Title: Representation, Immigration, Experience and Memory: a study of representational dynamics of “the other” in post imperial Britain (1947-1990s) with special reference to African and African Caribbean immigrants

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Representation, Immigration, Experience and Memory: A study of representational dynamics of “the other” in post imperial Britain (1947-1990s) with special reference to African and African Caribbean immigrants

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Dedicated to my mother Grace Sienna Sido.
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RESEARCH MOTIVATION AND OUTLINE

I studied for an MA in Forced Migration and Refugee Studies at the University of East London in 1998/99. The course offered an illuminating insight into the assertive ideologies and structures of exclusion confronting refugees and asylum seekers, namely their vilification, and construction as the other (in media and public discourse) in the construction of Europeanity. It explored major contemporary debates on European cultural identity and citizenship and engaged with a range of concerns such as human rights, imperialism and postcolonialism.

On completion of the course, I was curious to know whether the experiences of refugees and asylum seekers, as mentioned above, mirror that of black African and African Caribbean communities in Britain. Are they narrativised as the ‘other’ in the context of articulating Britishness? After further reading some of the paradigms and debates on media representation of ethnic minorities, and notions of othering within post-colonial studies, I arrived at the proposition that British media representation of the latter is permeated with ‘othering’. So, I thought of pursuing an MPhil/PhD in this area and registered with Luton University. However, due to some unforeseen circumstances I decided to do an MA by research instead, titled as follows:

Representation, Immigration, Experience and Memory: A Study of representational dynamics of ‘the other’ in post imperial Britain (1947 – 1990s) with special reference to African and African Caribbean immigrants.

The study is an assessment of the proposition that the British media coverage of African and African Caribbean minority ethnic communities is permeated with ‘othering’. It analysed the mode of accounting and explaining mobilised by some of the national press regarding racial unrest, focusing particularly on those major events that served to narrativise and recompose the image of immigrants as the ‘other’ in the context of articulating Britishness. These are Enoch Powell’s Rivers of Blood speech in 1968 and the Brixton disturbance of
1981. A content/frame analysis of newspaper coverage of these events was carried out. Seymore-Ure’s analysis of the media’s response to Powell’s speech in The Political Impact of Mass Media (1974) served as major point of reference.

In addition, the study explored through in-dept interviews the relationship between lived experiences and popular media discourses in an attempt to gauge the extent to which interviewees’ memories cohered or not with the media’s account of events involving black people; and which news stories have had significant and formative impact on the experiences of other-ness.

Introduction

The United Kingdom embodies a history of inward and outward migration that is arguably fundamental to its existence. The arrival en masse of Huguenots to England after the French wars of religion of 1562 and 1598 and that of monarchists fleeing the French Revolution of 1789 are amongst many historical inflows that exemplify this tradition of incorporating foreign immigrant groups. Equally, there have been notable outward movements. According to the Ravenhill, there were emigrations from the United Kingdom to North America in the 17th and 18th centuries. Also, historical records point to a great number of people leaving Britain in the 1880s and 1900s; and more so at the outbreak of World War One. These migrations continued, including movements into the old Commonwealth countries of Australia, Canada and New Zealand until the 1930s when economic decline in the British Empire and the United States resulted in a reversal of the trend. (Ravenhill, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 19/12/2006; Poirier, New Statesman, 09/04/07)

The centrality of migrations to the history of these inlands is underlined, according to Wallace, by the fact that descendants of the English, Welsh and Scottish were ‘themselves mongrel blends of past invasions and migrations who had assimilated Irish Catholics coming en masse to Britain in the 19th century, the Jews fleeing Imperial Russia in the 1890s and from the Nazi in
the 1930s and displaced persons from the Baltic Protestant states, Poland and Ukraine in 1945'. (Wallace, 2005:4)

This study is however concerned with black migrations to the United Kingdom. The presence of black people is traceable to the Victorian era, but significant migrations to the United Kingdom began in the Second World War period in the context of black Caribbean people who served and worked in the British armed forces and in the ammunition industries respectively, followed by migrations from all over the new Commonwealth in the late 1940s, including those recruited at the behest of the British Government from the Caribbean to help with post war reconstruction and fill up manpower shortfalls in the health and transport services. This amounted to an annual record of 40,000 from the mid 1950s. Also, there were people arriving in search of a better life, including those who arrived in large numbers to beat the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act aimed at curbing immigration. By 1961, according to Seymore-Ure, there were 336,000 overseas-born coloured population in England and Wales compared to 74,500 ten years earlier. (Seymore-Ure, 1974: 100)

The Empire Windrush voyage of 1947 is however mythologised as symbolising the transformations that have occurred in the United Kingdom, in the context of black Caribbean immigrants 'reconstructing new narratives of home and belongings that parallel the old ones'. (Young and Lewis, 1998:78) The arrival of the Windrush was also viewed as symbolising, as Young and Lewis put it, a “destabilisation of the psychic and cultural certainties” of white Britain. (ibid, 1998:78) After a brief period of honeymoon with the Windrush generation, many in the Conservative party, which was then in government, and a majority of the white indigenous population began to view the continuous inflow of commonwealth immigrants to the United Kingdom as a problem. (Harker, The Guardian, 24/03/07; Ian Spencer 1997; Hayward, 2006:1-2) According to Winder, the media was complicit in stirring up resentment of black commonwealth immigrants because of their negative coverage of the Windrush:

"The Windrush was the first to be met by newsreel cameras, and the first to raise.... alarm in British newspapers, and the House of Commons." As Winder
notes further, “it set in motion a generation of anti-alien feelings that would drive policy for decades.” Media coverage, according to Winder, was permeated with anti-immigrant themes and portrayed commonwealth immigrants as threatening the cultural certainties of white Britain. (Winder, 2004: 265-277)

As Cox asserts also, a majority of the population viewed the presence of black Commonwealth immigrants and the prospect of sharing space and neighbourhoods with them as inconceivable, owing to their representations in imperial discourse as the inferior ‘other’, belonging to a peripheral world in the colonies. According to Cox, these negative stereotypes were ingrained in the educational system and the national psyche of metropolitan society. (Quoted by Robinson; 1986) Thus, the conceptualisation of black commonwealth immigrants could not but be tainted and negatively affected by this mindset; reinforced by media coverage. The mass media, according Takeyuki Tsuda, are able to “reinforce or even exacerbate these majority ethnic prejudices towards immigrants through explicitly or implicitly unfavourable coverage of them”. (Tsuda, 2004:4) As Herman and Chomski point out, the media capitalises on the public’s anxieties and fears by sensationalising its stories about certain groups of people, to boost circulation and maximise profits for its owners. (Herman and Chomski, 1994)

This dissertation attempts to subject the above claims to thorough examination in order to produce a more textured discourse that will accommodate all the nuances of its manifestation in the British media. It will analyse the modes of accounting and explaining mobilised by some of the national press regarding racial unrests, focusing particularly on those major events that served to narrativise and recompose the image of immigrants as the ‘other’ in the context of articulating white Britishness. These are: Enoch Powell’s Rivers Of Blood speech in 1968 and the Brixton disturbance of 1981. To this end, a content/frame analysis of newspaper coverage of these events will be carried out. Seymour-Ure’s analysis of the media’s response to Powell’s speech in The Political Impact of Mass Media (1974) will be utilised as a major point of reference. In summing up, the dissertation will draw from Stuart Hall’s insightful article: Black Men, White Media in the Journal of the Caribbean Artist Movement, vol. 9/10, 1974.
In addition to textual analysis, the dissertation will explore through in-depth interviewing, the relationship between lived experiences and popular media discourses. It will explore the experiences of African and African Caribbean people in the context of media representation including their experiences of being black and British. Also, it will be seeking to know whether their memories of events involving black people cohere or not with the media’s account of such events, and which news stories have had significant and formative impact on the experiences of other-ness. In posing this question, the study is mindful of the fragility of memory, meaning that the recollection of events impoverishes with the passage of time. However, anthropological studies suggests that certain events or episodes affecting a group or communities linger on in their collective memories; passing from one generation to the other. (See Halbwachs, Collective Memory, 1980: 2) Equally, psychologists highlight three generally accepted classifications of memory and these are sensory, short term and long term. Studies have shown that the storage of information in people with sensory and short-term memories is not retained indefinitely. By contrast, larger quantities of information can be stored in people with long-term memory for potentially unlimited period, sometimes a whole lifespan. More specifically, the findings of a research conducted by van Dijke shows that people are able to recall and re-tell press stories irrespective of how long ago. As Dijke puts it, ‘time is no factor where an event is massively reported, individuals can integrate the story about it into their understanding of reality and their more general knowledge about it…..’(Dijke, quoted in Trowler, 1996:225)

The paper is in three parts, namely literature review, methodologies and research findings/media analysis. The literature review begins by situating the Windrush voyage as an integral component of the narratives on black migrations to the United Kingdom; symbolising a common black Caribbean psyche and identity, despite socio-cultural differences within the communities. The Windrush has also acquired political and historical significance as a frame of reference in public and media discourses on notions of ‘race’, ‘colour’, ‘ethnicity’, ‘blackness’ and ‘multiculturalism’ in the United Kingdom. Equally, it symbolises the complexity of race relations in the United Kingdom in the context racial tension paralleling the gains made towards equality and national coherence. The literature review will also highlight the nexus
between media representation and the notion of ‘Othering’ or Orientalism, foregrounded in post-colonial studies. It argues that while this concept is paradigmatically linked with cultural criticism and literary studies, its centrality to the media in the context of deploying stereotypes that reinforces the otherness of immigrants is overlooked. In Multiculturalism and The Media, Bailey shares this concern as she argues that the question of the 'Other should go beyond epistemological and disciplinary boundaries in academia to touch on the issue of journalistic ethics.' (Source: http://www.surrey.ac.uk/Arts) Finally, this dissertation will identify major paradigms in media representation highlighting the ideological underpinnings for the nature of coverage assigned to African and African communities.

Literature Review

Migrations to the United Kingdom from the Commonwealth

Black Presence in the United Kingdom

As Lewis and Young point out, it is inaccurate, and amounts to an erasure of history, to situate the arrival of the Empire Windrush in 1948 as the genesis of black migration to the UK. (Young and Lewis, 1998:78-79) According to these authors, there is a proclivity in commonwealth migration narratives to privilege the Windrush as such; which obscures the reality that black people have had a presence that predates it. Empirical evidence shows a long history of residence going as far back as the Victorian era. Also, in the heydays of colonialism, most black African colonials availed themselves of imperial largesse such as unrestricted entry to the mother country and settled in the seaports of Liverpool, London and Cardiff; in pursuit of British academic qualifications which were highly valued in their countries of origin. Equally, the arrival of African Caribbean people recruited by the British government to help the war efforts formed a substantial part of these settlements. Most of these served in the Royal Air-force and worked in the munitions industry. Moreover, the post-war need for labour which culminated in the arrival of the Windrush and subsequent other arrivals, significantly boosted the population of black
people in the United Kingdom. The 1951 Census recorded the presence of about 17,000 Caribbean-born persons living in Britain. And what is more, the post-independent influx combining those who came in search of work, those who came in to avoid the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act which sought to curb non-white immigration and latterly, the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers seeking to rebuild their lives, further enlarged the number of black people resident in the United Kingdom. (Source: http:/www.ipa.co.uk)

The Windrush: Transformation and Racial Tension

The Empire Windrush with its cargo of 417 African Caribbean passengers that docked at Tilbury in June 1948, acquired iconic status for ushering in the socio-cultural transformations that have occurred in post-imperial Britain. As Young argues, it stands for something particular in that it altered the cultural and racial landscape of imperial Britain. “It transformed the supposed cultural and racial homogeneity into a multi-cultural/multi-racial society.” (Young and Lewis, 1998: 83) According to Winder, it was unique in the sense that it heralded the enduring scrutiny and negative coverage that black immigrants are subjected to in the British media. The arrival of the Windrush unleashed a plethora of media discourse disseminating the myth of a mono-cultural white Britain about to be disrupted by the presence of people with alien cultures. Some newspaper editorials and commentaries propagated this myth including the alarmist notion of being 'swamped' that still permeates media coverage of arrivals since the post-independence era. (Winder, 2004: 266-267) As Bowles puts it:

‘The themes used are predictable; 'swamping' of 'our' culture, a 'flooding' of 'our' communities, the disappearance of 'our values' ... all of it reinforced by the corporate media that in turn forms the basis for the state's use of the idea of
the public's 'perceptions', perceptions that have to, at least according to the state, be assuaged.' (Source: http://www.williambowles.info/)

What is more, many in the mainstream population were not well disposed to the idea of sharing neighbourhoods with a people historically narrativised as the uncivilised, illiterate 'other'; a notion that, according to Cox, was ingrained in the national psyche and which sections of the media continued to affirm. (Greenberg et al, 1994:273-274: Hall 1996: 160-168) As Cottle argues also, the host population are variously invited to construct structures of exclusion of who 'we' are against who 'we' are not, whether as 'us' and 'them', 'insider' and 'outsider'. (Cottle, 2002: 2-7)

Othering the 'other'

Foregrounded in post-colonial studies along with concepts like Orientalism, 'othering' refers to the power discourse mobilised by Europe to elevate itself as the centre of civilisation in contrast to a constructed 'other' that is defined as 'radically different, and hence incorrigibly inferior'; providing the justification for its domination and control. (Dehay and Chaterjee, 2004: http://www.cwrl.utexas.edu/) According to Spivak, "'othering' is a dialectical process because the colonising other is established at the same as it's colonised others are produced as subjects." (Quoted by Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin, 2000: 171)

Othering can also be understood as 'a way of defining and securing one's own positive identity through the stigmatisation of an 'other.' Whatever the socio/cultural 'markers that shape the meaning of 'us' and 'them' whether they are racial, geographic, ethnic, economic or ideological, there is always the danger that they will become the basis for self-affirmation that depends upon the denigration of the other group.' (Source: http://www.cwrl.utexas.edu/)

To borrow from this definition, the 'other' was created as a stereotype, against which Europe defined and secured its own positive image or identity. As Roediger argues, the other was constructed as the opposite of the West: he or she was dark, savage, bestial, lowbrow, etc.' (Roediger, 1991: 3-17)
In Orientalism, (1978) Said describes the unequal relationship between Europeans (the British, French and German colonisers) and the people of the Middle East, formerly known as Orientals; highlighting the institutionalised defence of the latter's colonisation. Orientalism, according to Said, 'highlights the West's imagination and representation of the 'Orient as being culturally inferior, sensuous, despotic, mentally aberrant, inaccurate and backward ', while defining itself as culturally and intellectually superior. In other words, 'the Orient is everything the west is not, and as such, in a binary opposition to each other.' (Said, 1978: 1-28,329-352) (A. Loomba, 1998: 105-153) Europe, Said emphasises, invented an 'Orient that is in binary opposition to it, dealing with it by making statements about, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, setting it, ruling over it: in short, ...a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over it.' (Orientalism, 1978: 3)

Influenced fundamentally by Focault's notions of discourse and power, Said articulates how the medium of fiction and other literary forms are paradigmatically linked with projection of power by Europe, especially France, England and Germany. A proliferation of texts from various disciplines including philosophy, philology, anthropology, and statements from statesmen were mobilised towards the project of Orientalism; with state support. As Said puts it:

'For every Orientalist, quite literally, there is a support system of staggering power, considering the ephemerality of myths that Orientalism propagates. (1978:204-397)

As Kabanni argues also, if it could be conveyed to the colonising society 'that Eastern people were slothful, preoccupied with sex, violent and incapable of self-government, then the imperialist would be justified in stepping in and ruling. Political domination and economic exploitation needed the cosmetic cant of mission civilisatrice to seem fully commendatory. ' (Kabanni, 1994:5-6) In other words, to justify colonialism, the 'other' had to be cast in the image of un-civilised brutes needing to be nurtured into civilisation. The danger of this myth, according to Kabanni, is its longevity. That is, its resonance, albeit subtle, in contemporary public and media discourse, and how it colours the conceptualisation of immigrants from former colonies.
Conceptualising Immigrants and the role of the Media

According to Parekh, strangers coming to a country are conceptualised in various categories. "They can be described as foreigners, as immigrants, by their national or ethnic origins, by their religion, etc. Such descriptions are not just verbal, but evince the society's view of the outsiders' place in it and how they should be treated." (Parekh, 2001:3)

It can be inferred therefore that African and African Caribbean people including those born in Britain are conceptualised as the 'other', premised on the myth of ontological inferiority ascribed to their forebears in imperial discourse, and its reaffirmation in the context of negative media stereotypes. As Dyer argues, stereotypes can be constructed around a group of people by using verbal and visual traits to represent them which 'tend to be static and unchanging.' (Dyer, 1993) A number of studies show that commonwealth immigrants were portrayed as indolent, lesser ranking in intellect and uncivil, thus echoing the language that was the underpinning ideology for colonialism. (Robinson, 1986) These stereotypes, according to Yarde, were recycled into 'drug-dealers', and 'muggers' in the 1980s by the press media. (Guardian, 19/11/01) To understand the media's role in reaffirming existing stereotypes or creating new ones, it may be worthwhile to look at its historical formation. According to Sherwood, the late nineteenth century witnessed the publication of magazines and newspapers that were 'replete with the power of the white man and the inferiority of all races; the savagery of the black, the inscrutability and wiliness of the Oriental and the effeminacy of the Indian.' As Sherwood states further, 'these themes were repeated on postcards and advertisements; in newspapers such as National Observer (1888-1893) and Daily Mail (1896), in illustrations in magazines such as the Illustrated London News, The Graphic and the Pall Mall Gazette.' (Sherwood, 2001:17)

While these overtly racist themes do not feature in current media publications, certain newspapers, particularly the right-wing ones, have the potential of creating 'us' and 'them' binary between mainstream society and immigrant groups through the reinforcement of existing stereotypes; which can be detrimental to race relations. As has been mentioned earlier, Cottle points out that the host society are “variously
invited to construct a sense of who ‘we’ are in relation to who ‘we’ are not, whether as ‘us’ and ‘them’, ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’, ‘coloniser’ and ‘colonised’, ‘citizen’ and ‘foreigner’, ‘normal’ and ‘deviant’, ‘friend’ and ‘foe’, the ‘west’ and the ‘rest’. Through this means, the ‘other’ is marked out, “differentiated and often rendered vulnerable to discrimination.” (Cottle, 20002: 2-7) A dominant view within the pluralist school of thought is that the media is impartial and only reflects the reality on the ground. In this case as the argument goes, the media owes it to its audience to reflect the cultural otherness of immigrants and how this impinges on national cohesion. As Cottle argues, it was the justification provided for producing the following TV documentaries and shows that disparaged immigrant communities: Special Enquiry: Has Britain A Colour Bar (1955) Black Marries Whites (1964) The Negro Next Door (1965) People In Trouble: Mixed Marriages (1965) Till Death Do Us Part (1966-74) Fable (1965) A Man From the Sun (1956) The Black and White Minstrels (BBC 1958/78) (Malik, 1986: 320; Cottle, 2002-7)

Malik however debunks the notion that the media reflects reality. The kernel of his argument, which is from a Marxist perspective, is that media representations are more likely to be constructions or distortions in which immigrants, especially black people, are produced as natives, entertainers or a problem. This view seems to fit in with Allan’s suggestion that ‘whereas news discourse is presented by its makers as an objective, impartial translation of reality, it may instead be seen to be providing an ideological construction of realities.’ (Allan, 1998:107) Negative representations is theorised within the Marxist paradigm as motivated by the imperativeness of increasing circulation in order to maximise shareholder profits, or to serve the interest of a powerful and influential elites who control and determine what is disseminated to the public. The ideology of such newspaper outlets is, arguably, the preservation of a presumed mono-cultural Britain; and this is exemplified by the coverage of Enoch Powell’s Rivers of Blood speech of 1968. (Malek, 1998: 145-156) (Hall, 1996: 160-168) Powell’s opposition to commonwealth immigration attracted huge publicity with column after column of newsprint amplifying his prophesy of bloodbath, arguably to cause panic and instigate public loathing of immigrants. (Gurnah, the Guardian 22/05/01, Seymour-Ure, 1978: 99-113)
Methodologies

Semi-Structured Interviews

Considering that this research paper aims to examine the claim that African and African Caribbean immigrants are represented as 'the other' in the British media, an ethnographic field study approach was deemed suitable as it generates large amount of data and useful insights. The researcher therefore conducted 30 semi-structured interviews in the homes of some interviewees, and in arranged venues with the rest, in Luton Town from December 2006 to mid January, 2007. The interviews, which took close to ninety minutes, were tape-recorded, and touched on a range of subjects including the experiences of being black and British. It particularly explored their recollections of media coverage of events that made an impact on the communities. It is instructive that without specifically probing for memories of the impact of the coverage of Enoch Powell’s Rivers of Blood Speech and the Brixton disturbance of 1981, these were spontaneously mentioned by a majority of the interviewees, especially those from the first generation. Interviewees belonging to the second generation obviously had no experiential recollections of the first event other than stories passed down to them, but have vivid memories of newspaper coverage of the latter event. It is pertinent to mention that their recollection of these events and how they narrated it were in some cases at variance with subsequent interpretations through anniversary programmes such the BBC documentary on the Windrush and other media constructions of black Britishness; as will be shown later. The interviewees were selected among people who arrived in the UK in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s and those born in the UK in the1960s and 1970s or joined parents and families already in the United Kingdom. This formulation was geared towards reflecting the differences within the African Caribbean communities such as ethnic backgrounds, cultural orientation, patterns of, and motives for migration; including the generational divide within it.

The semi structured interview methodology was considered appropriate for this line of research as it aims to reflect the divergent opinions and perspectives of immigrants whose voices are seldom heard when theorising race and representation within media studies. As Tyler (2005) asserts, the subjective voices of immigrants
are not heard; instead, theories are developed which 'speak for' rather than 'speak with' them. Also, the semi structured interview offers interviewees the ease to put forward their views, uninhibited by obtrusion, formality and mistrust. It enables also, 'the latitude for interviewer to probe beyond the answers and thus enter into a dialogue with the interviewees.' (May, 1997:111) According to Johnson, it establishes intimacy between interviewer and interviewees. (Johnson, 2002:104)

A sense of intimacy did develop that had more to do with my being a black person; and it encouraged most of them to share their feelings and experiences with me. I listened carefully to their stories and followed up with probing questions to encourage more responses, instead of sticking rigidly to a format or sequence of questions. It proved successful as I got back some unanticipated answers that led on to further inquiries. This method of questioning helped to uncover 'what is usually hidden from ordinary view or reflection or to penetrate to more reflective understandings about the nature of that experience.' (Johnson, 2002:107)

In addition, a feminist approach was incorporated into the research method by not only encouraging female participation, but ensuring that their subjective individual experiences are emphasised and their perspectives taken on board. I share the view derived from the feminist argument that the field of social science research has been traditionally biased towards a masculine perspective. Evelyn Fox Keller argues that the rhetoric of social science reflects a masculine perspective, and she questions the idea of objectivity. (Price et al, 1999:487) I also share Skeggs' criticism of objectivity since 'objectivity is a value judgement if it is concerned with accepting the status quo and leaving the issues of oppression and suffering unchallenged.' (1997:33)

I wish to highlight some of the challenges experienced while carrying out the research. Most people in the black communities, as I discovered, are not favourably disposed to disclosing information about their experiences or critiquing the media to field researchers. Nearly all of the first people I contacted declined at some stage to participate in the interviews and reluctantly obliged when assured by known intermediaries that I meant no harm. They were however adamant that their identities should not be revealed. To respect their wishes I had to fictionalise the names given on the research findings. As I came to find out also, their scepticism stems, firstly, from fear of being perceived as fifth columns. Secondly, the prevailing
sense of suspicion and unease that is the aftermath of September 11th (9/11) was mentioned as a reason for being reluctant to talk to strangers. It is also instructive that despite the intimacy and rapport established, a few interviewees felt uncomfortable with some probing questions and did not respond. It is worth mentioning also that the semi-structured interviews presented a major challenge. That is, the excruciating and time-consuming task of transcribing the data from tape to written record.

**Newspaper Analysis**

A textual analysis of the accounts of the Brixton event by the Sun, the Daily Mail, the Daily Express and The Times and the Daily Telegraph was conducted. These newspapers were chosen because of their aversion to issues of immigration and multiculturalism. (Neal, 2003:2) The enquiry was done using a less rigorous form of content and frame analysis that scrutinised articles, opinions, commentaries and reports with the emphasis on identifying key words or labels used to describe black youths involved in the disturbance, how the stories were framed e.g. searching for repetitive usage of metaphors, phraseology, statements that evokes images of doom and threat, which key issues were highlighted and which were ignored or suppressed, spotlighting negative associations embodied in the story frames or message, and finally, the quotation of primary definers. (Gould, 2004: 1-8) The combination of frame and content analysis was considered appropriate because of its utility in media research:

‘Frame analysis looks at key themes within a text, and shows how cultural themes shape our understanding of events. In studies of the media, frame analysis shows how aspects of the language and structure of news items emphasize certain aspects and omit others.’

‘Contents analysis involves typifying and measuring recurrent features 'within a text' (mine) and television programmes e.g. stereotypical representations of gender roles or ethnic groups…It is useful in revealing common stereotypes …and prevailing values of news or programme makers.’ (Source: http://www.iboro.ac.uk/)
The data or newsprints were collected from the Colindale Newspaper Library. It was narrowed down to publications of 13\textsuperscript{th} of April, 1981 to 18\textsuperscript{th} of April, 1981, a period when the event was still making a significant impact in the press. This time frame yielded some dividends in the context of providing a manageable size of data for careful scrutiny.

**Research Findings Analysis**

**Motivations for Migrating to the United Kingdom**

All of the first generation interviewees consisting of twelve males and eight females and aged between 67 and 82 years old arrived in the United Kingdom in the 1950s and 1960s. They reported being motivated by a desire to better their lives and create opportunities for families left behind. Nearly all of these stated that the living condition in the colonies was deteriorating, owing to economic decline and there was no shortage of employment in here in the UK. As Winder (2004) argues, the economy of Montserrat, for example, was sustained more by capital remitted by its nationals back home, than income from the sale of cotton; their main export. Although oral and written evidence suggests that there were other reasons why black people migrated from the West Indies and the African continent to England, a majority of the former migrated on economic grounds. The largest number of these came from Jamaica, pushed by the economic situation of that country. There was high unemployment, especially amongst the youths. Forty percent of the population consisted of people below twenty-one years of age. The living standard was very low as a result, and stories of success fed back home by friends and families already in the United Kingdom attracted those who could raise the passage money to migrate. (Source: http://www.Birmingham.gov.uk)
According to seventy-six year old Hemingway and seventy-year old Lewis, both male pensioners, the promptings to migrate to England became very compelling. As Hemingway puts it, 'We used to hear a lot of stories about England, especially about the Midlands. There were Jobs, but no workers. Over in Jamaica, there was not so much to do. We just messed about. You know. The economic situation was, to say the least, dire. Everybody thought about England as the solution. And England needed us.'

However, 70 year-old Ms Gordon, a retired nurse, stated that her parents were doing well and wanted her to train as a teacher, work for a few years and return to Jamaica, but on realising that her job prospects as a teacher would be constrained in the UK; as no one would employ a black teacher then, she opted for nursing where her chance of a career was feasible, considering that the NHS was continuously recruiting. Also, she would have had a wealth of experience to take back home. As she puts it, 'look I am still here after all these years. I planned to take my skills home and help my country.'

Bill, a 78 year-old respondent stated that as a court clerk in St Vincent, he was well off, but the desire to find a wife, settle down and serve the motherland was his motivation for coming to the United Kingdom: 'I have been divorced for long time. But I married here and have two children. I worked in the Railways and BT as electrician for a long time.'

According to 80 year-old Sutherland from Jamaica, peer-group pressure made him decide to migrate to the UK. As he puts it, 'I was working for the West Indies College in the 1950s and pay and condition was good. I did not have to come over to the UK for any economic reasons. However, a lot of my friends had made the trip so I was anxious that I would be left over there. You know the pressure was really strong. You got letters and all those enchanting black and white photos of England.'

78 year-old Asamoah stated as follows: 'I came for further studies in 1959. I studied architecture and landscape surveying. I went back home and practised for some years, but came back to the UK. I am still here. I have no regrets. My family is here. This is my home now.'
Early Experiences

First generation

Eight of the first generation interviewees said they experienced hostilities, including direct racial insults, rude gestures, name-calling, being ignored, snubbed and given unfriendly looks. 'You felt like an outcast', said Mrs Swann, a nurse, originally from St Kitts:

'We had no racism in the Caribbean, so we didn't know how to handle the situation. When I submitted my form at the labour office, I was asked to fill it again in their presence because they did not believe I could read and write. That was the sort of racism we faced. I was really annoyed. We were taught everything about England, but England knew nothing about us.'

Shocking as the above experience was for Mrs Swann, it also struck her interlocutors as surprising that she was literate. The assumption that colonial people were illiterate and primitive was rife and derives from the myths propagated about the inferiority of life in the colonies. As Said et al argue, colonialism was built on such a consciousness. (Orientalism, ibid)

More pertinently, all the respondents, without promptings, situated Enoch Powell's Rivers of Blood speech in 1968 as potent in that it provoked, thanks to media coverage, an escalation of hostilities towards immigrants. According to Gurnah (ibid, 2001), it exacerbated racial tension in the United Kingdom. For Foot, (1969) the grandiloquence of Powell's speech was calculated to evoke public outcry. To emphasise this point, the respondents stated that the speech provoked a hardening of public attitude towards black people. The speech's aftermath is vivid in the memories of first generation immigrants as the following comments illustrate:
As Bill puts it, 'there was hostility! No rooms to rent. We were barred from entering clubs. We were refused jobs that the English did not normally do. You saw signs that explicitly stated: no coloured people wanted'

As 70 year old Mrs Cato from Barbados stated, 'Enoch Powell's racist remarks challenged our rights to be British. People looked at you with contempt.'

For Mr Sutherland:

'The Powell speech got me worried because he wanted to send us all back home. He had no right to say go back home. He did not pay my passage to this country. The reaction of the public to the speech made me think again.'

However, not everyone attributed the resentment of immigrants to the Powell speech, or on the basis of colour and cultural difference. A couple from Barbados, Mr and Mrs Gunter, aged 73 and 70 respectively, remembered being severally bullied by white work colleagues on the premise that their arrival and those of their communities to the United kingdom, compounded the post war shortages being experienced:

'I don't think everything was about racism. These people, most of them have never seen a black person before. They did not know us and have no experience of us. They read about us and saw us in films. But never expected we would come to their country. It was rightfully their country. Even though they say we are all British Commonwealth. They saw us as threat to resources. A threat to their women, because some of the men fancied white women.'

The above comments arguably underpin the viewpoint that resentment of immigrants may also be engendered by reasons other than racism or prejudice. According to a BBC report, the scarcity of accommodation and other amenities in post war England translated into hostilities towards
immigrants by nationals. Many of these were turned away from lodgings. It was not rare to see six persons sharing a room. As the report states further, these tensions culminated in the race riots of 1958 in London's Nottinghill. (Source: http://news.bc.co.uk/) To emphasise this point, Winder refers to the riots that occurred earlier in Liverpool and in Deptford in 1948 and 1949 respectively, which hinged on the perception that the presence of immigrants deprived nationals of basic amenities.

In contrast, two interviewees stated that they had no problems with members of the white communities and cited instances of snobbery and disdainful treatments experienced from members of other West Indian and African communities. According to 79 years old Mr Brown, originally from St Lucia: 'The Africans are worse than whites. They looked down on us like we are common because they have university degrees, but then they come after our women.'

While this view is unrepresentative of the communities as a whole, it spotlights the divide between African and African Caribbean immigrants, the competitive intra-racial differences within the African Caribbean communities and its attendant diversity of opinions, experiences and perceptions. Reports show that some in the black Caribbean community, who had already settled, resented further influx of immigrants from the West Indies as they were overcrowding the cities, compounding the hardships being experienced and fuelling racial tension. Also, West Africans were known to harbour contempt for Jamaicans for several reasons including the ease of their access to the UK, while restrictions were placed on the former. Reports on post war immigrants in Birmingham, show that some elite and sections of the media exploited these divisions in the campaign against immigration from the West Indies. To illustrate, a reporter's account in The Times of 22nd October 1954 is shown below:

'I have questioned a number of West Africans who, incidentally, have little sympathy and little in common with the West Indians, and there is amongst this section of coloured people growing resentment at the ease of access on the part of Jamaicans. In West Africa the emigration Laws are much strict and very few passports are granted unless it has ascertained that the applicant
As was mentioned earlier, a significant number of Africans, as opposed to most West Indians, migrated to the UK for the purpose of acquiring academic and professional qualifications; and were either sponsored by families or awarded scholarships, and hence, were viewed as model migrants who would return to their countries of origin on accomplishing their pursuits. Viewed as such, a group's experience in the context of relations with host public may differ from others. While prejudice towards commonwealth immigrants was prevalent, experiences were contingent upon how certain groups were perceived and conceptualised by the mainstream population with the media playing a major role. The experiences of most Africans may have been ameliorated on this premise as Assamoah states below:

'I didn't experience racism or prejudice overtly. Yes, you sometimes had funny looks and the rest, but you told yourself, look, get on with it! As time went on, we gained some respect. I mean it was mutual. Treat people well and you were treated well. I think the fact that we did not rely upon state funds or do lowly jobs marked us out from the rest. The West Indians had a tough time. They were unfairly stereotyped. They had a bad press. You didn't want to be tarred with the same brush, so we kept to ourselves. But looking back now, it wasn't fair.'

Consequently, the relation between most first generation black Africans and their African Caribbean counterparts was tense. West Africans, particularly, were viewed by the latter as snobbish and aloof. A commonly held view amongst West Indians is that black Africans collaborated in the selling and shipment of West Indians to the Caribbean as slaves. Also, Africans are said to have ingratiated themselves to the mainstream society and shied away from the struggle against racism in Britain; which West Indians claim they pioneered and fought hard for.
As part of their experiences in the UK, a majority of these interviewees, especially those who arrived in the cold season, reported being taken aback by the dreariness and gloom that enveloped the country; a far cry from the imagery of paradise and fairytale appeal ingrained by colonial education and discourse. According to Bill, it was a period when assumptions about the United Kingdom were challenged and knowledge of it reframed. As he puts it:

"My perspectives about England changed drastically. We were told a lot of things in school. The picture painted of England in literature and films was almost like paradise, a kind and decent society. I was shocked to see filthy and rundown places and ordinary white people sweeping the street, mopping the floor, collecting rubbish, and people getting drunk and rowdy. Back home, white people didn't clean or mop, black servants did."

The writer, Achebe, articulates this viewpoint in his book, *Home and Exile*. As he was being chauffeured from the airport by a white driver on arrival in London in 1957, they were held up in traffic because a man in dirty working clothes was filing up cracks in the road with steaming asphalt. This and similar incidents, were as the writer remembers 'unimaginable events' and 'unbelievable sights'. As Achebe puts it, 'that was London, the great metropolis that ruled my world from afar without letting me into any of these secrets, without admitting that, like me, it was also vulnerable.' (Achebe, 2000: 100-101)

According to Winder, the assumptions of black Caribbean immigrants about the 'mother' country proved to be misplaced on their arrival. In its interface with the colonies, Europe accorded itself the moral highground, and through a sustained hype about unlimited material prosperity in the metropolis, inscribed a sense of its superiority in the 'other'. The unquestioned acceptance and internalisation of this myth, as Fanon warns, is one of the tragedies of colonialism. (Fanon, 1986: 192-193) As Winder states further, these immigrants were also shocked by the pervasive poverty of ordinary Britons,
and most of all, disillusioned by the prejudice experienced. (Winder, 2004) 85 year-old Oswald Dennison, a surviving passenger of the Windrush, whose experiences resonate with those expressed by some interviewees, state as follows:

'Many were disappointed to find prejudice here. Being snubbed- it affects some people badly. When I was in Panama, I felt superior to every Panamanian because I was British. That was the kind of feeling we grew up with. Imagine then what it felt like to be shunned. The 'mother' country did not want its Caribbean children.'

Second Generation

A majority of the second-generation interviewees were born in the United Kingdom. Just a few of these came to join their parents as children. It is worth noting that most of the early post war migrants came to Britain alone. Others married upon arrival in the country; some to local British spouses. In most cases, wives, children and other relatives were re-united with husbands and fathers. As these family reunifications occurred and developed, a second generation of black Caribbean or Africans were born in Britain or arrived with their mothers as young children. (Hayward, 2006:3)

Six of the second-generation respondents consisting of two males and four females reported that they experienced outright and subtle prejudice, xenophobia and bigotry. They claimed that in predominantly white neighbourhoods, there was a dreadful sense of being encircled because one was always a minority. Name-callings and curious facial expressions from white schoolmates was a constant feature at the playgrounds. According to 40 year old Miss Lewis from St Lucia who came to join her parents at the age of eight:
'You had your hair touched. They touched your skin to see if the colour comes off and sometimes scratched to see if I would bleed, and to see if my blood is the same colour as theirs'.

Also, 43 year old Frank from St Vincent who joined his mother in 1967 stated as follows:

'I used to hate going to school for the simple reason that I would be bullied. There were very few of us then. They made fun of my accent and called me names like sambo, wog, coon, rubber lips.'

For 38 year old Jonathan born to Nigerian parents who settled in the UK on completion of his academic studies:

'We used to get into fights with white kids as they often called us names and played 'knock at ginger' at our house.'

Vic who is 45 years old and originally from Jamaica stated as follows:

'I was not aware of any perceptions at the time. It is only now that I am older that I can look back and recall the looks and comments made by other white people about me to my white foster parents. I only remember once being called names by some children and my father chased them up the road. I think he caught them. They never bothered me again.'

Vic's experience is arguably consistent with the point made earlier that certain events, irrespective of the passage of time, are retained in the memories of those who experienced them; upon reflection, they flood back.

Instructively, sisters, Marie and Sharon, aged 41 and 43 and born in the UK to St Lucian parents, reported that:

'Racism was not that pronounced when we were growing. In other words, from ages 5 to 7, being the only black kids in our junior primary school, colour was not a problem. We knew we were black kids and that we had kinky hair, but we were seen as kids first and not our colour. Our white peers knew of our difference, but they did not understand our culture or the fact that we had one. The rest of the public, especially the older people, reacted carefully towards us. You could tell they saw us as foreigners. We were always asked where we came from. It seemed they could not perceive that we were born here.'
In his memoir, **Black Gold of the Sun**, writer and critic, Ekow Eshun, recalls early experiences akin to the ones above. According to Eshun, the full extent of this dynamics of racism and othering in the national imaginary was brought home to him in 1978 when Margaret Thatcher, the then Prime Minister, made a controversial statement decrying the presence of foreigners; who were swamping Britain and who would potentially alter its culture and values. Thatcher's promotion of exclusivity based on an imagined community or some shared ethnic and cultural heritage met with widespread acceptance, considering its domination in the news and media commentary locally and internationally. It also illustrates the ideologies and structures of exclusion faced by African and African-Caribbean immigrant communities from political elites and the media. (Eshun, 2005: 68-69)

I reflected this back to the respondents, probing for resonance and other perspectives.

Despite its ubiquity in media and public discourse and outcry from the immigrant communities, only two respondents had recollections of the speech. While most retain the experiences faced by their parents in the aftermath of Powell's speech (as relayed to them) in their memories, I was curious to know why this was an exception, considering that most of them were adults at the time. The most I got as an answer was that anti-immigrant sentiment was the order of the day, and politicians exploited it, so it was inconsequential. A few others detached themselves from it, claiming Thatcher's speech was aimed at their parents who were not really British. One of those who remembered it had this to say. According to Frank, 'it was a cheap political gimmick that severely strained race relations in Britain. It was an invitation to the media and they made a meal of it.'

With regards to unpleasant attitudes harboured towards black people, there was a consensus of opinion amongst Jason 44, Justin 46 and Debbie 42 and Nadin 40, all of whom were born in the UK, that it was more consistent with ignorance and insensitivity to diversity, than being racially motivated. However, the rest disagreed. The point of departure being that it was motivated by racism or prejudice. All but two of these stated that they preferred the term prejudice to racism because the latter lacked conceptual clarity.

Racism, according to Sharon, 'is too serious a term to use.'
This line of thought resonates with Hume's assertion that prejudice is often at the bottom of the resentment harbourered towards the 'other' or those who are different and is a symptom of a deeply rooted cultural problem rather than just racism.
(Source: http://www.spiked-online.com) But according to Vic, one conceptual strand underpins racism and prejudice, and that is the dislike or loathing of others for being different: 'whether it is called racism or prejudice, they're both unacceptable. The concept is about disliking certain people because they're different. You can't put a gloss on it.' Jonathan argued that the term prejudice is a euphemism that diminishes the perniciousness of racism. 'It should be called what it is; racism.'

Remarkably, there was an agreement that attitudes towards immigrants have changed, or are changing. Vic and Jonathan however attributed such changes to the introduction of legal frameworks eradicating discrimination and promoting equal opportunities, and not the outcome of a national soul searching. This position is underpinned by the three transforming frameworks introduced from 1965 to 1976 namely: The Race Relations Act of 1965 which established a Race Relations Board to deal with cases of discrimination and made it unlawful to discriminate in public places or on public transport. The Race Relations Act of 1968 that created the Community Relations Commission for the promotion of race relations. This Act outlawed discrimination in employment, housing, service provision and advertisements. And Finally, The Race Relations Act of 1976 developed for the purpose of converting the Race Relations Board and Community Relations Commission into the Commission for Racial Equality. The inclusion of racial disadvantage and complaints about discrimination within its purview made this Act a profoundly effective instrument for combating racism and inequality. The mentioned BBC report articulated this socio-economic and cultural change as follows:

'Things began to improve from the 1970s onward. Aided by the Race Relations Acts and campaigns by Equal Opportunity bodies, Caribbean people began to participate in trade unions, councils, professional bodies and staff associations, and to establish themselves as part of the British population.' (1998)

In addition to that, the report states that socio-economic initiatives like the Inner City Task Force, City Action Teams and the New Deal were introduced as impetus for
young and upwardly mobile generation of black people to move forward in the
direction of high profile success stories that have manifested in Britain's black
community. Trevor Macdonald had been a news presenter on television since 1973,
Lenny Henry was a popular comedian having won a TV talent show at just 17 in
1975, and Daley Thompson had won decathlon gold at the 1980 Moscow Olympics.

Aside from cultural visibility, black people became politically active. First on a local
and then on a national level as exemplified by Bernie Grant who became the first
ethnic minority leader of a London Council (Haringey) and subsequently, along with
Diane Abbot and Paul Boateng in 1987, made history as the first people of
Caribbean and African descent to be elected members of parliament. The
phenomenon of black politics took on another dimension when the entrepreneur, Val
McCalla, inspired by the Brixton riots, established the first black newspaper, The
Voice, aimed at the black community. The newspaper attracted a lot of job adverts
from London Boroughs aiming to promote their diversity and became successful
financially. Such was its influence in the mid 1990s in black British society that it was
accused by the then Metropolitan police commissioner, Paul Condon, of inciting
racial tension by its coverage of the death in custody of a young black man.

Despite this history of black achievements, which Hall refers to as 'the margin
coming into representation', episodes typifying racial tensions such as the 1981
Brixton riots, the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 and occurrences of racial
disturbance continue to problematizes the notion of attitude change.
This was the position vigorously asserted by Vic and Jonathan in their insistence that
a sense-defying paradox is revealed when the notion of attitude change is
juxtaposed against the manifest racial incidents that have occurred and continue to
occur in the United Kingdom.

According to Vic:
‘Attitude change does not make sense. They are merely tolerating us. Deep down,
racism is still there. Not everyone of course. You have a lot of good people out there.
But the others, they just tolerate us.’

Jonathan stated as follows:
‘All these policies and laws have helped to curb it. But it is within most people and
would take generations to purge out. Look all these things happening in a climate of
change. Look at the deaths of Stephen Lawrence, Anthony Walker and all that tension in Burnley and Oldham. It don't make sense'

The above proposition that immigrants are being merely tolerated is echoed by Baggini in contending that toleration rather than embracing the 'other' is, ineluctably, the means of attaining peaceful coexistence in a society as complex and diverse as the United Kingdom. A wholehearted acceptance of the 'other' in most societies, according to Baggini, is ridiculous:

'The desire to embrace the other is weak in most cultures, majority or minority. To ask everyone to embrace everyone else is clearly absurd. Toleration is the best we can do, and what's more, it works.' (Baggini, the Guardian G2, 23/01/07)

In a similar vein, Butalia argues that prejudice against 'the other' are deeply embedded and difficult to dislodge.' (New Internationalist, October 2006) Lending weight to the proposition that attitude change was engendered by legal and political interventions rather than from collective introspection, Younge argues as follows: 'The racial harmony that exists in Britain emerged from anti-racist struggle. It did not come from the goodness of anyone's heart or the latent sense of fair play, but was fought for by ordinary people, black and white.' (Journalist, November/December 2006: 21-23)

In her assessment of post Windrush Britain, especially in the context of young black people, Phoenix corroborates the aforementioned view that racism exists in parallel to the progress made in race relations:

"While the fiftieth anniversary of the Windrush is appropriate cause for celebration and recognition of the dynamism of British society and peoples,...the children, grand children and great grandchildren of the Windrush generation have not been engaged in a straightforward progress from exclusion and being the objects of racism to inclusion and multiculturalism and celebrations. Instead their experiences are, and have been, riven with contradictions of what Phil Cohen has termed 'multicultures' and 'multiracism'. (Phoenix, 1998: 87)"
However, the views expressed above appear to be at variance with those of Jason, Justin, Debbie and Nadin as they reported not encountering racial discrimination or prejudice of any form apart from minor problems with white officialdom. They also reported having white friends with whom they get on so well. Expressing the feelings of all four, Justin stated as follows:

'That is not saying that it did not or does not exist though, just that we have not experienced it. We hear and read about this, but on a personal level, we have not had it. We hang out with whites and have black friends as well. I think it is even better for the next generation. My children have not come home from school or from the streets and said: 'Dad I was racially abused'

These respondents exemplify the dynamics of race relation in Britain, especially in the context of younger generations of black and white people. Several ethnographic reports have found that white working class young people who may have prejudices against other minority ethnic groups such as Asians or Muslims, tend to admire Afro-Caribbean sub cultures owing to their 'positive masculine and class associations'. As Modood explains, "racial discrimination is not unitary in its disadvantaging because not all non-white groups are discriminated against in the same way or to the same extent."

According to Modood, prejudice based on colour difference is superficial in comparison to that based on cultural difference. As interactions between the different races developed, white people, Modood states, were 'not necessarily less conscious of group differences but they were far more likely to ascribe group differences on the basis of upbringing, customs, forms of socialisation and self-identity than to biological hereditary.' In this context therefore, 'prejudice against Asians in general, and Muslims in particular, is much the highest of any ethnic, racial and religious group.' (Modood et al, 1996)

Media Preferences and Consumption

First Generation and Second Generations
Like most people in Britain who spend an average of 25 hours per week consuming mass media, television viewing is regarded as a fabric of African and African-Caribbean lifestyle. (Livingstone, 1996:305) Nearly all of my respondents acknowledged the centrality of television viewing to the communities. They stated that families spend a remarkable amount of time in the evenings and weekends consuming news broadcast, documentaries, soap dramas, comedies, films, reality shows and other forms of entertainment; with the younger generation particularly keen on music channels. Also, the advent of multi channel television introduced a new dimension to viewing habits as these stations were accessed for culturally relevant programmes. (Fletcher, 2003: 3) The following statement by Mrs Cato illustrates the centrality of television viewing to the community:

'I think Television brings us together. We spent evenings and weekends together watching all sorts of programmes till we fall asleep. But children were not allowed to stay too late or watch certain programmes. The young men and ladies are mostly interested in film and music channels.'

However, this was not the case for everyone. A majority of the older participants reported having no television sets in the early 1960s for a number of reasons. Living under tight budgets made it difficult to acquire TV sets or other luxury items. Moreover, many landlords frowned at the idea, fearing increase in electricity cost, and damages done to walls and roof when mounting aerial poles. Also, Ms Gordon stated that there was little or no time to indulge in TV viewing because 'we worked two or three shifts to make ends meet. You had to work extra hard to pay for nannies and save some money to buy your house. We had other priorities.'

Interestingly, they all reported being aware of news and media commentary about black African and Caribbean people through radio broadcast, tabloid newspapers and discussions at house parties. As the respondents point out, the latter was a common feature in the 1960s and well into the late 1970s as they became forums for socialising and interaction for black people who were often barred from most clubs and bars. They also reported that media consumption and analysis were prevalent in these social gatherings and it engendered a sense of community, irrespective of the diversity of the groups. According to Mr Lewis:
'That was the only way we could socialise. We were barred. But the Irish were good. You could go to an Irish pub and have fun. There were arranged house parties. You paid for entrance tickets and drinks though. We were like family, you know. Most times the police raided these parties because neighbours complained of noise, or the police say they were searching for drugs. Just a few young lads smoking dope and they make a bid deal of it.'

Mr Hemingway stated as follows:
'It was not all about music and dancing. We also built a community and we discussed issues back home, issues affecting the community and news about black people in the media. So there was news-awareness. We watched and discussed television news and programmes concerning us, including newspaper articles. The development of black community centres can be attributed to these social activities. It is a shame they don't socialise as we used to. Now all they talk about is carnival.'

As the above statements illustrate, these meetings were avenues where media consumption, especially television viewing, took place and where also, media coverage of the community was discussed. Allied to this, was the development of a sense of belonging. As Barker points out, news viewing provide communities with more than just information, it 'is ritualistic, symbolic and a matter of feeling as much as information.' (Barker, 1997:131)

The data gathered reveal that there is now a convergence in consumption patterns amongst most in the first and second generation spectrum. It showed that mainstream British TV programmes are consumed along with culturally specific ones, accessed through satellite channels. The BBC and Channel four programmes featured as the most preferred by a majority of the respondents. The Medialab research shows that these stations are seen as ethnically sensitive broadcasters. The data also unveils a consumption of black publications, local newspapers and radio as part of a strong community orientation. According to Georgio, the cultivation of similar media taste and values 'reinforce a sense of belonging in a community...even if its members are dispersed across different countries, even if
they are otherwise very different in terms of generation, age, class, gender and sexuality.' (Georgio, 2005:54)

An interesting finding in the data collected is that some national newspapers and tabloids are viewed as being imposing, authoritative, prejudiced, biased in their coverage of black communities, un-sympathetic to problems faced by these communities and tend to instigate racial tension. Asked to expatiate on this, and what their views are about notions of othering in the British media, a majority of the respondents almost uniformly answered in the negative. They reported that media representations of the communities are permeated with cultural bigotry. They also stated that sections of the media are complicit in reaffirming existing negative stereotypes of black people.

Also, some interviewees stated that implicit in some newspaper commentary on black people, is the impugnation of black Britishness or the notion of black Englishness. They reported that the media's claim that black people not integrating into the British way of life is an epitome of how the communities are viewed as outsiders. In other words, black people, including those born in the UK, are narrativised as the "other", as "immigrants", as "foreigners", and hence, creating a "them" and "us" adversarial relations. Nearly all of these however stated that the media is undergoing a process of attitude change that would take some time to fully achieve. They stated that centuries of deeply embedded prejudice would not disappear just like that. They also reported that the coverage of Stephen Lawrence's murder and the Macpherson Report in 1993 are events still clearly remembered. Nearly all of them stated that the position taken by the media now symbolised a paradigm shift in British media representation of black ethnic minorities. A few disagreed, stating that cultural racism is still rife among sections of the media. It is pertinent to produce in entirety the statements made in connection with media preferences, media coverage of the communities and about events remembered.

Vic said:
'I read the local Luton newspapers. And if I can afford it, The Voice or the Nation, but I always listen to the radio, especially Choice FM because of its coverage of black issues. I watch TV a lot. I like light entertainment, soap operas and films. I get the
news from BBC Radio /TV and ITV because I want to hear from different angles. I think the media is biased against us. They only ever report the bad things that happen, so people think we are all bad i.e. drug dealers, gun users and muggers. I always feel they are referring to me when they mention “Yardies” or “Jamaican”. Yes, I felt like an outsider. If you read media coverage, mostly in The Sun and Daily Mail of the Brixton riots, it was obvious that we were being portrayed as ‘the other’. You can’t fail to notice the bigotry in the coverage of the Nottinghill Carnival. It is reported as inducing violence and disorder, and not for its cultural value. I can’t fault them for the coverage of Stephen Lawrence’s murder. They came out and spoke the truth. It was a racist murder. They also devoted a remarkable attention to Damilola’s murder, but I still can’t trust the media.’

Frank reported as follows:

‘I read the newspapers, listen to the radio and watch TV religiously. I read The Independent and the Luton Herald amongst others. I watch BBC and Channel Four and other Satellite channels. News and current affairs are my favourites. Politics and politicians affect our lives. It is important to know what they are saying on our behalf. The British media is not interested in covering any positive news from these communities, unless sponsored by The British Government or British NGOs. Good news would not sell, you know. When certain members of these communities do something negative, he or she becomes Nigerian or Jamaican; in reference to where their parents come from, and not as Britons. Yes, my recollections of these events are fresh. My recollection of the Brixton riots and how the media covered it is clear. It was depressing. Very little was said about the build-up of events leading to it, like police brutality. No denunciation of the discrimination faced by these people. The Stephen Lawrence case moved the nation and the media played a big role.’

According to Mr Sutherland:

‘I listen to the radio broadcast a lot and watch Sky and BBC news programmes most. I watch soap operas. I also watch documentaries on Channel Four about Caribbean and African people. I enjoyed watching Desmond, you know, the barbers shop comedy. Yes, the media always show the poor people and starving children of
Africa. When they aired that documentary, Jamaica ER, you see, there was controversy. There was an outcry from the Caribbean community, especially Jamaicans, because it portrayed us as backward and brutal criminals. You felt like an outcast. You see how they report the Nottinghill Carnival as a festival of crime and violence. Yes, I remember the Brixton riots. I couldn't go to South Norwood where I lived, so I slept at a friend's house. The media was biased against us from day one, so I was not surprised about the negative things said. It reminded me of the Enoch Powell Speech. The way the newspapers presented us so negatively to the public and the way people looked at you. Yes, I think things are changing in the media because of the way they supported the Lawrence family.'

Marie stated as follows:
'I regularly listen to the radio and watch television programmes. My preferences for radio are music and talk shows. On television, I like to watch Coronation Street, documentaries like Panorama and entertainment. When documentaries like Mary Seacole or Who Do You Think You Are with Colin Jackson are advertised, I try to catch them. I don't trust the newspapers, especially the Tabloids. They are often sensational when reporting black people or issues. The O.J. Simpson trial and Brixton riots are good examples, but all that is changing.'

Sharon reported as follows:
'I never read some newspapers i.e. The Sun, The Daily Mail, Daily Express and most of the broadsheets. I feel they are always negative when it comes to black people. It is either about black people being criminals or starving Africans unable to help themselves. I listen to radio and watch a lot of TV. I watch nearly all of the news channels, and documentaries on ITV, BBC and Channel 4. I keenly watch programmes like Dispatches and Panorama especially when the subject matter is to do with black people, although these are few and far between. Black people are never portrayed correctly, and there are never enough of them on TV.

Jonathan argued as follows:
'My opinion about British media coverage has not changed. Since the 1960s, we're still seen as the outsiders when most of us here are in our forties and fifties. We are still seen as immigrants trying to take over the country. What some of the media
don't realize is that we were at one time part of the British Empire. Our parents did see England as the mother country. We are often represented as muggers, gun-lovers, drug-peddlers and prostitution-racketeers. These stereotypes are fed to the public by newspaper like The Sun, Daily Mail, Daily Express, the Times, Telegraph and through the medium of TV and films. I remember TV shows like Love Thy Neighbour, Death Do Us Part, The Black and White Minstrels and many others, produced ostensibly as entertainment, but had underlying racist themes.'

As Sharon states further:
'Yes, the media will always say Black British male or African Caribbean male. Your colour and origins are stated first. For example, “Jamaican-born John Barnes now playing for England.” You felt excluded.' I sometimes read newspapers like Daily Mail for news and articles on Black people. I watch TV for instant information and black programmes for knowledge. Black people are portrayed negatively. Read between the lines the coverage of Victoria Chimbe's death and you can glimpse that old stereotypical imagery of Africans as backward, sorcerers and witchcraft practitioners.

However, African and African Caribbean communities are not homogenous in their media consumption. There are some within these communities from the first and second generations who are oriented towards the right in the context of media preference. Right wing social conservative newspapers like The Times, Daily Express, Daily Mail, The Telegraph and The Sun that are disdainful to issues of multiculturalism and immigration are, ironically, the preferences of Mr Assamoah, Mr and Mrs Gunter and Ms Gordon respectively.

According to Ms Gordon:

'I read the Sun Paper. I listen to Archers on Radio. I have listened since I came to the country. I watch Sky and TV news programmes most. I watch soap on TV. Sometimes I watch documentaries on Africa and the Caribbean.'

Mr Assamoah stated as follows: 'I read The Telegraph funny enough. I am mindful of the fact that its coverage of black issues can be extreme sometimes, but I make up
my own mind. But the tone has changed over the years. I watch TV a lot these days especially the news and documentaries. With the introduction of satellite channels, my consumption has broadened. I watch BEN and OBE TV which covers Africa and Caribbean.'

In agreement with Mr Gunter, Mrs Gunter reported as follows: 'I read the Daily Mail and watch BBC news and documentaries. Some people are baffled that we read the Mail. But it has a lot of historical news about Britain. I know sometimes they go over the top and I don't believe everything I read. I don't think they are racist. But they have changed. See how they reported the Steven Lawrence murder?'

Representing Black Ethnic Minorities in The British Media

As Trowler counsels, a study of the representation of ethnic minority communities in the British media should avoid generalisation because certain representations in parts of the tabloid press are scarcely ever found on television or the broad sheets. This difference of approach, as Trowler notes, results in accusations of bias amongst media organisations. (Trowler, 1996:207) The BBC, for example, is viewed by some newspapers as overly liberal, metropolitan and sympathetic to issues of immigration and multiculturalism. Moreover, newspapers and the BBC are different in characters, style and perspectives. While the television media in Britain do not directly instigate anti-immigrants sentiments, they may reinforce pre-existing prejudices by focusing on negative news involving people of African and African Caribbean or Asian origin. According to Braham, the news and television media in some advanced industrialised countries reinforce the majority population's prejudice towards immigrants by implicitly or explicitly portraying the latter negatively. (Braham, 1982:268-286) (Greenberg, Bradley and Brand 1994: 273-74) (Hall 1996, 160-68)

As Trowler states also, some media are oriented towards particular communities and represents them and their cultures in ways that differ from those of the mainstream media. The Voice and Nation, for example, are demonstrably pro Black and have been at the forefront, following the Brixton riots, in representing black cultural life as well highlighting issues such as social deprivation, racial
discrimination, unemployment and police brutality that affects these communities. *The Voice* unabashedly describes itself 'as Britain's Best Black Newspaper.'

Moreover, the role of some media in combating racism is often overlooked. Programmes like *This Week, Man Alive and Black in Blue* produced by Desmond Wilcox in collaboration with other journalists which exposed intolerance, bigotry, and racial prejudice in the Metropolitan police, is not given due acknowledgement. (Cited by Trowler, 1996:207) It is also worth noting that some media are able to manage a curious duality of being both fluid and static (changes and continuities) in their responses to, and coverage of issues affecting individuals in the black ethnic minority communities. The iconic repositioning of *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* in reporting and editorialising the Stephen Lawrence murder as racially motivated, including their full reproduction of the Macpherson Report which branded the Metropolitan police as institutionally racist, is a manifestation of this phenomenon. (Neal, 2003:5) As various studies have shown, the media are able to combat as well as promote racial prejudice and thus have a considerable influence on race relations. (Cottle, 1982:2-7)

Given the above factors, it is appropriate to analyse negative representations of black communities in the context of the ideological premises or rationale of the media responsible. As Tiffin argues, 'the process of news making is not politically neutral or ideologically inert.' Tiffin states further that there are factors such as news value, audience interest, profit, nationalist political agenda, organisation's ethos and other priorities that constitute a 'very considerable and limiting prism through which news about immigrant communities are filtered.' (Tiffin, 1978:5) According to Hebdige, the English heritage industry with a nationalist agenda are complicit in institutionalising cultural racism in the context of setting up certain fictional values that are modelled as English or British culture which effectively exclude those perceived as 'other'. (Hebdige in Trowler, 1996:209) According to Teun van Dijke, a kind of 'othering' or indirect racism is implied when sections of the media with a nationalist agenda make statements about British values because 'there is an unstated assumption being made about non-British values.' As Dijke states further, some media discourses tend to inscribe racialised stereotypes on certain minority groups. The depiction of black people as criminals by some of the print media epitomises racial reductionism and anti-black prejudice. Studies carried out by Dijke
on the linkage of ethnicity to crime, based on a content analysis of thousands of newspaper reports from different countries, shows that crime and violence are among the five most frequent stereotypes ascribed to ethnic coverage. (van Dijke 1991) In the United Kingdom, as Trowler observes, it is not uncommon to see newspaper headlines screaming thus: 'Black Brixton Looters Jailed' (Daily Telegraph, 14/12/85) 'MP's Ready To Greet Dubious Immigrants.' (Daily Telegraph, 03/12/85) (Trowler, 1996: 209) As Yarde points out also, the media reinforces this myth by clinging on to the same old stereotypes and moral panics. 'It is repackaged according to the demon of the day and regurgitated as if the use of the same metaphors were something new. In other words, contemporary media discourse echo the 1960s and 1970s in re-ascribing metaphors such as “floods”, “tides” “deluges” of coloured people including Enoch Powell’s “foaming”, “bloody” and “tides,” or words analogous to these, to the black communities. As Yarde notes, the Daily Mail and Daily Express are most complicit in reinforcing the impression that blacks are innately conditioned to be law-breakers or criminals. In 1982, the Daily Mail ran a front page story headlined, "Black Crime: The Alarming Figures" This story focused on mugging which constituted just 1% of all serious crime recorded. Sixteen years later, the Daily Mail treated its readers to a reincarnation: "Brutal Crimes of The Asylum Seekers" This was reported as having a devastating impact on crime in London, but was denied by the police. As Yarde puts it: ‘The same theme but a different demon.’ Allied to the employment of metaphors, is word association or subliminal messages. Research carried out in the 1960s revealed the usage of words like “murder”, “kill”, “hate”, “crisis”, “threat” and "banned" in a significant number of newspaper headlines on race. Similarly, research on newspaper coverage of West Indians in the 1980s conducted by Yarde unveiled ‘a startling repetitions of words such as “war”, “rampage”, “battle”, “trouble” and “riot”. The word “mugging” has however gained popular currency as a moral panic because of its dominance in media discourse. As Yarde illustrates, ‘It used to be that all muggers are black! All muggers are black! Then like Chinese whispers the message altered to all blacks are muggers! All blacks are muggers!’ (Roselind Yarde, The Guardian G2, Monday November 12, 2001:9)

Moral Panics, Folk Devils And Primary Definers
From time to time according to Cohen, certain groups of people become the subject of moral panics. They are labelled as being outside the central core values of consensual society and hence posing 'a threat to societal values and interests'. (Cohen, 1972:9) Moral panics are generally stirred up 'by media coverage or propaganda around a social issue'. (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/ ) These panics are often allied to calls for hardening of law and order to deal with 'folk devils'. The labelling of black people as muggers and the concomitant heavy-handed policing that they faced in the 1980s is an epitome of moral panics. Mugging was presented in the media as a rapidly growing phenomenon within the black communities, but there was no official statistics to sustain this claim. Moreover, it was not a new crime, but was labelled as such to evoke moral panic which, according to Hall, served to legitimise the expansion of punitive measures e.g. police 'mugging squads' and heavy sentences. (Hall 1978) According to Neal, the late 1970s and 1980s saw 'the emergence of arguments suggesting that young African Caribbean men were not only being criminalized culturally, but that this process had a material effect on their experiences within the criminal justice system.'(Neal 2003:59) Furthermore, the frenzied media report that followed the discovery of HIV and AIDS sufferers in Britain, in which gay people were demonised as spreaders of the disease, which bore no concrete evidence except for the speculations of primary definers namely laboratory workers and government health ministers (given huge credence) is emblematic of moral panics. (Goodman 2002:1) The hysteria whipped up by the media was accompanied with calls for the quarantine of those infected. (Goodman 2002:3) The media rely upon primary definers who are often powerful and influential groups within the society; government officials and corporate experts providing information that help to legitimise its definition of social reality. As Herman notes, establishment media institutions often suppress opposing views, factual evidence or experiential accounts if these do not conform to their ideological or political framework. Put succinctly, they may distort facts or create myths to conform to their presuppositions of what is reality, wanting mainstream society to collude in seeing things as they see them. As Herman states further, they defend their uncritical dependence on primary definers on the basis that the latter are makers of the news and definers of reality. (Herman, 1985:135-146) According to Chomsky and Herman, there exists a symbiotic relationship between the media and primary definers. The media (secondary definers) are able to amplify perceived threats to the existing
cohesion of society with the backing of expert sources, providing the justification for state (police and courts: mine) intervention to eliminate such threat. Chomsky and Herman's assertions derive from a political economic perspective on the media. In this mode of thought, the media 'serves to mobilise support for the special interests that dominate the state and private activity.' (Herman and Chomsky, 1988:xi)

In *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (1978:), Hall et al carried out a study of newspaper hysteria over rising crime, especially mugging. Applying Cohen's concept of moral panics, they theorised that the hysteria about rising crime rate is ideologically linked to social control. According to this view, crime statistics are often distorted for political and economic ends. Moral panics over mugging could be deliberately ignited to elicit public support for 'policing the crisis'. Hall et al articulated the view that the media in collaboration with primary definers invoke moral panics to reinforce and perpetuate the consensus view. The study was underpinned by the Gramscian theory of hegemony, which holds that the media plays a vital role in the social production of news aimed at preserving the dominant ideology. (Source: http://www.aber.ac.uk/)

According to the above perspective, sections of the British media may exploit working class fears and anxieties of black people in order to unite them with the dominant class against those labelled as 'muggers' who pose a threat to the core values of society. As Bowles argues, it serves the interests of the dominant class to use fear as an instrument of controlling the population, and it as old as the central state itself. As Bowles states further, the state in failing to show proof of any threat posed by 'outsiders', resorts to 'self-referential argument, that of the public's 'perceptions', perceptions that have been fuelled by the state and the media in the first place.' (Source: http://www.williambowle.info/)

As have been stated earlier, the collaboration of sections of the media in whipping up moral panics could be driven by several other factors. The desire to increase circulation or ratings, and hence, maximise shareholder profits is often a major motivation. It also serves the interests of a powerful elite or press barons with anti-immigration agenda. These are often owners of, or influential people in news organisations who control, determine and create media content and are able to
disseminate propaganda to their audience, especially about threats posed by certain
groups to society.

Hall however argues also that media audience do not uncritically accept textual
meanings intended by editors or producers. This proposition is premised on a
reception theory developed by Hall that allows for a measure of “negotiated” or
“oppositional” readings of the text by the audience.’ Hall’s model hinges on the
notion that audience/readers negotiate meaning in the media text. They take in some
of the meanings embedded in the text and also translate some in their own meaning.
Depending on cultural backgrounds, some audience may accept most of the media’s
text message, while others reject it in preference of an oppositional reading. In
Encoding/Decoding, Hall proposes the encoding and decoding of media discourse in
which 'the intended meaning of text located somewhere between the producer and
reader is encoded by the producer in a certain way, and the reader decodes the
text’s message slightly differently, according to his/her personal background, and the
various different situations and frames of interpretation.' (Hall, 1980:130-135)
(Source:http://www.culstock.ndirect.co.uk)

Analysis of Media Coverage of Events of Racial Tension

The focus on black ethnic minorities as moral panics or threat, according to
Hayward, can be traced to the coverage of 1958 Nottingham and Nottinghill ‘riots’ in
which race was represented as a problem. Permeating media and public discourse
were the words ‘blacks’ ‘problem’ and ‘riots’. The media singled out black youths for
blame, suppressing the reality that they were protesting against series of attacks
from fascist Teddy Boys; which resulted in the murder of Kelso Cochrane. The
violence perpetrated by the Teddy Boys never featured in the vocabulary of the
media as was done to the black youths who were only defending themselves. As
Hayward puts it, 'by their very dint of “being there,” blacks were trouble-causers.
They were the “other,” the black intruding menace.' The coverage of these events
set a historical precedent in foregrounding the narrativisation of black protests as
“riots”, “disturbances”, “unruly mob violence”; and in the context of the the Brixton
disturbance of 1982, as "orgies of arson", "rampaging blacks", "black tide of looters."
Implicit in the media discourse of these events, according to Hayward, 'is the notion that black people 'remain invisible until and unless they are perceived as a problem. They are stereotyped and made visible only as "rioters," "looters", "scroungers", "illegal immigrants", "muggers" and a "threat". (Hayward, 1997:2)

While the Nottinghill and the Brixton disturbances differ in terms of their motivations and the composition of those involved, the contents of press coverage of both events, as would be demonstrated, bear some similarities, particularly in word association and distortions. Nearly all of my respondents remembered the disturbances as a manifestation of social discontent and anger that emanated from high unemployment, poor housing, racial discrimination and disproportionate policing in the communities. The disturbances lasted for three days and were carried out predominantly by young second generation black men born to parents who had come in the 1940s and 1950s to help rebuild post-war Britain. They fought the police, set fire to vehicles and damaged buildings. More than 300 hundred people were injured with the total cost of damage to property estimated at £7.5 million. According to Cindi John of BBC Caribbean Reports, what shocked many people was its unexpectedness and spontaneity. On the surface it seemed that black people were integrating into the fabric of society, but simmering beneath was accumulated tension that boiled over in Brixton. It was an expression of years of frustration and anger at racism, discrimination, poverty, powerlessness, above all, oppressive policing. The days of full employment were gone and close to half of young black men in Brixton had no job. Many black young people believed that the police discriminated against them especially with the use of the Sus law under which anybody could be stopped and searched if officers merely thought they looked suspicious. In early April 1981 the police introduced Operation Swamp in response to a relentless media campaign about increasing street crime. Stereotyped as inclined to criminality, and not conforming to the social norms and values that characterises respectable British life, young black people became an easy target. Close to a thousand of these were stopped and searched in Brixton in six days under the Sus law; leading to a heightening of tension. (Source: Cindi John, www.bbc.co.uk/caribbean/news/story/2006)
As can be argued, newspaper coverage and analysis of these socio-economic problems especially the issue of excessive policing was tokenist as it did not constitute news value. News value, according to Trowler, derives from reporting conflicts. As Trowler points out also, sections of the print media do not engage in 'analysing and reporting the underlying socio-economic causes of problems faced by minority ethnic groups', as this would not be of interest to their readers. Hartman and Husband suggest that the problems faced by black people do 'not get into the news', but the portrayal of blacks as a 'problem' fits well with journalists' ideas of what constitutes newsworthiness or news values: 'Fear, tension, conflict, "riots" amongst others are words which make the audience sit up and take notice' and not peace, coexistence and harmony. Hartman and Husband however argue that in portraying black people in these images, journalists and those who make the news are only reflecting back to society 'the derogatory attitudes and negative symbols concerning foreigners and blacks which are inherent in the British culture.' Hartman and Husband, according to Trowler, partially subscribe to the pluralist school of thought that views the media as not shaping society, but that society shapes the media. Racial prejudice towards foreigners or black people, according to this view, is bequeathed to 'people brought up in a racist society.' Their judgements, feelings and perceptions of foreigners or black people are coloured by 'attitudes inherited from centuries of colonialism and racism, and are hence un-trustworthy.' Media representation of race is therefore a reflection of readers' attitude; identified by editors through newspaper sales and public opinion research. (Hartman and Husband, 1974: 274-279)

The mode of accounting of the Brixton disturbance is open to a Marxist and pluralist interpretation of how the story was framed. As Darcus Howe points out, it was called "Brixton riots" by the media to convey 'the impression that it was the work of an un-educated and hysterical mob' which fits in with its audiences' perceptions of black people. (New Statesman, 03/04/06) While Darcus Howe's point is reasonable, the Brixton event merits the description of 'riot' ascribed to it, considering its tumultuousness and sense of disorder. Besides, similar events in around the same period in Bristol and Toxteth were described as riots. What was problematic as most of my interviewees stated, is the negative association and distortions in newspaper coverage. While the media were expressing a sense of national outrage, they were
at the same time arousing their readers’ imaginations with images of mayhem and negative word usage. According to Hayward, the mobilisation of pejoratives to describe the event typifies the narrativisation of black protests as problem. The Brixton disturbance was given a copious amount of newsprint space by sections of the media. The content and images arguably points to a mode of reporting that was designed to create moral panics on one hand, and arouse public sympathy and support for the police on the other. It was portrayed as an attack by black youths, widely perceived as folk devils, on the police who were regarded as victims. It was arguably through this prism that sections of the print media wanted its readers to view the event.

The Daily Mail of 13/04/81 gave it a full-blown front page, couched in images and metaphors suggestive of anarchy and desolation with the photo of an injured policewoman being led away by two male colleagues. This was arguably calculated to elicit public support for the police, and reinforce the notion that black people were an embodiment of problem. The headline read thus: ‘NEW BATTLES HIT BRITON’. The story which consumed six pages, with just a few inches citing the cause of the disturbance, was structured in a victim/perpetrator binary in which the police were produced as being on the receiving end of attacks from ‘an army of rioting black youths who took to the streets for the third night’s battle against the Metropolitan Police. ‘Once again it was the weary police, fighting to maintain their control of the streets, who were under pressure.... young blacks emphasised time and again that their quarrel was not with the white community but with the police.’ (The Daily Mail 13/04/81)

The Daily Mail’s editorials and commentaries on the event underline the view mobilised by Hartman and Husband that sections of the media relish ascribing savagery and violence to the racial ‘other’ because of its news worthiness. (Hartman and Husband, 1974: 274-279) Black youths were portrayed as violent-prone and possessing street fighting capabilities including the ability to deploy improvised missiles and other lethal weapons, while white youths were positioned as merely collaborating with them, as the following lines suggest:

Crowds of young blacks gathering in groups of up to 100...and whites appearing alongside them, working with them in their street fighting tactics, had large supplies
of petrol bombs and sharpened iron railings distributed to them and were being used against police and property.

The *Daily Express* like the *Daily Mail* has a tradition of political partisanship and is disdainful of issues relating to multiculturalism and immigration. Its publication of 13/04/81 gave the story a full front page with the headline reading thus: 'MORE RIOTS HIT BRIXTON'. With a similar theme as the *Mail*, the *Daily Express* regaled its readers with five pages of tales of violence and mayhem and here are some excerpts:

'As the battle of Brixton erupted again yesterday, police cut down on Saturday night talked in tones of bewilderment and horror about the most frightening day of their lives.'

'Marauding mobs of youth, mostly black, hurled bricks and bottles at police...' 'Looting mobs storming the streets...' ‘A police spokesman said a large number of black youths are attacking the police with anything they can get their hands on...' 'Officers are being injured'. 'There are very violent clashes'. 'A shoe shop window smashed...girls and teenage boys helped themselves to shoes and boots.' 'Every building seemed to disgorge scores of yelling people, hurling missiles.' (Daily Express, 13/04/81)

It dedicated the whole of page three - titled *The Victims* - to the police and others affected by the disturbance. The story contained disparaging language directed at black youths with carefully chosen words, images and metaphors designed, arguably, to evoke the notion that commonwealth immigrants threaten the fabric of British society. A number of police officers were given space to narrate experiences of horrific attacks perpetrated by black youth; with photos of their injured colleagues positioned strategically in the middle of the page. Below this is a story titled: A devastated publican, a shattered community, which went as follows:

*Landlord Jack Old stood amid the charred ruins of his pub The George, in Railton Road yesterday and told how a gang of youths tried to turn him into a human touch. His wife Beattie - she was beaten and kicked and robbed of all her jewellery – listened as he described how a Saturday evening turned to terror.*
The publican and his wife then recount their ordeal in the hands of their attackers. She is quoted in bold letters saying:

'A gang of about 50 black youths rushed into the pub. We thought they would wreck it and go away so we locked ourselves in upstairs. They got me in the bedroom. One had a tea towel round his face. The swine had this knife ... he said that he drank in my pub then he stamped on me. He threatened to cut off my finger to get my wedding ring. He had a serrated kitchen knife but he decided to take my watch instead. (Daily express 13/04/07)

The contents of the Daily Express's editorial and commentary pages, like the Daily Mail's were equally hysterical and may have been aimed at amplifying the sense of threat mentioned above:

'When the American race riots appeared on British television screens in the 1970s, we thought they could never happen here. Now they have, with a vengeance. Brixton is last year in Bristol writ large. Within sight of Westminster, a whole community was consumed in an orgy of rioting, looting, arson, and violence.' (Daily Express 14/04/81)

As Hall et al point out, sections of the media are able to isolate certain groups of people by labelling them as folk devils who threaten the national consensus. An article in the Daily Express in response to the Brixton disturbances is instructive as it connotes that West Indians are an irrational group of outsiders whose violent nature are antithetical to the ethos of white Britain or profoundly un-British. The usage of the phrase 'bloody riots' in association with West Indians epitomises the media's propensity to create a mythic nexus between violent behaviour and race. (See Djike in Trowler, 1996:208-209) The following lines are from the article being referred to in the Daily Express of 13/04/81:

'The local West Indian leaders have the hardest and most vital of task. They must get it across to their community that, on mainland Britain, bloody riots and 'no-go' areas will not be tolerated. The law will be upheld and order maintained— everywhere.'
An article in the Sun from 13/04/81 lends credence to the point being made. Titled: Why these blacks of Brixton hate the police, it was written by Roy Kerridge, described as an expert on West Indian affairs. His analysis of elderly West Indians and black youths in the context of maintaining law and order was distorted and arguably coloured by his, or the Sun’s bias. Kerridge claimed that black youths were being indoctrinated by members of the Rastafarian movement into black nationalism or black consciousness based on mystification. Having been so brain-washed, these youths, as Kerridge suggests, turn against the state and all that it represents, especially the police. The Brixton disturbance, according to this notion, is a manifestation of ideologically-induced hatred for the police. Yet it was a widely acknowledged fact that the youths, including the whites among them, were protesting against police maltreatment of blacks, unemployment and racism.

Kerridge was arguably manifesting Orientalism or the notion of othering by his authoritative approach to the subject, and his demonising of Rastafarians. In other words, he assumed the position of the classical Orientalist if we substitute West Indians for Orientals. As Said points out, 'Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient is an Orientalist, and what he or she does or say is Orientalism'. The Orientalist engages the Orient from a dominant standpoint and ‘deals with it by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it…The former dominates and the latter must be dominated.’ (Said, 1978:1-5) Some newspaper representation of West Indian people by ‘media experts’, derives from a paradigm of thought that is stamped by imperialist prejudices. The Oriental - the other, black people, immigrants - (emphasis mine) as Said points out, is the person represented by this mode of thinking - ‘a single image, a sweeping generalisation, a stereotype that crosses countless cultural and national boundaries.’ As Seymour-Ure argues also, the British society’s way of ‘thinking about coloured people, influenced by the colonial past, constitutes a built-in predisposition to accept unfavourable beliefs about them…..and the mass media themselves can plausibly be claimed to share responsibility.’ (Seymour-Ure quoting Hartman and husband, 1974: 113)

Below are excerpts from Kerridge’s article:

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After the”destruction” of central Brixton this weekend, the views of those who speak of “Alien Cultures” may regrettably be taken more seriously when they warn that
"Caribbean and English customs cannot blend and must always produce friction." After all, the youthful "street army" that attacked the police" so savagely" and successfully would to most people's eyes appear to be West Indian. Such young people, if asked, often claim merely to be black, as if being black is a nationality. They were born in England, and yes, they are Englishmen. Yet they do not feel English and "outsiders" call them West Indies.

These "hooligans" and many quieter ones with the same ideas are "the two-way rebels", the "Stateless ones". Their problems is not only against an England which wont accept them, but against the West Indies and the up bringing their parents gave them......Strict fathers over here often made no attempt to understand their children, but simply kicked them out when they become rebellious." Delinquent youths now roam Brixton streets", attracting others from happier homes to follow them, with the attraction of the rebel," freebooting" life of 'the blacks'. Ever increasing in numbers, such young people, many who follow the Rasta cult of Africanisation through plaited hair and drug taking see the police as the enemy of their way of life. Rastas who believe in smoking ganja cannot expect the police to let them get on with it. Older West Indians, to complicate the matter, have had their own way of life destroyed by the transformation of Empire into Third World. Brought up in the security of the British Empire, when Queen, cricket and Christianity formed the background of their lives and independence seemed a kind present from Britain, they have been catapulted into a harsh new world, whether they remain in the Caribbean or settle in a modern television-age Britain. (Sun, 13/04/81)

The above comments corroborate Hayward's postulation that black protests are distorted and denigrated by the British press. Blacks, according to Hayward, are an invisible group made visible by representational narratives producing them as threat, menace and barbaric. (Hayward, 2006:2-3) The following excerpts from an article written by Eldon Griffiths MP, Parliamentary consultant to the Police Federation (who can be viewed as a primary definer) in response to the Brixton disturbances, may also consolidate this claim:

'We have been warned. After the race riots in Notting Hill, the West Midlands, Bristol and now Brixton, there can no longer be any excuse for the British people not to face the fact that race has become a major national problem—potentially as ugly and as
explosive as Northern Ireland. Relations between blacks and whites have moved on to the centre stage of our political life. And it is no use leaving it for one moment longer to the police and social workers.'

'Enoch Powell was right when he warned that the concentration of large numbers of black and brown immigrants into urban ghettos, sooner or later would lead to racial confrontation and bloodshed.'

'It is the police, too, who must bear the brunt of—not only of the stones and the stab wounds, but of the wounding criticism by black community leaders and armchair pundits in parliament. Inevitably the police makes mistake. Who wouldn't in these terrible circumstances? But it is totally untrue to suggest that the police as whole are anti-immigrant. I do not doubt that some tiny minority of police officers have contributed by their approach to the coloured community....the build up of resentment among many black people of all ages.' (Daily Express, 13/04/81)

The Times of 14/04/81 adopted a calmness of tone eschewing the gloom and doom that characterised media coverage of the events. It however had a photo of what seemed like a war zone splashed across its front page, with a headline that read as follows: Brixton Streets Boil For The Fourth Night. Unlike the Mail and Express, it gave a measured account of events. It reported the disturbance as being intense, but stated that the police were in control and making arrests. It deviated from presenting the police as victims and published the views of critics who thought the police used excessive force, and thus, escalated the situation. It reads as follows:

'Harsh criticism of the police came from national figures, including politicians, trade unionists, and the bishop of Southwark...who joined local councillors and community leaders in condemning police methods in Brixton. Mr Ted Knight, leader of Lambeth Council criticised the police as 'almost an army of occupation within the borough.'

The Times highlighted acts of violence committed, but unlike The Daily Mail, The Daily Express and the Sun avoided apportioning blame disproportionately. It reported the disturbance as perpetrated by black and white youths, stating however, that blacks were in a majority. Despite this seeming attempt to balance the scale, The Times used subliminal messaging or word association that disparaged black people. Words and phrases like 'short shrift', 'violent' and 'militant', among others, were ascribed to black community leaders. The media, as has been mentioned,

Goodman asserts that to concretise the view that certain groups of people pose a threat to the social cohesion, sections of the media employ popular stereotypes or language (often coded) that they know their audience would readily relate to. (Goodman, 2002)

As have been argued, the Brixton event occasioned an outpouring of anti-black stereotypes in the press that had the potential of deepening the existing adversarial relations between many in the mainstream population and the immigrant population. As Neal points out, the ‘media may re-inscribes a familiar repertoire of racialised stereotypes....and play with white cultural anxieties and fascinations with race’ when covering black protests. (Neal, 2003:59) Newspapers coverage helped shape the notion that blacks were an embodiment of problem. Arguably, this notion gains currency in the imagination of the public. According to Hayward, people viewed black youths as criminals, looters and muggers. (Hayward, 2006:7) A common thread that bounds these newspapers in their coverage was the suppression of the problems leading to the disturbance. As Hayward argues, they focused more on criminalizing the protest. (Hayward, 206:7) In their accounts, most omitted these problems or made just a token mention. As Danesi points out, ‘the most common falsehood propagated by journalists is that of omission, where a critical fact is left out of the story and the readers/viewers are left to slot in the details from their imagination. The outcome is a story that is given a whole new and false interpretation.’ (Source: http://www.nigeriavillagesquare.com) Nearly all of the newspapers being studied positioned themselves on the side of the Government by reporting that there was no correlation between the socio-economic and policing problems faced by the youths and the violence perpetrated. Some even reported that it was the work of
outsiders or political extremists seeking to destabilise the community. As Hall points out, 'the media exists in a very close, sympathetic relationship to power and established values. They favour a consensus view of any problem: they reflect overwhelmingly middle class attitudes and experiences. Basically, this unfits them for an authentic portrayal of the black community and its problems. The media tend to favour experts, privileged witnesses, middle men, whereas blacks are predominantly an out-group, outside the consensus. (Hall, 1974: Vol. 9/10)

With the backing of primary definers like the Home Secretary and Police Commissioner, the newspapers wrote their stories with some of the headlines reading as follows:

'Lack of work no excuse nor cause of riots' (The Times of 14/04/81)

'They’re coming from all over London’ (The Mail of 14/04/81)

'Mr Whitelaw expected to announce inquiry into Brixton riots today’ (The Telegraph of 14/04/81)

Days later however, these problems were highlighted in some newspaper reports and commentaries. For example the Daily Express of 15/04/81 reported as follows:

'Our cities are highly combustible. They are areas of the highest unemployment, the worst housing and the most inadequate community facilities. They also happen to be where our black population is most concentrated. All they need is a spark to explode...Since May 1979, unemployment in Britain has doubled, but it has quadrupled for West Indians.'

Analysis of the Coverage of Powell’s Speech
The coverage of Enoch Powell's Rivers Of Blood speech in 1968 best exemplifies the representation of race (black immigrants) as a problem. (Trowler, 1996:214)

After a lull in the furore that characterised immigration and race debates in Britain in the post-independence period, Enoch Powell re-ignited it with his incendiary speech. Timed to coincide with the Race Relations Bill that was being debated in parliament, the speech, which was delivered to a modest audience of just eighty-five people in a small upstairs room in the Midlands Hotel in Birmingham, reverberated across the world courtesy of the intensity of media coverage. The theme resonated powerfully with the perceptions of Britain being gripped by hordes of commonwealth immigrants who threaten its cultural essence; its very existence. Powell's argument was that the influx of immigrants was changing the character of many areas of England including his Wolverhampton constituency, the Southwest as well as much of the West Midlands and his proposed solution was the immediate reduction to 'negligible proportions' of the inflow of immigrants, followed by the introduction of voluntary repatriation programmes that would encourage the resettlement of former immigrants in their countries of origin. (Gordon & Rosenberg, 1989:45)
(Source:http://www.sterlingtimes.co.uk/powell_press.htm)

These views were not new, as he had been calling for a halt to commonwealth immigration all along. Even the theme of a speech he had delivered earlier at Walsall was similar to that of the Rivers Of Blood. What made the latter unique was Powell's technique; his usage of adage, metaphors and anecdotes, his encapsulation of the prevailing public anxiety over increasing immigration and its news worthiness. (Seymour-Ure, 1974: 111-117) Powell quoted an anonymous constituent of his who had resolved to leave the country fearing that eventually, 'the black man will have the whip hand over the white man.' Then there was the mention of an anonymous elderly lady constituent who has become the last white person on her street, the others having been harassed and forced to leave. She has been a victim of harassment and constantly subjected to abuses by her black neighbours. First, her window was broken. Secondly, human-waste was dropped through her door-hole. Thirdly, she was constantly bullied and called names when walking on the street by black children, pejoratively described as 'charming, wide-eyed, grinning piccaninnies.' As a classical scholar Powell concluded the speech with an allusion to the prophesy of Sybill to Aeneas, contained in Aeneid: 'As I look ahead, I am filled
with foreboding; like the Roman, I seem to see “the River Tiber foaming with much blood,” thus conjuring up an apocalyptic vision of a future racial conflict in Britain.

The impact of the speech was also heightened by the fact that it had been circulated to the press beforehand and the local ATV television station had sent a crew round to record it being delivered, thus guaranteeing that suitable sound bites would appear in news bulletins. Delivered on Saturday, the speech ‘received saturation coverage in the Sunday press.’ (Seymour-Ure, 1974:104) Three newspapers published the speech in its entirety while others, apart from the Sunday Mirror, gave it an exceptionally generous proportion of coverage. His panic-inducing anecdotes, phrases and statements like ‘heaping up funeral pyre’, ‘throwing a match into gunpowder’, ‘the blackman will have the whip hand over the whiteman’ were conspicuously highlighted in leading articles, arguably to reinforce the loathing of immigrants. As an immigrant student then, Gurnah’s experience is illustrative of the hostilities faced by commonwealth immigrant:
‘What a shock it was to discover the loathing in which I was held: by looks, sneers, words and gestures, news reports, comics on TV, teachers, fellow students.’ (The Guardian, 22/05/01)

There was also the political component. Witness how the Sunday Express that is averse to immigration reported the story. Its copy of 21/04/68 was headlined: Powell Race Blockbuster: A Crisis for Heath. It gave the speech an elaborate coverage using a total number of 1080 words including direct and in direct quotations. Its leading article did not condemn Powell's language as the Sunday Mirror, Sunday Times, News of the World, The People and few other newspapers of that day did. According to Seymour-Ure, an article in the Sunday Express described him as 'controversial, brilliant, stimulating, devastatingly original.' (Seymour-Ure, 1974:115) The Sunday Telegraph of 21/04/68 was headlined: ‘Mr Powell Forces the Race issue: Emotive Speech’. Its leading article made no mention of Powell, but its total number of words in reporting the speech, which was 1840, and 1816 for direct and indirect quotations, betrayed its endorsement, and its anti-immigration stance.

It is instructive that the Sunday Times, which, like its sister paper The Times, is pro Conservative and less favourable to issues of immigration, was against Powell. The
Sunday Times condemned his language. However, its 21/04/68 issue gave the speech a high proportion of publicity with the total number of words that includes direct and indirect quotes standing at 3577. Its headline ran thus: 'Explosive Race Speech by Powell' and its features, like that of most Sunday papers of 21/04/68, was linked to the Race Bill being debated in Parliament. (Seymoure-Ure, 1974:106-107)

The reports from The Times, the Daily Telegraph, the Daily Express, the Daily Mail and the Sun from 22/04/68 onwards focused on the ensuing rancour within the ruling Conservative party over the Powell speech and the Race Bill. But the speech made a political impact as far as commonwealth immigration was concerned. It became the subject of debate in media and public discourse. Powell was riding the crest of publicity. He had etched his name in the national folklore. Surveys conducted showed that ninety six percent of the population had heard or read about the speech and in the following weeks, Powell received 110,000 letters with just 20,000 expressing opposition to his views, and questioning the authenticity of his claims. According to Foot, the anonymity of his sources raised some doubts, but as it fits neatly with the agenda of the media to associate coloured people with threat, violence, and barbarity, it received widespread coverage. Myths and racialist anecdotes about coloured people abounded in the 1960s and were exploited by racialist who scripted these into horror stories. As Foot argues, it was an indictment of British journalism that such falsehood and myths, initiated by right-wing groups like the National Front and the BNP in their literature, and now reproduced by Powell should receive such an unrelenting coverage. (Foot, 1969; 114 -115)

Conclusion

The research problem was formulated because of a concern that British media representations of black African and African Caribbean people settled in Britain is stamped by prejudice or 'othering'. As the argument goes, black people are produced as the 'other', as a problem, as a nuisance. As Hall puts it, 'when blacks appear in the documentary/current affairs part of broadcasting, they are always attached to some "immigrant issue": they have to be involved in some crisis or drama to become visible actors to the media.' (Hall, 1974 /9/10) The study
conducted interviews with two generations of people from the communities. It also analysed the mode of accounting of the April 1981 Brixton disturbance and the coverage of the 1968 Enoch Powell's Rivers of Blood speech by the Times, the Daily Mail, the Daily Express and the Sun newspapers. Nearly all of my interviewees stated that sections of the media including the newspapers mentioned above tend to be biased towards black people. The newspaper analysis revealed a tendency to exploit any story involving violence; and more so if it involves black people, whose protests are denigrated as a problem. The coverage of the Brixton disturbance was replete with negative word association, exaggerations and omission, creating fear and a sense of potential doom. As Jenkins states in the Guardian of 07/07/07, 'the media can revel in fear journalism, throwing all sense of proportion to the winds and filling pages and airwaves with speculation as to what " might have happened if...and what could yet happen if.."

Equally, the publicity given to the Powell speech revealed an inclination to denigrate black people in the guise of reflecting national outrage about increasing immigration. According to Hall, the mass media 'play crucial role in defining the problems and issues of public concern. They are the main channels of public discourse in our segregated society. They transmit stereotypes of one group to other groups.' (Hall, 1974)

The ascription of negative image to the black communities obscures their historical contributions to Britain, whether as fighting in the World Wars or in post-war reconstruction. Moreover, the media suppresses Britain's colonialist past and its nexus to the presence of black people here. As Hall opines, 'black people have had an invisible presence for centuries in British history: they have been the hidden component in the fate and fortune of Britain as a world-imperial power.' (Hall, 1974) According to Harding, the solidarities of empire and commonwealth developed across racial boundaries in the course of the Second World War, turned out to be provisional....Like the newspapers they read... the British public had warmed to a narrow definition of kith and kin.' (Harding, 2000:12)

In trying to understand this problem, the study highlighted some of the ideological underpinnings for the media's marginalisation of certain groups, reflecting the perspectives of the Marxist and Pluralist schools of thought, but Hall offers an
insightful explanation as it relates to black people. The roots of this problem, Hall argues lies deep within the media organisations themselves, the good liberal journalists or broadcasters, as well as bad racist ones, are both constrained by these strictures: class, race and power; which play a part in media organisations. Hall outlines some of the constraints as follows:

'The media reflect organised majority and minority viewpoints —whereas blacks are relatively unorganised. The media are sensitive to middle class ways of life — whereas blacks belong to the skilled and semi-skilled working class.'

'The media favour the articulate—whereas blacks are relatively un-articulate, and their anger and frustration often out-runs the terms of polite debate.'

'Above all, the media are defensive about the sacred institutions of society—whereas black people most encounter problems in these sensitive power-areas; employment, public discrimination, housing, parliamentary legislation, local government, law and order, the police.' (Hall, 1974)

Another area of media discourse that connotes that black people are the ‘other’ or outsiders is the demand for their integration into the British way of life, in the interest of national cohesion. This notion assumes that there is a homogenous form of Britishness, but British identity according to Barczewsk, has been protean as ‘it adapts itself to the demands of many different audiences’ and is constantly under negotiation. Barczewsk refers to 19th century assertion of national identity in which King Arthur and his knights are venerated as national icons by conservative elites and nostalgic romantics, while Robin Hood and his Merry Men are held as a point of reference for the working class and socialists, as illustrative of the elasticity and adaptability of British national identity. This indicates how myths and legends are integral to national identity construction. (Barczewski, 2000:9) As Mitchell observes, the simultaneous adoration of two dissimilar heroes as national icons is reflective of how British identity ‘serves and can be made to serve a range of different constituencies’.

(http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/paper/michellRosemaryhtml) British nationalism or identity, as Barczewk maintains, ‘did not represent a single set of values and ideals, but rather a variety of competing points of view’. It is a
makeshift construction that changes in shape and size to accommodate different audiences.

The demand for black integration, as Hall points out, is based on the liberal consensus assumption that Britain is heading slowly but surely towards a racially integrated society. This notion, Hall opines, is problematic for black people, considering the unsolved problems of inequality and poverty they face. On the contrary, Hall argues, Britain 'is slowly but inevitably, drifting towards the creation of a permanent black minority of second-class citizens, large numbers of them living in poverty, and subject to discrimination as a group.' Hall suggests that the media ought to re-position itself in the context of ‘examining the real condition on the ground, in the black/white communities, from which integration or its opposite, permanent conflict, might emerge.’ (Hall, 1974)

As various studies show, the media can play a great role in combating or promoting inequality, racial prejudice and ethnic marginalisation and thus have a strong influence on race relations. (Braham, 1982, 268-286) And there have being occasions in the history of race relations in Britain when the media has demonstrated that it can be a force for good. The coverage of the Stephen Lawrence murder and the death of Damilola Taylor are outstanding examples, and shows the media manages a curious duality of being fluid and static in its relationship to the ethnic minority communities. (Neal, 2003:59) as Tsuda puts it, ‘the position of the media is not so clear cut. On one hand, it is said that it reinforces existing prejudices about immigrants, supports and disseminate dominant ideologies and collaborates with the state. On the other hand, scholars argue that the media functions as a ‘watchdog that provides self-reflective commentary and actively criticizes and questions the status quo, thus becoming a serious agent for cultural, socio-political, and institutional change.’ (Tsuda, 2004:3)

The ambivalence surrounding the impact of the media to influence public opinion or attitudes not withstanding, it remains a powerful tool and can play a major role in promoting a positive relationship between the black communities
and mainstream society. It can play a major role in articulating their problems, promoting an awareness of their contributions to Britain, so as to bring about changes to how they are perceived.

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