANALYSED PROGRAMMES

Five programmes were analysed textually and through the method of discourse analysis in the second stage of the research, to identify features of continuity or consistency – or perhaps contrast to the statistical data and to fertilise the agenda of questions addressed to the sample subjects in the final interviews/discussion stage. The five programmes analysed were selected to represent productions from Greece, America and Cyprus and to also represent factual and fictional programmes. They were the following:

• Programme no. 1	*ANT.1 News at 8.30*
• Programme no. 2	*To Kafenion* (CyBC) (*The Coffeeshop*)
• Programme no. 3	*Kalimera Zoi* (ANT.1) ('Good morning life')
• Programme no. 5	*Beverly Hills* (CyBC 1)
• Programme no. 7 (b)	*Istories tou Horiou* (CyBC 1 (*Stories from the village*)

Morley and Robins (1995, p. 135) maintain that 'everything seen on the screen says something about us. It challenges us to respond, to relate what we see to what we are. It compels us to validate our own identity'. The programme analysis provided the detailed indications that the meanings of television programme contents can never be reduced to a mere list of features or characteristics, but each one possesses its own characteristics deriving from generic conventions, plot structure, character zones and socio-historical background. Television programme contents are not static texts, but dynamic and polysemic as to interpretation, depending on the reader and his/her personal intellectual equipment and circumstances. The historical and political problems of Cyprus were therefore a backdrop against which this

analysis was conducted, with the knowledge that its conclusions would enter the conversations, or the meta-discourse stage with the sample, in the interviews and discussions, which would conclude the study. Rommetweit (cited in Livingstone, 1998, p. 43) sums this appropriately when he states that meanings from texts can never be divorced from their social context.

CONCLUSIONS RELATED TO NATIONAL/ETHNIC ISSUES

Some basic conclusions include the following:

- The complexities in language issues, language being a 'locus for the struggle of power' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 60), were traced and pointed out in programmes like *The Coffee-shop* and *Stories of the Village*, where the demotic and the dialect were juxtaposed. English, the demotic and the dialect were all present in this 'social distribution of power', as indicated by the distribution of the statistical programme preferences in the statistical survey.
- Micro-level discourses were identified in almost all the programmes, as to the programmes' individual plots, character zones and character relationships, and their counterpart macro-level social realities, whether in a global nexus (*Beverly Hills*) or the national/ethnic/local (Greek and Cyprus nexus in the Greek and Cyprus programmes). This was the stepping stone for further discussing these levels with the sample in the interviews/discussions in the meta-communication stage that followed.
- The theoretical concept of 'otherness' was a further theme established in the programme analysis, as it run through almost all the programmes analysed, whether in 'Beverly Hills', with the black 'others', or in *Stories of the Village*, with Vassilou, as the unwanted, suspected or even alien presence in the village. The 'otherness' of the global youth models in *Beverly Hills* was also a further dimension in the complexity of the theoretical approaches existing around the global/local dialectics.
- The order of discourse in the news bulletin of ANT.1, with its 'voices of dissent', together with its sole attribution of news to its own reporters and correspondents, supported its powerful (objective) image and further enhanced the strong representations of the (Cyprus) establishment figures. This authoritative, popular status of the channel was further accentuated by the (regular) news item from Greece, which completes the picture of close collaboration with Greek ANT.1 (most of the channel's productions come from Greece). Another example of discourse contributing to the

'social distribution of power', as ANT.1, has been leading the charts, ever since its establishment in 1995.

- The absence of Turkish-Cypriots from all programmes, including the news bulletin, was conducive to the ignorance of this 'other' community, its presence being televisually ignored in the construction of the national or cultural identity of the sample.
- Finally, the cultural climate of the local (and Greek) programmes analysed versus that of the English language programmes was a definite expression of localism versus globalisation, in the theoretical discussion about global/local dialectics or as an expression of particularism and indigenous roots versus universalism.

NATIONAL/ETHNIC DISCOURSES IN INTERVIEWS AND DISCUSSIONS – LANGUAGE

One of the conclusions of the field research already presented in this chapter was the fact that the majority of programmes preferred by the sample were Greek or Cyprus productions. This was further verification of the language trend established by Lidia Sciriha (1996, pp. 98–105) that in truth, the only two varieties competing with one another are the Greek-Cypriot dialect and Standard Modern Greek, which, due to their diglossic relationship, are more in complementary distribution, than in competition with one another.

Competition, however, was not only exemplified in the split preferences between the programmes – Greek and Cyprus productions. It was also illustrated within specific Cyprus productions, like in 'Kafenion' and 'Istories tou horiou', which describes life in a Cyprus village. In both of these programmes, the characters speaking the demotic were in direct encounter or contrast with the characters speaking the dialect. This does not seem to present the two languages in 'complementarity' according to Sciriha, but actually in what is almost an encounter or competition. Bourdieu's pointer about language being the locus of the battle for power of the legitimate language over the less refined one is appropriate here. Of course, his point about meta-discourses and the social distribution of this power, in the the characters of 'Kafenion' (dialect) over Mikis (demotic) and the power of the villagers (dialect) over the suspected character of Vassilou (the demotic) in 'Istories' are appropriate indications to the point.

The discussion of the two languages brought out some very enlightening remarks from the respondents in the interviews and discussions, as to their views of the Cyprus dialect and its suitability for television programmes.

They generally supported very warmly the continued use of the Cyprus dialect, as it is 'very special, many words come from the ancient Greek and we must preserve it'. A reminder of the fact that as culture is tied to power relations and language is really a vital factor of culture, the use of the dialect gives the sample a sense of cultural power – or perhaps ethnic identity – which they aspire to maintain and cultivate.

This appeared to coexist with the awareness that more and more programmes were being produced in Cyprus, using the Cyprus dialect. One of the younger interviewees, Andreas Savvides, 13, indicated full consciousness of the fact 'The programmes we view in the Cyprus dialect are becoming more usual, like the Greek serials we view. Yes, I think we should maintain the Cyprus dialect, as it is tradition and we must preserve it'.

Other respondents on the contrary, whose parents had a higher level of education, discriminated between the heavy village type of Cyprus dialect and the one spoken in the cities. Phanourios Tamanis, whose parents are philologists, was an example:

At home, we speak the Cyprus dialect, but not the old type, as my parents are philologists and they try to improve our vocabulary. In school, we also speak the Cyprus dialect, but not the very old, heavy type of the village kind. We speak the dialect used in the town. This sounded like a direct underestimation of the heavier dialect, spoken in the countryside.

This 'gap', then, between the Standard Modern Greek spoken by the literate, educated Greek-Cypriots and the dialect spoken by illiterate, rural countryside, was, according to Prodromou (1995, p. 87), 'filled by a foreign, international language (English in this case)'. This has survived colonialism, and the 'pseudo-dilemma', as he terms it, is 'whether Standard Modern Greek or English will be the languages of contemporization in Cyprus'. Sarup (1998, p. 156) comments as follows on language: There are some important themes in theorising cultural resistance: There is, for example, the insistence on the right to see the community's history coherently and integrally. The role of the national language is central here, because it is through language that national culture organises and sustains communal memory.

Furthermore, Van den Bulck and Van Poecke (1996) are even more specific when they maintain that 'language often constitutes the most important embodiment of ethnicity and the means for distinguishing "us" from "them"'. The complication that occurs in the case of the sample of the present study is the fact that even though they do distinguish between the 'other' (linguistically, the Turks, or other nationalities' foreign languages, like the English), their sense of language and identity sounded ambivalent: the dialect could be used in television programmes, but not in serious or dramatic ones. The point is

debatable, as Cyprus productions are becoming more frequent and, because we saw in the field survey, 6 out of the top 10 programmes were produced locally in the dialect (complemented by the Greek demotic) or in the demotic for news.

Therefore, the triglossic encounter on television is taking on new dimensions, as English, the demotic and the dialect seem to be in direct competition on Cyprus television channels, the demotic and the dialect frequently being in the same programme. The struggle for the 'social distribution of power' through the use of language as an expression of ethnicity seems, as a result, to be rising in importance in this struggle of cultures in Cyprus.

OTHER NATIONAL ETHNIC ISSUES

Another important set of issues that were touched upon in the interviews, eliciting meaningful comments and responses from the interviewees, included the following questions:

- the possibility of Greek-Cypriots living together with Turkish-Cypriots after a solution to the Cyprus problem;
- general attitudes towards the Turkish-Cypriots and the Turks, in association with television programmes;
- the Cyprus culture versus the Greek culture;
- national symbols like the Greek and Cyprus flag and the meaning and associations of these symbols, for the respondents and
- questions as to the self-stated identity of the interviewed sample.

The above issues all related to ethnic and political issues and were tackled in the field survey and the results were summarised earlier in this chapter.

The conclusions derived from the personal interviews indicated that the major source of information for the sample, about the Turkish-Cypriots, consisted almost exclusively of the news bulletins on Greek-Cypriot television. Most interviewees were not aware of any other programmes about Turks on Cyprus television – and indeed the only relevant programme is a television magazine programme broadcast by CyBC.1 on Tuesdays and Fridays. Some of the interviewees mentioned this, but most of their information about the Turkish-Cypriots came from their parents or grandparents, and even though this information was generally positive as to the character of the Turkish-Cypriots, the general attitude was that Greek-Cypriots cannot live peacefully in the future with Turkish-Cypriots. The information about the Turks was strongly influenced by the events along the Dherynia demarcation line in

1996, again mentioned, earlier when two Greek-Cypriots were killed by Turks from Turkey. The references to the televised events shed light on the way these broadcast scenes created indelible images in the minds of the respondents about Turks and their character and culture.

The respondents indicated familiarity with the plot and characters of the programmes they watched. They could identify character zones (good or bad) like Stathis (good) and Arhos (bad) (from 'Kalimera Zoi'), Brandon (good) and Vanessa (bad) (from 'Beverly Hills'). Therefore, these 'others' personified in their television preferences were known to them, but the 'others' living across the barbed wire seemed to be unknown to them, and they had no frames of reference on television for Turkish-Cypriots. They expressed an interest for more programmes about them. But most of the representations they actually get on television are of the Turks from Turkey and their reactionary attitudes to the Greek-Cypriots and the Cyprus problem. This trend of information, mainly from the news, reinforced by the 1996 Dherynia incidents, created a definitely negative relationship and a bellicose attitude towards the Turks. Attitudes towards the Turkish-Cypriots were lukewarm to moderate, with occasional strong doubts about living together, after a solution. The political 'Other' was either unknown, feared or hated. They did, however, generally believe there could be more programmes about Turkish-Cypriots. And even though they gave different reasons for this, it was an indirect confession that they did derive from television for the articulation of their ethnic and national attitudes. Some of the reasons they gave for the existence of these further programmes about the Turks were the following:

> So we would see how they live in occupied Cyprus. (Andreas) Or
>
> I would like to see programmes that would inform us about their culture and civilisation so we learn more about them. Now there are programmes in Turkish addressed to the Turkish-Cypriots. They are not addressed to us. But there could be programmes to make Greek Cypriots know more about Turkish-Cypriots – where they come from. Many people do not know that most of them were Greeks, who, history books say, were forced to become Turks. (Mihalisl)

Anna:

> I haven't seen any programmes about Turkish-Cypriots on television.

And Eleni:

> I would like to see more programmes about Turkish-Cypriots on television and learn more about these people. Many fanatics who are all fire and thunder against Turkish-Cypriots, should meet them and realize they are not zero, they also have a history and they were living in this place, before we came along … . They have their own history, their roots; we

should know what we have in common with them and what are our traditions and our differences. There is nothing on television about them, apart from discussions among us.

Antonia:

I get my views about Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots, from my parents and grandparents. They say they were quiet people and did not wish Cyprus ill and could live well with the Greek-Cypriots.

There was also the view that too much propaganda was conducted by the Turkish mass media:

I know there are news bulletins in Turkish and this is very useful, as Bayrak has news in Greek. You might consider this useless, but it isn't. The two news bulletins make different statements – e.g. we say that the air space of the Greek side has been violated. This is the correct version, as the computers also support it. In their news bulletins, they claim that Greek planes violated the air space of Ankara. So we see that it is the military and Denktash who fanaticise them. They don't become fanatics of their own. (Phanourios)

The above statement leaves no doubt that this particular respondent at least considers that the Turkish media are fully controlled by the hegemonic forces of the establishment and his oppositional interpretations are quite natural, in spite of the 'rapprochement' experience he had in the Fulbright programme.

The above section brought out quite different responses to television programmes existing – or not existing – in reference to the Turkish-Cypriots and the Turks. A very apt confirmation of the polysemic readings of TV contents and of the active audience that is really making its own meanings in its own particular conditions.

The investigation, during the interviews of how the respondents felt about living together with the Turkish-Cypriots after a solution to the Cyprus problem, brought out an almost repetitive pattern of negative attitudes, with a few exceptions. A reminder again, as already pointed out that 'a nation-state involves "coherence and integrity of identity"' according to Morley and Robins (1995, p. 24), which has been lacking in the newly established state of Cyprus, as the differences between the two communities did not allow them to respond to the requirements for the construction of a nation state:

I used to believe we can live peacefully with the Turks. No, I do not believe this now. After the murder of Tassos Isaac by the Turkish-Cypriots and the 'grey wolves' from Turkey, who hit him with so much cruelty, even after he died, I no longer believe this. I think this hatred on their part will never be eradicated. (Marina)

Christina:

I don't think we can live peacefully with the Turks in the future, because of the conditions in the Island. During these 24 years there is an aversion towards the Turkish-Cypriots and

the Turks and there can never be perfect co-existence. I have never spoken to a Turkish-Cypriot. I would like to talk with one to find out what they know about the Cyprus problem and how they could face it.

Or:

I don't believe that we can live peacefully with the Turks. The hatred separating us is very deep. (Mihalis)

Charlambos:

I don't think we can live peacefully with the Turks. Those who went to the occupied areas, did not have a good time.

And Evi:

It would be impossible to live with the Turkish-Cypriots, because both sides feel a great hatred. We cannot forget what the Turks have done to us.

A few of the responses were positive:

We can live peacefully with Turkish-Cypriots in the future. I have, on the occasion of the UN Day met Turkish-Cypriots and I believe they are like us. They are ill informed and the young Turks are told that we are responsible for the invasion. The Turkish-Cypriot government suppresses them. When they claim their human rights they are imprisoned and human rights do not exist in Turkey. I believe they would like to live with us. (Thomas)

We can live peacefully with Turkish-Cypriots, but not with Turks, we'll have conflict. If the Cyprus problem gets solved, the Turks from Turkey should go home. (Antonia)

Or Anna:

I believe that when the Cyprus problem is solved, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots can live together and we'll forget our differences. No, I have never met or spoken to a Turkish-Cypriot.

And Eleni:

Yes, I personally believe we can live peacefully with the Turks, after a solution. Yes, I have met a Turkish-Cypriot. I see them like us.

A more analytical approach came from Phanouri in the light of his Fulbright experience:

I cannot say we can live together, some days they were OK, some, no. Both communities must try and face the problems and the prejudices against each other. We must try not to see each other as enemies, because as time goes by, the borders are closing. And by 'borders' I do not mean a door, but a frame of mind among nations which tells them 'I am a Greek' or 'I am a Turk' and I prefer to stick to my own faith.

Phanourios's rendering of the concept of 'otherness' of 'them and us' deserves appropriate comment here, as he seemed to be confusing religious faith with ethnicity.

It is not strange perhaps that a conflation of ethnicity and religious faith is made by the respondent. Jaworski and Coupland (1999, pp. 408–409) try to encapsulate the different versions of the self that modernisation has generated – these 'tribulations of the self' as Giddens (1991, p. 5) describes them – in the following words: 'Traditional systems of belief based on faith have given way to secularisation and the emergence of a multitude of competing ideologies (of which religious faith is only one)'.

A question about whether they would save the life of a Turkish-Cypriot or a Turk sought to investigate the feelings of the sample towards Turkish-Cypriots and Turks, in moments of crisis. With very rare exceptions, they all replied they would save the lives of both, as they are 'human beings'. Some replies were very emphatic:

> Yes, I would save the life of a Turkish-Cypriot. He may have different views from me, but I am nothing before God and it's not up to me to take away his life, but if I can help him, I will do it. The same applies to the life of a Turk from Turkey. (Marina)

The reference to God, may again, be an indication of religious faith, this being one of the emerging ideologies in the midst of the dense secularisation process going on in Cyprus during the past few decades.

There was stronger deviance, however, when it came to saving the life of a Turk from Turkey:

> I would save the life of a Turkish-Cypriot, because when I am in danger if he is around, he might also save my life. I wouldn't save the life of a Turk from Turkey, because they are barbarians. (Charalambos)

Despite of his basically utilitarian ideology and his self-interest, the respondent's attitudes to Turks still remained bellicose.

Or, as in the case of Antonia:

> Yes, I would save the life of a Turkish-Cypriot. Not, not of a Turk. I would kill him on the spot.
> Author: Even without a war?
> Antonia: Perhaps I would save his life, eventually, he is also a human being.

The initial reaction of the subject was the most aggressive statement during the entire series of interviews and discussions. The more human statement came after a prompting question, and it was, essentially, an afterthought, which the subject articulated to bridge the conversation with the interviewer.

Or again as in the case of Andreas:

> Yes, I would save the life of a Turkish-Cypriot; he is one of us, a Cypriot, our citizen. I wouldn't save the life of a Turk from Turkey. I feel hatred for him, because of what we see; they are evil, we are told they kill people, television tells us and shows us how they killed Tassos and the motorcyclists. Our parents tell us they are very evil people, very cruel – these created a hatred in me for the Turks.

The hatred towards Turkey was also mixed with an admitted fear, in response to the question as to whether the Greek-Cypriot army could save Cyprus in the case of war. The general feeling was no, it could not, as Turkey is 'armed like a lobster' (Marina) or because 'Turkey has a big army and better armaments' (Antonia).

Socrates was more optimistic and even quoted the source that shaped his opinion:

> I believe that the Cyprus army, when necessary, will help to a great degree the security of our country. Maybe I am influenced by the parades and the different bits of information I gather.

In spite of the fact that Philippides may have seen the parades live in the streets, we should note here that Cyprus television channels regularly broadcast the military and school parades (with a show of arms and military forces) on national days live, with patriotic narratives and comments, in a contextualisation of military power. The television transmissions could therefore be an additional source of influence. Brass (in Gillespie, 1995, p. 9) states, 'Ethnicity or ethnic identity … involves in addition to subjective self-consciousness, a claim to status and recognition, either as a superior group or as a group at least equal to other groups'.

It is not surprising, as a result, that parallel to these nationalistically assertive views, one discussant also exhibited a very negative assessment of Turkish-Cypriots and Turks – against whom, of course, the banner of Greek-Cypriot military readiness was being waved:

> No, I haven't met a Turkish-Cypriot and I wouldn't like to meet one. I believe they are very hypocritical, they oppress others and their culture and standard of living is not that well developed … This is my idea of a Turk.

Meyrowitz (1999) in 'No sense of place' suggests that 'physically bounded space' is becoming less important in the age of electronic information. Television has eroded traditional boundaries, both social and physical, 'so that many social spheres, which were once distinct, now overlap each other' (in Billig, 1995, p. 144). This is one of the building blocks in the construction of the postmodern approach to culture and the media. Still, modern

nationalism with its emphasis on borders and national symbols is again a part of today's reality, more especially in the case of states, still struggling to guard their borders and to reinforce their national security. It is in situations of crisis therefore that this turn to national symbols, like the flag, the landscape and the language and to the value of the borderline provides a sense of national security and trust in the strength and solidarity of national identity – a sense of space-bound nationalism. And even though banal flagging of nationhood is not something that is to be expected in this postmodern world (Billig, 1995, p. 144), it is still a fact that 'place-bound nationalism' is in some ways definitely present in Cyprus society. Symbols like the flag in Cyprus have become major issues in the history of the island. This confirms further the dialectics between the global and the local, or the universal and the particular, in Cyprus realities. Immanuel Wallerstein (1984a) describes this discourse:

> The nationalisms of the modern world are not the triumphant civilizations of yore. They are the ambiguous expression of the demand both for assimilation into the universal and *simultaneously* for … adhering to the particular, the reinvention of differences. Indeed, it is universalism through particularism and particularism through universalism. (pp. 166–167)

The concept proposed by Robertson (1994, p. 100) to describe globalisation and localisation, as a 'twofold process involving the *interpenetration of the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalisation*' can perhaps be exemplified – in its latter dimension – in the sequence where Solomos is being shot on the mast of the Turkish flag, in his effort to bring it down, the televised version making the rounds of international channels, in 1996. Or again, the particularisation of universalisation in the use of English language as bearer of Anglo-Saxon culture, on Cyprus television, or its inclusion in the everyday use in Cypriot communication as well as in television (imported) programmes.

The flag, as a symbol of affiliation respectively, with Greece and Turkey, was included in the Constitutional rights of the Cypriots with the establishment of Independence in 1960:

> The institutionalization of the affiliation with Greekness and Turkness respectively, was already clear in the general terms of the Constitution. It penetrated the three State authorities and went through to the regulation of detailed items, where a number of petty rules revealed a deep distrust. Certain regulations (e.g. the right to hoist the Greek and respectively the Turkish flag) were devised as a substitute for the unrealized national postulates (*Enosis and Taksim*). (Tzermias, 1994)

The questions, therefore, to the interviewees, about the significance of the flag did not only serve to bring out their views with regard to a symbol of the

national identity of Cyprus but also brought to the surface different attitudes variously connected to their identity:

> Sure, the Greek flag is a holy symbol for me. Many people lost their lives for this flag – starting from the Greek Revolution and the liberation struggle of 55-59; we defend this flag with our teeth and nails and it owes its recognition today to the fact that it was dipped in the blood of many heroes. The same goes for the Cyprus flag. It is more recent – going back to the 1960 independence of Cyprus and the heroes of 55-59 who died for this. It is worth honoring, respecting and treasuring as something that nobody can violate. (Marina)

Or: 'The Greek flag is motherland on a flag. I feel joy and pride when I see it. Our motherland is Greece and Cyprus. Greece and we, are one. The Cyprus flag is what I live, it is Cyprus. I have never been to Greece but the Cyprus flag is more important'. (Andreas).

And Phanourios: 'The Greek flag is a symbol of the nation, it is a holy symbol in which we must believe, our spirit and roots being Greek, but we shouldn't be chauvinists…The Cyprus flag is the flag of the motherland. It symbolizes the Cyprus Republic, in which we must believe. Both are symbols of faith and love, one of the nation (ethnos) and the other, the motherland'.

Obviously, the discussant here is referring to Greece, as 'ethnos' to articulate the ethnic descent of the Greek-Cypriots, while his reference to Cyprus as 'motherland' is an intension of codifying the values and associations with one's country of descent. Another indication of the spirit of particularism and a 'place-bound nationalism', in spite of the configurations of postmodern globalism in the life of the island.

> The Cyprus flag is a symbol for us Cypriots and Cyprus is an island occupied by the Turks, but the Greek flag is a symbol for all the Greeks. (Evi)

> Seeing the Greek flag flying, I remember mother Greece, I feel security. I feel proud. But on the other hand, I don't like the fact that we relate it to the political party of the right wing, who use it. I don't believe it should be used by one party exclusively, as its own … The same goes for the Cyprus flag, but I don't view it with as much sentiment as I do the Greek flag. (Socrates)

On another account, the Turkish flag becomes a symbol that attracts sentiments of intense counter-identification, which can easily be related to the flag incident in Dherynia, in 1996, broadcast on television on innumerable occasions:

> I feel some fear when I see Turkish military posts, but also indignation, when I look at the Turkish flag, from afar, flying in the occupied areas. (Anna)

Therefore, the flag, the landscape and the borderline become definitive components in the national and ethnic ideologies of young citizens of the

traumatised state of Cyprus, in spite of a parallel globalisation process that is unfolding through the media. This process of counter-identification was continued in the self-stated national identities of the respondents.

They mostly stated 'Greek-Cypriots', looking to Greece, as the metropolis of their ethnicity, and believing that the cultures of Greece and Cyprus are very similar, with only a few differences:

> I don't think the word Greek-Cypriot differs from Greek. We, here in Cyprus, are more Greek than the Greeks living in mainland Greece, because we know what it means to face a conqueror like the Turks and what it means to know you want to fight and defend your motherland. (Marina Polyviou)

But, at the same time, differences between the two cultures are pointed out. Therefore, the same person will also comment as follows on the two cultures:

> Our culture differs from that of Greece. I don't think people care much for each other. I haven't been to Greece, but my father has and he tells me that people walk down the street, angry and thoughtful, or not having this gentle, hospitable disposition, that we in Cyprus have.

Anna: 'I feel I am a Cypriot, as I was born in Cyprus, but Greek also. We have differences from Greece in language, also the way of life in Greece. Sometimes we copy them, their way of dressing, their habits, their entertainment styles, etc'.

And Phanourios, who, we might point out, never saw Greek imported programmes and considered them stuff 'fit for grandmothers':

> I would say I am a Greek-Cypriot. There are differences between our culture and that of Greece. Not because the spirit is different, but because the economy in Greece is declining, it is not as healthy as the Cyprus economy. So they don't have the same opportunities like we have. They try to safeguard what they have. We – in Cyprus, don't hesitate to give what we have, to help others.

Other views about the two countries, however, stressed differences even more:

> In Cyprus we are a little oriental. The Greeks are more European in mentality. We are more passive than Greeks. We do not fight for our rights, we accept situations more easily. (Eleni)

Thomas who mostly views Cyprus productions further states as follows:

> There is a Greek element in me, but I will always remain a Cypriot, a citizen of the Cyprus state and will support Cyprus matters.

This was a very clear indication of the strong direction of localism versus universalism, in the local–global dialectics around which many television discourses are conducted.

These strong and repeated reverberations about differences between the cultures of Cyprus and Greece seem to be in support of views quoted earlier by Markides (1977, p. 78):

> Although mainland Greeks and Greek Cypriots shared the same culture, the structure of their societies and their political and economic institutions were diametrically different and often contradictory.

Tzermias (1994) agrees with Markides, in describing the complexity of the Cypriot identity:

> It is true, the Greek Cypriots are Greeks. But they have their own peculiarites, in the same way as, for instance, the Cretans have their own features in comparison to the continental Greeks. The same goes for the Turkish Cypriots.

Therefore, not only was there an encounter of Greek-Cypriot versus Turkish-Cypriot identity, through political expression – like living as one community in the future – or on the level of national symbols – like the flag – but there was also an encounter, on another level of language or culture, as a way of life, for some respondents: Modern Greek and the Cyprus Dialect set out the ground for a 'Greece-Cyprus culture', a tie that perhaps is not obvious, but nevertheless did surface to the respondents' conversations.

The research findings of national and ethnic discourses on Cyprus television, far from being conclusive, are revealing in many ways for countries like Cyprus with its particular national/political problems, and for any country, in this age and time of transition from local to global dialectics. Modernity and even late or postmodernity may be unfolding their spectacular wings in many countries today. Local problems of national and ethnic issues are also part of the media discourse that contributes to people's ways of thinking, attitudes and value systems. Human rights discourse regarding one's own rights and those of others in civil society continue to link media discourse with human rights discourse. This subject is an area inviting more research in the future, as the traditional like broadcast television and new social media are rich vehicles of information effecting social empowerment.

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HUMAN RIGHTS DISCOURSE IN THE ANTEBELLUM BLACK PRESS

Timothy Shortell

ABSTRACT

The resolution of the slavery issue in the United States may have had more to do with economic development and political power than a shift in public morality, but there can be no question that abolitionist discourse played a major role in the expansion of America's republican vision in the nineteenth century. In the human rights discourse of the black abolitionists, ideological conflict centers on the dimensions of reification and fragmentation. Potential answers to the rights question – who is to be included in the American republic? – involve contentious claims about group identities. To examine systematically the strategic use of the jeremiad as a human rights argument in the black abolitionist discourse, this research produced a content analysis study of the antebellum black press in New York State. The findings present the hegemonic discourse and the case that the human rights argument could not have been made without simultaneously undermining the hegemonic view. The black abolitionist discourse in antebellum New York State was the first American experience with the jeremiad as a human rights argument and would not be the last.

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INTRODUCTION

The resolution of the slavery issue in the United States may have had more to do with economic development and political power than a shift in public morality, but there can be no question that abolitionist discourse played a major role in the expansion of America's republican vision in the nineteenth century. The debate over slavery occurred almost 100 years before our modern human rights discourse emerged, but the central issues in the dispute anticipated, in many ways, contemporary discussions of human rights. At the heart of the matter was the question of who was to be included in the new society. Both sides, proslavery and abolitionist, engaged the issue in terms of the natural rights, which provided the ideological foundation of the American Revolution. The question of citizenship depended on a more basic inquiry: who was fully human?

The idea of "human rights" was uncommon, although not unheard of, before the twentieth century. Revolutionary fervor in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries focused attention on the issue of political rights. In the rhetoric of the American and French Revolutions, the "rights of man" were described as deriving from a divine source, but it was the state that enacted and guaranteed them. The events of the World War II forced politicians and ordinary citizens alike to rethink the issue of rights, in particular, whether or not the state could be trusted to protect them (Donnelly, 1998).

In the natural rights model, whether grounded in metaphysical or theological terms, individuals possess certain rights by virtue of their humanity. As such, these rights are universal – in the sense of including everyone accepted as fully human – and inalienable. In current debates, liberal natural rights advocates have tried to elaborate a theory of human nature upon which to build the notion of human dignity that justifies universal rights, but with little success (Dunne & Wheeler, 1999).

In the nineteenth century, however, the fundamental issue was not a theory of human dignity. It was, rather, the definition of humanity. The century's great human rights struggle, over chattel slavery, was argued in terms of race and humanity. In the United States, the vocabulary of the Revolution marked the boundaries of the contentious public debate over who was to be included in the humanity whose rights were self-evident. Abolitionists tried to use the republican discourse as a critique of the legitimacy of property in humans and as a justification of the doctrine of free labor. The black abolitionists were, it might be said, America's original human rights vanguard.

As Donnelly has noted (1998), "rights" has a double meaning, both aspects of which inform the human rights discussion. To assert that something is right is to say that it is good, that it is to be valued, that it is the right thing to do. But "right" also implies entitlement. The holder of a right exercises a certain kind of power over the duty-bearer. Should the latter fail to uphold the terms of the relationship, the former may seek remediation. "Rights," Donnelly (1998, p. 19) notes, "empower, in addition to benefiting, their holders."

The black abolitionists adopted, in their discourse, the role of right-holder. This was a rhetorical maneuver on their part. They sought to use the powerful potential of American republicanism to win civil and political rights. By employing the dual meaning of "right" in their call to conscience, they attempted to generate consensus on the issue of their humanity, but also, to assert a moral claim against discrimination by the majority and by the state. The black abolitionists made use of the jeremiad to deliver their double sense of "what is right."

The black abolitionists' rhetorical strategy was necessary to undermine the legitimacy of the dominant ideology of race in nineteenth-century America. They faced not merely a partisan struggle for political power, but rather a set of cultural practices and social institutions that reproduced inequality on the basis of race. White abolitionists argued passionately for a common humanity, and in some cases, for equality. But, they did so as reformers; their goal, inspired by evangelical perfectionism, was to better society. Black abolitionists spoke as the aggrieved party. The persuasiveness of their speech derives from their strategic use of "rights" to contest the dominant ideology.

IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT

The concept of ideology has had a long and controversial history in the social sciences. Nonetheless, it remains a useful concept for the study of social movements and discourse. An "ideology" is a system of ideas that includes normative or evaluative principles about social organization and social change. The concept explicitly connects the social organization of meaning and social distribution of power. For this reason, it provides an effective insight into the distribution of symbolic resources over which social movements come into conflict – with each other and with established institutions. As a movement asserts a particular moral claim, it attempts to control the ways in which key ideas are used, so as to restrict the possibility

of counterarguments. For this reason, ideological conflict can be investigated as conceptual change (Skinner, 1989).

In any contest of meanings which accompanies social conflict, actors with power have a distinct advantage. In the case of the conflict over slavery, the abolitionists sought to recast some of the central concepts in American civic discourse, such as liberty, equality, and community. They attempted to extend or modify the accepted notions of other concepts, such as labor and property, to persuade the public of the legitimacy of their moral claim. The proslavery forces, however, had access to the power of the state and most civic institutions. They used their own discursive strategies (as well as material practices) to restrict the meaning of the key ideas in ways that rendered the abolitionist arguments unrealistic, extremist, unnatural, or absurd. The debate over slavery, then, is an ideological contest.

Thompson (1990) has enumerated the main ideological dimensions of modern discourse: legitimation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation, and reification. Each dimension is subdivided into particular modes. Reification, for example, concerns arguments about the immutability of current arrangements. An assertion that a particular aspect of social life is natural and for that reason, should not or cannot be changed, is an instance of naturalization, one of the modes of this dimension. Fragmentation, in contrast, concerns assertions about differences and identity boundaries. The differentiation mode of this dimension involves assertions about social distinctions, "characteristics which disunite" the community, and keep the powerless "from constituting an effective challenge to existing relations" (Thompson, 1990, p. 65).

In the human rights discourse of the black abolitionists, ideological conflict centers on the dimensions of reification and fragmentation. Potential answers to the rights question – who is to be included in the American republic? – involve contentious claims about group identities. The proslavery argument used differentiation to divide the African population from the Anglo-Saxon in the minds of the general public. The abolitionist argument attempted to minimize this distinction. American slavery was racialized: its merits as a system of labor, according to the proslavery argument, could not be separated from fundamental race differences; inequality was natural, permanent, necessary, and therefore desirable. The abolitionist argument problematized the naturalization of race inequality. The black abolitionists, in particular, repeatedly asserted that inequality is the result of particular social practices, not biology or divine will.

THE ABOLITIONIST JEREMIAD AS AN HUMAN RIGHTS RHETORIC

American culture has been strongly influenced by the belief that the nation is special, called to redeem the world by the example of its perfection. This mixture of national pride and millennial eschatology is the basis of American civil religion and the foundation of one of its most powerful rhetorics: the jeremiad. The sense that America is chosen but has not yet achieved its promise gives the jeremiad its unique character. It is an expression of indignation in the style of the Judeo-Christian prophets. At the same time, it is an optimistic assertion of national identity. Its power derives from this dual nature: critical but hopeful (Howard-Pitney, 1990).

The jeremiad is a religious rhetoric. It is, first and foremost, a prophecy of ultimate salvation. It makes its appearance, however, in times of decline. Present sinfulness is the occasion for a reconfirmation of the nation's special mission. In both sinfulness and redemption, the people are connected with the divine. In a country steeped in millennial Protestantism, this self-identity was the basis of civil religion and the point of departure for much public discourse. For blacks in America, the dynamic of sin and redemption had an obvious attraction. Appealing to the idea of Americans as a chosen people played into the vanity of the white majority at the same time as it pricked their collective conscience (Moses, 1982).

Howard-Pitney (1990) pointed out that the deliverance motif was central to American blacks' religious consciousness. The Exodus story, as a slave narrative, was an ideal vehicle for the abolitionist critique. Blacks saw their suffering and deliverance as a key to the redemption of the nation (Sweet, 1976). In the abolitionist jeremiad, the prophetic defense of the oppressed was woven into the story of America's eschatological fate.

The jeremiad is also a form of social critique. It is the nation, not the individual, being called to account. Originating in Puritan New England in the seventeenth century, the jeremiad was used to motivate colonists to adhere to the strict morality of the original settlements. But it developed into a potent political tool, deployed first by the patriots and then the abolitionists. According to Moses (1982), the abolitionist jeremiad was the original form of black nationalism. White audiences could understand – although not necessarily accept – a social critique expressed in these terms.

Black abolitionists took this rhetorical form and used it to formulate a human rights argument. The jeremiad is based on the identity and mission

of a chosen people. Thus, it makes an assertion about what is right: America is to be the "city on the hill." At the same time, the anti-slavery jeremiad makes a claim about an entitlement: the remediation of this oppression is nothing less than God's wrath. America will be punished for failing to live up to its goodness because the white majority failed to discharge its duty to the poor and oppressed black community.

BLACK ABOLITIONISM

New York State was a hub of black abolitionism. Conventions were held in Buffalo (1843), Troy (1847), and Rochester (1853). An early black abolitionist newspaper, *The Friend of Man*, was published in Utica. Frederick Douglass published his newspapers in Rochester, so as not to duplicate the efforts of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in New York City. The anti-slavery lecture circuit spanned from Rochester to Brooklyn, from Saratoga to Buffalo, with stops in Geneva, Ithaca, Corning, Bath, and a dozen other towns in the Finger Lakes region. Lecturers visited the towns of the Hudson Valley and along the canal routes. The anti-slavery message reached all corners of the state.

Black abolitionists sustained a more radical critique of American society than their white colleagues. The same forces that generated a conservative outlook, with regard to reform, among Northern whites produced militancy among blacks. Protestant revivalism has been identified as a source of the emergence of immediatism in American anti-slavery agitation (Barnes, 1964). Black churches were steeped in millennial perfectionism. Whites were more likely to have faith in the inevitability of progress; blacks had little reason to believe that American racism would end of its own accord. Whites worried that abolition would invite a more general attack on the institution of private property, but blacks, who owned little capital and did not expect to in the future, would not have feared this as an outcome of anti-slavery activism. Because nineteenth-century black institutions were not invested in the status quo, they were more likely to breed radicalization (Levesque, 1970).

The argument connecting anti-slavery and racial equality was not well received in New York, or elsewhere in the North. Economic and social competition prevented whites from thoughtfully considering the issue of civil rights. For much of the time the second-party system was functioning, Democrats controlled the national government on the basis of the alliance between Northern white workers and Southern planters. The party of Jackson made citizenship for white working men seem inescapably linked to a

defense of plantation slavery. In the decade before the Civil War, this union broke down, as workers perceived the expansion of slavery into the territories as a direct threat to their well-being. Territorial expansion was a promise of economic independence in the eyes of wage laborers. The Free Soil Movement was founded on the equation "free soil = free labor = free men," the logic of which necessitated the exclusion of blacks (Foner, 1995). Representative David Wilmot, whose proviso was the touchstone of political contention in the 1850s, explained the logic of his proposal: "I plead the cause and the rights of white freemen. I would preserve to free white labor a fair country, a rich inheritance, where the sons of toil, of my own race and color, can live without the disgrace which association with negro slavery brings upon free labor" (Litwack, 1961, p. 47). When they perceived it was in their interests, white workers could oppose slavery as an un-American system of coercion, but without endorsing the abolitionist argument that "all men were created equal" (Roediger, 1991; Saxton, 1990; Wilentz, 1984).

BLACK ABOLITIONIST NEWSPAPERS

By the time abolitionism emerged as a social movement in the 1830s, America was already a land of newspapers and pamphlets. The political use of print had been demonstrated by the patriots during the Revolutionary period (Bailyn, 1992). American abolitionists also witnessed the effective use of newspapers as a means of influencing public opinion by the actions of their English colleagues, whose press campaigns began in the 1780s.

Black newspapers span the abolitionist period. The earliest was *Freedom's Journal*, which ran from 1827 to 1830. The presses continued until the Civil War, with *Frederick Douglass' Paper* (1851–1863) and *The National Anti-Slavery Standard* (1840–1860). Some, including *Douglass' Paper* and the *Standard*, ran for a considerable time. Others, such as *The Rights of All* (1829), the *American Anti-Slavery Reporter* (1833–1834), the *Mirror of Liberty* (1838), and *The Weekly Anglo-African Magazine* (1959), were short-lived (Franklin & Moss, 1994; Litwack, 1961).

Tension within the anti-slavery community sometimes arose because white leaders felt that the black papers were diminishing the readership of the established journals. They failed to understand why Northern blacks wanted to express their outrage and their hopes in their own voices. This is exactly the special mission that black editors set for themselves. The black press played a key role in the development of African-American culture.

Newspapers were an important medium for the expression of the social and political aspirations of free blacks in the North (Hutton, 1992; Tripp, 1992).

METHOD

To examine systematically the strategic use of the jeremiad as a human rights argument in the black abolitionist discourse, I have undertaken a content analysis study of the antebellum black press in New York State.

The study population was defined as all news articles, editorials, and letters written by blacks in one of five black abolitionist newspapers (*The Weekly Advocate*, *The Colored American*, *The North Star*, *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, and *The Weekly Anglo-African*) published in New York State between 1837 and 1859. A sample of texts from each of the newspapers was drawn from published collections (Douglass & Blassingame, 1979; Ripley, 1985) and available microfilm reels at the New York Public Library's Schomberg Center for Research in Black Culture. As probability samples were not taken from the full population of all texts meeting the population criteria, some caution must be exercised when interpreting the results. For analysis, texts were pooled for *The Weekly Advocate* and *The Colored American* and for the two Douglass newspapers.

Computerized content coding was used to generate frequencies and co-occurrences for a set of 16 themes (JUSTICE, LIBERTY, RIGHTS, UPLIFT, AMERICA, SLAVERY, GOD, BROTHERHOOD, BLACK, PROPERTY, LABOR, CHARACTER, SUFFERING, NATURE, POLITICS, and LAW) and a set of 6 vocabularies (REPUBLICAN, SLAVERY, ECONOMY, RACE, PROPHETIC, and EVANGELICAL).

I coded paragraphs containing at least two instances of the vocabularies along three dimensions of rhetoric. First, I coded each paragraph in terms of its emotional tone (ANGRY, IRONIC, and OTHER). Next, I categorized its mode (DECLARATIVE, EXPLANATORY, EVALUATIVE, and NEUTRAL). Finally, I classified paragraphs in terms of basis (SIMILARITY, DIFFERENCE, and NEUTRAL). The purpose of this phase of the coding was to classify the strategic use of rhetorical types in abolitionist argumentation.

I then coded for two counter-ideological modes, naturalization and differentiation, in a random sample of paragraphs. I employed a set of rules that related abolitionist arguments to the most common kinds of assertions that defined each ideological mode in the dominant discourse. I was looking for claims in the abolitionist texts that were used to dispute the justification of racial inequality and the explanation of racial differences, respectively.

RESULTS

Table 1 summarizes the prevalence of themes in each newspaper. The thematic profile of the Douglass papers corresponds to what is typically thought of as abolitionist discourse. The themes of LIBERTY, SLAVERY, and SUFFERING are all more common in the Douglass papers than *The Colored American* or *The Weekly Anglo-African*. In addition, POLITICS and AMERICA are also more common in the Douglass papers, which suggest that they are the exemplars of political anti-slavery thought. *The Colored American* shows some similarity to the Douglass papers – compare RIGHTS, BROTHERHOOD, BLACK, and CHARACTER – although the typical abolitionist themes are somewhat less common. *The Colored American* displays what might be called self-help orientation, with UPLIFT one of its most prominent themes. *The Anglo-African* is clearly most distinctive. Indeed, its profile suggests that it was not an abolitionist paper in

Table 1. Prevalence of Themes by Newspaper (Percent).

Theme	Newspaper		
	WA/CA	TNS/FDP	Anglo-African
JUSTICE	5.9	8.9	16.7
LIBERTY	20.6	39.2	21.4
RIGHTS	22.1	21.5	14.3
UPLIFT	22.8	10.1	16.7
AMERICA	21.3	32.9	23.8
SLAVERY	14.7	48.1	7.1
GOD	14.0	21.6	4.8
BROTHERHOOD	32.4	29.1	33.3
BLACK	20.6	22.8	38.1
PROPERTY	5.2	1.3	2.4
LABOR	11.0	15.2	7.1
CHARACTER	21.3	24.1	14.3
SUFFERING	17.7	30.4	14.3
NATURE	8.1	1.3	7.1
POLITICS	16.9	27.9	7.1
LAW	10.3	10.1	16.7
Paragraphs	136	79	42

Notes: "WA/CA" includes *The Weekly Advocate* and *The Colored American*. "TNS/FDP" includes *The North Star* and *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. Percentages represent the relative frequency of paragraphs in which the theme is present.

Table 2. Prevalence of Vocabularies by Newspaper (Percent).

Theme	Newspaper		
	WA/CA	TNS/FDP	Anglo-African
REPUBLICAN	25.7	44.8	11.4
SLAVERY	14.0	48.1	3.8
ECONOMY	2.9	3.8	0.0
RACE	1.5	10.1	8.9
PROPHETIC	23.5	35.4	17.7
EVANGELICAL	9.6	6.3	0.0
Paragraphs	136	79	42

Note: Percentages represent the relative frequency of paragraphs in which the vocabulary is present.

the strictest sense. The themes of JUSTICE, BLACK, and LAW are more common, which is probably a result of its cultural bent in combination with its publication in the decade before the Civil War. It appeared at a time when dissolution appeared inevitable and emancipation a more realistic possibility.

The prevalence of vocabularies by newspaper is summarized in Table 2. The REPUBLICAN, SLAVERY, and PROPHETIC vocabularies are most common in the Douglass papers, again identifying them as the exemplary anti-slavery voice. *The Colored American* is somewhat similar to the Douglass papers, and *The Anglo-African* appears to employ other vocabularies altogether. It is somewhat surprising that REPUBLICAN is not more prominent in all the papers, as we expected it to be the definitive vocabulary of the antebellum period. Among black newspapers, at least, other genres were often utilized.

Anti-slavery themes, including SLAVERY, LIBERTY, PROPERTY, and, SUFFERING, are more likely to be combined with identity themes (UPLIFT, BROTHERHOOD, BLACK, and CHARACTER) in *The Colored American* and *The Anglo-African* than in the Douglass papers. Anti-slavery and citizenship themes (RIGHTS, AMERICA, POLITICS, and LAW) are contingent in all three papers, but appear to be more strongly linked in *The Anglo-African*. Identity and citizenship themes are related in a similar fashion in the three papers. These results are displayed in Table 3.

Table 4 displays the partial thematic structure for SLAVERY. I have used the ALSCAL algorithm to calculate multidimensional scaling solutions

Table 3. Odds for Theme Groups by Newspaper.

Theme Groups	Newspaper	Odds of First	Odds of Second	Odds Ratio
ANTI-SLAVERY & IDENTITY	WA/CA	0.86 (63)	1.57 (83)	2.63 (46)
	TNS/FDP	2.76 (58)	1.26 (44)	0.92 (32)
	Anglo-African	0.45 (13)	2.50 (30)	2.89 (11)
ANTI-SLAVERY & CITIZENSHIP	WA/CA	0.86 (63)	1.00 (68)	2.18 (38)
	TNS/FDP	2.76 (58)	1.72 (50)	2.44 (40)
	Anglo-African	0.45 (13)	0.75 (18)	17.26 (11)
IDENTITY & CITIZENSHIP	WA/CA	1.57 (83)	1.00 (68)	2.95 (50)
	TNS/FDP	1.26 (44)	1.72 (68)	4.04 (34)
	Anglo-African	2.50 (30)	0.75 (18)	3.00 (15)

Notes: Number of paragraphs given in parentheses. "Odds of First" indicates the odds of the first theme in the pair being present in a paragraph. "Odds of Second" indicates the odds of the second theme being present. "Odds Ratio" denotes the odds of the second theme being present in paragraphs where the first is present compared to being present in paragraphs where the first is absent. Values near 1.0 indicate independence; small or large values signify contingency. The ANTI-SLAVERY group includes LIBERTY, SLAVERY, PROPERTY, and SUFFERING. The IDENTITY group includes UPLIFT, BROTHERHOOD, BLACK, and CHARACTER. The CITIZENSHIP group includes RIGHTS, AMERICA, POLITICS, and LAW.

separately for each newspaper and for the discourse as a whole (Everitt & Dunn, 1992). SLAVERY appears to be more tightly integrated in the Douglass papers than in *The Colored American* or *The Anglo-African*. An important thematic cluster is seen in the Douglass papers, consisting of SLAVERY-LIBERTY-SUFFERING-POLITICS – what might be considered the definitive constellation of abolitionist discourse. This is the discursive intersection of political and prophetic speech, and, perhaps, a structural indicator of the abolitionist jeremiad. *The Colored American* shows some affinity to this structure; *The Anglo-African* is most distinctive in this regard.

Table 5 summarizes the partial structure for BLACK. This theme is more highly integrated in the Douglass papers and *The Anglo-African* than in *The*

Table 4. Partial Thematic Structure for SLAVERY by Newspaper (Euclidian Distance).

SLAVERY and	All Texts	Newspaper		
		WA/CA	TNS/FDP	Anglo-African
LIBERTY	1.4	2.0	1.0	2.3
RIGHTS	0.9	1.5	1.7	4.2
AMERICA	0.8	0.2	0.9	2.1
BLACK	1.0	2.4	1.2	3.3
SUFFERING	0.8	1.0	0.6	2.6
POLITICS	1.2	2.3	0.3	3.3
Theme average[a]	1.8	2.1	1.7	2.9
Grand average[b]	2.3	2.4	2.2	2.3
Stress[c]	0.16	0.17	0.17	0.21

Notes: Distances are calculated from ALSCAL solutions for three dimensions. Smaller distances indicate stronger association.
[a]Average distance for theme across its 15 pairs.
[b]Average distance for all 120 pairs.
[c]Goodness-of-fit indicator for ALSCAL solution. Lower values indicate that more of the variation in the original co-occurrence matrix is accounted for by the coordinate solution.

Table 5. Partial Thematic Structure for BLACK by Newspaper (Euclidian Distance).

BLACK and	All Texts	Newspaper		
		WA/CA	TNS/FDP	Anglo-African
LIBERTY	2.0	3.2	2.2	1.0
AMERICA	1.4	2.3	0.6	1.2
BROTHER	1.3	1.7	0.8	1.2
SUFFERING	1.4	1.9	1.0	1.4
Theme average[a]	2.1	2.5	2.0	2.2
Grand average[b]	2.3	2.4	2.2	2.3
Stress[c]	0.16	0.17	0.17	0.21

Notes: Distances are calculated from ALSCAL solutions. Smaller distances indicate stronger association.
[a]Average distance for theme across its 15 pairs.
[b]Average distance for all 120 pairs.
[c]Goodness-of-fit indicator for ALSCAL solution. Lower values indicate that more of the variation in the original co-occurrence matrix is accounted for by the coordinate solution.

Colored American. In both of the former samples, BLACK is closely associated with several other themes, such as AMERICA and BROTHERHOOD, but distant from others, such as LABOR or NATURE. In the latter sample, BLACK was not highly associated with other themes, except for RIGHTS. There is some common ground in the structure of the Douglass papers and *The Anglo-African*. But, once again, there are striking differences between the two papers. BLACK was closely linked to LIBERTY in *The Anglo-African*, but less so in the Douglass papers. In contrast, BLACK is closely associated with POLITICS in the Douglass papers, but less so in *The Anglo-African*.

Results of the rhetoric coding are given in Table 6. Because there were too few paragraphs with multiple vocabularies in *The Anglo-African*, only *The Colored American* and the Douglass papers are included. Both papers use anger about equally often. *The Colored American* uses the declarative and explanatory modes with about the same frequency, substantially more often than it uses the evaluative mode. The Douglass papers, in contrast, use the evaluative mode almost as much as the declarative. Clearly, the Douglass papers are more likely to judge, as is distinctive of the jeremiad.

Table 7 displays the prevalence of each counter-ideological mode by newspaper. The Douglass papers stand out as most likely to employ counter-ideological arguments. Odds ratios indicate that the two modes are contingent in each sample. The odds of differentiation being present in paragraphs where naturalization is present, compared to paragraphs where

Table 6. Prevalence of Rhetoric Characteristics by Newspaper (Percent).

Rhetoric Characteristic	Newspaper	
	WA/CA	TNS/FDP
Angry	23.3	27.8
Declarative	36.7	34.3
Explanatory	40.0	22.9
Evaluative	13.3	31.4
Similarity	23.2	14.3
Difference	50.0	48.6
Paragraphs	30	36

Notes: Paragraphs coded as ironic in tone were too few to tabulate. There were too few paragraphs from *The Anglo-African* to code, so it was omitted.

Table 7. Prevalence of Counter-Ideological Modes by Newspaper (Percent).

Counter-Ideological Mode	Newspaper		
	WA/CA	TNS/FDP	Anglo-African
NATURALIZATION	11.8	33.3	16.7
DIFFERENTIATION	11.8	25.0	11.9
Paragraphs	136	36	42

naturalization is absent, are 9.59 for *The Colored American*, 1.90 for the Douglass papers, and 4.27 for *The Anglo-African*. Because the number of paragraphs in which the modes are present is quite small, these odds are, at best, general indicators of contingency. It is impossible to make comparisons between them.

Naturalization is more likely to occur in paragraphs where the REPUBLICAN vocabulary is present than absent in the Douglass papers and *The Anglo-African*, but not *The Colored American*. Fragmentation was contingent with REPUBLICAN in the Douglass papers and *The Colored American*. Odds could not be calculated for *The Anglo-African*. Naturalization is also more likely to occur with SLAVERY than without it in both the Douglass papers and *The Colored American*. Fragmentation was more likely in paragraphs containing the SLAVERY vocabulary in *The Colored American*, but not in the Douglass papers. Neither odds ratio could be calculated for *The Anglo-African*.

The odds of naturalization being present in paragraphs with the PROPHETIC vocabulary were higher in the Douglass papers and *The Anglo-African* than in *The Colored American*. In the latter, naturalization was somewhat more likely to occur in paragraphs without PROPHETIC. The same pattern obtains for fragmentation. In *The Colored American*, fragmentation appears to be independent of the use of PROPHETIC.

In an attempt to find another empirical indicator of the jeremiad, I calculated the odds ratios for SLAVERY with anger and SLAVERY with evaluation. SLAVERY is more likely to be used with anger or evaluation in *The Colored American* than in the Douglass papers. The second-order odds ratio, indicating a three-way contingency, is 2.67 for the Douglass papers. When texts from both papers are pooled, the second-order odds ratio falls to 0.91, which suggests that the three-way contingency is stronger for the Douglass papers than for *The Colored American*.

DISCUSSION

The Douglass papers stand out as exemplary of black abolitionist discourse. The present analysis consistently showed the key features of political anti-slavery argumentation to be most common in the Douglass papers. Discussion of slavery dominates the pages of the Douglass papers much more than the others (more than three times as frequent than in *The Colored American* and more than six times as common than in *The Anglo-African*). The REPUBLICAN vocabulary is substantially more common. The thematic constellation of SLAVERY-LIBERTY-SUFFERING-POLITICS appears more clearly in the structure of the Douglass papers. The PROPHETIC vocabulary was more frequent. The evaluative mode was more likely to be used. These features lend the Douglass papers their distinctive rhetorical profile and suggest an approximate empirical indicator of the abolitionist jeremiad.

In this regard, the Douglass papers also represent the clearest indicator of black abolitionist text as a human rights discourse. The abolitionist jeremiad challenged white America to fulfill its promise as "the shining city on the hill," arguing that blacks played a critical role in the salvation drama of the American experiment; redemption will come only when blacks have been granted liberty and equality – that righteousness will come only after rights have been granted to the oppressed. The rhetorical linkage between the idea of America as a symbol of righteousness and the human rights claims of the American black community helps explain how it is that public opinion shifted so dramatically on the slavery issue in a relatively brief period of time.

The republican vocabulary of nineteenth-century America was particularly well suited for the formulation of a human rights argument. Additional discursive material, in the form of the jeremiad, was needed, however, to effectively contest the hegemonic view of race. It was not, after all, an abstract human rights claim that the black abolitionists asserted. Having been shut out of the original definition of humanity that was to receive the benefits of the Revolution, American blacks had no reason to believe that a simple appeal to the ideals of American republicanism would secure them their civil rights less than a century later. Their case had to be made with a new combination of the familiar discursive material.

The jeremiad was also particularly effective as a counter-ideological discourse. It contests the basic parameters of nineteenth-century American racism: that blacks were created as inferior beings, and that they were not a part, and would never be a part, of the American community. In the

eschatological drama depicted in the jeremiad, blacks are key to the success of the American experiment. It is divine will that they be acknowledged as brothers and sisters – as fully human and full members of American society. The human rights argument could not have been made without simultaneously undermining the hegemonic view. The black abolitionist discourse in antebellum New York State was the first American experience with the jeremiad as a human rights argument. It would not be the last. A century after slavery was abolished, it would reappear in the human rights discourse of Martin Luther King, Jr, and the modern civil rights movement.

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CHILD LABOR AND PHOTOJOURNALISM

Edoardo Gianotti

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to provide a reflective and evaluative review of photographic practice by the author on the topic of human rights violation/child labor. Visual methods and collaboration with children's rights researchers and advocates produced work from four regions including Africa, South Asia, South America, and Northeastern Europe. The human rights framework of the ILO establishes child rights standards and this analysis discusses findings from the field, human rights implications, and raises the broad issue of social and professional responsibilities.

INTRODUCTION

A delicate balance should be produced between careful visual documentation and sensationalism regarding human rights and children's rights violations. Child labor in poverty-stricken countries can in many ways be compared with situations in Europe and the United States at the beginning of the 20th century and all the way into World War II. Even though only a short time has elapsed since then, we often feel we have evolved far beyond

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those "barbaric" practices, which we tend to allocate to a distant past. However, that distant past is in fact the present for millions of children surviving today under different skies. The problem worldwide is serious and continues to require urgent national and international intervention (Gianotti, 2002, 2004).

Media in general and photo reporting in particular have a prominent role to play in reaching and making the public aware of social problems, as well as in making possible the intervention of the international community through organizations and agencies. But a gnawing question awaits photojournalists eager to achieve this purpose: Should they proceed steadfastly to their task, without pausing for reflection and self-appraisal, and thus add their own violent reporting to the violence that the children must already endure daily. Should they instead focus on expressing respect for their subjects and emphasizing their human dignity above other debasing images?

News reporting often is affected by an over-realistic sensationalism. On the one end, privacy policies and state security hinder a complete circulation of news embarrassing to power-holders. On the other end, in the name of freedom of the press, photojournalism purposefully depicts reality as starkly as possible, overstating the darkest side of poverty, wars, and burning social issues. With the aim to further shock a public whose senses are already accustomed to the worst images of a global society, the media focus potentially on the worst, disregarding in some cases other "collateral effects," possibly positive, emerging from the dire straits where a part of humanity lives. The consequences of this often unquestioned conditioning of public awareness are countless. Freedom of the press itself is one victim of this state of affairs and continues to be affected by a sort of dictatorship of the "worst," that makes the poor poorer than they really are or adds violence to the violence that people already experience. Professional deontology fades away in the name of sensationalism. Human suffering can become a matter of media scoops.

PROFESSIONAL DEONTOLOGY

Deontology is a social doctrine of duties developed earlier by Bentham, that we summarizes as follows: "To ensure the greatest happiness to the largest possible number of people." Since this doctrine was devised, a system of social-ethical norms rules the practice of professional associations. The goals of bringing no harm, treating persons with dignity and respect, and providing beneficence are articulated in professional codes of ethics (Papademas, 2009).

Without entering into the complex details that rule its juridical structure, we can ask photojournalism the following question that touches the roots of Bentham's deontological doctrine: Is the usual way of taking pictures by modern reporters matching the spirit of the dictum? Who is primarily responsible in enforcing the respect of this deontological statement – media reporters, media directors, professional associations, and social scientists and visual analysts, as well as the general public? Asking myself the same questions, I started taking pictures related to child labor several years ago as a freelance photo-reporter, after a few years producing images related to drug trafficking in Colombia and the civil war in Kashmir. In a way not too dissimilar from what Lewis Hine did during the early 20th century in the United States and western Europe, I photo documented as carefully as possible situations of child labor around the world, hoping to move people through photography to social action and change. Art for art's sake became secondary to accurate documentation and effective social action (Goldberg, 1999). My responsibility became essentially to represent my subjects, in this case children, as distinct individuals and members of human society, in an intensified 21st century media context in which, unlike Hine's times, sensationalism reigns. My responsibilities as a photo-reporter in this context grew even greater.

Comparable questions have been posed to me in different ways and in different contexts by the ILO officials in charge of press and communication of the International Labor Office – a specialized agency of the United Nations – when I was contacting to show and potentially to sell my photographs of child labor.

THE CHILD RIGHTS STANDARDS ESTABLISHED BY THE ILO

In June of 1998 I began the task of reporting the worst forms of child labor around the world and the ILO adopted the *Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and its Follow-up* in Geneva, thus taking on the challenges of globalization that had been the focus of considerable debate within the ILO since 1994.

One of the key principles of the Declaration states: "… in seeking to maintain the link between social progress and economic growth, the guarantee of fundamental principles and rights at work is of particular significance in that enables the persons concerned to claim freely and on the

basis of equality of opportunity their fair share of the wealth which they have helped to generate, and to achieve fully their human potential" (ILO, 1998).

Convention No. 182 and its accompanying Recommendation 190, aim to prohibit and take immediate action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labor, were adopted a year later by the ILO member states at the eighty-seventh session of the International Labor Conference in Geneva in 1999. Such worst forms include slavery, forced child labor, child soldiers, children in commercial sexual exploitation, trafficking of children, the use of children in drug production, and forms of work that are dangerous to the health and mental well-being of the child.

To achieve the goals of the Convention, programs of action must be adopted by the countries that ratify it. According to the Recommendation,

> The programmes of action referred to in Article 6 of the Convention should be designed and implemented as a matter of urgency, in consultation with relevant government institutions and employers' and workers organizations, taking into consideration the views of the children directly affected by the worst forms of child labour, their families and, as appropriate, other concerned groups committed to the aims of the Convention and this Recommendation. Such programmes should aim at, inter alia:
>
> (a) identifying and denouncing the worst forms of child labour;
> (b) preventing the engagement of children in or removing them from the worst forms of child labor, protecting them from reprisal and providing for their rehabilitation and social integration through measures which address their educational, physical and psychological needs;
> (c) giving special attention to: (i) younger children; (ii) the girl child; (iii) the problem of hidden work situations, in which girls are at special risk; (iv) other groups of children with special vulnerabilities or needs;
> (d) identifying, reaching out and working with communities where children are at special risk;
> (e) informing, sensitizing and mobilizing public opinion and concerned groups, including children and their families. (ILO, 1999a, 1999b)

Within the ILO, a special program called the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC) was created to work with ILO member states toward eradicating child labor. It conducts research, provides legal and policy advice, and carries out technical cooperation projects in over 75 countries.

PERSONAL CHOICES AS A RESPONSIBLE AND ETHICAL PHOTOJOURNALIST

These international standards force one to reflect on the aim and on the potential follow-up effects of photographs taken and to face squarely one's

responsibilities when engaged in the fulfillment of these tasks. The pictures I presented to ILO were examined and selected by officers who followed established organizational protocols. But I personally started to reexamine deeply my own priorities and ethics before leaving to report on child labor or other social issues:

(1) If the aim of the photo-reporter is to seek the best images to denounce child exploitation, how can these strong images also be the ones that deprive the persons depicted of their human potential?
(2) How does the excessive pessimism, induced by these at times demeaning photos, potentially negatively affect the opinions of an often poorly informed public about the real needs of the people involved and the importance to develop programs aimed at creating new opportunities in the very areas where the images were taken?
(3) How much do the photos represent the wish of the people being photographed? Is this the way they want to be known by others?
(4) How much more effective is it to portray the human dignity of photographed people within the context of their material misery when the aim of the photograph is informing, sensitizing, and mobilizing public opinion and concerned groups, including children and their families?
(5) How important is it to understand the culture and worldview of the people, whose image one is taking, in order to achieve a truly global impact that directly translates into positive action? People are less easily swayed by images of people they do not understand, by the downtrodden who cannot be rescued, by people in below-human condition. They need to recognize in those they help some of their own humanity in order to be truly moved.

These questions do not necessarily have only one single right answer nor even an answer at all. They engage one's personal ethics, behavior, unconscious, assignments, or a balance of all these facets and many others. What I am trying to say is that these only partially answered questions gave me a much greater awareness of my own actions and drove me to take appropriate action time and time again. Let me now draw some more reflections on each of the above-mentioned points.

The first query mentioned above is based on the recognition that pictures do not depict all the multifaceted, both outward and inward, aspects of the person photographed. Rather they almost unavoidably make choices that flatten their image. In my opinion they flatten their image even more when they focus only on their worst features.

In my way of taking pictures I prefer a holistic approach that attempts to portray as much as possible of the person or persons being photographed and of the context within which they live. Children stricken by misfortune, especially in the global south, are often full of energy and enthusiasm. I try to take into account the possible will for rehabilitation and the deep "immunity of the soul" that I believe children possess.

The second query is linked to the general tendency of media, described at the beginning of this chapter, to make human suffering the main subject of media scoops. Pessimism sometimes induces the public to cynicism, and one hears that: "People that lost cannot be recovered: why waste further money on them that could be used to prevent other problems." It is difficult to assess how much this cynical view has worked its way inside people, influencing even the strategic decisions of General Directors of Humanitarian Agencies, NGOs. In most cases a pessimistic approach to the global south leads to paternalistic views: "Look at that part of the world. We are so lucky to be living in Europe or the United States. They are in such dire need of our help!"

These biased appraisals have done much damage in the past as well as in the present. First, they justify the tendency toward the new colonialism emanating from northern and western countries. They encourage the export of a unilateral cultural and developmental model. The assertions are: "We need to make 'them' more like 'us' since we have all the answers. The only possible way to avoid hunger, war and materialistic deprivation is to impose 'our' rules and customs out of context from the real needs of the social groups and cultures involved." This leads to some of the worst forms of globalization. Furthermore, this kind of approach erases any opportunity the northern part of the world may have to reflect on its own way of life. I personally try to report through my pictures also aspects of reality that could lead to the following, quite different, appraisals, and continues to draw my own self-reflection. Despite their deprivation, the children photographed have such shiny eyes and joyful smiles. Could we learn from them how to find happiness in the small things of life?

To the question about how much the photos represent the wish of the people being photographed, there is no simple answer. Photographers have to themselves wonder, any time they take a picture, what the risks are for them, if they touch on sensitive topics, but equally if not more importantly, what the risks are for the people being photographed. In many cases I had to disguise my real identity to avoid the potential control, or even destruction, of the images by the exploiters.

Other times I saw children or people so humiliated by their toil that they refused to be photographed. I never insisted in these cases, but I tried to

photograph their exploiters. In Nepal, for example, I had the opportunity to take pictures in a stone quarry mid-way between Pokhara and Katmandu. There, near a grinder machine, some Tamang girls where working. One of them reclined her head in shame when she saw my camera aimed at her and said: "Why do you take pictures of me? … I am ugly!" At the same time she was removing the sand dust from her eyebrows. This girl, apparently 14 years old, wearing her traditional attire, was far from ugly but ugly was definitely her life, and I am quite sure that was what she intended to express with that sentence. Soon afterward we started to talk. She progressively relaxed and agreed to be photographed. I have never forgotten that girl, condemned to an early death through silicosis, deep in her suffering, with her residual act of feminine charm. Her picture will arrive to the western public probably too late to save her life but her beauty and her tragedy contain a terrible warning. Prompt action is urgently needed in order to solve these severe cases of child labor! (Fig. 1)

The fourth question I posed is linked to the last one. The human dignity of the working children should be our first priority whenever we choose a shot aimed at informing, sensitizing, and mobilizing public opinion. Otherwise it may sensitize and mobilize the general public in the wrong way and many images may desensitize the public.

In the last question posed one faces a particular dilemma: the cultural equipment required by a photographer. In many parts of the world, local cultural patterns forbid to take pictures of women or of people in general. In particular situations, for instance, natives believe that cameras capture the soul of the person, or give the person bad luck. Among Apache, during the sunrise dance, one of the most important ceremonies of the life of an Apache woman, taking pictures is considered particularly dangerous. The young girl gets into trance after four days of exhausting dances, thus receiving the blessings of "Usen," The Great Spirit. At that moment any camera shots could give bad luck to the girl in the future as well as to her clan. It could even kill the girl, according to Apache beliefs.

For years, whites were admitted to these sacred ceremonies only very occasionally (usually the presence of whites is strictly forbidden). Their insistence in attending, because those whites were unaware of native customs and beliefs, has sometimes caused severe incidents. Accordingly some clans were motivated not to expose their members to these risks anymore and to suspend these ceremonies. The lack of sensitivity and preparation of a photographer can thus in certain cases cause severe alterations or even the eradication of customs from native cultures. Personal motivations or ambition need always to be assessed not only in facing one's own risks as a photographer but especially in addressing the risks we inflict to others, more vulnerable, through our shots. A single shot can

Fig. 1. Nepal – Girl in a Stone Quarry. *Source*: Photo by Gianotti.

bring positive change or, in contrast "colonize." A picture must also always be returned with much tact and care to the place where it was taken. In order to satisfy this aim, in most cases, denouncement through images has to be replaced by the description of a situation through images, not overburdened with the photographer's personal emotions or feelings. It should provide a chance for any culture to express itself in its most authentic way possible.

THE BODY OF THE WORK

The purpose of my research and photographic work has been to build the most comprehensive photographic perspective on child labor across the

world starting from those areas where the worst and most exploitative forms of child labor are often taking place (mostly located in the global south), and moving into the industrialized world. The beginning of this survey was suggested and encouraged by staff members of the International Program for the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC) of the ILO in Geneva.

Protecting children is one of the essential elements in the pursuit of social justice and universal peace. ILO's combat against child labor has recently gained momentum due to a radical shift in attitudes. The Minimum Age Convention adopted in 1973 is now complemented by the Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, which was adopted unanimously in June 1999. In order to assist its constituents in their efforts to eliminate child labor the ILO launched, in 1992, the International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), which has since become the world's largest technical cooperation program on this issue. IPEC aims at strengthening national capacity in ILO member countries to abolish child labor and more recently creating a worldwide movement to combat it (www.ILO.org).

The early phase of my worldwide survey on extreme forms of labor has recently been published in a book collection of photographs with captions entitled *The Sky Above the Children*(Gianotti, 2002). Four geographical areas have been the major focus of my research so far: South Asia, South America, Northeastern Europe, and Western Africa, for reasons described below.

DOCUMENTING THE PROBLEMS: THE CHOICE OF PLACES

South Asia

It is estimated that between 4,000 and 5,000 Nepalese children, largely girls, are forced to emigrate and enter illegally into India each year where they are sold into prostitution and other forms of slavery (Pradhan & Dhital, 1997). The lucrative nature of this traffic in human cargo induces its practitioners to take the risk of smuggling the victims past border controls. Agents and "brokers" can always find good hunting grounds among the poor and simple farmers of Nepal. These ingenuous souls naively entrust their children to them in exchange for the promise of a better future based on deceitful accounts of profitable marriages and remunerative employment in the carpet factories. In reality, the latter represent the holding stage in an

operation that will bring these children in front of brokers and ultimately land them in the brothels of India.

The problem reached the crisis level and continues to grow in response to the burgeoning sexual tourism industry in India. Occasionally police operations in India have rescued some of the girls from their brothel prisons. However, their reintegration into the Nepalese countryside is plagued by myriads of problems. For example, many of the girls refuse repatriation out of a fear of public humiliation or of being arrested by the local police.

While the Nepalese government has shown concern for these victims of child abuse, the problem appears far from being resolved and making additional headway will require the concerted efforts of all democratic parties.

These are the reasons that moved me to focus on Nepal and India in my first mission. In order to obtain the most updated and accurate information and identify the best areas for my survey, my first stop is usually the offices of local NGOs. In Katmandu CWIN, a NGO that has long been collaborating with the ILO on child labor matters, provided me with good support in terms of data and information. At that time I focused my enquiry on carpet factories and quarries. I received from CWIN part of the key information that helped me in carrying out my reportage. Soon afterward I discovered that it was the Tamang, a Nepalese ethnic group, who have the highest rate of children exploited in carpet factories and quarries. Balancing my limited time and budget, I carried out my reportage focusing particularly on this ethnic group (for an account of Tamang's children involvement in heavy labor, refer to the publication – ESCOR (2002).

The Tamang are hill people of Nepal, residing in the high hills east, north, south and west of the Katmandu valley. Tamang form one of the major Tibeto-Burman communities in Nepal, and maintain the belief that they originally came from Tibet. The Tamang constitute 5.51% of the total 20 million population of the country. They are predominantly agricultural people and lead a traditional way of life, maintaining their own culture and language (CWIN, 1997).

According to the indications provided by CWIN and by local guides I met subsequently, I carried out my reportage on child labor in Nepal by focusing on Pokhara, along the valleys that connect this town to Katmandu, as well as in the Katmandu valley itself. On the Pokhara hills I took pictures mostly focused on child labor in the farm fields. In this context, children's duties consist in harvesting forage for cattle, carrying milk, bringing in water cans, and pasturing cows or buffalos. Work is particularly hard when children

have to carry heavy cans or baskets along the steep hill trails, wearing slippers or nothing at all and walking on the slippery mud or flat stones used to pave mountain trails during the rainy season.

Along the river valleys that lead to Pokhara, the most visible and taxing labor is stone quarrying. Many quarries employ child labor for quarrying stones extracted from the riverbanks nearby. The duties of children is then either to quarry the stone by hand using hammers, to work by the grinding machines throwing stones in their mouthpiece, or to collect the gravel made by the grinding machines in baskets.

At the time I photographed these quarries, mostly girls were used in harvesting the gravel, while boys were employed in quarrying by hand or on the grinding platforms to feed the machines. In my photographs, the work is performed without proper protection: no protection for the eyes against splinters, no gloves to protect fingers and no masks to protect them from breathing the dust. The workers' shelters are also particularly unfit to live in. They are built of any material people can find, including branches and plastic refuse. The major health hazard comes, however, from the sand dust of the stone grinder that surrounds the girls who transport the gravel in the quarry. The dust there is so thick that the cameras I used were blocked by the dust in a very short time. The heavy baskets the girls carry also have severe effects on their health. At the time I shot my pictures, the employers who pay these workers only half a dollar a day gave me no trouble.

In the Katmandu valley, approximately 1,200 carpet factories employed child laborers. Although, it is hard to assess the precise number of workers who are underage, assessments by CWIN, working children were estimated to be around 150,000, with the number changing since 1997, and with current figures unavailable. Many of these working children are in debt bondage. That is, children are given by their parents to the factory owners or to go-betweens to fulfill their parents' debt requirements. Often they are trafficked from the Nepalese carpet factories through the border into India to be sold to other carpet factories, to brothels or into other forms of slavery (CWIN, 1997).

I witnessed the premises for carpet production, which are often stores that appear abandoned. There is limited light inside, because of closed shutters, to avoid being directly into the gaze of the local authorities. The people in the shops have to weave the carpets stressing their eyes due to the lack of light. Many of the children I saw had reddened eyes. Long hours of continuous sitting, with the body bent on the loom, also affects their backs. In four of the five carpet factories I visited, I had to earn, with much difficulty, the trust of their owners or supervisors in order to be allowed to

take pictures inside. In the last one, unexpectedly, no controls where on the premises and nobody interfered with my work.

In India, I visited outskirts of New Delhi, where child labor is concentrated in families paid for piecework done at home. The piecework consists mainly in mounting ball-pens and wigs, and in spinning silk or wool. The time required for this kind of work is extensive. Every family member has to work several hours (up to 14 hours) each day, in order for the whole family to gain half a dollar or may be one dollar a day. This erodes many chances of education or of learning a more productive kind of job for children and youths. Despite these negative factors, the will to improve themselves remains high among children (Blanc, 1993). Frequently volunteer teachers provide lessons for the children in makeshift schools, in the evening, when they stop working, and their enthusiasm was high for the teachers as well as the students.

Northeastern Europe

Moscow is the largest city of Europe, with more than 10 million people. In Moscow's underground and railway stations live thousands of homeless, including children without parents, often in extreme cold and in unhealthy conditions. When arrested in the streets, the children benefit from special programs set up by the police to assist street children through education, psychological help, and social support. Older street gang members force children such as those I photographed in the streets of Moscow to commit such crimes as pickpocketing and drug trafficking. In return, they give them only black bread to eat and glue to sniff. The main system utilized for setting up a gang network, observed during my stay in Moscow, was organized by women pretending to be the mothers of the street children. With this camouflage they were attempting to escape the increasingly more persistent control by the local police.

South America/Peru

Gold mining activity has become more important for the Peruvian economy. With a production of 92.6 tons and an approximate value of 850 million dollars in exports in 1998, gold is the main national product for export. The increased production of the last few years places Peru as the eighth biggest gold producer in the world and the first producer in Latin America. Less well known, however, is the fact that 30% of the gold produced comes from mines where 100,000 people survive extracting and

refining gold in the most regrettable conditions and at heavy risk for their – and their children's – health and the environment.

The reasons for the increased presence of unprofessional mines are numerous and include the economy slump, internal war, and the agricultural crisis. Many of the families affected were once well-off Indios from the sierras now escaping poverty or youths coming from broken up families. They try to survive looking for gold. In that occupation children as well as their parents are forced to work, where child labor in Peru is a means to support one's family and to increase the income of one's household in order to survive.

The destination of these new gold diggers is rich gold mines in the inland mountains, unutilized since the time of the conquistadores because of their inaccessibility. These sites are located in some of the most uninhabitable places in the world: dry deserts, hundreds of kilometers away from the nearest town, glaciers at an altitude of over 5,000 m, where it would be impossible and uneconomical for mining companies to set up proper structures and employ regular miners.

Therefore the companies, or the wealthy private citizens, that have the opportunity to buy the expensive extraction rights for these distant mines, allow gold diggers to come to these remote places. These owners give out concessions for the extraction of the gold. The method for extracting gold utilized by these gold diggers is highly unprofessional, without the help of technology and with no provision for their safety. Furthermore, they are required to pay the "alquier" (the rent) to the companies or private owners. The payment of the rent can be done in two forms: either by giving each month some grams of gold (the going rate is 2–3 g) or by working six days out of seven for the owners (the so-called "cachorreo"). The companies then allow the gold diggers – as a payment for their six days of free labor on the owners' behalf – the permission to take away all the rocks extracted from the mine on the seventh working day.

This unprofessional form of gold mining is performed in five areas of Peru: Madre de Dios (an area of forests bordering with Brasil); Ananea and Lampa near Puno; Pataz in Trujillo; and the area called Nasca Ocoña located within the departments of Ica, Ayacucho, and Arequipa, in the middle and southern portion of Peru. My reportage in Peru concentrated primarily on child labor in unprofessional mines, in the areas of Nasca Ocoña and Ananea. The settlement of San Filomena is one of the most important mining settlements in the area of Nasca Ocoña. I learned about this place in collaboration with the ILO office in Lima and from other local NGOs. I had the opportunity to go to the area through an

anthropologist/sociologist with the NGO Cooperacion that works to better the conditions of life of the miners and their families and to reduce child labor in that area (Leyra et al., 1999).

With the well-known presence of this person among the miners, I had no problems being introduced in the community and carried out my photographic survey. San Filomena is situated at 2,400 m above sea level and is connected with the Panamericana Highway through a dirt road. The area is a desert, without almost no vegetation. In 1999 the whole population was around 1,500 people gathered in 500 families, living in precarious shacks made with straw and flattened cyanide cans, recovered from mining companies who use cyanide to refine gold. The community had no hygienic services. Water and staples arrived via trucks that connected San Filomena to the nearest village on the Pacific coast.

The electricity was supplied by two electric generators, which were rented out by their owners to the rest of the paying community from 6 to 10 pm every day. Medical services consisted in one monthly visit by medical personnel to an outpost that was reachable with 4 hours of traveling. Schooling was limited to the primary level and had only three teachers who taught 80 children out of the 195 community children of school age.

The mining activities were divided as follows: children and women were mostly engaged in refining the raw gold, extracted by the other adults from the long deep tunnels into the ground, scattered around the village, that often reached the depth of 1,200 m. The refining process included down-sizing the rocks bearing gold by hand with a hammer and then throwing the chips inside ponds full of water and mercury. In the ponds there are big boulders, the so-called quimbalete, partially detached from the ground that are rocked by children who stand on them moving their bodies back and forth. The rocking movement helps to merge gold and mercury. The toxic amalgam is then scooped by the children and women with their bare hands and cooked in ovens in order to evaporate the mercury and free the gold. A recent study in San Filomena had demonstrated that the use of mercury has led to warning levels of intoxication among children and adults. The intense physical activity is also often more than children can withstand and has serious negative effects on their muscles and skeleton. Other frequent health problems are intoxication from explosive gases, asphyxia from lack of air in the tunnels, silicosis, and work accidents.

Nevertheless, the situation I witnessed in 1999 was far better than the conditions in that location a few years earlier, due to the support of IPEC/ILO and Agencia Española de Cooperacion Internacional (AECI), a project for the eradication of child labor. One of the significant steps had been the

mechanization of the process of transporting the auriferous mineral out of the mine through the installation of an electric wench. These measures had eliminated the transport of the heavy raw mineral by children (Cooperaccion, 1999).

The shantytown of Ananea – La Rinconada is located at 5,400 m, and at 6 hours travel from Juliaca, a city close to Titicaca lake, La Rinconada is one of the highest shantytowns in the world, populated by 25,000 inhabitants. The site was indicated to me by a sociologist that I met in San Filomena who had worked there for a relatively long period of time. She accounted that it is actually one of the worst place to live and work she had ever visited. I reached this site on my own after a few days of traveling, where I did not receive the same welcome as in San Filomena. Miners were suspicious about foreigners and tried in rough ways to discourage me from taking pictures. Through the intervention of one of the owners of the mine and his supervisor, I was ultimately allowed to photograph.

La Rinconada was a place that officially did not exist, with no markings on any map. The working conditions there were among the worst and the more inhumane I had ever encountered, and I had to admit that the sociologist had been right. The richer gold veins are located under the Ananea glacier that comes down from the mountain towering over the village, called by miners "the sleeping beauty in the forest," according to its profile that looks like a woman lying down. Every day and night (the work in the mine never stops) the gold diggers worked in galleries that extend for more than 300 m under the glacier. The glacier in its movements sometimes makes the tunnels collapse, trapping the miners under the rubble. Other times, avalanches crashed down on the miners' settlements (Mo, 2000). Pulmonary and brain edemas are the frequent and deadly aftermath of living and working at such high altitudes. (Aubure, 1999).

The working responsibilities of children and women were focused outside the mine, breaking the rocks bearing the gold that were carried by the men outside the tunnels and separating the gold with the help of water, mercury, and the "quimbalete" system, as in San Filomena. This process is dangerous for all participants. The men, beyond the risks of mining in deep tunnels, face serious pulmonary problems, while women and children are sometimes injured by overturning "quimbaletes" or seriously intoxicated by the mercury. A high rate of children are plagued by edemas and pulmonary diseases caused by the altitude. Moreover, the long-lasting use of mercury has contaminated the rivers downstream, whose water is drunk by lamas and alpacas in the valleys. The natives eating the meat of these animals feel more and more the ravaging effects of mercury intoxication (blindness, deformation, lack of growth in children, loss of memory, even madness).

The extracted gold, belonging to the miners, is purchased for approximately four dollars equivalent by local speculators. But only a minimal part of this revenue can be saved by the miners and they have to buy the expensive food carried up the mountain by trucks, dynamite for the digging of the tunnels (whose cost is double than the running price in Juliaca), alcohol to ease their pains and to keep warm, since the miners' shacks have no heating and the temperatures at night in winter time can easily reach 20°C below zero. Moreover, miners are affected by miscellaneous intestinal infections, caused by lack of hygiene and by the contaminated water. Water at this altitude boils at 80°C.

The Brick factory of Huachipa was the last area that I visited in Peru in the district of Luringancho-Chosica, department of Lima. In 1998, the people working in production numbered about 3,000 of whom 700 were children between the ages of five and fourteen employed as full-time workers. Brick making in this context involves limited technological skills and a multitude of middlemen (the land owner, the owner of the ovens, the transporters). This leads to a situation of dependency and of exploitation for the workers.

In this kind of activity, the production efficiency and the amount of profit are directly related to the working capacity of each family member in the family unit. Since adult males are usually employed in other activities, the production of bricks is in the hands of the women and their children. Children start to work when they are still very young, at five to six years of age, when they should be in a playground, and work at this young age up to four or six hours per day. The work involves considerable physical exertion as it goes through the entire rudimentary process of brick making by hand. It consists in digging the earth, mixing and throwing mud for the brick molds, turning raw bricks to allow them to dry, and piling them after they are dried. This kind of activity, without any creativity, is dangerous for both the physical and emotional development of the children. The continuous exposure of the skin to the mud causes miscellaneous infections, and the children's body, continuously strained by heavy loads, which compromise their growth.

A program to eradicate this kind of labor, devised by a consortium of NGOs in collaboration with ILO, started to eliminate child labor in Huachipa. The early beneficiaries of the project were 300 children, six to thirteen years of age. All had been workers in brick making, who had no schooling or irregular schooling, and who belonged to families in deprived conditions. The fundamental goal of the project is the progressive elimination of the highly risky heavy labor performed by these young boys

and girls and to replace it with educational improvement and a better attention to health and nutrition to improve their life conditions. At the same time a small credit institution has been created in order to offer somewhat better financial opportunities to these very needy families, at the condition that fathers take upon themselves to ensure that their children do not perform such heavy and risky work (Figueroa & Magaly, 1997).

Africa

Global estimates, released by ILO in 2002, estimated that there were 48 million children working in sub-Saharan Africa alone. A review of child labor in Africa suggests that the problem has increased in many countries and, given current trends, the potential number of child workers is projected to increase over the next 10 to 15 years. Africa could be faced with almost 100 million child laborers in the year 2015. Following increased media attention on the widespread use of extreme forms of child labor in West Africa, including child slavery and trafficking, UN agencies intensified their cooperation with Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, and Nigeria in order to put an end to this practice (African Regional Tripartite Meeting on Child Labor, 1998).

The United Nations International Labor Organization (ILO) worked with the United States Agency for International Development on a survey of child labor in West Africa. The scandal in 2001 of the "Etireno" ship reportedly carried more than 100 children destined to be sold into slavery in Gabon increased the agencies' determination. Similarly, the massive use of Malian and Burkinabe child slaves on Ivorian cocoa plantations was documented in 2000 and caused public indignation in Britain, Mali, and Côte d'Ivoire.

The ILO's IPEC has announced that it will collaborate with the US Agency for International Development (USAID) on the child labor portion of a survey on labor practices in five West African cocoa-growing countries. IPEC has provided technical and training expertise for the projects in Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, and Nigeria. IPEC announced that its aim is to work toward the progressive elimination of child labor by strengthening national capacities to address child labor problems, and by creating a worldwide movement to combat it. The program targets bonded child laborers, children in hazardous working conditions or occupations, and children who are particularly vulnerable, very young working boys and girls below age 12 (Afrol News, 2001). I visited Benin immediately after the

''Etireno'' ship's scandal to obtain more information on child labor in those situations on child trafficking in general. (Fig. 2)

I learned from NGO volunteers or local journalists, who provided me with information about trafficking incidents. Different enquiries directly with the families had demonstrated that the child victims came from poor and/or particularly large families. The low educational level of the parents and the rivalries among brides within polygamous marriages could be in part at the origin of the problem. Social and economic changes were however considerably worsening the situation of children.

In the past, the cultural practice of ''vidomegon,'' for example, among the Fon ethnic group of Benin, encouraged poor or particularly large families to place some of their children in foster care so to speak, that is, to give them to a wealthier adult in exchange for goods or money, with the promise that the child will be taken care of as it was their own. This provided some help and support to poor families. The community also cared jointly for children born out of wedlock. With the introduction of new more materialistic cultural models and dramatic changes in the economy of these countries, the ''vidomegon'' is transforming itself from a form of reciprocal help to an exploitative practice. The adult, that receives the child, uses the minor more and more purely as an object of exchange or as a monetary investment.

Severe climatic changes are exacerbating the situation. The advance of the desert in the sub-Saharan regions of Niger, Burkina Faso, and Mali, oblige

Fig. 2. Benin – Children Working in the Perma Gold Mine. *Source*: Photo by Gianotti.

parents in those areas to give their children to traffickers. In fact, the poor parents have no means to feed their children with the diminishing products of a bankrupt agriculture. Socially and culturally the child labor was accepted as a form of survival, a view now been reinforced by the shrewd middlemen who traffic in children.

Children involved in the traffic are destined to carry out any kind of heavy work in the country where the children are being smuggled in commerce, agriculture, building, or as female domestic servants. The severity of their economic exploitation is linked to miscellaneous factors such as the type of activity, the length of the workday, and the wages offered if any. This is linked to such other forms of mistreatment as physical, psychological, and sexual abuse (Camara et al., 2000).

In my survey along cross border areas of Benin and Burkina Faso, the trafficking of children apparently gave no particular problems to traffickers, who were well organized to elude police controls. Using private minibuses usually destined to public transport, they smuggled children during the night across the Pendjary River. While, I have no way to demonstrate the link of this traffic with the exploitation of children in the few gold mines that exist in Benin, however, in the one gold mine that I saw, the exploitation of the children was dramatic. The area is located in the Atacora mountains along the Perma River valley is the site where children are used for the worst possible tasks: they grind rocks bearing gold until they become powder from which the gold can be more easily extracted; they go inside galleries where an adult could not pass; they bring water and tools to the miners who are at the bottom of the tunnels, which are supported precariously by logs, and sometimes collapse on the miners. At night when children get back home, they are so exhausted that they often lie down completely worn out on the riverbanks. Especially for girls, the day's work never ends: they have to care for siblings, gather wood for the fire, carry heavy cans of water, help to cook.

The miners in these areas extract gold illegally without the permission of the government, which is why I had terrible problems leaving the site unharmed with my images taken to witness the children's conditions. I was lucky enough in this case to have had a good guide who managed the difficult situation skillfully and to have had enough money on me to pay for my leaving (Gianotti, 2004).

Another form of child labor in Benin is that of the children of a specific caste such as the blacksmiths. In the center and southern part of the country near the former capital of Dahomey, Abomey, survive a galaxy of blacksmith workshops. They are owned by a noble caste of *forgeron* belonging to the Yoruba ethnic group. To be of a forgeron caste is considered a great honor

and a distinction, and children of the *forgerons* are marked with two little scars on the temples since their infancy to identify them. Therefore, it is almost a duty, if one belongs to this caste, to start at a young age to forge bullets for hunting, traps for animals, and knives. As I photographed I noted that it was not unusual to visit workshops managed only by children, simply supervised from a distance by adults.

CONCLUSIONS

Visual images can quickly communicate powerful messages. One may wish to use these images to support advocacy work or to present social marketing information. It is essential that photographers are honest and direct with the people they want to photograph or video. People will often wonder why somebody is interested in them and may need reassurance about: confidentiality and anonymity, whether the pictures will be published, and why the project is taking place, and why it is important.

Further use of images may involve a method for eliciting opinions with use of photos. Questions about whether or not the use of a picture is contentious or provocative. For example, a picture of someone distributing free syringes to drug users could be used by members of a local community to identify different attitudes toward needle-exchange (Fitch, 2002). But it may be done with extreme care and following professional ethical codes. (Papademas, 2009).

In the case of child labor, images of the social context can also potentially be harmful. For example, the vision of children exploited could at times be enhanced if the adult exploiters were depicted with their underage victims involves, which involves risks for both the photographer and the child victims. In many cases during this research I had to assess if the children or myself could be exposed to the harmful reaction of exploiters when taking a particular photo. In my last reportage in Benin, I took a picture of a child carrying on his head heavy corrugated iron. The child was ostensibly willing to be photographed, but suddenly an adult came out of a shelter shouting and threatening him. I instinctively stopped taking the picture, thinking that after his quarrel with me, the angry adult would probably punish the child even more heavily.

Another meaningful example of my personal refusal to take photos against people's will was in Peru. While I was finishing my reportage about the gold miners conditions of life in Mollehuaca, I witnessed a fight among drunken miners, one of whom was losing blood conspicuously. The image would have depicted very powerfully the sad aftermaths of hard work

conditions and alcohol abuse in that bleak isolated place. But I did not take it! Later on, one of the miners asked embarrassedly to my guide if I had taken any pictures of the fight, because he feared possible consequences for his job. I tried to convince him that I had not, but probably to no avail. I caused discomfort among those miners just because I had a camera, despite the fact I did not take any compromising picture.

Guided by the writings of visual sociologist John Prosse in his essay "The Moral Maze of Image Ethics," my work acknowledges that there are moral and political reasons for making and using images in a research context to be ethically obligated to his/her subjects. In order to gain and maintain access and to stay in potentially stimulating contexts, it is indispensable to secure the confidence of respondents and fellow researchers. Establishing respondents' confidence means assuring them they will not be "damaged," misrepresented, or prejudiced in any way; in terms of researchers' confidence, this means agreeing on ethical procedures that protect respondents yet ensure the trustworthiness of the findings (Prosser, 2000).

One person's representation may be another person's misrepresentation, and in photography aesthetic considerations are one way of shaping a truth. Aesthetic devices are particularly important in documentary photography when used in constructing powerful images, which in turn encourage viewers not only to look but also to accept a particular meaning of an image. Aesthetic qualities, knowingly or otherwise, can distract or disproportionately influence the photographer's meaning and the public interpretation.

When we document a social problem through photography in order to initiate social reform, some of the concerns of a photojournalist appear to be timeless. Now, much as in Hine's time, respect of our child subjects as individualized human beings, as persons with dignity, with their moments of happiness or sorrow and their personal viewpoints remain important (Goldberg, 1999). Another major consideration for the photographer is how to affect the viewers, so that they will be moved into action. There too respect rather than shocking sensationalism seem to be the way to go – respect for the viewers' feelings as we call upon their most noble emotions – and an expression of general respect for our common humanity. Such forms of respect are particularly outdated in the modern media context, which makes them potentially evermore effective when these images are unusual and are quietly unexpected.

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INTERNET, COMPUTER-MEDIATED COMMUNICATIONS AND GAY RIGHTS MOVEMENTS IN TAIWAN

Chung-Yi Cheng and Kenneth C. C. Yang

ABSTRACT

The rise of the Internet has facilitated net activism among many virtual gay communities in Taiwan. The communication role that the Internet plays is in particular vital, because homosexuality is still considered a taboo in Taiwan's society. Cyberspace created by the Internet forms a unique ''space'' where local homosexuals can share their experience of being gays with each other. The purposes of this chapter are intended to examine how the Internet facilitated the formation, promotion, and success of gay rights movements among homosexual communities in Taiwan. This chapter uses the Chang-Der Street Police Harassment Incident as a case study to elaborate the Internet's communication role in mobilizing local gay populations to pursue their gay rights. It also investigates the Internet's strategic role as a communication medium in gay rights movements. The case analysis and in-depth interviews help identify several key functions that the Internet can play: to exchange and share information, to organize and coordinate gay rights movements, to record and store historical information, and to lead social and value

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changes in the future. This chapter explores the potential of the Internet in online community mobilization, an early look at virtual community and net activism.

INTRODUCTION

The application of new information communications technologies to address the needs of local communities has grown rapidly over the past several years in the United States and other parts of the world. Pioneering community-networking projects in the United States included Berkeley Community Memory (Levy, 1984) and Big Sky Telegraph (Agre, 1997; Odasz, 1991). Contrary to many commercial endeavors in infrastructure developments, these projects were specifically developed and implemented to help local communities to make better use of new information communications technologies. Similar projects that aim to capitalize on the potential of new technologies also appeared in Taiwan. Different groups rushed to set up their own computer bulletin boards or web sites to meet the needs of their communities, ranging from feminists, the disabled, political parties, students, dissidents, literary societies, and movie fans.[1]

The use of emerging information communications technologies to serve the needs of communities is nothing new if one looks from the long history of communications evolution in past decades. The introduction of cable broadcasting systems was intended to deliver television signals to communities located in remote mountainous areas (Pool, 1984). Similarly, the Internet has been found to be an excellent tool for community building and democratic participation of community members because of its low cost and technical expertise required for operation (Schuler, 1997).

Barber (1998–1999, p. 584) argued that new communication technologies such as the Internet can "potentially enhance lateral communication among citizens, can open access to information by all, and can furnish citizens with communication links across distances that once precluded direct democracy." Manuel Castells (1996, p. 374) elaborated this perspective by pointing out that "[w]hat characterizes the new system of communication … is its inclusiveness and comprehensiveness of all cultural expressions." He argued that communication through the Internet "weakens considerably the symbolic power of traditional senders external to the system, transmitting through historically encoded social habits: religion, morality, authority, traditional values, political ideology" (Castells, 1996, pp. 374–375).

Furthermore, the Internet, as a decentralized communication system since its inception in the 1960s, is in particular indispensable to gay communities around the world. Influence of mainstream ideology becomes minimal as little or no social control can be exerted in cyberspace. As a result, the Internet has created "new forms of interactions … between participants … and new forms of power configurations between communicating individuals" (Poster, 1997, p. 216). According to a 1994 *Wired* magazine top 10 list of chat rooms created by America Online subscribers, 3 of them belonged to gay channels: men4men (#3), Men Who Want 2 Meet Men (#6), and Young Men4Men (#8) (cited in Shaw, 1997, p. 136). In China, there are more than 250 gay web sites that are used by local gay population for consultation, friendship, and information (Rosenthal, 2002).

HOMOSEXUALITY IN TAIWAN

Taiwan, just like many Asian societies, is strongly influenced by traditional Chinese cultural norms that put greater emphasis on conformity to social norms, family responsibility, and gender role stereotypes. Although male sexual unions have been recorded in many literary works and historical accounts among poets, writers, government officials, and emperors themselves (Y. Y. Chen, 1995, 1997; Chun, 1997; He, 1998; C. W. Hsu, 1999; Mao 1997; Suleski, 2001), the concept of an openly gay son or lesbian daughter is unimaginable to most families. "Coming out" means more than individuals claiming their own sexual identities, it brings shame and disgrace to the entire family. One can become an outcast from their family and the society. Despite increasing awareness and tolerance of local gay population, homosexuality is still unspeakable in Taiwanese society (H. Chen, 1992; Chuang, 1992; Kuo-Hong, 1994; Lee, 1998; Peng, 1987). Constitution does not offer much protection to them. Many gay and lesbian people are discriminated simply because of their sexual orientation (H. C. Chang, 2000; Liu, 1999).

Furthermore, there remains a strong stigmatization of gay lifestyle among mainstream ideology and media (F. X. Wu, 1993; T. S. Wu, 1998; C. Y. Wu, 1997). T. S. Wu (1998) studied the dynamics among mainstream media, public opinions, mafia, and the police in shaping gay identity in Taiwan and he argued that these oppressive forces have formed an invisible boundary that pushes gay population to the underground (i.e., gay or lesbian bars or some cruising areas). J. Y. Wu (1997) used a historical approach to examine how local homosexuals were portrayed in literary works and mass media between 1970 and 1990. In the 1970s, gay population was often associated with

promiscuity. The public became aware of the existence of gay population by reading news reports about murders between jealous gay lovers. In the 1980s, gay-related topics were widely discussed by medical professionals that debated whether homosexuality should be classified as a mental disease. In the 1990s, the visibility of gay population increased with publications of gay-related topics, magazines, and research papers. Nevertheless, the stigmatization about homosexuality continues to prevail in Taiwanese society. Gay marriage is still outlawed on the basis that it would "impair social morals and tarnish traditional ethics" as argued by the Taipei District Court (cited in Central News Agency, 2000). Gay population is also associated with AIDS disease; as a result, it was once proposed by the government health agency that prohibited gay and bisexual men from donating blood (Chung, 2001).

Due to the social and cultural contexts, most local homosexuals are forced to "stay in the closet" (An, 1995; Chou, 1997; Lee, 1998; T. S. Wu, 1998).[2] Mass media, often siding with mainstream social norms, tend to reinforce stigma toward homosexuality and homosexual communities in Taiwan (Chao, 1998; M. L. Hsu & Huang, 1998; Wong, 1993; T. S. Wu, 1998).[3] In recent years, although mass media gradually took a more positive and unbiased position on gay-related materials, there still left much to be desired in both quality and quantity of news reporting. For example, major newspapers in Taiwan, such as *China Times Daily*, once had a series of investigative reports on gay marriage (P. Y. Chang, 1999; Hsiao, 1999), the establishment of gay-oriented public space (S. L. Lin, 1996), and protests against infringement of the privacy of gay population by hidden cameras set up by nosy news reporters (Chiou, 1998).

The 1990s represented a landmark period for gay rights movements in Taiwan, due to rapid social and political changes derived from the termination of the Martial Law in late 1987. In 1996, the first gay magazine, *G & L Magazine*[4] (*Je Ai Tsa Chih*), was first published in Taiwan. At the same year, a Taiwan writer and his U.S. lover held their wedding in Taipei and caused media frenzy (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 2000). Two years later, another gay magazine, *Glory Magazine (Chi Ai Tsa Chi*) was published. In 1999, the first lesbian magazine, *La Feng*, was published in the electronic newsletter format. Nevertheless, the homosexual population remains an ignored and oppressed group in Taiwan's society.

The Internet appearing timely and conveniently was integrated into the endeavor to build online gay communities in Taiwan. In addition, the Internet was also employed during the battle for civil liberty and played a vital and strategic role in gay rights movements in Taiwan. The Internet created a public domain that allows the homosexual population in Taiwan to voice their concerns equally, anonymously, and without fear of exposure.

These would not be possible due to the male-dominated culture and the intentional ignorance of mass media controlled by the mainstream heterosexual ideology (Chao, 1998). As a result, the Internet led to more active participation of homosexual individuals and gay rights groups to pursue the gay rights for the homosexual population in Taiwan.

The purposes of this chapter are to examine how interactive, high-speed, and decentralized characteristics of the Internet have facilitated the formation, promotion, and success of a series of gay rights movements among online gay communities in Taiwan. These activities stemmed from the Chang-Der Street Police Harassment Incident on July 31, 1997, which involved the unlawful detention, picture taking, and questioning of "suspected" gay individuals by the police in Taipei. Because of the magnitude and historical importance of this incident to gay communities and activist groups in Taiwan, it was compared to the Stonewall Rebellion that happened in the United States in the late 1960s.[5]

As such, this chapter uses this incident as a case study to elaborate how the Internet helped mobilize gay communities in Taiwan to pursue their gay rights. It also investigates the strategic roles of the Internet in future gay rights movements, as well as other social, movements, which have been hindered, in many occasions, by insufficient financial resources to publicize their causes, assure better engagement of its members, and avoid the ignorance of mainstream mass media.

In addition to the case study method, this research also employed an in-depth interview method to study the role that the Internet has played in the Chang-Der Street Police Harassment Incident in 1997. The researchers who witnessed this incident provided first-hand observations, its causes, and implications. Qualitative in-depth interview method was employed to interview six individuals representative of leadership in this movement. These interview participants include a founder of a computer bulletin board dedicated for gay population, an organizer of the Chang-Der StreetIncident Investigation Committee, a speaker of the Committee, an organizer of Internet sign-in activity to support this cause, a volunteer Internet user, and a journalist to report this incident the public.

INTERNET AND VIRTUAL GAY COMMUNITIES

The introduction of network-based technologies such as Internet, MUD, and video-conferencing has created a multiuser virtual environment where people can communicate with one another. With rapid growth of the

Internet infrastructure and population, groups of Internet users have formed virtual communities in cyberspace. Virtual community (Rheingold, 1993), also called online community, cyber community (humdog, 1996), or pseudo-community (Rheingold, 1996) represents "a group of people who may or may not meet one another face to face, and who exchange words and ideas through the mediation of computer bulletin boards and networks" (Rheingold, 1996, p. 414).

The rise of the Internet has dramatically changed the conception of community as a space-bound entity. Cyberspace, where virtual communities solely exist, is "the conceptual space where words and human relationships, data and wealth and power are manifested by people using the computer-mediated communication technology" (Rheingold, 1996, p. 413).

Emergence of virtual communities on the Internet creates a new way of thinking about many components that form traditional community. As Rheingold (1996, p. 418) pointed out, virtual communities on the Internet might be real communities, pseudo-communities, or "something entirely new in the realm of social contracts." Network-based technologies have created various forms of virtual communities for different groups and subgroups. Due to its low cost and minimum technical requirements, the Internet is especially an ideal tool for disadvantaged groups such as gay communities. In addition, as governments did not exert control over the Internet at the early stage of its development, this technology evolved into an environment that many homosexual individuals seek for support and related information. To take a historical view of the Internet development, Dishman (1998) pointed out that gay men have had a strong presence online since the earliest days of public access to the Internet. They intend to create "dissident spaces" where homosexuality is the norm.

The development of online gay communities in Taiwan is closely linked to the rapid adoption of the Internet and related technologies. Computer bulletin boards, in particular, play an important role in facilitating the formation of these communities. From a historical perspective, the impact of computer bulletin boards on building online gay communities is associated with the diffusion patterns of the Internet in Taiwan as well as other parts of the world. From the very beginning, innovators and early adopters of the Internet technologies were affiliated with universities and research institutions (Leiner et al., 1996).[6] In addition, university students tend to have a better knowledge of and are more tolerant of homosexuality. As a matter of the fact, many of them have played a leadership role in several gay awareness activities in the past. This unique situation contributed to the use of the Internet among gay communities in Taiwan.

For most gay student users, their first contact with the Internet comes from computer bulletin boards on the TANET,[7] a network operated by the Ministry of Education to link most research and education institutions in Taiwan. In late 1992, the Computer Center at the National Sun Yat Sen University in Kaohsiung developed the first Chinese language computer bulletin boards in Taiwan. This expedited the usage of computer bulletin boards among university students.

The low cost feature of TANET enabled its users to be free from the capitalistic business-oriented information contents. As a result, it allowed more idealistic, alternative, minority-oriented discourses to flow in it than ordinary commercial Internet services. Discussions on homosexuality are one of these topics of interests. Many computer bulletin boards include gay-oriented MOTSS[8] that allows users accessed from various places to read postings pertaining to homosexual communities in Taiwan. As Sproull and Faraj (1995, pp. 66–67) argued, the Internet has created an ''electronic gathering'' place where physical location becomes irrelevant to participation, participants are relatively invisible, and logistical and social costs to participate are quite low. These characteristics of the Internet make the Internet a better medium than other modes of communication media.

However, the presence of male-dominating and mainstream ideology does not spare the cyberspace. Discussions on gay-related topics are still limited to MOTSS computer bulletin board. Expressions of gay-related topics on other computer bulletin boards often evoke relentless attacks from intolerant individuals. The duplication of these oppressive forces into the cyberspace encouraged one of the interview participants to set up his own private computer bulletin board to takecare of the communication needs of gay communities in Taiwan. On June 29, 1997, the first gay-operated and privately owned computer bulletin board, called Rainbow Club, was set up and has been operating since then.

GAY RIGHTS MOVEMENTS IN TAIWAN

The 1990s marked an important period for gay rights activists in Taiwan. In 1993, the first gay organization, GAY CHAT, was founded by a group of university students at the National Taiwan University campus. Talks about promoting gay rights of homosexual population were also placed on the political arena.

In April 1994, the first computer bulletin board solely dedicated to gay minorities was established on the government-owned TANET. MOTSS was

set up on the National Chiao-Tung University at Hsin-Chu. About the same time, the Pheonix computer bulletin board was set up by a group of students in the National Central University at Chung-Li. Not until this time did gay population own a medium with population large enough to allow them to exchange personal experiences among themselves, network, form support groups, and voice their concerns to the public.

One of the largest gay rights demonstrations was held in early 1996 when a group of gay rights movements activists, called Gays Against Oppressive Zoning (GAOZ), protested against Metro-Taipei Zoning Proposal by the Taipei Municipal Government, in which the New Park was renamed as the 228 Peace Memorial Park. Many homosexual individuals viewed this action as an oppressive measure "to erase their historical and collective memory of the gay communities" because many homosexual individuals felt that the New Park represents where they came from and how they grew up (Bai, 1997; Wang, 1996). GAOZ organized the Rainbow Week and began a series of activities with *Meeting the Mayor of Taipei*. In addition, a group of gay activists and sympathizers proposed a different zoning project that was meant to transform the New Park into a place that accommodates different ethnic, linguistic, and sexual minorities. Afterwards, a series of gay awareness activities were also held in Taipei. Amidst heated debates about and public attention to gay rights, there came the Chang-Der Street Incident and protest against police violation of gay rights.

CHANG-DER STREET POLICE HARASSMENT INCIDENT

On July 31, 1997, the Taipei Police Department raided one of the major gay gathering places in Taipei. The Chang-Der Street area is the place where many homosexuals gather after the closing of the New Park in the midnight. Many individuals were harassed, unlawfully detained, and photographed without just causes. This incident was first revealed to the public through computer bulletin boards that brought about intense reactions among many Internet users, regardless of their sexual preferences. In spite of outcry from many gay activist groups, the police accused these detained individuals of "rowdiness, yelling, drinking, and disrupting social order." These false accusations further enraged many gay activist groups. Afterwards, several events were held to protest against the oppression of sexual minorities in Taiwan and demonstrations were also held to fight for better public attention regarding rights of the homosexual population in Taiwan.

On August 9, the Gay Civil Action Camp (GCAC) organized a special investigation committee on the Chang-Der Street Incident to accomplish the following objectives: (1) thoroughly record this incident; (2) protest the unconstitutionality of the police harassment; (3) protest against gay rights violation of the Taipei Police Department; and (4) encourage ongoing discussions on gay rights protection.

The rise of the Chang-Der Street as a gay-gathering place has its historical reasons. Geographically, it is located near the New Park, famous for its gay cruising activities. However, the New Park closed at midnight and many homosexuals left alone were forced to this dark and isolated area, one block away from the New Park. As a result, this street represents the oppression of the government to control and dictate how gay people should lead their lives. On the contrary, it also symbolizes the unwillingness of homosexual individuals to be pushed around by mainstream lifestyle (Lai, 1998). Therefore, in a deeper sense, the Chang-Der Street as a space stands for the protest, counterattack, insubordination, and anti-mainstream mentality of many gay people. This hidden impulse exploded when the Taipei Police Department harassed individuals passing through the Chang-Der Street.

ONLINE GAY RIGHTS MOVEMENTS IN TAIWAN

During the process of its development, the Internet has accumulated a lot of momentum for gay rights movements. This emerging communication channel also played a vital role in the Chang-Der Street Police Harassment Incident and ensuing gay rights activities. In an instrumental sense, the Internet functioned as an efficient medium for information exchange. In a deeper and cultural sense, it became a tool to challenge traditional mainstream ideology and to propose a new value system for the general public. In the following discussions, the authors summarized several strategic roles that the Internet played for online gay communities and gay rights movements in Taiwan.

The vitality and importance of the Internet to gay communities and gay rights movements may partly contribute to the long-term failure of mass media to better represent these sexual minorities and to be responsive to their needs (C. H. Chang, 1997). As a result, the Internet becomes an essential tool to assemble homosexual individuals separated by geographical barriers. As Castells (1996, p. 375) argued that, because of the Internet, "localities become disembodied from their cultural, historical, geographical meaning." Despite the consolidation of online gay communities that has been ongoing since early

1990s,[9] such as sense of community seen in the gay rights movements following the Chang-Der Street Police Harassment Incident shows the irreplaceable role of the Internet to online gay community.

THE INSTRUMENTAL USES OF THE INTERNET

In the Chang-Der Street Police Harassment Incident, the instrumental role of the Internet is evident. As a new communication technology, the roles of Internet medium can be further divided into the following categories.

Internet as an Information-Sharing and Information-Exchanging Medium

The Internet compensated for the ignorance and lack of timeliness in news-reporting practices among mainstream mass media in disseminating the news about this incident. As one of our interviewers pointed out,

> The reason that Internet was employed in this gay rights movement is that Internet has accumulated enough users to disseminate information about our causes in the fastest and cheapest way. The rapid rise of the Internet population is the key. Among many of its users, they are characterized of high educational level, affluent, and young – these demographics make them more willing to listen to our appeals. In addition, they are more open-minded and acceptable of gay lifestyles. I think demographics, psychographics, and low cost medium are why the Internet is attractive to gay activists in Taiwan. And I believe these characteristics correspond to what anyone wish to find in so-called 'liberating technology.'

This story about this incident was first revealed to the public and gay communities through a representative message posting on the TANET. As a result, this incident attracted a lot of attention among online gay communities and other Internet users. One of our interview participants believed that, without the Internet, this type of incident would never be reported, even with a dismalspace or time in the mass media in Taiwan's society. It would not have any chance to become a full-scale gay rights movement in the society. He elaborated,

> The Internet is the only 'place' where information can be exchanged freely and without any prejudice, or constraints among gay Internet users. Without the Internet, I myself cannot envision that the Chang-Der Street Incident will attract so much attention from both straight and gay communities. I think it may die down just as many incidents happening to minorities – sexual, racial or religious–, in our society. Personally, I think that cyberspace created under loosely regulated TANET architecture is the only place where gay people can exchange their opinions, share information so freely and without

> fear of exposure. As a result, the Internet has become a major communication channel for the homosexual population in Taiwan.

The Internet has also played an important role in making gay communities aware of the following activities related to this incident, which in the end led to society-wide attention to their pleas from other gay communities in Taiwan. Those interviewed by the researchers viewed the communicative power of the Internet as essential to the success of this movement. Without the use of the Internet, many organizers of this movement believed that it could never become an event of such a large scale as to transform the perception of homosexual issues and population in Taiwan's society.

To ensure awareness of the public about several causes of this movement, organizers have kept in close contact with mass media and their reporters. Hourly news releases were given to the press through the Internet. However, the gate-keeping role of many mass media organizations crippled this attempt. Many news organizations have dealt with these news stories with prejudice. Two of our interview participants have both confirmed our observations and stated,

> The one-way, top-down, gatekeeper type of communication model on the mass media failed to reflect a real picture of this incident. The Internet, in this instance, functions as an alternative medium that opens up the close-mindedness of our society. There is no gatekeeper in online news reporting. Facts, legends, events, and rumors all circulate freely on the Internet. Although credibility may be an issue here, the Internet does give the audience multiple perspectives and opportunities to think about what really happens and how mass media failed to do their job of informing the public.

One journalist criticized mainstream media are unwilling to allocate even one column for this incident. Even when it is reported on the newspapers, it is often placed in marginal places, with "hard-to-recognize" fonts and headlines and often with derogatory wordings. Not until recently has the situation has changed. However, it is still limited to a few liberal papers. The journalist we interviewed pointed out below:

> Mainstream mass media just ignore what happened to gay communities here. Chang-Der Street Incident was reported in places where a small percentage of readers will even care to pay attention. Fonts are small; wordings are rewritten by editors to avoid upsetting the majority. Personally, I do not agree with how this was handled. Some follow-up public hearings and events were deemed not news-worthy enough to be published in the newspapers.

As a result, one of the interview participants decided to use the Internet as a major communication channel to fuel participation in this incident. The interviews found that if the Internet did not function as news media, this

event could not gain as much social importance as to lead to the effects desired. The Internet also served as a public domain where the audience exchanged their views about this incident freely, interactively, and without biases.

Internet as an Organizing Tool

As the Chang-Der Street Police Harassment Incident unfolded to become a full-scale gay rights movement, there rose an urgent need to keep in close contact with all organizers constantly. As a result, under the consensus of six computer bulletin board system operators from the Rainbow Club, a new computer bulletin board dedicated to this incident was set up. This new board was called Night-Right, meaning the right to walk freely at night. The establishment of this computer bulletin board was intended for organizers to keep abreast of what was going on. Postings were strictly related to this movement. For example, an Internet activist posted a brief note, asking other organizers to make sure all invited speakers attend the public hearing to be held. Some of the postings served as a pat on the back for participants. For example, one of our interview participants posted a note, encouraging everyone to go on as more and more positive responses appeared on computer bulletin boards. In the posting, he proposed as follows:

> Many participants on this BBS will post their views and concerns online in our daily operation. Their inputs can function as outcomes from a brainstorming session. I believe that this is one advantage of the Internet. To make the best use of this, we will be able to stipulate or implement our strategies more effectively.

The employment of the Internet for these purposes consolidates not only the linkage among organizers but also others in gay communities scattered in different parts of Taiwan. In addition, other computer bulletin board users enhance the effectiveness of this gay rights movement through making relevant suggestions.

Internet as a Virtual Conference Room

The Internet also functioned as virtual conferences room where many users can "talk" simultaneously to exchange opinions through Internet Relay Chat (IRC). The interactive, real-time, anonymous, and decentralized features of the Internet allowed many users to form a virtual task force. This dynamic virtual conference room saved time and cost for many participants

of this movement, as compared to traditional face-to-face meetings. One of our interview participant pointed out in spite of the amount of efforts needed to organize these movements, less than five face-to-face meetings were scheduled. In the interview, he pointed out as follows:

> The Internet has many features that encourage more open and frank discussions on this "taboo" topic. Because of its privacy, autonomous, time- and location-spanning features, the Internet has become the first medium that played a vital role in networking and exchanging discourses for this gay rights movement in Taiwan.

The founder of a gay computer bulletin board also said,

> The main purpose of setting up this computer bulletin board is to allow diversity of topics and interests among gay communities to express themselves. I think, in spite of its pioneering role in gay online community, MOTSS has failed to address different facets and diverse needs of gay population in Taiwan.

Many decisions were made simply based on responses from members who logged in the chat room. The time- and space-spanning features of the Internet fit the needs of many social groups that are hindered with lack of sufficient resources in assembly.

Internet as a Tool for Petition Sign-Up

Signing-up petition is important in any social movements. In the Chang-Der Street gay rights movement, pencil-and-paper sign-up form was replaced by an online digital sign-up format. One advantage of on-line sign-up is that participants can use their IDs to sign up. This can protect the privacy of many gay individuals who fear that the disclosure of their identities can harm them and their future careers. As a result, more people are willing to attend. The organizing committee set up two e-mail addresses for this purpose. From August 12 to 19, 1997, a total of 314 computer bulletin board users had signed up to support the causes of this movement. Although digital sign-up did not have any legal power at the current stage in Taiwan, the responses of computer bulletin board users in this event indicated that many gay people are willing to offer this support for future gay rights movements in Taiwan.

Internet as a Device to Record History of Gay Rights Movements

The Internet not only played the role of supporting this gay rights movement, but it can also preserve textual information on these events for

future historians. After a panel discussion on August 19, 1997, the organizing committee produced a how-to online manual to handle future police harassment events. In addition, the Special Task Force on the Chang-Der Street Incident located in the Rainbow Club computer bulletin board also kept all minutes, reports, and postings of this movement.

The founder of a gay computer bulletin board stated in the interview:

> In the future, this archive will be restructured into a read-only database for historians interested in studying gay rights movements in Taiwan.
>
> These digitized data can be used to help future gay activists in their continual endeavor.

THE CULTURAL AND RADICAL USES OF THE INTERNET

Although the Internet constitutes a cyber-world quite distinct from the real world, many social values are duplicated into the virtual space. Similarly, gay communities discriminated and marginalized in the physical world did not reverse this situation in the cyberspace. Most of gay-related topics are forced into 59 cross-postable MOTSS computer bulletin boards, in comparison with over 600 computer bulletin boards of other interest groups on the TANET. In spite of many utopian beliefs that the Internet will reverse many inequalities in our society, this research found that male-dominating ideology still prevails in the cyberspace. Even in the MOTSS boards, heterosexuals constantly challenge gay lifestyles or hack into this system. One posting questioned why gay people wanted to stay late at night at the Chang-Der Street area. The posting reads as follows:

> I think those perverts who stayed out at night cruising for promiscuous sex have nothing to petition for. I have no compassion for them. They deserve the harassment by the Police. I think the Police should get rid of human trash for us. Otherwise, AIDS will do the work eventually.

Although only a minority of gay population went to this area during that specific time, this type of posting misled the public about the real face of gay population in Taiwan. Therefore, the Internet should not just play the role of facilitating gay rights movements in Taiwan. It should also become an agent to change the social value system and the perception of the gay populations. To challenge the traditional value system in Taiwan's society, many interviewed in this study said a radical change of Taiwan's society from its root was inevitable in the long run. One of our interview

participants pointed out that computer bulletin board users should be the first target group of any gay rights movement. However, he also pointed out

> Social changes take time and effort to accomplish. To challenge the culture, beliefs or value system, which Chinese Taiwanese have been dependent on for many years, is going to be difficult. BBS or the Internet can at least serve the purposes of creating a less biased space where anybody can talk and exchange opinions. From this perspective, the Internet is one technology that will have a monumental effect on human history. My opinion as a gay rights activist is that the Internet is a good start. We did influence some important segments in our society. However, to have a radical change, it may take more time and effort.

CONCLUSION

In the past, incidents like the Chang-Der Street Police Harassment Incident may be left unnoticed to many homosexual individuals, as well as the rest of the public, when government and mass media exert censorship on this issue. However, emerging Internet has not only provided an alternative channel of communication but also forged consolidated online communities among the gay populations in Taiwan. Although homosexuality issue and homosexual individuals are now more visible than ever, homosexuality remains among the most stigmatized of personal characteristics in Taiwan. The disclosure of homosexual identity can still trigger severe discrimination and other harms. Therefore, the advent of the Internet and World Wide Web has created a dramatically different communication landscape for sexual minorities and the rest of people in Taiwan. As Pool (1984, p. 226) pointed out "[t]he technologies used for self-expression, human intercourse, and recording of knowledge are in unprecedented flux." Compared with the often biased and unfriendly mass media in Taiwan, the Internet can be deemed as an important instrument for gay communities and gay rights movements. In addition, Internet's role in this incident also constitutes a distinct meaning for online gay communities and gay rights movements.

From the Chang-Der Street Police Harassment Incident and ensuing gay rights movements, it is evident that the Internet and cyberspace have become a virtual place where online gay communities can network with one another and with the real world. Many gay people have stepped out the computer hideout and challenge the authorities for discrimination and unfair treatments imposed on their communities. By a thorough examination of the Chang-Der Street Police Harassment Incident, this study found that the Internet has great potential for future social movements, which should be made the best use.

Compared with many other Asian societies, homosexual individuals now living in Taiwan are relatively fortunate. Democratization of Taiwan's political landscape has allowed more active participation of gay activists. Increasing visibility and social acceptance have encouraged more gays and lesbians to come out the closet. Taipei government also sponsored the first gay and lesbian festival in 2000 (Wenge & Blatt, 2000). In retrospect, the Chang-Der Street Police Harassment Incident can be viewed as an example to understand how the new technology can help the oppressed groups to challenge and change the mainstream ideology. The model discussed in this chapter may find its duplications in many other societies in the future where oppression still prevails.

NOTES

1. After using a keyword search at one of the most popular search engines, Yam (http://www.yam.com.tw), "tong-ji" (meaning "comrade" in Chinese) (a general term referring to gays and lesbians) has come up with about 100 web sites, while "nui-shin-toan-ti" (meaning "female groups") has come up with 74 web sites. In addition to the web sites, computer bulletin boards were also widely used by minorities groups in Taiwan. The first BBS (140.114.98.108) dedicated to feminism discussions was first set up in 1995.

2. Chou's (1997) book, *Post-colonial Tongzhi*, recorded experiences of being gay among many Chinese, Hong-Kongese, and American Chinese. An (1995) interviewed homosexual individuals in several major Chinese cities. Both books have pointed out the situation of society-wide discriminations against gay population in these countries.

3. Wong's (1993) study on alternative media in Taiwan presented a historical context on the development of "underground media" in Taiwan. She cited political and ideological oppressions as the two main reasons for their emergence and continual existence.

4. G&L represents gays and lesbians. However, most of the contents on *G&L Magazine* target at gay population.

5. Wong's (1993) study on alternative media in Taiwan presented a historical context on the development of "underground media" in Taiwan. She cited political and ideological oppressions as the two main reasons for their emergence and continual existence.

6. As of June 2000, the Internet population in Taiwan has reached over 4.6 million among 22 million of the island state population. It accounts for 16.6% of the whole population.

7. The development of TANET came from the legal loophole of the Directorate General of Telecommunications and had been categorized as a type of valued-added computer networking service not yet open to private operations during that time. Therefore, as a specially licensed operation from the government, it enjoyed low telecommunication interconnection charge from the telecommunication authority,

DGT. Most enrolled college students can have their accounts free of charge from the universities. Other members of the society can also get a free account if system capacity allows. Consequently, it contributed to its exponential growth within the past five years.

8. MOTSS is abbreviated from the Member of the Same Sex.

9. The beginning of gay rights movements in Taiwan can be traced back to 1992 after one of the three major network television stations, Taiwan Television Broadcasting Network, reported a story on lesbian bar frequented by local celebrities. At this event, major woman rights organizations, in cooperation with intellectual groups, had organized activities to protest against the violation of personal privacy and also demanded immediate government's remedial measure (Bai, 1997).

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DISABILITY AND THE MEDIA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

The research for this study engages and assesses the relationship of the media from the 20th to the 21st century, combining scholar activism and public leadership in the disability rights movement. Having chronicled the disability rights movement from its roots, this chapter presents the discourse of media and movement, sampling mainstream media along with the advocacy and alternative media in support of disability rights. A range of media forms are engaged from advocacy bulletins to mainstream news media to public broadcasts that represent the diversity and complexity of the movement as it continues into the 21st century, pressing for the universalism of human rights for all.

A Mediated History

Journalist John Hockenberry, who travels throughout the world in the wheelchair he uses as a result of a spinal cord injury, asked,

> Why aren't people with disabilities a source of reassurance to the general public that although life is unpredictable and circumstances may be unfavorable, versatility and adaptation are possible; they're built into the coding of human beings? (Interview, 1998)

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The story of how disability has been covered in the media reveals that, on the contrary, those bringing that story to the public have not viewed disability as Hockenberry has suggested they might. Rather, from the joint conspiracy – of the media, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, his associates – to keep FDR's disability as secret as possible, to the exploitation of pity – especially using children with disabilities – to raise money, to the neglect or distortion of the reality of people with disabilities, the mainstream media with its biases and filters have not successfully carried out its responsibility.

Yet, people with disabilities have made considerable progress in ensuring that the media gives the public an accurate picture of this population, whereas they have learned strategies that enable them to use the media to counter the stereotypical negative images with which the wider society has burdened them. Relative to all that has been accomplished, there is much more that needs to be achieved. The disability population (57 million in the United States alone and growing) is the only minority all people can – and probably will – join if they live long enough. Almost everyone has loved ones, especially grandparents and parents, who are or will be members of this population. In addition, when people with disabilities can be self-sufficient, contributing members of society, everyone benefits. As a result, the goals of this population – inclusion and equality – serve the entire society. Thus, it is incumbent upon the mainstream media not to allow ignorance, prejudice, or apathy to prevent them from fulfilling their professional obligation to accurately reflect the truth about people with disabilities. The media both reflect and influence the views and opinions of the wider public, and this assumption is a dialectical basis for the research on movements and media.

FDR AND THE "VEIL OF SILENCE"

The relationship between Franklin Delano Roosevelt – the only President with an unmistakable disability – and the media reveals the difference between the reality of and the myths about disability. With the country experiencing a devastating economic depression followed by a calamitous world war, the public required that the leader of the country be perceived as capable and vigorous, two attributes presumed to be antithetical to disability. Though FDR was a wheelchair user, many were so insistent upon viewing him either as "cured" of polio or as never having been disabled that they engaged in almost a public denial. In her *New York Times* column, Maureen Dowd (1996), recounting the story her father told

her, revealed the extent of this refusal to recognize Roosevelt's mobility impairment:

> In the 30's my father, a D.C. police detective, traveled to the Deep South to bring back a prisoner for trial. As he waited at the railroad station to come home, some nasty-looking vagrants surrounded him.
>
> "You're from Washington," one said to him. "Do you see the President?"
>
> "Yes," replied my father, who worked on protective details for President Roosevelt.
>
> "There are some ugly rumors going around that the President is a cripple," the bum growled. "We're going to kill any man says that's true."
>
> "The President," my father lied pleasantly, "is a fine, athletic man." [which, because Roosevelt swam frequently, was indeed true].

Even as Dowd was commenting on the public misconception about the President, she fell prey to the common fallacy that Roosevelt promoted this effort to hide his disability because of his courage. Rather, appreciating the impossibility of being elected or governing were the public to acknowledge his disability, Roosevelt encouraged what historian Doris Kearns Goodwin refers to as the "unspoken code of honor:"

> In twelve years, not a single picture was ever printed of the President in his wheelchair. No newsreel had ever captured him being lifted into or out of his car. When he was shown in public, he appeared either standing behind a podium, seated in an ordinary chair, or leaning on the arm of a colleague. If, as occasionally happened, one of the members of the press corps sought to violate the code by sneaking a picture of the President looking helpless, one of the older photographers would "accidentally" block the shot or gently knock the camera to the ground. But such incidents were rare; by and large, the "veil of silence" about the extent of Roosevelt's handicap was accepted by everyone – Roosevelt, the press, and the American people. (Goodwin, 1994)

Without this deception, FDR could never have been the powerful and effective president that he became. Yet because his success required this dissembling, in which the media was complicit, the disability population has not benefited as it might have from the public's awareness that this towering figure in the 20th century was disabled. We can only conjecture about how the dissemination of this truth might have reversed the stigma of disability. Moreover, in spite of the achievements of the disability community in the almost 70 years since FDR was President, with the prominence of investigative reporting in combination with the medium of television, it is unlikely that a person with a significant disability, such as FDR's, could become President at the beginning of the 21st century.

MEDIA IMAGES OF DISABILITY

Roosevelt deserves much credit for the success of the March of Dimes (1937–1958) – in its original incarnation as the funding arm of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis – in subsidizing the scientific research required for the discovery of the Salk and Sabin polio vaccines. Catching the public's imagination, the March of Dimes (wordplay on the newsreel "The March of Time") was coined by comedian Eddie Cantor on his coast-to-coast radio program, in which he requested that his listeners send dimes to the White House. Although the March of Dimes was not *parent initiated*, organizations serving children with different disabilities – such as United Cerebral Palsy and New York Association for Help of Retarded Children – were begun by parents seeking other parents with similar concerns. These parents publicized their issues in local newspapers, thus generating support programs, advocacy, and lobbying assisting children, and later even adults, with a variety of conditions. Yet, the work of these groups could not result in the successful prevention of a disability, as did the efforts of the March of Dimes:

> The development of the polio vaccine, the extraordinary achievement of this March of Dimes – a concerted effort of government, volunteers and scientists to find a means of preventing polio – has not served as a paradigm for coping with other childhood conditions that still exists. Unlike polio, which is caused by three kinds of viruses, many of the other childhood disabilities – such as muscular dystrophy, spina bifida, Down syndrome, and cerebral palsy – are congenital ailments that occur for a great variety of reasons. (Fleischer & Zames, 2001)

In order to fundraise for these campaigns to help those with disabilities, however, children were exploited and the resulting images of disability were providing the public with a distorted representation "handicapping disabled people"(Quoted material from I.43) (8). The poster child, the picture of an appealing-looking child with a specific disability who symbolized helplessness was used to elicit sympathy. Later children such as these would be publicly displayed to raise money for telethons, as, for example, the Jerry Lewis Muscular Dystrophy Association Telethon:

> Real children with disabilities were paraded across the stage as objects of pity, while the amount of money was flashed on the television screen. The implication that somehow this money would be used to cure these particular children, and children like them, was misleading. For example, a 1993 article reported that much of the money collected as a result of the Jerry Lewis Muscular Dystrophy Association Telethon has always gone toward the cost of the telethon itself … Later, adults with disabilities took on the task of questioning their absence from all these public relations strategies. How could children with disabilities mature into productive adults if they had no models? How could adults

> with disabilities participate in society if they were invisible? Was the money acquired by means of telethons worth the damaging misconceptions? (Fleischer & Zames, 2001)

On the contrary, the League of the Physically Handicapped (1935–1938), an organization of people with disabilities, who, as the *Washington Star* described the group, sought not sympathy – but a concrete plan to end discrimination against employment of the physically handicapped on WPA (Works Progress Administration) projects, used the press to promote their civil rights agenda. Their dramatic tactics – demonstrations, picket lines, sit-ins, even a hunger strike – began with the occupation of the New York City Emergency Relief Bureau office followed by a 10-day trial that the press noted was almost comic. Besides asking Mayor Fiorello La Guardia to preside over the trial, the unorthodox judge, Overton Harris, compared himself to Christ, expressed his desire to escape to Tahiti, and urged the defendants to be practical and forget their constitutional and human rights.

The reason for their protest was that the records of these very capable workers, many of whom had disabilities that were minor, sometimes almost imperceptible, were stamped PH (physically handicapped), which meant that they were not considered for government jobs by Home Relief Agencies that employed some of their recipients. The publicity emanating from the trial and the political strategies of the protesters resulted in the elimination of the PH category and the acquisition of WPA jobs by League members. Still 35 of them traveled in a flatbed truck from New York to Washington DC for 13 hours to see the President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was far more disabled than they were. Their goal was to ensure that qualified people with disabilities throughout the United States would not be discriminated against in employment as the League members had been. The article describing the president of the League, Sylvia Flexer (later Sylvia Flexer Bassoff), and those who joined her, clearly expressed the views of protesters who believed that the federal government was required to be the employer of last resort.

> The 21-year-old girl president of the youthful League of the Physically Handicapped – lame from infantile paralysis since she was fourteen months old – is tired of stock phrases which lead nowhere, she declared today.
>
> She and her companions, who laid 24-hour siege to a WPA headquarters Saturday in a successful attempt to arrange an interview with Administrator Harry Hopkins, are sick of the humiliation of poor jobs at best – often no work at all. "We are looking to the Federal Government because we know the states would turn us over to local agencies and we'd be right back where we started," she declared. (Lide, 1936)

Although terms such as "crippled," "lame," and "girl" used in these early newspaper accounts may not be accepted terminology by current disability

activists, the press seemed able to accept disability activism as just another form of social agitation so common in this turbulent period of American history.

DISABLED VETERANS AND THE CREDIBILITY CRISIS

World War II temporarily improved the employment situation for people with disabilities. Since workers were essential in defense plants, the government encouraged employers to put aside their prejudice and hire those with disabilities who could do the job. A war film monologue revealed how the government used propaganda to change assumptions about the employability of workers who are disabled:

> Sure enough, blind. But they can do it as well as anybody, and they volunteered, releasing workers with eyes for other duties … All through the factory now you may glimpse things like this, an unobtrusive limp that means only one good leg. Or like this, of course you really don't need more than one good arm for this job … Maybe a man might be a better worker without his hearing with all this noise. But the point is, whereas, industry started out to make it possible for these physically handicapped people to help themselves, now it ends up that these handicapped people are helping their country. (Beyond Affliction, NPR 1998)

When the war was over, workers with disabilities, who were considered capable when they were needed, were once again deemed unemployable.

Because of the advances in technology, however, veterans returned in far greater numbers as paraplegics and quadriplegics from World War II than from any other war. Their determination to use their political leverage to acquire houses that were accessible, automobiles that they could drive, and rehabilitation programs that served their purposes were documented in the monthly newspaper that they published and circulated throughout the country's veteran's hospitals, *Paraplegia News*. Not only did the veteran-reporters refer to the "civilian paraplegics" who were not being treated as well as their veteran counterparts, but civilians appreciated that they could benefit from the technological developments that these veterans fostered. A letter to *Paraplegia News* from a Canadian woman is an example of how the devices designed for veterans served the civilian population:

> I was born … with a quadruple handicap – legs off just below the knees and arms just below the elbows. I have grown up on two pair of artificial limbs, which I am able to manage quite well, and get around without aid of a cane, or anything. I am an artist by profession and able to do, with my two arms together, almost everything the average normal person can do – but have not driven a car … I would love to drive a car and just

> in the last month I have been giving it serious thought and trying to learn what controls are available that would help me most. Your quadriplegic controls sound like just the thing! (*Paraplegia News*, April 1950, p. 4)

The disabled veterans of later wars dealt with some issues that were different from those impacting veterans of World War II, which received the enthusiastic support of the great majority of Americans. Having to confront both a hostile public and a veterans bureaucracy that rejected the authenticity of their battle-related illnesses, the veterans of the increasingly unpopular Vietnam War had to wait approximately 10 years for newspaper references to the effects of Agent Orange, a chemical compound used by the American army. Although cognizance of illnesses resulting from exposure to Agent Orange dated back to 1969, newspaper stories about disability caused by contact with this powerful herbicide and defoliant did not appear until roughly 1979. Because the government has resisted responsibility and the cost in health care and compensation for overlapping illnesses resulting from the combination effects of overlapping toxins used in the Persian Gulf, veterans of this war, like Vietnam veterans, had to struggle to have their concern recognized. Probably, however, because the press was somewhat chastened by the Vietnam experience, newspaper accounts of exposures to hazardous chemical and biological agents by Gulf War veterans appeared less than five years after that conflict (America's Defense Monitor, 1993).

The *New York Times* featured news reports in the latter half of the 1990s, especially those by Philip Shenon, revealing the credibility crisis in the government's argument with disabled Gulf War veterans. Yet, as late as June 20, 1999, the much-respected Public Broadcasting Service TV-series, *Frontline*, aired a program, "The Last Battle of the Gulf War," stressing how inconclusive was the evidence for Gulf War syndrome. "The program was primarily based on an interview with Stephen Joseph, Assistant Secretary for Health at the Department of Defense, whose poor handling of the Gulf War Illness issue was cited in the press as the reason he is no longer at the Department," explained Paul Sullivan, Executive Director of the National Gulf War Resource Center (Interview, 1999). Sullivan added that "Thanks of a Grateful Nation," a 1998 cable television mini-series, presents a truthful, though popularized, record of the injustices done to Gulf War veterans.

The resistance of disabled Vietnam and Gulf War veterans to the government's pattern of denying the legitimacy of their disability claims resembles the struggle of two other groups of veterans who were used as experimental guinea pigs: those engaged in chemical warfare tests during World War II and those involved in nuclear tests from 1946 to 1962. Not only were these veterans uninformed about the dangers to which they were

being exposed, but also some were so patriotic that they died keeping their promises to never reveal their roles in these experiments. With the diminished clout of this aging and dying population, the issues of these two groups have not commanded much attention from the mainstream press. The alternative press, however, has made some effort to address their problems. For example, in this March 1997 column in *New York Able*, Disabled American Veterans (DAV) attempted to find veterans of Operation Castle, Nuclear Tests (March 1–14, 1954) in the Northwestern Marshall Islands of the Central Pacific:

> Of particular interest is information on the levels of radiation exposure among Operation Castle participants so the DAV can assist those veterans in obtaining adequate medical care and compensation for service-connected disabilities related to exposure to ionizing radiation. The DAV is concerned that many of these atomic veterans were exposed to dangerously high levels of radiation that could have serious health consequences, even decades after their initial exposure. (Gorman, 1997)

A TACTILE ALPHABET AND A VISUAL SYNTAX

The predominant issues for people with sensory disabilities involve language – a tactile alphabet, Braille, for blind people and a visual syntax, sign language, for deaf people. Although Braille was the way to literacy for blind people, by 1910 deaf people were prohibited from using Sign, the language that, especially for those who are prelingually deaf, suits the biologically distinguishing characteristic of this population. As reported in "The Overdue Revolution," a program aired in 1999 on public radio throughout the country:

> Deaf people were well organized in the mid-nineteenth century, with their own newspapers, clubs, unions, and congresses. But as popular misconceptions of Darwinism and the theories of eugenics spread, social theorists argued that by their "clannish" behavior the deaf were going to marry only each other and produce ever larger numbers of deaf children. (In fact most children of deaf parents can hear.) To break up the deaf communities and integrate deaf people into the hearing society, leading educators of the deaf demanded that sign language be suppressed and that the deaf learn to speak. The vigorous objections of deaf people were ignored – how could they know what was best for them? (EN: II.24)

The result was disastrous, for the banning of Sign and the imposing of oralism (lip reading and speaking) deprived many prelingually deaf people of a first language, and consequently impeded their acquisition of any language, and their concomitant cognitive development. Public recognition of this disaster was evident when, in 1998, the *New York Times* reported that a public

school for deaf students in the city, in keeping with schools in other parts of the nation – California, Indiana, Minnesota, and Colorado – mandated that all teachers use American Sign Language (ASL) in their classrooms.

> The educators and advocates for deaf children say deaf students should be treated like bilingual students, not disabled ones. In their view, students first need a primary language – ASL – before they learn a second language, in this case, English. In 1907 schools had forbidden ASL use in an effort to make the deaf more like hearing people. Instead, they were taught to read lips or [sic] to speak. (*New York Times*, 1998, Lee, B.3)

This "pendulum swing" was initiated, to a great degree, by the March 6–13, 1988 uprising at Gallaudet, a university dedicated to the higher education of people who are deaf or hard of hearing. Besides achieving their goal of the appointment of the first deaf president of the school, I King Jordan, they also focused on their right to use sign language. In fact they captured so much media attention, the Gallaudet demonstration was a defining moment for the disability rights movement. Although the media have reflected the increased awareness of issues of deaf people, old habits remain. For example, as late as July 1977, sophisticated news sources, *The New York Times* and *National Public Radio*, referred to deaf people as "deaf mutes," reflecting both their lack of understanding of how offensive the term is, as well as their ignorance of Sign, the language of some deaf people (Fleischer & Zames, 2001).

The other issue at the heart of the Gallaudet uprising has received attention in the mainstream media such as the 1993 article by Edward Dolnick in the *Atlantic Monthly*, "Deafness as Culture." President of the National Association of the Deaf, Roslyn Rosen, a deaf daughter of deaf parents, tells why she does not wish to be cured of her deafness. "I'm happy with who I am. Would an Italian American rather be a WASP?" The point is made dramatically when Dolnick (1993) notes that "so strong is the feeling of cultural solidarity that many deaf parents cheer on discovering that their baby is deaf." The article points out that many in the hearing world are not aware of the exclusion and isolation, with which deaf people have had to contend and consequently their development of a separate community and proud legacy that they want to pass on to their progeny. In fact, those who identify themselves as members of the Deaf community (not to confused with deaf as a disability) consider themselves not disabled, but rather members of a linguistic minority – users of Sign instead of English. The problems with the Deaf community's approach are revealed in the alternate press, as this article in the *DIA Activist* demonstrated.

> It's obvious that Deaf people have accepted the nondisabled majority's definition of disability. They do not want to be defined as disabled because they don't want to

> shoulder all the negative baggage that comes with the territory. Well, neither do we [people with disabilities]. That's why we're working hard to free ourselves and them from all that baggage. By separating themselves from us, by calling themselves members of a linguistic minority and calling us disabled, all they are doing is perpetuating the notion that disability is bad. And they're not really helping themselves since the nondisabled majority is still going to think of them as disabled. (LaSpina, 1996)

As deaf people were divested of their natural language while burdened by a negative public image and self-image, "deaf and dumb," originally meaning unable to hear or speak, came to signify mental incompetence. Because sign language, so essential for cognitive development for prelingually deaf people, was withheld from this population for so long, the bigoted phrase to some degree, became a self-fulfilling prophecy. Separated from the wider society, deaf people had to fight well into the 1980s to choose their leaders from among themselves. Blind people, however, have held leadership roles in their organizations as early as the 1920s (Matson, 1990). Yet while deaf people were able to secure menial jobs in the general workforce, blind people, considered unemployable, were exploited in "sheltered workshops" – facilities growing out of residential schools for blind children, which trained these students and newly-blinded adults. The mainstream media responded to this primacy of employment as an issue for blind people as evident in this 1958 *New Yorker* profile of Jacobus ten Broeck, founder of the National Federation of the Blind (NFB) and prophetic advocate for issues that disability activists would articulate thirty years later:

> Most of the country's three hundred and twenty-five thousand blind people who work are employed in the special sheltered shops that society – with the best and most charitable intentions – has set up for us, where we can make baskets and such, and come to no harm. Only about two or three percent of us are holding normal jobs out in the world. My organization is convinced [that] at least twenty times that many could be doing so if they had the chance. What we seek for the blind is the right to compete on equal terms … Actually, I can't say what the limits are. Every time I think I have hit on some job that a blind man couldn't conceivably hold, I find a blind man holding it. (Matson, 1990)

In 1987 Rami Rabby, totally blind and a significant force in NFB, repeatedly passed the required examination for Foreign Service Officer, each time with a higher grade. Judged "noncompetitive" because of "serious lack of visual acuity," Rami debated George Vest – Director General of the Foreign Service on the WABC-TV program "Good Morning America." Disability attorney Tim Cook, disabled by polio, offered to represent Rabby after hearing him present his position so effectively on this national

television program. Rabby remembers his television rebuttal to Vest's arguments:

> A Foreign Service Officer is expected, for example, to be able to go anywhere the Service decides. It's called "the principle of worldwide availability." Since I'm blind, there may well be places I can't go. But there are places that sighted people can't go also because of their language limitations, the needs of their families, and so on. Discrimination takes a form of employers applying unrealistically demanding standards that they would like to apply to everyone, but apply only to the person with a disability. (Interview with Rami Rabby, October 26, 1996)

A year or two after he filed his successful lawsuit, Rabby recalled that Edward Perkins, an African American, replaced Vest and changed the discriminatory policy of the Service against women, minorities, and people with disabilities.

Although Braille has made literacy and hence academic achievement available to blind people, schools, misusing the concept of mainstreaming, have reduced the number of Braille teachers as a cost-cutting strategy. Revealing the consequence of this reduction, in 1999 the *New York Times* reported that according to the National Federation of the Blind in the past 30 years, the percentage of blind children learning Braille in the United States has fallen to less than 10 percent from about 50 percent. Furthermore, despite the benefit that computers have, and potentially could have, for those with visual disabilities, *New York Times* articles have reflected the disaster that Windows – the visually based operating system for Microsoft – has been for blind people. The headlines make the point: "70% of Blind Lack Jobs, Computer Mouse Shares the Blame" and "Advocates for Blind, in Suit, Say AOL Impedes Access to Internet." The latter article refers to the Americans with Disabilities Act lawsuit in Boston District Court against American Online for failing to provide blind people with accessible services compatible with "screen access programs that convert text into synthesized speech or Braille" (Mendels, 1999).

INDEPENDENT LIVING AND THE "MECCA FOR THE HANDICAPPED"

Recognition by the mainstream media of the appropriateness of the general tendency toward deinstitutionalization of those with severe disabilities in the late 1950s and early 1960s was apparent in articles such as the 1997 feature in the *New York Times* about Marilyn Saviola, a quadriplegic wheelchair

user. In her late teens, Saviola organized a separate ward for young adults in New York City's Goldwater Memorial Hospital, a long-time chronic care institution, where people were expected to live out their entire lives. Previously a young person might be next to a dying octogenarian.

> "This was where the people the world wants to forget about were thrown," Ms. Saviola said. Then she and other young people took the social activism of the 1960s to heart and pressed for their own ward. "I don't think a lot of us knew how much potential we had until we moved over there." (*New York Times*, 1997)

In the article, Saviola remembered that though many of the youthful residents were on respirators and ventilators, they were typical 1960s coeds with their "rock music, late night bull sessions and experiments with smoking and alcohol," and even, of course, "romance." Summing up, a young nurse in the unit, Deri Duryea, was quoted, "They were sent there to die, and suddenly they had life" (Martin, 1977).

Many, such as Saviola, would establish self-sufficient lives in the community as contributing citizens and productive employees or employers, as well as spark a movement toward independent living for people with significant disabilities. Others, such as Lyn Thompson, disabled by muscular dystrophy, had serious problems challenging an irrational system. Her story was so compelling that on September 30, 1978, "60 Minutes," the popular CBS-TV program, devoted a segment to her, focusing public attention on the issue she embodied. Because Thompson set up a business in her home operating an answering service that allowed her to support herself, she was not considered disabled by California Medicaid. Thus she was penalized for her resourcefulness, by not only losing income maintenance, health coverage, and personal attendant service, but also she was informed that she would be forced to enter a nursing home as, the alternative disability press noted, at considerable added cost to taxpayers. (Zames, 1978). Although less than one month later, the law was changed in California, Thompson, who did not know that this change was for forthcoming, chose suicide rather than loss of independence. Despite some ameliorating legislation, laws such as the one that plagued Thompson still exist in many states.

Yet the independent living movement, begun and nurtured by Edward Roberts, (who successfully sued for entrance into the University of California in 1962, the same year James Meredith broke the color line at the University of Mississippi) proliferated throughout the country and later the world as people with disabilities insisted on taking charge of their own lives. The description in the *National Paraplegia Foundation News* of the Berkeley Center for Independence (CIL) that Roberts and his associates

(also quadriplegic wheelchair users at the same California University) founded explains how the Center functions:

> The Center for Independent Living in California, which I visited in September, is an impressive operation … Some people have the impression that CIL, is a "village" of people with disabilities. It is not. It deals in services, counseling, and training … There is peer counseling, legal assistance, job development, training in independent living skills, and health maintenance. The CIL degree program is the only one in the United States that focuses on the psychology of disability, using the peer counseling approach practiced at the center. All this is funded by private foundations and by the government. (Massi, 1977)

Two more articles in the *National Paraplegia Foundation News* evoke the atmosphere in which the Center thrived in Berkeley, a city referred to by the *New York Times* as the "mecca for the handicapped" (Geyer, 1975).

Simi Linton recounted her summer there:

> Rounding the corner to my street, I see three or four beautiful, blond California women surrounding a young handsome man sitting in a wheelchair. They're out there in the street throwing yogurt at one another and laughing like they'll never stop.
>
> I go out to the store. I don't stop and think about it; I just go. There are curb cuts on every corner, so I don't have to deliberate over every maneuver.
>
> There are many disabled people in Berkeley (often called Berzerkeley), and they are such an outgoing, active group that the ground has been broken. A whole different attitude toward people and therefore toward disabled people, exists.
>
> I found people helpful but not oversolicitous. In restaurants, hotels, and shops, people are more used to seeing people in their chairs and understand how to best serve their needs. (Linton, 1975)

Jane Wipfler explained why she was so delighted that she moved from New York City to Berkeley:

> The most exciting news I have to share is the attitude of the people out here. Everywhere I go, I see "wheelies" – rock concerts, flea markets, movies, grocery stores, on the streets … Many buildings display the wheelchair accessible emblem, and the front seats of all buses are reserved for elderly and the handicapped. I've seen quadriplegics literally fly down some fairly steep hills in Berkeley without attracting much attention. It really heartens me to see the handicapped as part of the community.

When Roberts – winner of a 1984 MacArthur Foundation Award, who traveled across the nation and world to promote the independent living movement – died at 56 of cardiac arrest on March 14, 1995, Lucy Gwin, editor of the radical disability publication, *Mouth*, succinctly expressed the

significance of the loss of this visionary who was described as having "dreamed up a revolution [while sleeping] in an iron lung."

> There was genuine treasure imbedded in his tales of the early days of IL [Independent Living]. He had stories enough to make me wish, today, that I recorded every one of them. Both Billy Golfus [writer and director of the well-received documentary film about the disability rights movement, *When Billy Broke His Head*] and I say we miss him most late in the evening. That's when Emperor Ed the Head held phone court from the iron lung where he spent his nights.
>
> Ed sent me a video about the first Center for Independent Living, the CIL in Berkeley that he helped to found. That video was a sixties period piece showing the IL guys wearing so-stylish bell bottoms and stringy long hair. The founders of the IL were bright white male students of a prestigious university who grew up in homes where families could describe themselves as "comfortable." In the '40s and '50s, polio had knocked down those families' most-likely-to-succeed kids like bowling pins. America's best and brightest … had been transformed over night into second-class citizens by a microscopic organism with a long Latin name.
>
> What caused them to question their second–class status? They'd hatched out of privilege and protection into a world that was changing radically. A people's cry for liberty and justice was visible, audible, and haunting America on its nightly news. The nation sat witness while solemn black people stood their ground as sheriffs set dogs on them for having the nerve to sit down at lunch counters, go to schools, or both … Black pride arose from white oppression and black poverty.
>
> The independent living revolution arose among privileged white boys. And, bless them, those boys stormed the barricades to free us [people with disabilities] from the medical model. They fought tooth and nail for curb cuts and restaurant access, and a new improved vocational rehabilitation system … Ed Roberts did, later, rise above his privileges to spend the last years of his life touring the country for Partners in Policymaking. He spoke then of freedom for everybody.

Though Roberts used a motorized wheelchair, he did have to sleep in an iron lung. Partners in Policymaking are a group of disability activists who continue into the 21st century to educate parents of children with disabilities about the disability rights movement and effective lobbying strategies.

MAINSTREAMING PUBLIC TRANSIT

The civil rights laws for people with disabilities took place in two congressional acts: Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (with implementing regulations signed by President Carter in 1977) and

the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act. Although congressional staff members inserted language at the end of the Rehabilitation Act establishing the first Federal civil rights law for people with disabilities, disability activists staged demonstrations and sit-ins in 10 Federal regions throughout the United States as well as in Washington DC in order to get the regulations signed. The most dramatic of these sit-ins was the 25 day occupation of the Federal building in San Francisco by almost 60 demonstrators, many of whom were severely disabled and so had to manage without the devices or attendant care they required. As this demonstration gained attention from newspapers throughout the country, members of the disability community followed the protest with increasing pride until its successful conclusion on April 28, 1977. Thus these disability activists had not only used the press to call attention to the legitimacy of their cause, but also they used the publicity to inspire community cooperation (they were fed by the Black Panthers and Safeway stores) and recruit an army of new disability activists (Fleischer & Zames, 2001; Heumann, 1979).

The testing of this first Federal civil rights law for people with disabilities was enacted to a great extent in the struggle for accessible public transportation. New York City with its largest transit system in the country provided the logical arena for this battle. When Disabled In Action of Metropolitan New York (DIA) filed suit against city, state, and Federal transportation agencies, the *New York Times* (August 23, 1980) in the article titled, ''Group for Disabled Sues on Bus Design,'' clearly explained the argument of the disability community against the agencies for ''violating the rights of wheelchair users by operating buses that are inaccessible to them.'' After DIA won this lawsuit but found the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) making no real effort to satisfy its legal mandate, disability activists blocked elevators leading to and occupied the offices of MTA chairman Richard Ravitch and his staff. To offset the bad media coverage that would ensue from arresting protesters with disabilities, the MTA arranged for the removal of the demonstrators by police supervised by medics. This effort to control coverage, however, was unsuccessful, for the television networks, radio stations, and newspapers tended to side with the nonviolent civil disobedience of these disability activists.

Even after the MTA purchased some lift-equipped buses and sent notices to members of the disability community that service for wheelchair riders was to begin on several routes, the agency seemed to renege on its agreement. On September 30, 1981, the announced first day of the accessible bus program, Denise McQuade, a wheelchair user, was accompanied by

CBS reporter Arnold Diaz and his camera man. Like many other wheelchair users on that day, McQuade learned, as she attempted to board the bus, that the driver did not have the necessary key to operate the lift:

> Once McQuade realized that the lift was not going to function, she lifted herself from her wheelchair to one of the front steps of the bus. Diaz, recognizing that this story was better than the one he had come to cover, waited with McQuade for seven hours while the MTA officials deliberated. The MTA's efforts to persuade McQuade to allow herself to be carried onto the bus failed, for she persisted in her demand that, in keeping with Section 504 [of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973], she be enabled to board the bus by means of the lift. Finally, the MTA capitulated as the bus driver obtained the required key. As McQuade got on the bus using the lift, she flashed the "V" sign for victory. Not only did Diaz present her story on the local CBS news program, but McQuade also appeared the next day on the front page of the New York Post. Ironically, but appropriately, ten years later McQuade was employed by the MTA. (Fleischer & Zames, 2001)

Still, disability advocates learned that despite some victories or even some positive news coverage, they must be forever vigilant. For example, when Eastern Paralyzed Veterans Association (now known as United Spinal Association) attorney James Weisman sought an injunction to prevent the renovation of 10 subway stations without wheelchair accessibility in contravention of the Public Buildings Law, the *New York Times* editorial "There's a Wheelchair on the Tracks" (1982) as usual blamed disability activists for the problem. The fact that courts later determined that the MTA was at fault did not receive editorial attention by the *Times*. Furthermore, in an attempt, perhaps, to create a self-fulfilling prophecy that wheelchair accessible buses were unnecessary, the MTA used many media outlets to publicize the unsuccessful "Train to the Plane" but made no effort to promote the required accessible lift-equipped buses.

A class action lawsuit was filed even against the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART), the northern California model for a barrier-free train system (EN: IV.52). As the *Disability News Service* noted, the settlement achieved satisfied the demands of the mobility-impaired plaintiffs. Yet, the case demonstrated that even original victories (the creation of BART) have to be revisited to ensure that this too frequently overlooked population continues to be appropriately served.

More Leaders Emerge

Judith E. Heumann, U.S. Assistant Secretary of Education in the Clinton administration and a quadriplegic wheelchair user as a result of polio, learned from the civil rights movement of African Americans how to use the

press when she realized her civil rights were being threatened. The New York City Board of Education refused to grant her a teaching license for, although she passed the required oral and written examinations, she failed the medical portion of the test because of her disability (EN:V.1). Although even the American Civil Liberties Union – calling her problem a health issue not a civil rights complaint – was unresponsive to her appeal, Heumann pressed on getting her story to the *New York Daily News*. This compelling news account with the catchy headline, "You Can Be President, Not Teacher, with Polio," captured the attention of two attorneys who offered to represent her pro bono (Berkowitz, 1987).

The civil rights focus of this case is underscored by the fact that one of her attorneys was a lawyer for the famous Scottsboro boys, and the first African American woman judge appointed to the Federal District Court, Judge Constance Baker Motley, was assigned to hear her lawsuit. Once it became clear that Judge Motley would probably rule in Heumann's favor, the Board settled out of court, and consequently others with disabilities were able to gain certification as New York City public school teachers. Taking advantage of the media sophistication she acquired from this experience, Heumann founded Disabled in Action (DIA), a civil rights group of people with disabilities that has used the mainstream press, as well as its own radio program and newspaper, to bring disability rights issues to its members, government officials, leaders of established institutions, and the general public.

At the same time, the early 1970s, as Heumann began her struggle, Wade Blank, in Denver, Colorado, nondisabled himself, was confronting a nursing home industry that was, in the language of those confined, "incarcerating" people with severe disabilities against their will. Realizing that these energetic young people who felt like inmates required only personal assistant services to live in the community, Blank followed a course that would lead him to establishing not only an Independent Living Center, the Atlantis Community, but also the shock troops for the radical political wing of the disability rights movement, ADAPT. The respected disabiliy rights periodical, Ragged Edge, got the story directly from Blank.

> The nursing home industry in Denver recruited its nursing home administrators from the ranks of ex-ministers [like me]. The industry had built too many nursing homes in Denver. There weren't enough old people, and the state institutions were dumping disabled people out, so the nursing home industry decided they would get them. A nursing home executive called. He said, "You're young. You're hip. Could you establish a youth wing for us?" So I started a youth wing … I had sixty young people recruited … They wanted coed living. They wanted to have pets. They wanted to have rock 'n' roll bands. So three years into this experiment, this nursing home is just like a

> college dorm on a crazy weekend all the time ... We [moved] a few of them out into apartments [in 1975], and we let the aides and orderlies punch in at the nursing home, then go to the apartment and give them service. The nursing home saw where I was going and they couldn't let me go in that direction. (Hersey, 1994)

Able to use references available to the disability community, cognizant of the political dimensions of Blank's achievement (an awareness unlikely in the mainstream press), *Ragged Edge* writer, Laura Hersey, explained why those with whom Blank identified have not only been left out of the wider society, but also even the disability community. "The Ed Robertses and the Judy Heumanns don't deal with nursing homes. They've never been in one. They don't understand them ... You go around to the independent living centers, and you'll see a lot of post-polios and a lot of spinal cord injuries. But you won't see a lot of people who slobber and can't speak clearly like you do here [Atlantis and ADAPT]" (Hersey, 1994).

Another article in a national magazine, *Reason*, (1995), suggests that despite ADAPT's involvement in local issues in Denver, where the organization is based, ADAPT commands the attention of media throughout the country. The *New York Times* article about the forty nationwide demonstrations organized by ADAPT, protesting Greyhound's refusal to provide wheelchair accessibility on its buses, reflected ADAPT's role as arguably the most significant and visible national disability rights group. Referring to the black woman whose refusal to sit in the back of the bus initiated the civil rights movement for African Americans, a New York ADAPT leader attorney T.K. Small was is quoted as stating: "At least Rosa Parks could get on the bus."

AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT

Although the disability community was not mobilized into action until the implementing regulations of the first civil rights law for people with disabilities (Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973) were in jeopardy, from the beginning disability activists played a significant role in conceiving, writing, lobbying, and demonstrating for the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). Given the pessimistic predictions and the outright hostility of the mainstream press, the passage of the (ADA) – extending the civil rights law for people with disabilities beyond the public sector to the private sector – was a considerable achievement. The *Washington Post* referred to the five hundred thousand-member National Federation of Independent Business which gave top priority to defeating the ADA as "The

Organization that Never Loses". In an editorial the *New York Times* disparaged the impending ADA with these words:

> With surprisingly narrow public scrutiny, Congress is moving swiftly to extend broad civil rights protection to the nation's 40 million disabled citizens. The sentiment is laudable… . But the legislation is vague … costs could be monumental … Predictions about the bill's projected benefits are obviously speculative. Worse, nobody has even tried to speculate about its costs … Congress and the Administration now have a … responsibility to stand back, to weigh, to calculate. No one wishes to stint on helping the disabled. It takes little legislative skill, however, to write blank checks for worthy causes with other people's money. (1989)

Some articles in the mainstream press did present the ADA as a well-crafted law serving the wider society as well as the disability population. In "ADA – Not a Disabling Mandate" that appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, a newspaper strongly opposing the passage of the ADA, the co-authors – the two attorneys general Janet Reno and Dick Thornburgh (1995) – observed the wisdom of a law that fosters the employment of people with physical and mental impairments, thus making them taxpayers, not just taxusers. As they noted, "In signing the ADA, President George H. Bush estimated that Federal, state, and local governments spent almost $200 billion to support people with disabilities."

In describing a 1996 Justice Department suit against the Days Inn hotel chain, the *New York Times*, also highly critical of the ADA, indicated why compliance with the law need not have been burdensome for the largest economy hotel company in the country. Quoting and paraphrasing the Justice Department's John Wodatch, the *Times* explained:

> New construction is the easiest part. We [the Justice Department] want them [owners and architects] to take a look when they build and then they won't have to worry. A bathroom doorway to accommodate a wheelchair, for example, would need a clear width of 32 inches. This is a no-cost item in the design stage, he said, but widening a doorway in a cinder-block construction is another matter.

On the contrary, the mainstream media did not always recognize an issue involving an ADA violation. For example, when New York City planned to eliminate many lever-activated fireboxes and convert the remaining fireboxes into intercoms, newspapers – the *New York Daily News*, the *New York Post*, and *New York Newsday* – discussed the story as if it concerned only bias against poor communities, not discrimination against deaf people. Yet the court decided that the use of a two-way voice system did *indeed* violate the rights of deaf citizens to equal access to an essential public service.

More pernicious was the backlash against the ADA. Not only did books such as *The Death of Common Sense: How Law Is Suffocating America* and *The Excuse Factory How Employment Law Is Paralyzing the American Workplace* distort the mandates and case history of the ADA, but their authors, Philip K. Howard (1994) and Walter Olson (1997), respectively, continued to disseminate their misinformation on talk shows and in articles. Howard – writing as if disability were not a possibility and eventually a probability for most people (not to mention the reality of loved ones with disabilities) – states in his book, "The disability lobby is waging war against every other citizen." Olson revealed in a *New York Times* Op-ed piece his gross misunderstanding of the law that he was supposedly analyzing, when he said that anesthesiologist Frank Ruhl Peterson's unethical behavior – stealing narcotics from his patients to feed his own drug habit while continuing to practice medicine – is protected by the ADA. Clearly the ADA neither sanctions illegal behavior nor protects any unqualified workers, certainly not irresponsible professionals such as Peterson.

In the *American Spectator*, one of the mainstream magazines that has consistently found fault with the ADA, James Bovard, in the cynically titled, "The Lame Game," referred to a procession of absurd employment lawsuits without noting their final disposition. Cases – as for example the one that Bovard cites about a guidance counselor who claimed to be covered by the ADA when he was arrested for cocaine possession – were most likely dismissed forthwith. Brian Doherty, who writes for *Reason*, another magazine that regards the ADA unfavorably, pointed out that these unlikely suits repeated by ADA antagonists "aren't typical, however, and in most of them the plaintiff loses" (EN: VI.117). Yet Doherty proceeded to present his own catalogue of preposterous ADA employment cases. John Stossel, of the ABC-TV program "20/20" an unrelenting naysayer with respect to the ADA, offered another list of ridiculous ADA employment complaints. Furthermore,

> Stossels's failure to air any portion of a half-hour videotaped interview with a prominent disability rights attorney, James Weisman, on a March 12, 1993, "20/20" segment involving an ADA issue lends credence to [disability activist Justin] Dart's doubts about Stossel's even-handedness regarding the ADA debate. Dart questions Stossel's impartiality when the television commentator turned down offers to have disability advocates appear on the July 19 program. (Fleischer & Zames, 2001)

As the *New York Times* Op-ed piece by Sally L. Satel, psychiatrist and lecturer at Yale's School of Medicine, demonstrated, it is the ADA's relation to psychiatric disability that is probably most frequently misrepresented

(EN: VII.36). Inappropriately treating the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Enforcement Guidance (explaining how the ADA pertains to employees with psychiatric disabilities) as if its purpose was rehabilitation of this population, Satel states, ''the Guidance is sending dysfunctional people the message that the world – or in this case the workplace – revolves around them.'' Well-known author and psychiatrist Dr. Peter Kramer (1997), however, in his *New York Times* Op-ed piece, ''The Mentally Ill Deserve Job Protection,'' revealed that he understood the purpose of the law – to protect people with psychiatric disabilities from discrimination resulting from the stigma faced by those with this condition. Countering Satel's stereotype of the undisciplined employee with a psychiatric disability, Kramer stated, ''Some of my sicker patients are workers of extraordinary dedication, who, for reasons related to their illness – compulsiveness and obsessional guilt – work scrupulously at tasks others avoid; smart employers do accommodate their needs.'' To underscore his argument that ''those who suffer mental in illness included some of the most productive members of society,'' Kramer referred to the ''recurrently depressed'' states of Abraham Lincoln.

Although the overwhelming number of people with psychiatric disabilities is not violent, the public tends to hear about people with illnesses such as schizophrenia (affecting 2.7 million Americans) ''in the context of lurid headline.'' The *New York Times* featured a front-page series of four articles (April 9–12, 2000) on ''Rampage Killers,'' people with serious psychiatric problems who went on shooting sprees. Given the sensational examples presented, readers could easily have missed a statement buried in the jump page of the third article, stating that few of these people (with psychiatric disabilities) commit murder, of course, and shootings by the mentally ill account for only a tiny fraction of all homicides.

The too-frequent tendency of the mainstream media to dismiss even well-verified arguments of the disability community was glaringly demonstrated in the reaction to the 1992 decision to put pay toilets, inaccessible to wheelchair users, on the streets of New York City. In an effort to sell the same units in the United States that the company had manufactured in Paris and other European cities that have no ADA, JCDecaux offered a bogus explanation for his inaccessible model being the street toilet that New York City should approve. The *New York Times* in an editorial repeated JCDecaux's fallacious argument (contrary to that of the disability community) that one facility accessible to all was neither feasible nor appropriate: ''Units large enough for wheelchair users will inevitably accommodate unsavory activity like prostitution and drug abuse … The company therefore insists that their [inaccessible toilets'] use be restricted to disabled patrons who gain access with key cards''.

The *Times* posture on this issue was evident in an editorial that appeared more than a year and a half earlier: "Unfortunately … Federal law requires newly constructed public facilities to be accessible to the handicapped, that means street toilets large enough to accommodate wheelchairs".

The ABC-TV program "20/20" in a segment titled "There Goes Another Good Idea" blamed the disability community for once again thwarting a good idea for its own selfish goal. Using a similar approach about two months later *New York Magazine* attacked disability advocates for their position on this issue in a feature subtitled, "How a battle over handicapped rights is keeping those spotless wonders off the street" (*New York Magazine*, "*Toilet Wars*" by Peter Hellman, May 3, 1993, pp 38–43).

When San Francisco issued a Request for Proposals for street toilets in compliance with the ADA (after the New York City JCDecaux experiment had been completed), manufacturers from as far away as Germany and Israel presented designs for accessible units that incorporated technology solving the so-called social problems connected with increased size. Suddenly, JCDecaux discovered that it too could construct one appropriate unit accessible to all. Remarkably, JCDecaux abandoned its former proposal as it no longer found it necessary to render people with disabilities as second-class citizens burdened with the complications of a separate and clearly unequal unit. Just as disability advocates had contended, not only was there no legitimate reason for JCDecaux's rigidity, but also accessibility usually is good for everyone, not just people with disabilities. The accessible units, larger than JCDecaux's original model, can be used by people with small children, baby strollers, luggage carriers, large packages, and countless other things. Despite the proven correctness of the disability community's view, the mass media outlets offered neither retractions of nor apologies for their accusations. Also, Philip K. Howard in *The Death of Common Sense*, a book that received much media attention, reiterated the false claim that disability activists prevented the placement of street toilets in New York City. In fact, it was community boards that voted against JCDecaux models because each one included several obtrusive advertising kiosks

PHYSICIAN-ASSISTED SUICIDE

Larry McAfee, who became a quadriplegic as a result of an accident, decided to commit suicide in 1989 because he was unable to live and work independently. His decision was supported by the court, the clergy, and his family. Once he learned that he could function in the wider society using a

puff-and-sip motorized wheelchair, as well as continue working as an engineer using a voice-activated computer, he decided that this new-found self-directed life was worth living. Although McAfee's dramatic story became a 1992 made-for-television drama, only the alternative disability press revealed that it was disability activists who showed McAfee how to live. *Incitement* reported:

> McAfee, who became disabled in 1985, won court approval to hook up a switch to his motorized chair to allow him to turn off his own respirator and kill himself. Disability activists got involved, fought for other options for him, and showed McAfee the possibility of community living arrangements [that] no one else (including those that [were] helping him win his death) had told him about. (EN: VIII.90)

Especially for those with disabilities whose quality of life may be considered unacceptable by members of the medical profession, the tendency of the mainstream media to misrepresent the issue of physician-assisted suicide seems ominous. Appalled by the spectacle of Jack Kevorkian injecting Thomas Youk – a man with amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS) – with lethal chemical on the November 22, 1998 popular television show "60 Minutes, attorney Diane Coleman, founder and president of the disability organization Not Dead Yet," was quoted in the *New York Times*:

> Reporters ignore the fact that most of Kevorkian's victims have been disabled, not terminal, ignore the discrimination and oppression that drove each of them to despair – ignore the injustice in a society that helps people die, *but refuses to help us* [people with disabilities] *live with the basic respect and the simple supports we deserve*. (1999)

Ironically the *Times* had a lot to do with Kevorkian becoming a national hero as Michael Betzold revealed in his 1997 expose "The Selling of Dr. Death" in the *New Republic*. It was *New York Times* journalist Jack Lessenberry, a personal friend of Jack Kevorkian and Kevorkian's attorney, Geoffrey Fieger, who from 1993 to the Betzold disclosure, strongly influenced the *Times* sympathetic treatment of Kevorkian. Besides revealing that Lessenberry has also published pieces flattering toward Kevorkian and Fieger in *Esquire*, *George*, *Vanity Fair*, and other publications, Betzold noted that Kevorkian, in his writings and statements, "advocates a society that allows euthanasia for the dying, the disabled, the mentally ill, infants with birth defects, and comatose adults; and he sanctions experiments prior to their death and organ harvesting. He envisions a global system of death on demand run by doctors who operate without oversight from government or ethicists" (Betzold, 1997).

The vigorous opposition of most of the disability community to physician-assisted suicide, however, seldom appears in the mainstream media. For example when on June 8, 1998, Attorney General Janet Reno removed what the *New York Times* (1997) called "the last legal obstacle to the full operation of Oregon's assisted-suicide law" (EN: VIII.62), the *Times* noted the unqualified disapproval of the Catholic Church. No mention was made of the energetic protest that the disability community had been mounting over the years against physician-assisted suicide. Moreover, many in the disability community have been generally frustrated by the mass media's inability to view disability in a civil rights context as was apparent in the response to "Christopher Reeve: A Celebration of Hope" – the two-hour television special that, like the Jerry Lewis telethon, employed pity to generate donations. Unable to reconcile the patronizing "hype" used to elicit contributions with the goals of disability rights advocates for inclusion and equality, Daniel Robert (1997), wheelchair user, expressed his discomfort in *New York Able* (of the alternative press) with both Reeve and Kevorkian:

> And there we are, between a rock and a hard place, between waiting for a 'Cure' (read Miracle) and waiting to be 'offed.' The sum total of all the media attention given to Christopher Reeve and Jack Kevorkian … boils down to this simple formula. If they can't fix us, *we're better off dead.* Its our civic duty. (1997)

AN APPROPRIATE EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES

Education for children with disabilities received unexpected media coverage when at a February 1993 televised children town meeting Anastasia Somosa asked President Clinton this question about herself and her twin sister, Alba, both highly intelligent 10-year-olds born with cerebral palsy:

> I have a twin sister, and we go to the same school. She's in a special class. Why can't she be in a regular class like me?

The twins' mother Mary Somosa – who explained that Alba is nonverbal because of her disability – registered her surprise:

> I nearly fell off my seat. I had been working so hard to get Alba out of special education, where she was not being given anything, neither an education – since they had no real curriculum – nor appropriate supports. Also, I told Anastasia that she was the only child at that town meeting with a disability, so she would be speaking for all children with disabilities. But I never expected her to say why what she did. The President had tears in his eyes, and they've been writing to each other ever since.

Special education for children with disabilities remains a thorny issue for which, as the media response reflects, there are intense divergent opinions. In a Sunday *New York Times* (1997) magazine article, "Special Education Is Not a Scandal," Brent Staples made an effective case for the necessity of this service, especially for those with specific learning disabilities, despite the rising costs (Note). Troubled that "states have embarked on a campaign to define learning disabilities out of existence," Staples questioned the inflexibility of these advocates, who, with perhaps the best intentions, overemphasize the primacy of an integrated education for *all* those with disabilities: "The central goal was always to educate children who had traditionally been viewed as uneducable. Integration was an important but distinctly secondary objective".

Considering an appropriately administered special education program a life-line for some students, Staples cites government data to support his view of what he considers a cost-effective service: "About 43 percent of learning-disabled children leave school without diplomas and … an enormous number of them end up in jail soon afterward. Fewer than 2 percent of them go on to 4-year college". Concerned that students are being placed in general classrooms without proper preparation or supports, Staples described them as dragged "indiscriminately into the mainstream," reminiscent of children with disabilities before the 1970s when many were institutionalized, hidden away, or even strapped to their chairs screaming.

On the contrary, equally fervent claims have been made for the detrimental effects of special education – segregation and demoralization. As in many large cities such as New York, not only are most children who are in the program placed in the stigmatizing though subjective classifications of learning or emotionally disabled, but also these designations still tend to follow racial and ethnic stereotyping. A description of the program that appeared in the *New York Times* in the mid-1990s is still relevant at the beginning of the 21st century:

> New York City's special education system … ensures a second-class education, particularly for black boys, becoming a trap that incubates failure … Nationwide, black students are twice as likely to be in special education programs as white children, with much higher rates in predominantly white districts, according to some academic studies. Yet these same students perform better in regular classes with extra support, federal studies suggest … While many agree on the need for specially geared classes for profoundly retarded children or those with other special needs, many advocates and educators say New York has gone too far. … The degree to which children identified as disabled are taught in regular classrooms varies widely from state to state, In Vermont [in 1994], 87 percent of special education students were in regular classes, compared with 7 percent in New York [City].

Unfortunately the issue is too frequently presented in the mass media in the way that Leslie Stahl did on the 1996 CBS-TV program "60 Minutes" as a contest between children with disabilities and nondisabled children:

> One in every eight public school children in this country is now in special education … That's more than five million children, and special education now costs taxpayers more than thirty-two billion a year. That's one-quarter of all school money being spent on one-eighth of the kids.

The result Stahl concluded is that parents of children in regular classrooms are worried that their children are being "shortchanged in order to pay for special ed."

Another effect is the kind of discriminatory assumption common in the mainstream media that also underlies the comment of a parent of a nondisabled child interviewed by Stahl, as he complained that education for children like his was "being pared back to pay for special education," for example by "the elimination of the programs for the gifted and talented children." Implied in this statement is the notion that disability and intelligence are mutually exclusive. Philip K. Howard was guilty of the same either/or fallacy in his well-received book, *The Death of Common Sense*, when he wrote "Gifted students, in contrast to disabled children, receive virtually no support or attention from America's school system."

Like Staples, however, Stahl acknowledged that "twenty-five years ago [many children with disabilities] probably wouldn't have had any kind of school. Unless parents could afford to pay for special care, disabled children were often ignored or institutionalized, sometimes in appalling conditions." In spite of the cost, Stahl indicated, "it's very hard to criticize the current system. No one wants to go back to the bad old days." This historical perspective, too seldom brought to the public's attention in the mainstream media, was reinforced by Stahl's interview with the mother of a child with a severe disability. The parent's point was that it was not only better for her child, but also less expensive in the long run, and better for society, if her child gets the education he requires now:

> That's the kind of thing [special ed] I want my tax dollars to go for. I see it as an investment … I see this school as a boot camp experience for him, a really intense time when he can gain as much skills as he can because in the long term, if he didn't learn how to brush his teeth by himself, and he didn't learn how to get around in an electric wheelchair, and he didn't learn how to effectively tell people that he needed to use the bathroom, then for the rest of his life we would have to be paying people to do that. Now we're not going to have to [pay for these services]. I don't want our child or any other child who has disabilities that they had no control over to be scapegoats for a much larger problem.

ASSESSING THE MAINSTREAM AND ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

James Weisman, counsel for Eastern Paralyzed Veterans Association, (now known as United Spinal Association) has been severely critical of the editorial policy of the *New York Times* over the years with respect to issues concerning people with disabilities.

> But it is the *Times* which has opposed accessible transportation, and the *Times* which opposed amending the building code to mandate access in new construction. And the *Times* opposed the Americans with Disabilities Act … If a loophole can be found, or the law changed, believes the *New York Times*, people with disabilities can be excluded without moral consequence. When the *New York Times* opposed the Americans with Disabilities Act, Republican Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, an outspoken opponent of civil rights laws, told Congress that even "this liberal New York newspaper" opposed the ADA. (*Diability Rag*, 1991)

To document his assertion, Weisman offered excerpts of *Times* editorials such as these – the first from the late 1970s and the second two from the mid 1980s:

> The cost of rendering the handicapped "equal" have threatened to become especially acute in publicly financed transportation. New rules issued by the Transportation Department require lifts for wheelchairs on buses, room for wheelchairs on subway cars that now cannot handle them and elevators in many subway and rail stations … Going to incredible expense to remodel trains and buses would be justifiable only if the handicapped, as some insist, have a fundamental legal, even constitutional right to use public facilities without difficulty. (*New York Times*, 1979)

> While 88 New York City subway stations linger in disrepair, the money to fix them lingers unused in the Metropolitan Transportation Authority's account. A court decision, based on state law, forbids their reconstruction unless they are simultaneously made usable for people in wheelchairs. (*New York Times*, 1984)

> The first object of a wise but concerned policy cannot be to make people with serious disabilities move as if they did not have them … Compromise is the right approach. It points toward something much better than is now offered the disabled but also considerably less than what some groups have demanded. (*New York Times*, 1984)

As Susan Scheer, former Director of the Center for Independence of the Disabled in New York, has observed, newspapers have become increasingly sensitive to disability issues, as some disability activists have moved from outside the power structure to inside the corridors of power:

> One effect of having some access to insiders in government has been the increasingly sophisticated approach to the media that the disability community has been exhibiting in

> the late 1990s. Litigating cases and lobbying elected officials were the traditional techniques that the community used in the past. But now these techniques are used in combination with establishing connections with television, radio, and newspaper reporters and educating them. The language in the news accounts and editorials, although far from perfect, is much improved; for example, "wheelchair user" is finally beginning to replace "wheelchair bound." Also, stories have more balance, and the result is that the public is beginning to understand disability issues. (1997)

Lead articles in the June 1, 1997 Sunday *New York Times*, one in the "Week in Review" and the other in the "Real Estate" section, support Scheer's contention. In the first, "Disability Culture," although the author unnecessarily sensationalized the story, he did make a serious attempt to describe the "new militant attitude among many of the disabled" (Martin). In the second, "Architecture in the Age of Accessibility," the writer indicated that "it [accessibility] is reshaping the entire built environment. And it is defining the architecture of the 1990s as much as any stylistic impulse" (Dunlap). By June 7, 1999, the *New York Times* gave front-page prominence to an article noting the political "Power of the Disabled" (Rosenbaum). Another newspaper often critical of the views of disability advocates, the *Wall Street Journal*, on July 31, 1997 featured a front page article tracing the history of Mr. Magoo, this supposedly comic figure who, as the author revealed, is such an inappropriate embodiment of the reality of blindness (Bannon). On October 18, 2001, the *Wall Street Journal* published an unusually perceptive piece on the impact of the September 11, 2001 tragedy on people with disabilities. Rejecting claims that employees with disabilities should no longer be allowed to work on high-level floors, the author interpreted such claims as paternalistic threats to roll back hard-earned rights basic to the ADA (Hunt).

Despite the need for more improvement, there have been auspicious changes in television coverage of disability issues, as evident in the segment of journalist John Hockenberry, a wheelchair user, on his September 9, 1997 Dateline NBC broadcast. In this program, Hockenberry gave the television audience the opportunity to witness how people with visible disabilities are discriminated against in employment and housing. Perhaps most significant have been the two events described by Lex Frieden (1997), former Director of the National Council on Disability, the first occurring on the night before President George Herbert Bush signed the ADA. Frieden explained:

> I happened to be there when CNN News President Ed [not Ted] Turner called the Washington Bureau of CNN and said the signing ceremony should be covered live. Since the ceremony was scheduled for 10 A.M., the Atlanta office argued that they could not preempt their 10 A.M. World News for what seemed to them an insignificant law. But

> the Washington staff insisted that this was the most important legislation since the 1964 civil rights law, and CNN would be negligent if it didn't show the world this news event. Atlanta finally resolved themselves to presenting the signing, and millions of people around the world saw and heard the President say about the ADA, "Let the shameful wall of exclusion come tumbling down."

The second most important event, Frieden continued, occurred the day after the Senate's final passage of the law: The "ADA was the headline in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and every other major American newspaper. That was the first time that millions of people were exposed to disability rights as the number one story."

Although in 2000, 22 journalists wrote regular disability-related columns in the mainstream press, an alternative disability media network had developed with between 3,000 to 35,000 newsletters, 200 magazines, and 50–60 newspapers. Although most of these publications pertained to specific organizations or disabilities, some, such as *New York Able*, are broad based, covering cross-disability issues. Others, as for example *Ragged Edge* and *Mouth*, emanated from a politically active, radical tradition. Besides the increasing number of people with disabilities appearing in advertisements and films, roughly forty radio programs, as well as almost an equal number of television shows involve disability concerns. Most of these broadcasts were local, but a few – such as the radio programs, Greg Smith's "On a Roll" and Bob Enteen's "Living Without Limits" – were nationally syndicated.

Charles Winston, founder in 1990 and Director of the National Telability Media Center, is astounded by the continuing proliferation of dial-in services, allowing blind people to access around sixty mainstream newspapers, including the *New York Times*, *USA Today*, and the *Chicago Tribune*. The Center, a nonprofit research organization established to encourage the expansion of mass media for people with disabilities, endeavored to find sources that serve the disability population and spread this information throughout the country. Becoming blind while employed in journalism and public relations, Winston noticed the necessity for a national clearinghouse for rapidly growing disability publications and broadcasts.

"To improve fairness, accuracy and diversity of news reporting on disability," the National Center on Disability Journalism (NEDJ) was launched in November 2000. NCDJ seeks to accomplish its goal "by developing tools to help journalists and educators examine the complexity of disability issues from differing perspectives." One of the tools that NCDJ uses to assist journalists is "a disability-centric" style guide. To illustrate, the first issue of *NCDJ News* dealt with terms related to the wheelchair. Judgmental phrases such as "wheelchair bound," "confined to a wheelchair,"

or even the euphemistic ''vertically challenged,'' were discouraged in favor of value-free language as in ''a person who uses a wheelchair'' or ''a person who is a wheelchair-user.''

In a spirit consistent with the aim of NCDJ not to scold but to educate, Towson professor of Journalism Beth Haller's (2001) article, which appeared in the ''Perspective'' section of the *Baltimore Sun* (April 29, 2001), is excerpted in this issue (EN: NCDJ News 44). Haller noted her concern about the tone of the well-written, well-researched feature in the *Oregonian*, winner of a 2001 Pulitzer prize for Sam Lightner's series on a teenager with a facial deformity who was ''coping with adversity.'' Calling for journalists to ''give more time to problems caused by the outside world's prejudice against [the teenager's] appearance and less space to the medical issues,'' Haller described the focus that would promote better acceptance of people with disabilities.'' Rather than [concentrating] on inspirational and one-dimensional stories of a person's life with a disability,'' fostering pity instead of social change, Haller encouraged journalists to deal with social barriers to integration of the disability population.

In ''News Coverage of Disability Issues,'' a final report for the Center for an Accessible Society, (July 1999), in which Haller studied the way major news outlets dealt with disability issues during a two-month period in the fall of 1998, she found that ''almost 70 percent of the stories concerning disability had no identifiable source with a disability in it.'' Haller pointed out in this report that this finding suggests that people with disabilities, ''while not ignored, are not in control of disability-related coverage.'' Moreover, she added, since, when examining the list of sources used in stories, ''national disability organizations were largely missing,'' the public may be receiving the message ''that people with disabilities can't speak for themselves.''

Former Director of the Mayor's Office for People with Disabilities in New York City, Anne Emerman, a quadriplegic activist echoed the rallying cry of disability activists, ''nothing about us without us,'' as she pointed out the danger of the misrepresentation of the disability population to which Haller referred:

> Can you imagine the broadcast of a serious panel discussion on race relations in the United States without a person of color being present or a discussion of gender discrimination without a woman being present? Our issues are always being discussed by people who are experts about us – politicians, policymakers, doctors, social workers – but not us. It's as if they thought, what do we know about ourselves? With all the enlightened thinking about disability, there's still that residue of paternalism. Sometimes disability advocates say, ''Well we're getting visibility in ads, and sometimes even an actor with a disability appears in a show.'' That's good, but it's not the same as speaking for yourself in a serious public forum, like other people do, about the hard issues that affect not only your quality of life but maybe even your survival. (1997)

DISABILITY AND THE MEDIA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

In the new century media accounts revealed some of the reasons that even successful disability rights battles had to be fought over again.[1] On the 10th anniversary of the July 26, 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act, the *San Francisco Chronicle* referred to this civil rights law as a costly "unfunded mandate" (Cabanatuan, 2000), a term applied to civil rights legislation for no other protected class – no ethnic nor gender group. Calculating the cost of adherence to the ADA, the article makes no reference to the cost of not providing services that allow people with disabilities to be included in the social fabric of the community as citizens and taxpayers, employers and employees, as well as students and customers. As the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* noted, "Disabled persons are a vast though previously untapped resource for many employees" (Mallory, 2001).

On that same day, the *Chronicle* ran a story about the ADA lawsuit against Clint Eastwood (Lochhead, 2000), who would be severely castigated five years later by the alternative disability media for his Academy Award-winning *Million Dollar Baby*, a film they saw as rendering murder for people with disabilities as an act of altruism. This Hollywood icon went to trial, as indicated in the *Chronicle* in September 2000, rather than settling out of court – as is common in ADA lawsuits – and putting the money spent on litigation in hiring an architect to eliminate the cause of the lawsuit, physical barriers to his Mission Ranch resort (Gaura & Gathright, 2000). In fact, in December 2000, the *Chronicle* pointed out that the Oakley California School District went so far as to challenge the constitutionality of the ADA because of what the plaintiff called its failure to consider "the realities of the physical world" (Bell, 2000).

In 2001, two letters to the editor of the *New York Times* offered compelling responses to articles that involved issues of employment for people with disabilities. In the first letter, a retired New York State official court reporter stated,

> Anomalously, one large class of workers – state government employees – is barred from filing employment discrimination lawsuits based on violations of the Americans with Disabilities Act. This is the result of a [2001] U.S. Supreme Court decision last February [*University of Alabama v. Garrett*] that immunized state governments from this kind of litigation. In fact, there is no federal relief or remedy to address violations of the ADA by state governments. (Mandel, 2001)

This ruling became no longer effective after a federal Circuit Court held for plaintiff Garrett in 2003.

In a letter published in the *Times* two weeks later, the Executive Director of the Center for Independence of the Disabled in New York referred to a recent front page article about a so-called "'cost-saving' measure for health insurance." That measure, the writer observed, "will drive the horrific 70 percent unemployment rate for people with disabilities even higher." She continued, "As an employed person with a disability, I and my family would be punished for my extra medical expenses. Most of these are for preventive care that enables me to keep healthy and working." She ends her letter on an ironic note: "What a concept – medical insurance that covers the needs of healthy people and discourages people with disabilities and their family members from pursuing healthy and independent lives (and jobs)!" (Scheer, 2001).

Over 10 years after the 1990–1991 Gulf War, the *New York Times* revealed that the Veterans Affairs and Defense Departments finally declared amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), better known as Lou Gehrig's disease, as a service-related disability ("Identifying Gulf War Illness," 2001). Veterans of that conflict were found to have clearly twice the risk of contracting ALS as those not deployed. As a result, such veterans with ALS as Michael Donnelly, now stripped of his ability to move or speak, will receive disability compensation and survivors' benefits. Putting a human face on this issue, the *Times* recounted the effective struggle of Donnelly's family "in a book, on television and in a stream of telephone calls to the Pentagon and the Veterans Affairs Department" to counter the Defense Department's denial of the existence of Gulf War Syndrome (Stolberg, 2001).

In her April 3, 2002 *New York Times* article, Linda Greenhouse presented a cogent analysis of a split U.S. Supreme Court decision in a Title I lawsuit (*U.S. Airways, Inc. v. Barnett*), the kind of employment case in which the majority of the Court has generally sided against the disability community position (p. 20).[2] Greenhouse, however, failed to note that the Court's decision – that seniority trumps the request for reasonable workplace accommodations for people with disabilities – is antithetical to a major function of the ADA: addressing entrenched systems that continue to keep people with disabilities out of the workforce.

The headline of a *New York Times* article two months later, "A Reasonable Disabilities Ruling," dealt with the Supreme Court decision in *Chevron USA v. Echazabal*, allowing prospective employers to reject qualified job applicants with disabilities by claiming that the job would be a threat to the workers' health (A Reasonable Disabilities, 2002). No reference was made to the fact that disability advocates deemed this ruling paternalistic, for, as they contended, such so-called "protection" has been more lethal to equality of people with disabilities than outright enmity (Hahn, 2003).

Susan DeFord's (2003) story in the *Washington Post* dealt with two issues that are central to the disability rights movement: assistive technologies and independent living. Richard Schneider, a retired research scientist who contracted an incurable degenerative disease of the nervous system, multiple sclerosis, is able "to avoid institutional care or the constant presence of a human caretaker". Because of "an array of social and technological improvements," DeFord indicated that Schneider and others like him are living independently in their own accessible homes in the community more inexpensively than they would live in nursing homes. Too often, however, DeFord disclosed, people with disabilities do not have access to existing technologies that could make them employable, nor the community-based services that could keep them out of the institutions that wheelchair user Harriet McBryde Johnson (2003) referred to as "disability gulags" in her *New York Times Magazine* article.

In her *Boston Globe* story on depression, Etelka Lehoczky (2004) referred to the 11 million people per year affected by this psychiatric disability, many of whom are also dealing with "the rampant stigma [that can destroy a career] attached to any mental illness.". Lehoczky called attention not only to the job discrimination that people with depression experience, but also to the insufficiency of policies by employers to deal with this condition, as well as the inadequacy of mental health coverage by most insurance plans that prevent people from getting the treatment they require. Yet, as Lehoczky noted, a February 2004 American Psychological Association study found that "54 percent [of Americans] are concerned about the level of stress in their lives, with 1 in 5 reporting they're 'very concerned.'"

Despite a significant rise in diagnoses of autism in children, estimated as 425,000 in late 2004 in the United States, mandates requiring health plans to pay for treatment "are not enough to convince most insurers that [such] treatments – even if a doctor says they are necessary – should be covered," revealed Milt Freudenheim (2004) of the *New York Times*. Delay can be injurious since "the window for opportunity for treatment may be small," for as Freudenheim acknowledged, "most experts say that the younger the child, the greater the response to therapy." Lack of treatment may be devastating Freudenheim continued, since, years ago 90 percent of children with this brain disorder – adversely affecting the capacity to communicate, develop relationships, and experience change – spent their adult lives in institutions, Yet, "beginning in the 1970s," Freudenheim stated, "researchers started reporting striking progress made by autistic children who had received intensive behavior therapy."

The controversies regarding education and testing for students with disabilities are evident in newspaper articles, such as the following. A May 14, 2004 *New York Times* story revealed that almost 30 years after passage

of the special education law (1975 Individual with Disabilities Education Act [IDEA]), Congress is still not fully financing its cost to the States (Shemo). A July 30, 2004 *San Francisco Chronicle* piece concerned aspiring doctors with learning disabilities filing a lawsuit to secure adequate time on medical school entrance exams (Egelko, 2004).

The complexity of issues regarding accessibility of polling sites became evident in articles such as the one in the *Boston Globe* that pointed out that almost 40 percent of polling places in Massachusetts did not fully adhere to the ADA mandate (Gedan, 2004, "Globe West":1). More surprising was the National Federation of the Blind "championing controversial voting machines that did not provide a paper trail because the organization feared that demanding verifiable paper records [would] slow the adoption of accessible [to blind people] electronic voting machines" (*New York Times*, 2004).

One of the most dramatic ADA cases became, in the words of Linda Greenhouse (2004) of the *New York Times*, a "collision between the new law [the ADA] and the new federalism," broadly regarded as states rights. The lawsuit [*Tennessee v. Lane*], as succinctly described by Warren Richey (2004) of the *Christian Science Monitor*, dealt with a wheelchair user, George Lane, crawling up two flights of stairs to comply with a judge's directive that he appear in a second-floor courtroom:

> In terms of the fight for disability rights, the imagery of a man leaving his wheelchair behind in order to exercise his constitutional guarantee of access to the courts was stark and brutally effective. It persuaded Justice Sandra Day O'Connor to join forces with the Supreme Court's liberal wing and carve out a new doctrine permitting disabled individuals to sue state governments for money damages whenever discrimination against the disabled interferes with the fundamental freedom of access to the courts. (p. 2)

One of the more sensational disability issues as presented in the media in 2005 was the conflict between Terri Schiavo's parents, Robert and Mary Schindler, who wanted a feeding tube reinserted in their brain-damaged daughter, and her husband, Michael, who fought to have the tube removed, an act which ultimately led to her death. Nat Hentoff (2005) of *The Village Voice* admonished "the great majority of the media, including such pillars of the trade as the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post,* the *Miami Herald* and the *Los Angeles Times*, as they copied each other's misinformation." Hentoff asserted that the conclusions of the primary judge in the case, Florida Circuit Court Judge George Greer, "have been robotically upheld by all the courts above him" despite his refusal to have [Terri Schiavo's] own lawyer represent her. Hentoff also castigated the media for ignoring claims

against Terri's husband, such as the Florida Department of Children and Families 34 page document charging him with neglect, abuse and exploitation of his wife.

Although the following disability stories were covered in the mainstream press, each merited far more attention than it received. First, the media did not sufficiently spotlight how the current Social Security system insures families and children – "if the breadwinner becomes disabled or is unable to work because of an accident, illness, or wounds suffered in battle" – with "guaranteed defined benefits" as opposed to the President G.W. Bush "defined contribution plan for investment accounts," which is determined by the vicissitudes of the stock market (Friedman, 2005).[3] Since a 1998 court ruling (regarding a General Motors' contract), a specific sentence placed in a health care plan trumps all prior union contracts – all promises, oral and written – even if the employees never saw the document, even if they never knew it existed, even if they could get the document if they asked for it (PBS, *NOW*). As a result of this decision, retirees, just as they reach the age when they and their spouses are most likely to be coping with disability, find that the benefits that they worked a lifetime to guarantee are precipitously limited or totally denied with impunity by their former employers.

Finally, as reported on National Public Radio's *On the Media*, (2005), the number of soldiers injured in Iraq – many with shockingly severe wounds – is closer to 25,000 than the 12,005 reported as March 31, 2005. *On the Media* disclosed that by narrowing the meaning of "casualty" in this conflict the Pentagon has been misleading the public. Furthermore, the program concluded that the late night arrival of these casualties in the United States, together with the barring of the press, has blinded the American public to the truth about the wounded in the Iraq war.

Disability cuts deeply across all strata of society, with respect to age, ethnicity, income, and social status locally and globally; therefore, disability issues profoundly impact everyone. Although media coverage of disability has improved and increased, the topic still remains largely under-reported and the voices of people with disabilities marginalized. Consequently, in 2002, when grassroots radio, WBAI in New York City, launched a program entitled *The Largest Minority*, many listeners were surprised to discover that the subject was disability. The universal human rights of people with disabilities are a growing movement locally and globally, with increasingly imaginative uses of new media to enhance rights; thus the intensive research will continue.

NOTES

1. In its June 2000 "scathing report," the National Council on Disability, marking the tenth anniversary of the Americans with Disabilities Act, indicated reasons, such as the following, for the "adverse climate," which contributed to "undermining the first decade of the Disabilities Act": "the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission's 'muddled positions'; "too great a concern for potential backlash"; and unlike in other civil rights legislation, lack of teeth in the law's enforcement (Leonard, 2000).

2. These Supreme Court ADA employment decisions include the following: *Sutton et al. v. United Air Lines, Inc.* (1999); *Toyota Motor Manufacturing, Kentucky, Inc.* v. *Williams* (2001); and *University of Alabama v. Garrett* (2001).

3. In its April 6, 2005 editorial, "The Worst of the Bad Nominees," The *New York Times* was critical of the nomination by President George W. Bush of Dr. Lester Crawford to be Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration because "he presided over fiascos involving Cox-2 painkillers, anti-depressants, and other drugs." Disability advocates, who have been troubled by the inappropriate influence of drug companies over the agency that regulates them, agreed with this assessment.

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Frieda Zames was a professor emeritus at New Jersey Institute of Technology (NJIT). A polio survivor and disability rights pioneer. Dr. Zames died on

June 16, 2005, at the age of 72. Dr. Zames played an instrumental role in the passage of significant disability rights legislation, and with Doris Zames Fleischer has provided a rich narrative on the disability rights movement, bringing to life this important history into the 21st century.