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MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF WHITE SUPREMACY GROUPS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TWO ONTARIO NEWSPAPERS, 1977 TO 1992

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates how the print media represents white supremacy groups. More specifically, articles concerned with white supremacy groups are examined from The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star from 1977 to 1992 using content analysis techniques. This thesis outlines theoretical perspectives on prejudice and social class as well as on white supremacists.

Findings show that articles about white supremacy groups did not occur in any great number during the review period and that they were rarely considered to be front page news. The large majority of articles from both newspapers focused on stories dealing with crime and conflict which only served to portray white supremacy groups in a negative fashion.

Analysis of these findings are examined with techniques of interpreting the print media used by Hall (1978) and Knight (1998). White supremacy groups operate outside Canada's state ideology of multiculturalism which is reflected in the print media and thus they are limited in their effect on society. These groups are also treated as secondary sources by the print media which serves to diminish their influence through the press even farther. Increases in white supremacist activities as well as racism in general since the late 1970s have been attributed to the rise of the "new right" in much of the western world. In spite of the general shift to the right politically, public opinion about race does not seem to be related. Incidents of Canadian radical right-wing violence are compared to the number of white supremacist affiliated articles over a fourteen year period. One similarity is that they are both few in number.

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INTRODUCTION

> The impression one gains from newspaper reports and from statements of our political leaders is that the right wing consists of thugs and nut-cases, poorly educated and mentally disturbed people who hardly need to be taken seriously (Barrett, 1987: vii).

White supremacy groups have been in existence in the United States since the mid 1860s when the American Civil War ended (Young, 1990: 15). They have been in Canada since the early 1920s. Outside of the southern United States in the postwar era, these groups have usually operated in the shadows, on the fringe of society, and are generally considered to be composed of right-wing extremists. As a result, they have attracted a considerable amount of media attention over the years. James Aho (1990: 27) refers to a similar public perception as Stanley Barrett by noting that white supremacists in the United States are seen as being hateful, sometimes criminal, young, poorly educated (hence fanatic), marginally employed and transient men.

This research is interested in examining the question of how the print media in Canada represents white supremacy groups. Since white supremacy groups are extremist organizations who promote intolerance of racial and ethnic pluralism and, therefore, operate counter to the dominant official state policy of multiculturalism, they pose a dilemma for the media which ostensibly are interested in freedom of expression and balanced, objective reporting. Is it possible to report on white supremacy without inadvertently supporting or promoting their cause? Another

question concerns the amount of coverage that white supremacy groups receive by the print media. Is this coverage due to the result of bias either for or against them by the print media or is it due to structural pressures (time limits, available space, advertising, intended audience)? Finally, since it has been suggested that white supremacy groups tend to be depicted as a lower class movement, what does the print media say about the social origins of white supremacists? In this thesis, a content analysis of two Ontario newspapers is employed to try to shed some light on these questions.

The existence of white supremacy groups is a well-known fact due in large part to media attention. White supremacy groups have been the subject of media attention from their inception to the present day. There are numerous references to articles from various newspapers on the early days of the Ku Klux Klan in Canada dating back to the early 1920s (Sher, 1983; Robin, 1992; Kinsella, 1994). In addition, to the newspaper and magazine articles and journalistic books written about these groups, most television talk shows have had white supremacists as guests at one time or another. Given that the media tends to rely on sensationalism to sell its product, most of these shows, articles and books have tended to associate these groups with themes of violence, crime, political anarchy, domestic terrorism, racism and hatred.

With the news media focussing primarily on the more sensational aspects of racialist white revolutionary politics, what has gone largely unnoticed and unrecorded is the actual substance of what is a surprisingly enduring and resourceful movement (Ridgeway, 1990: 8). Leonard Weinberg (1993: 187) examined American white supremacist groups in the post World War II era and the late 1980s. He notes that the number of groups active in the two periods is approximately the

same. This suggests that white supremacist groups have a strong determination to remain in existence and a continuing, if small, source of support. Some analysts (Barrett, 1987; Aho, 1990) argue that white supremacy groups have a larger middle class component than what the media would have us believe.

Stuart Hall (1978: 56-57) makes the point that "the media often present information about events which occur outside the direct experience of the majority of society. The media define for the majority of the population what significant events are taking place and also offer powerful interpretations of how to understand these events". Following this reasoning, it is anticipated that most Canadians know little of white supremacists other than the images presented in the media. This notion is supported by Pamela Shoemaker (1988: 67) who states that what most people have learned about the Ku Klux Klan, they have learned from the media, not from personal experiences with the Klan. Shoemaker (1988: 67) also notes that this makes the journalist's perception of the Klan very important. As she points out, according to labelling theory, a group will be defined as being deviant if an influential individual, group or institution labels it as deviant, regardless of its true characteristics. (Ibid: 67). Thus, it seems that perceptions of white supremacists among the general population may be the product largely of media representations of them.

Methodology

Since the media seem to have so much influence in defining news, the present study is interested in how The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star newspapers portray white supremacy groups. A content analysis of the two Toronto newspapers was conducted in order to determine how the print media represents white supremacy groups.

The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star were chosen for several reasons. First, Ontario and more specifically Toronto, is where white supremacist organizations such as the Western Guard, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Heritage Front have had their headquarters. Second, they are both among the largest circulation papers in the country and thus have a significant influence. Although they both originate in Toronto, The Globe and Mail does envision itself a national newspaper and is read across the country. Third, since they are published independently of one another, they can be examined to see if there are differences in their coverage of white supremacy groups. Hall (1978: 60) argues that newspapers have different social personalities. The Toronto Star is considered to be liberal in its outlook while The Globe and Mail is seen as being conservative. Fourth, both newspapers were available on microfilm in the Lakehead University library.

For this study, white supremacy groups have been operationally defined according to Barrett's (1987: 9) definition of the radical right with one minor variation. He considers individuals who defined themselves as racists, Fascists, and anti-Semites and who are prepared to use violence to realize their objectives as belonging to the radical right (Barrett, 1987: 9). However, for the purposes of this study, groups will be substituted for individuals[1].

The Canadian News Index which details both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star was used to locate articles from both newspapers about white supremacy groups. Since it was

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[1]One effect of this change is that it limited the total number of articles found in both of the newspapers under study because it eliminates all of the coverage of the Ernst Zundel trial in 1985.

available in print form from 1977 to 1992, a search for articles was conducted over the entire sixteen year period. The following headings were employed: racial discrimination, racism, anti-Semitism, Neo-Nazism, and promotion of hatred. White supremacy did not exist as a separate heading in the news index.

Once the newspaper articles to be analyzed were selected, content analysis techniques were applied. First, the number of articles about white supremacists was counted for each newspaper to determine how many there were within the period of study. Second, the location of the article within the newspaper was noted. For example, was the article found on the front page or another page within the newspaper? Third, the geographic origin of the articles sampled was noted. This information related to the personality of the different newspapers.

Fourth, the idea of headline identifiers was borrowed from Benjamin Singer (1982: 356-357) in order to determine how often negative or conflict words appeared in headlines. Both Singer (1982) and Marc Grenier(1992) note the importance of headlines in content analysis. Singer (1982: 352) states that "length of headline and key words within the headline not only increase the likelihood that the article will be read but words relating to minorities in headlines may increase consciousness about them, making them appear to be larger in number than they are in reality or suggesting more difficulties for majority members". In addition, headlines were also examined to discover whether or not they made a direct reference to white supremacy groups.

Fifth, the concept of "event categories" was also borrowed from Singer (1982: 354-356) in order to determine if particular themes were associated with articles about white supremacists.

Event categories used in this study included: criminal, inter-conflict, profile, political, religious, and intra-conflict. Articles from both newspapers were then assigned to the event categories. A percentage of articles assigned to each event category was determined for both newspapers.

Sixth, sources of information for white supremacist articles were determined for each newspaper. The following categories of information sources were found: white supremacists (leaders, members, and documents), government and justice officials, politicians, anti-racist organizations, other persons, independent experts, and victims. They were analyzed to determine the sources of information on white supremacy groups used by the newspapers as well as what type of information was conveyed.

Finally, in terms of the assertion that these groups are solely a lower class movement, words relating to social status indicators such as occupation, level of education, and income were used to assess this issue.

The discussion of the findings of this thesis follows the analysis of Hall (1978) and Graham Knight (1998). These authors critically examine the print media from the perspective of what it is that makes stories newsworthy. They are particularly interested in the structural factors that influence the production of news. Given the general association of white supremacy groups with themes of crime, Hall's analysis of crime news is also applied to the articles taken from The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star. A comparison is then made of the print media's coverage of white supremacist activities during the period under study to research conducted by Jeffrey Ross (1992) on incidents of radical right-wing violence over much of the same period.

Plan of the Work

In addition to this brief introduction, this thesis comprises three chapters and a short conclusion. Chapter one examines white supremacy and its media representation. It surveys the literature on the historical roots of white supremacy, the relationship between socio-economic indicators and racial prejudice, and media representation of white supremacists.

Chapter two provides a content analysis of the white supremacist affiliated articles taken from The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star as identified in the Canadian News Index. Areas examined include: headlines, location in newspaper, geographic origin of article, event category associated with the articles, sources of information used in the articles, and social status of white supremacists identified by the press.

Chapter three examines the newspaper articles in terms of techniques used by Hall (1978) and Knight (1998) for analysis of the print media. White supremacist activities are then related to the general shift to the right politically that has occurred in much of the Western world over the past two decades. A comparison is also provided of media coverage and incidents of radical right-wing violence that corresponds with most of the time period under study. Given the general shift to the political right, a discussion on public opinion about race is also included. The topic of immigration is also raised for although it has always been a contentious issue for white supremacists, it seems to be turning into a greater one for larger segments of society.

Finally, a short conclusion highlights the findings of this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE: WHITE SUPREMACY, PREJUDICE, AND MEDIA REPRESENTATION

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature on the history of white supremacist organizations in the United States and Canada, to examine the literature on social class and racial prejudice, and explore the little that is known about media representation of white supremacists in particular the lower class, as well as literature on white supremacist groups. The reviewed literature is linked together through a number of categories. The chapter begins with an explanation of the historical roots of white supremacy in the United States and outlines some of the history of early white supremacy groups in Canada. The next two sections on socio-economic indicators and racial prejudice in the United States and Canada review literature which illustrates how those with lower occupational status and less education tend to be more prejudiced than others. The aim of these sections is to show that under the right circumstances, those who tend to be less tolerant of others are susceptible to recruitment by white supremacist groups. Next, available literature on white supremacy groups is examined with a focus on the socio-economic indicators of both leaders and members as well as general membership information. Finally, available literature concerning the media representation of these groups is examined.

Research concerning white supremacists is limited in amount and scope. Most of the available material has a journalistic focus and although useful, it tends to suffer from an excess of anecdote and an absence of documentation (Langer, 1990: 82). As well, most of the available literature concerns white supremacy groups in the United States.

These groups tend to operate within a shroud of secrecy and have an inherent distrust of outsiders. However, this does not mean that these groups are not interested in seeking attention for white supremacist groups seem to be taking an active role in using the internet and creating web sites in order to spread their ideas and recruit new members. Moreover, the very fact that they are small groups considered unrepresentative of "normal" opinion means they are ignored by social scientists. Therefore, it is not surprising that academic research on white supremacist groups is scarce. More recent research suggests that little has changed since the early 1990s. For example, Jeffrey Ross (1995: 76) notes that "little has been written on the radical right in Canada for two major reasons: it is not prominent in Canada and Canadians believe racism is not prevalent nor ever has been". Carol Albrecht (1995: 314) claims that although the dynamics of white supremacist movements have long intrigued sociologists and others, our understanding of them does not extend far beyond the colourful descriptive accounts written by those who have infiltrated these groups.

Historical Roots of White Supremacy

The idea of white supremacy was transported to the United States from Europe in the late 1660s with the first colonists. Up until the mid 1800s, the ubiquitous belief in the supremacy of the white race was reflected in the institution of slavery. It was only with the rise of opposition to slavery in the United States that white supremacist groups as we now know them came into

existence. The United States Civil War was an important turning point in their development. The issue for the North in this conflict was the extension of slavery as well as its economic consequences. There was considerable opposition to slavery from white labourers in the North who believed the use of slave labour reduced their own bargaining power. The Confederate cause was not simply the defence of slavery as an institution, but also and inseparably, a struggle to preserve a social order based squarely on dominative racism (Fredrickson, 1981: 161).

The loss of the war by the Confederacy meant that the economic base of the old southern aristocracy was destroyed, slavery was abolished, a (segregated) school system was established to educate the newly emancipated Afro-American population, some were given land, and within a few years they were given the right to vote and were elected to important positions in both the state and federal governments (van den Berghe, 1967: 84-85). From the perspective of segments of the white population, these developments represented threats to their preferred social order. White supremacist organizations arose in reaction to these changes.

The first to organize was the Ku Klux Klan in late 1865. In post Civil War years, the Ku Klux Klan movement was supported by lower class whites in its efforts to remove blacks as competitors and in later years this class was a strong advocate for segregation laws (Wilson, 1973: 100-103). It was not until the early 1920s that a revived Ku Klux Klan ventured north into Canada to spread its message of hate. Unlike its predecessor, the new Ku Klux Klan had widened its targets to include Jews, Catholics, labour unionists and Communists as well as Blacks (Sher, 1983: 19).

Before detailing the specifics about Ku Klux Klan activities in Canada, it is necessary to outline some of the conditions of the times that made Canadians amenable to the doctrine of white supremacy. Racism was entrenched in Canadian society. Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, Canadian politicians and immigration officials had assured the public that Canada's recruitment of immigrants would be confined to Great Britain and Northern Europe (Avery, 1979: 40). This vision of a culturally homogenous society collapsed with the employment boom at the turn of the century (Ibid: 40). In the early 1900s Canada experienced an unprecedented period of economic growth and required large numbers of workers to meet the needs of the agriculture, resource-based and transportation segments of the economy. Prior to 1914, Canada's immigration policy emphasized the recruitment of "stalwart peasants" from Europe who could both push back the frontier of settlement and provide the labour needed on a casual or seasonal basis in the country (Ibid: 9). While this open door immigration policy had its proponents in the country's industrial sector, different concerns by both organized labour and nativist elements resulted in a hardening of immigration policy between 1908 and 1910 (Ibid: 28).

The distrust and fear of foreigners that was prevalent in Anglo-Canadian society prior to 1914 was exacerbated by World War I. The hatreds and fears stirred up by the war spread in ever-widening circles as Anglo-Canadians had little difficulty transferring their hostility to the Communists (Ibid: 76). Jews, an already maligned group, became associated with communism in mid 1919. A Royal Northwest Mounted Police report concerning the Russian Workers Party in British Columbia noted that "Jews were said to occupy the leadership positions in this and other radical organizations. Jewish radicals were thought to be especially dangerous not only because

of their prominence within the Bolshevik leadership but also because they represented a cultural minority which manifested the bitterest hostility towards Anglo-Canadians" (Ibid: 80).

Concern about Communists increased in 1919 as a result of labour unrest in general and the Winnipeg General Strike in particular. The involvement of foreign radicals in these activities heightened fears about communism and foreigners. The radical ferment of the times not only served to keep nativist sentiments among Anglo-Canadians alive but also lead to drastic changes in immigration policy (Ibid: 88). The principle criteria for Canada's immigration policy changed in June, 1919 to political and cultural acceptability from economic ones (Ibid: 90). Within the next four years, the government placed even more restrictions on European immigrants in response to organized labour's concerns about Canada's unemployment rate (Ibid: 94).

Given the conditions outlined above, it is not surprising that the Ku Klux Klan found many Canadians willing to join their organization. Evidence of Ku Klux Klan activities first surfaced in Quebec in 1921. Since 80% of the province's population was Catholic and anti-Catholicism was one of the tenets of this white supremacist organization, it did not survive long in Quebec (Robin, 1993: 11). The Ku Klux Klan found a more receptive home in Ontario, partly due to its extensive and vibrant Orange Order and other similar groups, but did not establish strong interest there until 1925 (Ibid: 13). Not surprisingly, anti-Catholicism was the mainstay of Klan activity in Ontario (Sher, 1983: 27).

Although racism was deep-rooted in Anglo-Canadian society, the Ku Klux Klan was not welcomed with open arms. The Klan's desultory attempts at intimidation and skirmishes with the law, duly reported by a press seeking sensational linkages with their American cousins, seriously

hampered the Ontario organizational campaign (Robin, 1992: 15). In spite of the difficulties faced by the Ku Klux Klan in Ontario, they gained more influence there than anywhere else in eastern Canada due in part to the willingness of at least some prominent members of the community to endorse its activities (Sher, 1983: 29).

The changes made to Canadian immigration policy in 1919 did not stand the test of time. By 1925, the resource-based and transportation industrialists managed to influence the government to re-shift the focus from political and cultural considerations back to economic ones (Avery: 1979: 90). Especially significant was the signing of the Railway Agreement in September, 1925. This gave the railways a freehand in the selection of Central Europeans immigrants and resulted in more than 369,905 immigrants arriving over the next six years (Ibid: 90-91). As waves of immigrants drifted across the country seeking work, they encountered "a notable hostility on the part of some Anglo-Canadian trade unionists and farmers who joined forces with nativist organizations to lobby against the Railway Agreement. The ideological garb of this new agitation was racial: Canada's Anglo-Saxon character, it claimed, was being destroyed" (Ibid: 91).

The Ku Klux Klan first appeared in British Columbia in late 1922 and their activities gained momentum in 1925 when the organization latched onto the anti-immigrant hysteria that was growing in the province (Sher, 1983: 32). Previous research (Ward, 1990) has shown that anti-Oriental sentiments in British Columbia were rampant long before the Ku Klux Klan arrived. It has been noted that the driving force behind the federal government's passage of the very restrictive Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 was the British Columbia government (Sher, 1983: 34).

Anti-Orientalism was the main focus of the Ku Klux Klan in British Columbia. It seems as though this single issue focus had both advantages and disadvantages for the white supremacist organization. Given the pervasive racism towards Orientals that existed in British Columbia long before the arrival of the Ku Klux Klan, the focus on anti-Orientalism was likely responsible for increasing the profile of the group and attracting new members. One the other hand, since the provincial government was largely responsible for curtailing Oriental immigration there seemed to be little need for the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan also suffered from the efforts of the labour movement to counter Klan organizing drives with lengthy denunciations and exposures in the press and Labour party members who carried the battle against the Klan into the legislature (Ibid: 38). The labour movement opposed the Ku Klux Klan because of its' avowed anti-unionism (Ibid: 37).

The Ku Klux Klan moved into Alberta in 1925 and 1926 from British Columbia. Its target shifted from Orientals to Central and Eastern European immigrants and Catholics (Sher, 1983: 40-41). Although the Ku Klux Klan made some inroads in Alberta, it was in Saskatchewan where this white supremacist organization would enjoy unprecedented success.

The Ku Klux Klan appeared in Saskatchewan in late 1926 and found ample supply of the two criteria it needed to ensure its success: "a large and vulnerable minority group to attack and an influential section of the establishment willing to use the Klan's extremism to further its own goals. Saskatchewan had its Catholics and French Canadians and a Conservative Party hungry for power"(Ibid: 48).

In addition to successfully exploiting existing racist sentiments in Saskatchewan, another reason for its unparalleled growth in the province was the alliance of interests which emerged

between the Klan and other political forces in the province, especially the Conservatives (Ibid: 53). However, this did not mean that politically the Ku Klux Klan was solely tied to the Conservative Party. No one party had a monopoly on Klan memberships in Saskatchewan (Calderwood, 1975: 164).

An even more notable explanation of the Klan's success in Saskatchewan was the emphasis it placed on religion (Ibid: 156). The Klan

> "had always claimed to be above all else a religious institution. Its secret rites and ceremonies contained numerous references to biblical passages and had religious connotations. Its public gatherings were opened and closed with prayer, and many times with hymns, while most of the speeches of Klan organizers could be better described as sermons. And with many Saskatchewan residents of the 1920s this struck a responsive chord, especially with those who were already members of popular Protestant fraternities and orders such as the Orange Lodge" (Ibid: 156).

It was due in part to these reasons that ministers of several Protestant denominations were members of the Ku Klux Klan. The United Church provided the most ministerial support since it was the province's largest Protestant denomination (Ibid: 156).

Contrary to the findings of this thesis (see next chapter), the newspapers of Saskatchewan in the 1920s generally gave the Klan lengthy and sympathetic coverage (Sher, 1983: 53). In terms of the socio-economic status of the Saskatchewan Ku Klux Klan, it was largely composed of individuals from the lower-middle strata of society but was not devoid of members of local prominence including doctors, lawyers, justices of the peace, clergymen and politicians (Robin, 1990: 46).

The Ku Klux Klan faded from Canada in the late 1920s and early 1930s for a number of reasons. According to Sher (1983: 60-61) :

> "it was weakened by internal bickering and scandals, its inability to organize on a national level, and the fact that the Canadian Klan was generally a single issue group that adapted to the specific politics of each province. It attacked Catholics in Ontario, Asians in British Columbia, Eastern Europeans in Alberta, and French Catholics in Saskatchewan. As long as these issues remained popular, then the Klan had fertile ground on which to spread its message of hate".

However, when conditions changed as they did in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Ku Klux Klan was unable to adapt and faded into obscurity.

The Canadian Ku Klux Klan shared some similarities with the American Klan such as a hatred of immigrants, Jews, Catholics, Communists and trade unionists, and also in terms of the associated rituals and ceremonies. There were also differences between the two organizations. The image of the Ku Klux Klan held by the general public was an American one. It included a reputation that hampered its expansion in Canada (Robin, 1990: 85). It seems as though the Canadian Klan was unable to shake this image. From the moment they arrived, Klansmen had to contend with reams of editorials and political pronouncements from diverse opponents, condemning the Klan's ways as foreign, American, and inimical to the British tradition of commitment to fair play, common sense, tolerance, and the rule of law (Ibid; 85-86). The press across Canada denounced the Ku Klux Klan except in Saskatchewan where this white supremacist organization received lengthy and sympathetic coverage. Canadian Klansmen also differed in terms of the methods they employed to spread their message of hate. For all of their bombast and righteousness, Canadian Klansman remained a nervous, fidgety, non-violent lot, who shunned tar and feathers, avoided lynching, drove cars by day instead of horses by night, and abandoned even their soiled bed sheets in search of an acceptance they never won (Ibid:86).

By the time that the Ku Klux Klan faded from the Canadian scene in the early 1930s, the Great Depression had already begun. With soaring unemployment rates, Canada's immigration policy once more became a major point of contention and was revised. Besides cancelling the Railway Agreement in 1931, changes were also made which gave the government the power "to prohibit or limit ... for a stated period or permanently the landing ... of immigrants belonging to any nationality or race deemed unsuitable" (Avery, 1979: 91-92). As a result of this change, Blacks from the United States and the West Indies were consistently excluded from immigrating to Canada (Ibid: 92). In addition to the economic woes faced by the Canadian government in the early 1930s, it was also still concerned with the threat to social order posed by Communists. The renewed effort to contain the forces of radicalism culminated in August, 1931 with the arrest of major Communist Party leaders on charges of sedition and the subsequent outlawing of the Communist Party of Canada (Ibid: 117).

The gap left by the Ku Klux Klan on the extreme right of Canada's political spectrum in the early 1930s was soon filled by various fascist movements within Canada. While immigration was still an issue, the main targets of the fascists were Jews and Communists. Although there were fascist organizations throughout Canada, the most notable were Adrian Arcand's National Socialist Christian Party in Quebec, and the Canadian Union of Fascists in Ontario led by John Ross Taylor that eventually spread to western Canada. Like the Ku Klux Klan before them, the fascists also had their backing from some of Canada's politicians. For example, Prime Minister Bennett and the federal Conservatives were not above using Arcand's political machine and influence in the hope of weakening the ruling provincial Liberal government (Sher, 1983: 63). However, the limited

acceptance that fascists found in Canada ended because of sustained public pressure and the outbreak of World War II (Ibid: 64). In the aftermath of World War II with the full extent of the atrocities committed by the Nazis revealed, fascism became a dirty word for the world had enough of racism and anti-Semitism (Barrett, 1987: 25). As a result, there was not much significant organized activity by Canada's radical right until the 1970s. It is the late 1970s that this thesis uses as a starting point to examine the media's representation of white supremacy groups.

Socio-economic Indicators and Prejudice in the United States

Power and conflict are inherent in race relations and, in terms of everyday life conflict, is often most intense between racialized groups who are closest to each other in socio-economic terms. Since the white lower class has the least amount of power in society, this social strata is often assumed to be more open to the ideology of white supremacy than other classes.

It has been suggested that the shift from a paternalistic to a competitive system of race relations, such as after the Civil War, was facilitated by societal changes such as growing industrialization, urbanization, internal migration and immigration, political changes due to external or internal pressures on government, revolutions and wars (Wilson, 1973: 60). The moment the dominant group perceived particular minority group gains as constituting a distinct threat to its sense of superior position, racial tensions intensified (Ibid: 128).

Approximately one hundred years later, the controversy over the advances made by minorities and women through affirmative action symbolizes a resurgence of racial antagonisms in the United States (Joseph, 1991: 81). It has also been noted that the wider access to jobs by minorities and women translated into a perception of relative deprivation for younger white males

who faced a deterioration of their life chances in contrast to their formerly privileged access to secure well paying employment (Ibid: 82).

Economic hard times often lead to the development of the perception of zero-sum economic competition. Where there are more applicants than jobs a strong backlash to affirmative action develops (Ibid: 85). It makes sense that lower class white males would perceive themselves to be most negatively affected by affirmative action and therefore it is hardly coincidental that less educated males are the group whose political stance has moved most to the right (Ibid: 85).

Political factors must also be accounted for. Joseph indicates that difficult economic conditions alone often shifts the political spectrum rightward. In this case the shift was accelerated by the departure of the middle and lower class whites from the national Democratic Party because of its embrace of civil rights (Ibid: 86). For middle and working class white males resentment coalesced around a presumption that minorities were unfairly advantaged, that contemporary welfare state programs offered few benefits to the majority, and that higher taxes to pay for such benefits for minorities were unacceptable (Ibid: 86).

With the election of Ronald Regan as president came a shift in monetarism from Keynesianism to Social Darwinism which constituted an open invitation to a resurgence of racism(Ibid: 86). An essential factor in sustaining the recent conservative movement in the United States was this relative deterioration in the life chances of white males who had historically formed the most privileged racial and gender stratum, a deterioration exacerbated by the declining imperial status of the United States (Ibid: 87).

This notion of the declining imperial status of the United States is further explored by Aho (1994) in his discussion about who America's enemy will be in a post-Communist era. He divides American history into periods of leftist and rightist political prominence. Of concern to this study are his thoughts on rightist resurgences, as white supremacy groups occupy the far right of the political continuum. American rightist resurgence is characterized by

> "concerns on private moral issues such as sexuality, hygiene and diet, the family and religion with social problem solutions typified in individual terms as ameliorable by adjustive therapies, religious penance, or criminal punishment. Economic and political affairs are privatized, enlightened self-interest is celebrated as the motor of social progress, there are calls to deregulate the manufacture and distribution of goods. Public services come to be seen as vehicles of private advancement, with the inevitable consequence of corruption" (Ibid: 89).

During periods of rightist resurgence, American civic hostility has generally been deflected from foreigners onto either its own citizenry, its native population, or its Pan American neighbours (Ibid: 92). Of particular significance is the right-wing resurgence which covers the period from 1977 to 1992. This period was characterized by the ascendancy of the New Christian Right which, in 1980, swept into office the most conservative president in over half a century and a body of congressmen happy to do his bidding (Ibid: 90).

It has been asserted that the political culture which elected Ronald Regan contains a pervasive strain of white racial nationalism as one of its distinctive features (Walters, 1990: 142). Examples of this white racial nationalism include: rising levels of racially motivated violence, the rapid growth of white supremacy organizations and increasing white dissatisfactions to movements for social change for disadvantaged groups from the late 1970s to the mid 1980s. Blacks were targeted due to the increasingly bellicose arrival of the white populist conservative movement which

was spearheaded by a Klan-Nazi grouping, legitimized to some extent by neo-conservative intellectuals and diffused into the general population (Ibid: 155).

Using economic analysis, most economists concluded that white working-class Americans were the primary beneficiaries of racism (Reich, 1981: 5-7). Three perceptions seemed to fuel the 1970s backlash to the Civil Rights movement:

> "First, many white Americans seemed to believe not only that racial minorities had made significant gains in recent decades but also that these advances were so great that racial discrimination in economic life had become exceedingly rare. Second, many white working-class and middle-class Americans seemed to believe that the gains that have occurred for racial minorities, especially those resulting from affirmative action programs in employment and education, have occurred primarily at their expense. Third, many white working-class Americans apparently believed that they paid their taxes for governmental programs that mostly assisted racial minorities" (Ibid: 5-7).

This notion of economic conditions and scapegoating is also mentioned by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in its 1983 statement on racial and religious bigotry in America. It notes that

> "while conditions such as rising unemployment, cuts in government programs, declines in housing starts and increases in mortgage defaults adversely affect a wide and widening segment of the population, such circumstances do not themselves create bigots or cause acts of violence against racial or religious minorities. However, when they are coupled with the human propensity to find someone to blame, these conditions give rise to scapegoating, wherein negative and retaliatory feelings towards those perceived as causing economic difficulties are heightened. When the economy is bad, it seems like the Klan starts marching again" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1983: 11-12).

These perceptions had been echoed in earlier research by Lipset and Raab (1970: 510) who state that the disaffection of members of the white lower middle-class and working class is inevitably set against what they feel is not just the rise of the African-American population but a rise which is taking place at their inordinate expense. These authors also argue that: "attitudes towards

Negroes and segregation and education and other indicators of socio-economic status are strong correlates. The lower the education, income, and occupational status of persons interviewed in diverse studies, the more likely they are to oppose integration and harbour prejudices of various sorts against Negroes" (Ibid: 433).

A study on anti-Semitism in America by Stewart D'Alessio and Lisa Stolzenberg (1991: 363) indicates that education was related to anti-Semitism. Their results showed that the less educated the respondent the greater the likelihood of negative feelings towards Jewish Americans. On the other hand, it was also noted that young Americans although better educated, are conspicuously more anti-Semitic than elderly Americans (Ibid: 363). Given these findings, the universal liberalizing effects of education on prejudicial attitudes are somewhat dubious and therefore, if education fails to be a liberalizing panacea, anti-Semitism may not decrease as some analysts suggest (Ibid: 364-365).

There is a body of research in the literature that was popular from the mid 1940s to the mid 1970s that attempted to link status inconsistency with right-wing extremism. Larry Hunt and Robert Cushing (1970: 587) were concerned with the effects of discrepancy among the status dimensions of occupation, education, income and racial-ethnic background on attitudes towards the John Birch Society, a right-wing political organization which enjoyed considerable public attention in the 1960s. They conclude that the attempt to uncover linkages between status discrepancy and right-wing orientation met with limited success (Ibid: 601).

American research is considered to be relevant because it sets the theoretical stage by demonstrating that members of the lower social strata are likely to be more prejudice than others.

Under the right circumstances, individuals with lower education levels and lower occupational status are likely to be more susceptible to recruitment by white supremacist organizations than those from higher social strata.

The literature reviewed above demonstrates that members of the lower social strata are likely to be more prejudice than others. Under the right circumstances, individuals with lower education levels and lower occupational status are likely to be more susceptible to recruitment by white supremacist organizations than those from higher social strata. American research is considered to be relevant to this thesis because of the American involvement and influence in the development of Canadian white supremacy groups in the 1920s.

Socio-economic Indicators and Prejudice in Canada

There is less evidence of the association between socio-economic indicators and prejudice in Canada. Gabriel Weimann and Conrad Winn (1986) examined the issue of anti-Jewish prejudice in Canada as part of their exploration into the social effects of the Ernst Zundel trial in 1985 for wilfully publishing false news about the Holocaust. Their results are similar to American findings and indicate that

> "in terms of age, those aged forty to fifty, are apt to be somewhat less prejudiced against Jews than those older and those younger than themselves. In terms of education, overall it was noted that people with greater education were apt to be less prejudiced than people with less education. However, it was also found that in terms of the question about responsibility for the holocaust, greater education did *not* reduce the size of the minority who held Jews at least partly responsible for their own victimization" (Weimann & Winn, 1986: 133 & 141).

As in the United States, Canadian researchers attempted to link status inconsistency with right-wing extremism. Essentially, status inconsistency is said to create a number of social and

psychological problems for the individual with one possible response being right-wing extremism (Rush, 1967: 86). One study concludes that individuals whose statuses are inconsistent are more likely to be right-wing extremist in their political activities than individuals whose statuses are consistent (Ibid: 91).

The Radical Right: Socio-economic Indicators and Group Membership

Aho (1990) identifies several sociological theories of right-wing extremism in his study of Idaho Christian Patriotism. Educational theory is related to class and states that right-wing extremism is due largely to an absence of formal education or to its failure to inculcate in the individual citizen an intellectual commitment to democratic principles (Ibid: 136-137). Aho adds that according to this theory, the solution to the "problem of right-wing extremism is to extend the years of formal, especially public, education for our children" (Ibid: 137). Does this evidence mean that white supremacist groups continue to recruit as well as receive support from the lower class?

Lower class affiliation with white supremacist groups is noted by Robert Reich (1989) who states that it would not appear to be an accident that the radical right groups apparently have drawn many of their members and sympathizers from whites employed in increasingly distressed economic sectors such as manufacturing and service which are mainly occupied by the working class (cited in Weinberg, 1990: 202). Research indicates that individuals who join the Ku Klux Klan tend to have limited education and lower average income than the general population and that the Klan has portrayed itself as "a movement of the plain people" (Albrecht, 1995: 301). Klan members are more likely to be employed in manual labour positions where they may tend to feel threatened by competition from minority group workers (Ibid: 301).

In more recent times, it has been suggested that the members of the middle class are also susceptible to being sympathetic to or becoming members of white supremacist groups. Research suggests that since the middle class is vulnerable to downward mobility during periods of economic decline, political analysts have considered its members susceptible to "status panic" making participation in fascist movements such as the KKK and Neo-Nazis, seem attractive in a desperate attempt to maintain middle class identity (Dobratz & Shank-Meile, 1988: 44). This notion is also supported by Albrecht (1995: 301) who states that not only the working class, but members of the middle class who are experiencing some downward social mobility, are likely to be attracted to white supremacist movements. In better economic times, members of the middle and upper classes had the means to isolate themselves from economic competition by moving to the suburbs and enrolling their children in all white private schools.

Membership in American white supremacist groups is estimated to be between 10,000 and 20,000 active members (Langer, 1990: 82 & Weinberg, 1993: 190). The preponderant evidence of radical right activities in the United States confirms the impression of considerable numbers of small hate groups with grandiloquent names but often consisting mostly of a newsletter published by a Mom-and-Pop team that makes a living from the contributions it solicits for "saving the world" from sundry conspiracies (Merkl, 1993: 220). In terms of Canadian radical right-wing groups, Ross (1995: 355) states that membership is permeable with members of one group often belonging to others simultaneously. Research examining the characteristics of fifty-five leaders of various American white supremacist organizations, has shown that all of them were male, with 15% born in Europe. Approximately 66% of the leaders lived in small towns, were middle-aged and held

middle-class jobs such as insurance salesmen, real estate agents, high school principals, ministers, and attorneys (Weinberg, 1993: 190).

A study by Jeffrey Handler (1990) using Federal Bureau of Investigation data on the socio-economic profiles of United States terrorists from the 1960s and 1970s yields similar results. It should be noted that all of the fourteen right-wing terrorist groups that he analysed had a white supremacy orientation. In terms of education levels among right-wing group members, Handler (1990: 205) found that in the overall sample, 51.7% of respondents had up to a high school education, 19% had completed college and 3% held graduate degrees. Education was found to vary when compared with the position held in the organization. Examination of the leaders indicated that 54.3% had achieved college or a higher level of education compared to 5.9% of the rank and file members (Ibid: 205). Handler's findings on the educational attainment of American right-wing terrorists should be considered somewhat cautiously as he does not provide a definition for college. This term could include business college, technical college and university in the United States.

Also of particular interest are Handler's findings about the occupations held by right-wing terrorists. Overall the sample of right-wing members by occupation showed that 74.8% worked in blue-collar jobs while 18.3% held white-collar positions (Ibid: 207). When position in the group was considered, those with white collar occupations rises to 76.2% among the leadership and 23.8% in the case of the rank and file members (Ibid: 207). Handler's evidence seems to strongly suggest that the leaders of right-wing terrorist organizations tend to come from the middle class.

Barrett (1987) completed a three year study on the Canadian right-wing and identified 586 members of both the radical and fringe right. Almost 450 of these belonged to the radical right which Barrett (Ibid: 9) says were those who define themselves as racists, Fascists, and anti-Semites and who are prepared to use violence to reach their objectives. His research found that Canadian white supremacists were primarily male (87%) with over 93% of all members of the radical right living in either Ontario, Alberta or British Columbia (Ibid: 30-32). Approximately 80% of the radical right members identified lived in urban areas. In terms of age, the majority tended to be between twenty and forty years old although information was only available on 250 members (Ibid: 35).

What is surprising about his research is the level of education and the type of occupation held by members of Canada's radical right. Barrett discovered that approximately 34% of 93 informants attended university and 59% of 100 informants were employed in professional and white collar jobs (Ibid: 33-36).

According to Barrett (1987: 38), his finding of support for the Canadian radical right by the middle class is consistent with research (Hamilton, 1982) on Adolf Hitler's base of support in Nazi Germany. Barrett suggests that both his and Hamilton's data cast serious doubt on the assertion by the media, politicians and many other academics that the radical right in particular is solely a lower class movement (Ibid: 38).

Barrett (1987:36) acknowledges that his data does not include the young members of the radical right "who hang around organizations like the Nationalist Party for a while and raise hell."

These young members are likely the Toronto area skinheads referred to in an article in The Globe and Mail (Wilson, 1989: A16).

Skinheads are a lower class subculture that originated in Britain in the early 1970s in response, in part, to increased Black immigration (Suall & Lowe, 1988: 140). American skinheads are generally between sixteen and nineteen years old and estimates of their numbers ranged from 300 in 1986 to 3500 in recent times (Stephenson, 1991: 216). There are several cases of established links between neo-Nazi skinheads and white supremacist groups. Jeff Coplon (1988: 65) indicates that the Nazi-skinhead ascendance first became evident in the summer of 1985 in San Francisco. What concerns watchdog groups like the Anti-Defamation League is that skinheads offer white supremacy groups a base of support from which to recruit (Suall & Lowe, 1988: 144).

Recent research (Baron, 1996; Young & Craig, 1996) indicates that there is a paucity of academic research on skinheads and even less on Canadian skinheads. Most of what is written on skinheads in the United States and Canada concerns neo-Nazi members of the subculture and much of this surprisingly slim literature has been compiled by "watchdog" groups such as Klanwatch, the Centre for Democratic Renewal and the Jewish organization B'nai B'rith, which monitor the activities of right-wing organizations (Young & Craig, 1996: 178). Similar thoughts were echoed by Stephen Baron (1996: 127) who notes that the complete absence of academic material on Canadian skinheads has forced Canadian scholars to rely on the materials from journalistic and law enforcement sources.

In terms of information on the social status of skinheads there is also varying opinions in the literature. For example, it was noted that some researchers claim that skinheads have been brought

up in stable family environments, have obtained high school diplomas, hold blue-collar employment, abstain from using drugs and share the ideology of neo-Nazism (Ibid: 126). In other accounts, skinheads are viewed as high school dropouts from broken homes and abusive families who, lacking fixed addresses and employment, sleep in abandoned buildings and live off the proceeds of crime (Ibid: 126).

Kevin Young & Laura Craig (1996: 185) note in their study of skinheads that

> judging from the occupational and educational backgrounds of their parents, the subjects represented two quite distinct class backgrounds. Using Veltmeyer's (1986) class typology, one third of the skinheads and ex-skinheads came from middle-class homes, and two-thirds came from working-class backgrounds. Despite the presence of middle class participants, all subjects expressed pride in being "working-class".

They describe this identification with the working-class by middle-class respondents as being a classic attempt at role-taking (Ibid: 188).

Baron (1996: 133) also notices a mix of middle and lower class backgrounds in his study of skinheads in Edmonton, Alberta. In terms of educational and employment histories, only one of the fourteen skinheads in his study completed high school and all of the skinheads were unemployed.

A detailed study on Idaho Christian Patriots by Aho (1990) highlights a segment of America's white supremacists related to the Christian Identity movement. Like Barrett, his data do not support the media's perception of white supremacists as being young, criminal and poorly educated (hence fanatic), marginally employed, and transient single men (Aho, 1990: 27).

Aho (1991:186) uses the "Multi-step Process of Mobilization Theory" to explain why informants became Christian Patriots since his findings indicated few differences between them and

Idahoans in general. Briefly, the theory states that whatever the cause, individuals are generally not recruited by mass appeals but rather, indirectly by others involved with the group itself. It is the personal connection that is responsible for individuals joining the cause (Ibid: 186-187).

One of Aho's most surprising findings about his sample of respondents is that on the whole they have attained slightly greater levels of education than either their fellow Idahoans or more conventional Americans (Ibid: 139). Of the 383 Patriots that he was able to obtain information on, only 8.3% of them had less than a high school education and approximately 30% had at least one college degree (Ibid: 140). After providing a detailed discussion as to possible explanations for why his findings do not support previous research, Aho is only able to conclude that the traditional correlation between years of formal education alone are insufficient to erase predispositions to intolerance and conspiratorialism (Ibid: 146).

In terms of other demographic indicators, Aho found that the mean age of informants was 47.6 years, almost 15 years older than the typical American, and 80% were males (Ibid: 148). The percentage of informants employed in blue collar jobs (21%) was consistent with Idahoans in general but Patriots employed as professionals (23%) was more than double the state's figures (Ibid: 157).

Based on Barrett's and Aho's data, it would seem that the typical white supremacist is very likely to be a middle aged male with a university degree who is working in a white collar or professional job.

In recent years, there has been an increased interest in women's studies from an academic standpoint and, therefore, it is not surprising that research has been conducted on female racists.

As was mentioned previously, older studies on white supremacy groups have indicated that the groups were largely comprised of male members.

Kathleen Blee (1996: 680) indicates that in the United States, women racists exist in shadows, lurking behind husbands and boyfriends. However, she adds that women tend to be particularly active in some neo-Nazi groups, especially in those, like racist skinheads, whose members tend to be younger and less bound by the male-exclusive practices of many earlier racist movements (Ibid: 681). Her study involved thirty-four female racists whose background included membership in different types of white supremacy groups. Of those women interviewed, fourteen held leadership roles in white supremacy groups and twenty were rank and file members (Ibid: 686). In terms of social status indicators, it was noted that

> "contrary to the prediction from both psychological and status-based theories that economic marginality prompts racist activism, the majority of informants held middle-class jobs (e.g., as occupational therapists, nurses, teachers, and librarians), were attending college, or were not employed but were married to stable employed men. About one-third could be described as living in economically precarious conditions - holding jobs as waitresses, lay ministers in tiny, non-affiliated churches, or teachers in marginal private schools; or being married to insecurely employed men" (Ibid: 686).

White Supremacy Groups and Media Representation

Perhaps a reason that journalists have greater access to white supremacists than academic researchers is that both journalists and white supremacist groups benefit from the encounter. While the media have used white supremacists for their gain (i.e. selling newspapers), white supremacists have also taken advantage of the media in order to further their cause. Barrett (1984: 7) notes that the Klan and other extremist organizations thrive on media exposure, and in symbiotic fashion, the media thrives on the Klan. It is very likely that academics do not provide the extensive exposure

that these groups seem to crave. While Barrett has referred to the symbiotic relationship between white supremacist groups and the media, it cannot be assumed that these groups are always receptive to media attention. He indicates that "most right-wing organizations are ambivalent about the media because on the one hand, the media are regarded as the vehicle to put the organizations on the map, and thus media attention is absolutely essential. On the other hand, the media are seen as strongly slanted towards liberals and the left" (Ibid: 66).

Shoemaker's article (1988) is particularly relevant because it addresses media treatment of various deviant political groups including two white supremacist groups, the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party. She notes that it has been suggested that the media act as agents of social control. One way the media exerts control is by varying their coverage of political groups according to how different the groups are from the status quo (1988: 66). Therefore, it is expected that the more deviant a group is perceived as being, the more media coverage will reflect that these groups are not legitimate political contenders. As a result of the media coverage, these groups' opportunities to reach their goals are decreased and a possible threat to the status quo is removed (Ibid: 66).

In Shoemaker's analysis, media treatment is determined through two dimensions, prominence and character, each of which was subject to content analysis. The former was measured by three indicators: length of article, position of article within the paper, and position of group in the article. The latter was based on four legitimacy dimensions: evaluation, legality, viability and stability. Scores for prominence and character were obtained by adding the means

of their respective dimensions. An overall media treatment score was obtained by summing the character and prominence scores.

Shoemaker (1988: 70-71) found that groups perceived to be more deviant by editors were also more likely to receive less favourable coverage and be portrayed as a less likely political contender. She determined that the deviance index showed no relationship to the prominence index. However, deviance showed a linear relationship to overall media treatment. This is mainly due to character indicators. This led her to the conclusion that there was a statistically significant linear relationship between the perceived deviance of a political group and its overall media treatment as a legitimate political contender (Ibid: 72). It should not be surprising that Shoemaker found the white supremacy groups in her study to be rated as the least politically legitimate groups and also the most deviant (Ibid: 70 & 71).

In 1983, the United States Commission on Civil Rights published its statement on racial and religious bigotry in America and addressed the issue of media treatment. It states that

> "although the press has a responsibility to report the news, it has not always done so with accuracy and appropriate perspective. Often statements, patently false, go unchallenged by interviewers of hate group spokespersons thereby perpetuating stereotypic myths about racial and religious minorities. When the significance of events is exaggerated or inordinate attention is paid to minor side issues, the coverage is distorted. For example, in Michigan, while over 3,000 attended the celebration of the thirty-third anniversary of Israel most of the media attention went to fewer than 20 Nazis who briefly demonstrated" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1983: 13).

Weiman and Winn (1986) conducted a study on how the Ernst Zundel trial in 1985 was portrayed in the media and how it affected public opinion. Of interest here, are their findings related

to the print media. (It should be noted that Barrett (1987: 156-165) classified Zundel as belonging to the category of Canada's radical right.)

In terms of media coverage, the study was interested in two questions. Do the media in democratic societies normally wield a powerful influence on public opinion, and whether or not Canadian journalists reported on the Zundel trial and the Holocaust in a responsible and non-injurious fashion (Weiman & Winn, 1986: 83)? Concern was expressed that Zundel's comments were reported uncritically. Several of the journalist sources referred to in the study noted that they were perfectly aware of how Zundel was seeking to manipulate the media, but felt obliged by journalist ethics to report what he said as he said it without direct commentary (Ibid: 84). There was also evidence to suggest that some newspapers increased coverage of Jewish stories outside the context of the trial in order to offset the neutral reporting of the Zundel trial.

Given the view that the media is powerful and sets the news agenda by deciding what is important and unimportant, Weimann and Winn's study was particularly concerned with the idea that the media confer special status or prestige on white supremacists who are highlighted in news reports (Ibid: 84). Results of their study indicated that the media were moderately powerful and behaved in a responsible fashion (Ibid: 108). It should be also noted that in terms of how often Canadians read a newspaper, results indicated that of the 1045 respondents, only 20% did not read a paper while 38% read it daily (Ibid: 87). This information suggests that the print media is a significant provider of information for Canadians.

Evelyn Kallen and Lawrence Lam (1993: 8) noted that the extensive publicity afforded the hate propagandizing activities of James Keegstra and Ernst Zundel through media coverage of their

trials in 1985 provoked heated controversy over the appropriateness of a criminal charge and a public trial as a means of deterring hate propagandists. As a result, they were interested in the impact of these trials on a Jewish-Canadian audience. Public reaction to the trials revealed two contrasting positions. On one side was the "libertarian" view that has freedom of speech taking precedence over all other rights and freedoms, while the other side was the "egalitarian" view which holds that in a multicultural society like Canada, the state has a valid interest in suppressing the dissemination of racist ideas to protect minority groups from pain and suffering and in order to promote racial harmony (Ibid: 10).

What is significant for this thesis from Kallen and Lam's research is their finding that Jewish respondents strongly endorsed criminal trials as a necessary means of curbing the spread of hatred by publicly-identified hatemongerers and also as serving an educative and preventative function for other hate propagandists (Ibid: 21-22). This finding seems to endorse print media coverage of the trials of Zundel, Keegstra and other white supremacists at least by the Jewish-Canadian audience.

Conclusion

It has been noted that white supremacy groups were first organized in the United States in the mid 1860s following the American Civil War. The Ku Klux Klan did not appear in Canada until the early 1920s and only maintained a place on the far right of Canada's political spectrum for approximately ten years. Fascist groups followed in their wake but suffered a similar fate with the outbreak of World War II.

The available literature suggests that while lower socio-economic status is important, there is also considerable middle-class support and interest in white supremacist and other radical right

groups. Research (Aho, 1990; Barrett, 1987) suggests that the typical white supremacist is very likely to be a middle aged male with a university degree who is working in a white collar or professional job.

Membership in American white supremacy groups is estimated to be at between 10,000 and 20,000 active members. The number of groups in existence can be somewhat deceiving due to some of them being small operations run by a few individuals. Group membership tends to be permeable with white supremacists often belonging to more than one group at a time. Canadian figures for the radical right are hard to find. Barrett's (1987: 9) study mentioned 450 members.

In terms of media representation, Shoemaker (1988: 70-71) noted that groups perceived to be more deviant were treated less favourably than other groups and were also portrayed as being the least viable as legitimate political contenders. She found the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis to be the most negatively viewed groups by newspaper editors. A Canadian study on the effects on public opinion of the trial of a white supremacist indicated that the print media generally acted responsibly in reporting the trial. Both of these studies support the notion that what the public knows about white supremacy groups, it has learned from the media rather than from personal experience. Hence, the media is seen as a powerful and important provider of information.

This chapter has provided a review of literature related to theories of prejudice and social status as well as on white supremacy groups. What follows in the next chapter is the content analysis of the articles concerned with white supremacy groups taken from The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star.

CHAPTER TWO: ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to scrutinize the articles focusing on white supremacy groups taken from The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star. All of the articles were examined according to a number of different criteria. First, headlines were analyzed on the basis of how often conflict and negative words were employed as well as whether or not there was any direct reference to white supremacists. Second, the location of each article in the newspaper was noted. Third, the geographic origin of each article was identified. Fourth, the articles were divided into event categories based on their content. The event categories developed are as follows: criminal, inter-conflict, profile, political, religious, and intra-conflict. Fifth, the various sources of information contained within the articles were determined and were grouped into the following divisions: white supremacists, government and criminal justice officials, anti-racist organizations, other persons, politicians, victims and independent experts. The category of white supremacists was further subdivided into leaders, members, and documents. Finally, the issue of social class of white supremacists as described by the print media is addressed.

A search of the Canadian News Index from 1977 to 1992 for articles concerned with white supremacy groups yielded a total sample of one hundred and thirty-three articles. In terms

of the number of articles for each newspaper, there were seventy-two from The Globe and Mail and sixty-one from The Toronto Star.

Findings show that approximately 75% of headlines of articles about white supremacists for both newspapers contained words that were either negative and/or referred to conflict. In addition, only slightly more than 50% of all headlines for both newspapers made a direct reference to white supremacists. Looking at geographic origin, 75% of the white supremacist related articles in The Toronto Star were from Ontario compared to 50% from The Globe and Mail. In terms of location in the newspaper, The Globe and Mail placed articles related to white supremacists on the front page over twice as many times as The Toronto Star.

Analysis of articles in terms of event categories indicated that stories concerned with white supremacy groups were predominantly found to fit into the criminal and inter-conflict categories for both newspapers. Only 15.28% of articles from The Globe and Mail and 6.56% of articles from The Toronto Star comprised the remaining four event categories. Analysis of sources of information used by each newspaper revealed that government and criminal justice officials comprised approximately 25% of all sources. Although white supremacists comprised the largest proportion of sources, as will be seen in the next chapter, their influence is significantly less than other sources. Another interesting finding was the lack of reliance on independent experts by both newspapers. Finally, in terms of the socio-economic status of white supremacists, analysis revealed that this was not a main concern of reporters with about 25% of articles from each newspaper making any reference to it.

What can be gleaned from these findings is that although there are some differences between The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star, both newspapers tend to deal with articles on white supremacy groups in a similar fashion. Also, due to the small number of articles concerned with white supremacists found according to the selection criterion for this study, it seems that neither The Globe and Mail nor The Toronto Star consider white supremacy groups to be important news issues.

Headline Analysis

Headlines were studied in order to determine how often negative and conflict words were associated with white supremacist groups. The operational definition of conflict terms was borrowed from Grenier (1992: 299) who defined them as any word contained in the headlines which connotes deviance, enmity, or violence, either actual or potential. Examples in this study included: police, charge, threat, and court. Negative terms have been operationally defined as terms which portray white supremacists in a negative manner. Examples of negative terms included: racist, racism, hate, and bigots.

Headlines were examined for negative and conflict words as well as a direct reference to white supremacy in both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star. Results indicate that both newspapers were relatively similar in these areas.

Table 1 shows that while 73.6% of the total headlines from The Globe and Mail contained conflict or negative terms, only 51.4% of them made a direct reference to a white supremacy group. In comparison, Table 2 illustrates that similar headlines in The Toronto Star made up 75.4% of that sample with 52.4% making a direct reference to a white supremacy group. As a

comparison, Singer (1982: 356) noted in his study on minorities and the media, that deviant and conflict words occurred approximately 29% of the time in conjunction with the word Indian.

Table1: Comparison of Headlines By Conflict/Negative Terms & Direct Reference to White Supremacists in The Globe and Mail, 1977-1992

Conflict & Negative Terms/ Direct Reference	Yes	No	Total
Yes	37 (51.4%)	16 (22.2%)	53 (73.6%)
No	15 (20.8%)	4 (5.6%)	19 (26.4%)
Total	52 (72.2%)	20 (27.8%)	72 (100%)

Table 2: Comparison of Headlines By Conflict/Negative Terms & Direct Reference to White Supremacists in The Toronto Star, 1977-1992

Conflict & Negative Terms/ Direct Reference	Yes	No	Total
Yes	32 (52.4%)	14 (23.0%)	46 (75.4%)
No	15 (24.6%)	0	15 (24.6%)
Total	47 (77.0%)	14 (23.0%)	61 (100%)

Location in Newspaper

The location of an article in a newspaper is also an important factor in determining whether or not it will be read (Singer, 1982, Grenier, 1992). Placement on the front page of The Globe and Mail occurred in only 8.33% of the seventy-two articles on white supremacist groups. In the case of The Toronto Star, only 3.27 % of the sixty-two articles on white supremacist groups made the front page. Given these data, it is evident that articles on white supremacist groups are rarely

considered to be front page news. In comparison, Singer (1982: 354) found that 6.4% of all Indian and of all Eskimo items appeared on the front page.

Geographic Origin of Articles

While gathering data from the selected articles, the geographic origin of each article was also noted as it was information that was readily available. The results are located below:

Chart 1: Geographic Orgin of The Globe and Mail Articles, 1977-1992

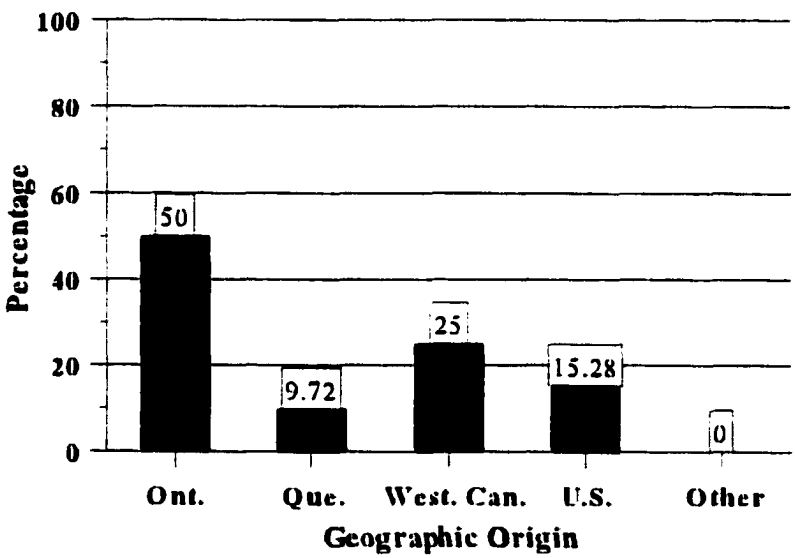
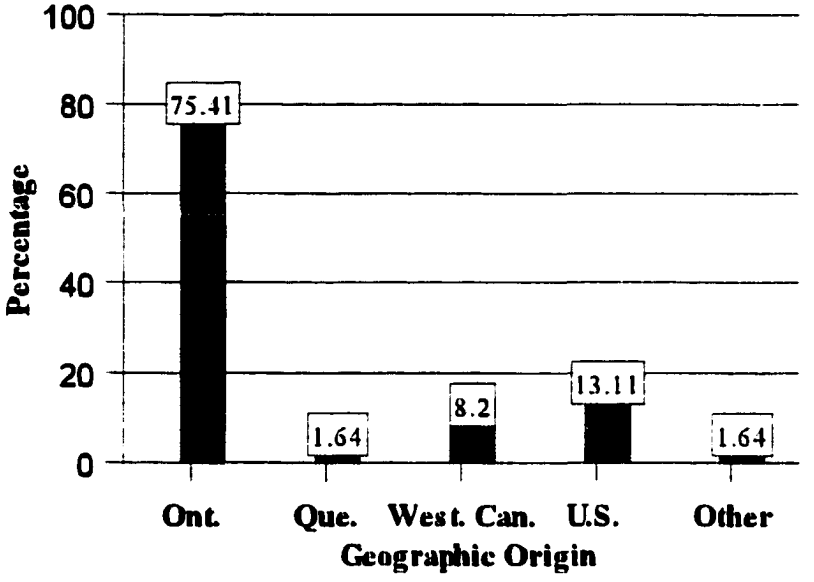


Chart 2: Georgraphic Origin of The Toronto Star Articles, 1977-1992



In comparing the two graphs, it is clear from Chart 1 that The Globe and Mail, in keeping with its "national" scope, has a more national focus given that 50% of white supremacist articles originate in Ontario. In contrast, Chart 2 shows that The Toronto Star articles from Ontario comprised approximately 75% of that newspapers's coverage on white supremacist groups. In terms of other Canadian regions, The Globe and Mail had a higher percentage of articles originating in both Quebec and western Canada than The Toronto Star. The Globe and Mail also reported on a higher percentage of American based articles. In comparison, the 1991 Canadian population figures from the same areas are as follows: 36.9% in Ontario, 25.3% in Quebec, and 28.9% in Western Canada (Hiller, 1996: 14).

Event Categories

The categories of events associated with articles on white supremacist groups were also identified. White supremacist articles were found to occur in six categories. Some of these categories were borrowed from Singer (1982: 355). Criminal refers to stories involving crime and other illegal acts, police, courts, and the Human Rights Commission, etc. Inter-conflict refers to articles of conflict, either real or perceived, between white supremacy groups and the public at large.

Political refers to stories where members of white supremacy groups have expressed a desire to run for political office. The obtaining of political power has long been a goal of white supremacist groups. Barrett (1984: 7) noted that the Klan's secret handbook stressed the importance of manipulating the media as the first stage in its programme to gain control of the country.

Profile refers to articles that provide significant background information on a white supremacy group, its leaders or members.

Religious refers to articles where white supremacy groups are identified as a religion or where religious labels are used to describe leaders or members. At least as far as these two newspapers are concerned, it seems that religiosity as a predominant factor in white supremacist identity only began to emerge in the mid 1980s with articles connected with Aryan Nations. This finding is supported by Albrecht (1995: 309) who states that during the 1980s, when conservative religions were growing in popularity, the Klan persistently attempted to identify itself with fundamental religious values.

Intra-conflict refers to conflict, either real or perceived, between members of white supremacy groups. In-fighting between groups in society is a relatively common phenomenon and it also occurs within white supremacist groups. This should not be considered unusual given their locations over vast and diverse geographical regions as well as the lack of a central leadership.

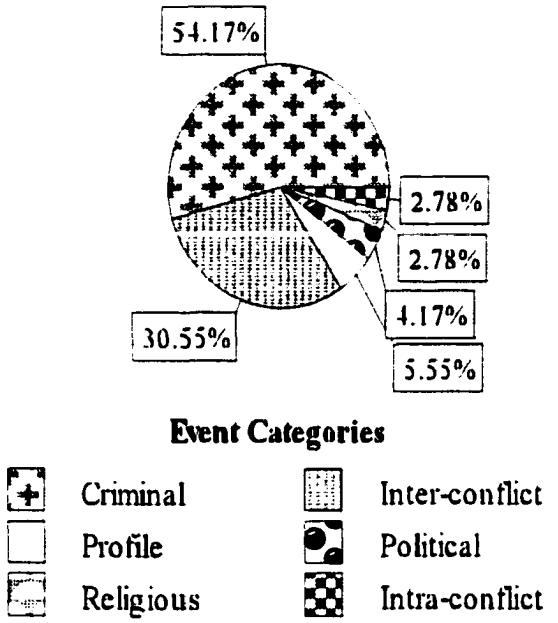
It should be noted that few articles used in this study fit neatly into only one event category. They often contained elements from various categories. Assignment was based on the category which matched the most prevalent information. The event categories for each newspaper will be described in greater detail below.

The Globe and Mail

Table 3: Distribution of Event Categories for White Supremacist Articles in The Globe and Mail, 1977 - 1992

Event Category	Number	Percentage	Rank
Criminal	39	54.17	1
Inter-Conflict	22	30.55	2
Profile	4	5.55	3
Political	3	4.17	4
Religious	2	2.78	5
Intra-Conflict	2	2.78	5
Total	72	100	

Chart 3: Distribution of Event Categories for The Globe and Mail, 1977 - 1992



Criminal & Inter-Conflict

From both Table 3 and Chart 3, it is evident that the two largest event categories for articles on white supremacy groups in The Globe and Mail are those of criminal and inter-conflict. Combined, these two categories made up approximately 85% of the total sample of this newspaper's articles on white supremacy groups. Undoubtedly, these data indicate that The Globe and Mail generally portrayed white supremacist groups in a disparaging way. Not only are they usually depicted as criminal groups but they are also described as being at odds with the values of the larger society.

According to the selection criteria used in this study for the Canadian News Index, there were not any articles dealing with white supremacy groups for The Globe and Mail in 1977. Both

stories on white supremacist groups published the following year were from these two event categories. The major news event was the conviction of Western Guard former leader, Donald Andrews, and another member, and their sentencing to prison terms of two years and eighteen months respectively for their roles in a year of attacks against Jews, blacks and Communists (Keating, 1978: 19).

Coverage of white supremacist groups in 1979 consisted of four articles with three of them from these two categories. The first one was a long article from the southern United States about the Ku Klux Klan enlisting knife-toting children for an anti-black drive. There were two photos associated with this article. The first picture was of a Klansman dressed in robes and hood with his arm around his young son and it was situated along with this story on the first page. The second picture was of a young girl holding up a belt buckle with KKK on it. Another article from that year involved an order for the Western Guard party to stop its telephone hate messages.

In 1980, The Globe and Mail published ten articles on white supremacy groups with eight being from the criminal and inter-conflict categories. Highlights from this year included several articles on the conviction and subsequent appeal of Western Guard leader, John Ross Taylor, for his failure to stop spreading racist telephone messages. Of the remaining articles in these categories, one concerned American white supremacist leader David Duke's detention for entering Canada illegally. The remainder focused on the image of the Ku Klux Klan in Canada. An announcement by the white supremacist organization that it had opened an office in Toronto was front page news whereas an article about the Ontario Attorney-General's reaction to the Ku Klux Klan was buried on page thirteen. In conjunction with the opening of the Klan's office was the

introduction of Alexander McQuirter and Wolfgang Droege who would become central figures in the Canadian white supremacist scene. There were also two articles that commented on the excessive media coverage given to the Ku Klux Klan.

The following year saw another explosion of articles about white supremacist groups. The Globe and Mail published thirteen articles in 1981 with twelve of them being placed in the criminal and inter-conflict categories. Western Guard leader John Ross Taylor surrendered to authorities in order to begin his one year jail sentence for his refusal to end racist phone messages. There was also an article on preparations for a Nazi rally in Buffalo, New York. The remaining stories from this category concentrated on the Ku Klux Klan. This white supremacist group and its activities in western Canada, the United States and Ontario were featured prominently in several articles.

Of particular note was the involvement of two Canadian Klansmen, including Wolfgang Droege, in the plot to seize the Caribbean island of Dominica. This story was featured on the front page of The Globe and Mail.

Closer to home, an Ontario Member of the Provincial Parliament claimed the Klan was running an arms camp in Ontario. This type of negative coverage prompted police officials to take a closer look at the Ku Klux Klan. A review of the Ontario Provincial Police's licensing of Gary MacFarlane, Klan director of security, as a security guard, indicated that police were aware that he spent several years in a maximum security mental health facility after being found not guilty of murder by reason of insanity in 1972 (Moon, 1981: 5). However, it seems ironic that it was only when police became aware of his affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan that they said they would be

reviewing his licence (Ibid: 5). Alexander McQuirter, leader of the Ku Klux Klan, was also arrested for possession of cocaine for the purpose of trafficking, possession of an unregistered and restricted weapon and driving while suspended as a result of a routine traffic stop.

According to the selection criteria used in this study for the Canadian News Index, there were not any articles concerned with white supremacist groups listed for The Globe and Mail in 1982. Three articles from 1983 were found in The Globe and Mail with one being classed in the criminal category. This article focused on the continuing legal problems for Western Guard leader, John Ross Taylor who was charged with contempt of court for failing to end his party's racist phone messages.

All three of the white supremacist articles found in The Globe and Mail in 1984 were from the criminal event category. Two of them were associated with John Ross Taylor's second conviction for contempt for his continued failure to abide by a court order to stop his party's racist phone messages. The third article concerned a police raid on the home of Nationalist Party leader, Donald Andrews and the seizure of party literature. The purpose of the seizure was to determine if it contravened the hate propaganda section of the Criminal Code.

Donald Andrews and his legal troubles were the focus of the three articles concerned with white supremacist groups in 1985. He and another party member, charged with wilfully promoting hatred through the publication of the Nationalist Party's Nationalist Report, pleaded not guilty and went to trial on this charge. Andrews and the other man were each found guilty and were sentenced to jail terms of one year and seven months respectively but were released pending an appeal.

In 1986, The Globe and Mail shifted its attention from the activities of the Ku Klux Klan and Nationalist Party in Ontario to those of the Aryan Nations in Alberta. Two of the four articles from that year were classed as inter-conflict and focused on the protest by Jewish groups to fight the establishment of an Aryan Nations camp at Caroline, Alberta.

The one article from 1987 originated in the United States and told of a $7 million judgement against the Klan in a civil suit for its part in the murder of a young black man. The following year did not result in any articles being published from either the criminal or inter-conflict categories.

In 1989, five of six articles were found to fall into these two categories. Skinheads were highlighted in two of them. One discussed evidence of their recruitment by the Nationalist Party while the other mentioned their participation as a security force at a neo-Nazi rally. Two Klan members in Calgary, Alberta were sentenced to five year prison terms for their part in a bomb plot. Other stories involved a presentation in Toronto by a member of Klanwatch, an anti- racist organization, one about American Klansmen getting lessons on civil rights from a black man as part of a judgement in a civil suit.

During 1990, Don Andrews of the Nationalist Party saw his legal battle come to an end when the Supreme Court of Canada upheld his 1985 conviction for wilfully promoting hatred. He and another party member were sentenced to jail terms of three months and one month respectively. Evidence of Klan activity surfaced in Quebec as the Oka Crisis was getting under way. There was also an article from Pulaski, Tennessee, the birthplace of the Ku Klux Klan, that indicated that town officials planned to ignore a Klan march against the Martin Luther King holiday.

There was a total of ten articles published in The Globe and Mail concerned with white supremacy groups in 1991. Nine of them may be considered to belong to the criminal and inter-conflict categories. Three of the articles originated in Quebec and followed the Klan's activities around the Oka Crisis. These articles covered the criminal case from the initial distribution of literature, to its declaration as hate literature and finally to the prosecution of those responsible.

In Manitoba, police claimed to have crippled the Ku Klux Klan when its leaders were arrested after a thirteen month undercover operation. This article made reference to Carney Nerland, the Aryan Nations leader from Saskatchewan, who was convicted of manslaughter for the killing of a native man in 1990. It is interesting to note that there were no references in the Canadian News Index concerning this hate motivated crime by either of the two newspapers being studied. A review of other key words such as crime and criminals, homicide, neo-Nazism, offensive weapons and Carney Nerland also failed to locate any articles. A second article from Manitoba referred to an anti-racist organization's office being ransacked. It was thought to be the work of the Ku Klux Klan in retaliation for the recent police crackdown.

There was one article from Alberta which referred to a government inquiry into the activities of the Aryan Nations white supremacist group in that province. It concentrated on Terry Long, the group's leader, and his inability to pay his expenses for the inquiry.

The legal difficulties of a prominent white supremacist from the United States were outlined in two articles. Tom Metzger, and his White Aryan Resistance, were found to be civilly responsible in the beating death of an immigrant in Oregon by Skinheads in 1988 and were ordered to pay

$12.5 million in damages. In another court case, Tom Metzger was found guilty of a charge relating to a 1983 cross-burning.

In 1992 there were six articles in the Canadian News Index for The Globe and Mail, all of which involved stories of a criminal nature or that of inter-conflict. In Quebec, three men were fined $500 each for smuggling Ku Klux Klan literature in from the United States. In a related story, Quebec anti-racist organizations thought violence would escalate as a result of the court's inconsequential sentence (Picard, 1992: A7).

Anti-racists and police officials in Manitoba experienced a setback when the Crown Attorney's case against the Ku Klux Klan crumbled due to problems with police evidence. In Alberta, the inquiry into the activities of the Aryan Nations outlined some of the groups activities. Tom Metzger and his son, leaders of the White Aryan Resistance were the focus of the last story. They were deported from Canada after attending a Heritage Front rally in Toronto.

Profile

As indicated in Table 3, four articles were deemed to fit into this category and they were published in 1979, 1986, 1988 and 1991. The first of this articles concerned Donald Andrews, leader of the Nationalist Party, and covered most of the page. The story was biographical in nature outlining his early life as a child in Yugoslavia during World War II through to his adult life. Included was a picture of him holding his cat. Donald Andrews was referred to as Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde because he was described as "a well mannered, conscientious public health inspector by day and a fanatical plotter by night" (Johnson, 1979: 5). He was also described as "almost handsome in a boyish way...he would fit in perfectly at any Toronto singles club" (Ibid: 5).

From 1986, there was a profile of James Farrands, who had been recently elected as the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. The American article made the front page of The Globe and Mail and included a picture of the leader in his robes. It presented the job of Imperial Wizard as somewhat paradoxical in nature. While Farrands is described as being the top Ku Klux Klansman in the United States, it is noted that he conducted Klan business from a small room in his home and does everything from editing the Klan's newspaper to ordering KKK items such as earrings for members to granting interviews to reporters from all over the world (Winerip, 1986: A1).

An article published in 1988 on the topic of skinheads covered most of the page. Interviews with Toronto skinheads and some individuals who were familiar with them were the main focus of the article. At the time, it was estimated that there were 300 skinheads in Toronto (Brown, 1988: D5).

In 1991, a profile of American white supremacist David Duke told of his early beginnings in the movement in the 1970s to his then current campaign to be the next governor of Louisiana. His role in the evolution of the Canadian Ku Klux Klan was also chronicled. Also included was information on Canadian Ku Klux Klan leaders, Alexander McQuirter and Wolfgang Droege. In what could be described as "the rise and fall of the Canadian Klan", the article detailed the group's heyday in 1980 to its demise a couple of years later. For all intents and purposes, the Klan collapsed in 1982 when McQuirter and Droege were sentenced to lengthy prison terms for their involvement in the plot to overthrow Dominica and other charges (Sher, 1991: D4).

Political

Several articles from The Globe and Mail focused on the political career aspirations of members of various white supremacy groups such as the Western Guard Party, the Nationalist Party and the Ku Klux Klan. Chart 3 indicates that three articles were found and they were published in 1980, 1989 and 1990.

The first article concerned the announcement of Klan member, Armand Siksna, to run for mayor of Toronto. According to the article, the Ku Klux Klan was not endorsing him as a candidate. David Duke's election to the Louisiana legislature was the focus of the article from 1989. Pictures of David Duke dressed in business attire standing in front of the Ontario Legislature in 1977 and of him campaigning for the U.S. presidency were included. It was noted that his votes came from Metaire, a somewhat posh New Orleans suburb that is considered to be upscale rather than a poor rural area (Sneed, 1989: A7). The final article is an editorial from the United States that described comments made by a presidential advisor as being similar to those made by the Ku Klux Klan.

Religious

As Table 3 indicates, two articles with religious themes were found, both were published in 1986. The first concerned the establishment of a camp of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian - Aryan Nations in Caroline, Alberta. Terry Long, the group's leader described himself as Canada's High Aryan Warrior Priest and said rather benignly that the camp would train people in the church's philosophy (Canadian Press, 1986: A5). The second article focused on the opposition

to the camp by anti-racist organizations and referred to the Aryan Nations as an anti-Semitic white supremacist group.

Intra-Conflict

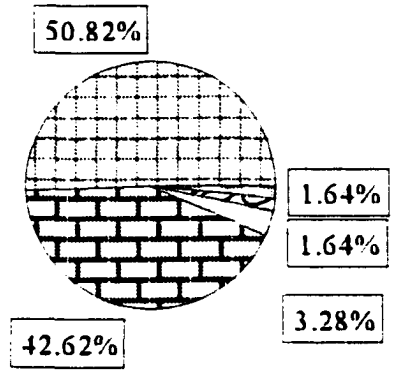
Two articles were found in The Globe and Mail with conflict between white supremacist groups as the main focus. The first one was published in 1980 and concerned David Duke's quitting as a leader in the Ku Klux Klan to head a new organization called the National Association for the Advancement of White People. The article made reference to his fighting with a rival Klan faction for years. The other article concerned the decision by the Alberta chapter of the Ku Klux Klan to allow a black man to become a member.

The Toronto Star

Table 4: Distribution of Event Categories for White Supremacist Articles in The Toronto Star, 1977 - 1992

Event Category	Number	Percentage	Rank
Criminal	31	50.82	1
Inter-Conflict	25	42.62	2
Profile	3	3.28	3
Political	1	1.64	4
Religious	1	1.64	4
Intra-Conflict	0	0	5
Total	61	100	

Chart 4: Distribution of Event Categories for The Toronto Star, 1977-1992



Event Categories

Criminal
Inter-conflict
Profile
Political
Religious
Intra-conflict

Criminal & Inter-Conflict

As with The Globe and Mail, both Table 4 and Chart 4 indicate that the majority of articles fell in these two event categories in The Toronto Star. In fact, their combined total accounted for over 93% of the articles selected for this study. These figures confirm that, like The Globe and Mail, The Toronto Star tended to portray white supremacist groups in a negative fashion.

While both newspapers were inclined to treat white supremacist groups in a similar manner, it cannot be assumed that each newspaper covered the same events as the other. In fact, there were only a few stories that the two newspapers had in common.

In 1977, ten of the sixty-one articles about white supremacist groups sampled involved inter-conflict and criminal activities. The first article reported on the visit of American Klan leader, David Duke, to Toronto. The remaining nine articles provided a detailed look at the trial of Donald

Andrews, former leader of the Western Guard Party, and another member. They were eventually found guilty of possessing explosive substances as well as other charges. None of these stories were considered to be front page news.

The sentencing of Donald Andrews and another Western Guard Party member were the focus of both stories in 1978. This is one story that was common to both newspapers. For some unknown reason The Toronto Star published similar articles on two different days. In the first case, the headline identified Andrews and the Western Guard Party whereas in the second case there was no specific mention of either. The information conveyed about the prison sentences and the comments of the presiding judge were fairly similar to that presented by The Globe and Mail. However, The Toronto Star placed the first of its two articles on the front page.

In 1979, an article on Western Guard leader, John Ross Taylor's legal problems was published. This story was also published by The Globe and Mail. He appeared before a Human Rights Commission tribunal over racist telephone messages and was ordered to stop them. In addition to the information on the hearing results, The Toronto Star article provided a brief biographical sketch of John Ross Taylor.

There were also two articles from the United States on the Ku Klux Klan. The first one included an interview with David Duke who outlined the group's position on blacks and mentioned his plans to run for the presidency of the United States. The second article published later that year was in response to an incident in Greensboro, North Carolina. The previous week several people were killed there when Klansmen clashed with anti-racist protesters.

Like The Globe and Mail, The Toronto Star published a large number of articles about white supremacist groups in 1980. Most of these stories involved inter-conflict or were of a criminal nature. None of these articles were considered to be front page news. Three stories were common to both newspapers. One was the sentencing of John Ross Taylor to one year in jail. However, the judge suspended Taylor's sentence and placed him on probation for continuing his racist phone messages. The other was the opening of the Ku Klux Klan office in Toronto. Later that year, the Klan was forced to look for new office space. Other stories involved the Klan recruiters at a high school, an anti-Klan rally, and reactions by municipal officials to the Klan's presence.

There was also a considerable number of articles generated about white supremacist groups in 1981. Several were common to both newspapers but unlike The Globe and Mail, the story about a Toronto Klansman's involvement in the plot to overthrow Dominica did not make the front page. However, a reaction story about an arms training camp for Klan members in Lucan, Ontario did in spite of the fact that it was determined to be only a rumor. There were also stories about a Klan leaflet posted at a Toronto metalworking plant that caused problems between the union and plant management, the surrender of Western Guard leader John Ross Taylor to police for continuing his party's racist phone messages, an anti-Klan rally and Klan activity in British Columbia.

A number of articles differed from those of The Globe and Mail. Three Klansman were sentenced to six months in jail for painting Klan ads on construction boarding. A Klansman was killed in a house fire and the leader of the Ku Klux Klan visited a local high school. Another article

involved the story of a reporter who joined the Klan undercover for three months. This article occupied most of the page and included pictures of Klan leader, General Nathan Bedford Forrest, Hitler and Mussolini, and hooded Klansmen giving the Nazi salute at an anti-Klan rally earlier that year. A detailed look at the key players in the Toronto Ku Klux Klan was provided.

The only article found in The Toronto Star from 1982 reported on how arrests of key individuals on serious charges destroyed the Ku Klux Klan in Toronto. According to Louttit (1982: A3), Klan leader, Alexander McQuirter faced charges of conspiracy to commit murder, conspiracy to commit forgery in Ontario as well as conspiracy charges from the United States for his part in the aborted attempted overthrow of Dominica. Two other Klan members were charged with conspiracy to commit murder.

Details surrounding McQuirter's charges were provided in the only white supremacist article published in 1983 that was found for this study. Accompanying the article were pictures of a burning cross and Alexander McQuirter. Apparently, a brilliant undercover "sting" by the Ontario Provincial Police virtually destroyed the Ku Klux Klan in Ontario and sent the former leader to jail for eight years (Louttit, 1983: A25). McQuirter was already serving a two year sentence for his role in the Dominican invasion when he appeared on the more serious charges of forgery and conspiracy to commit murder (Ibid: A25). He and others planned to have Gary MacFarlane, former security chief of the Klan, killed. It seems odd that this story did not seem to be newsworthy enough for The Globe and Mail. Perhaps the reason for this difference between the two newspapers are due to the more national focus of The Globe and Mail or each newspaper's daily pressures of space and time constraints and other news stories.

Only two articles were found to fit this event category from 1985. The first story, which was also reported by The Globe and Mail, involved the finding of Donald Andrews and another Nationalist Party member guilty of promoting hatred. Unlike The Globe and Mail, The Toronto Star failed to follow up on this story and provide details of the sentences handed down by the judge. The remaining story from 1985 involved the availability of white supremacist literature over the computer via the Aryan Nation Liberty Net. It noted that information about the Canadian white supremacist scene could be accessed and explained that Canadian hate laws did not presently cover electronically transmitted hate literature (Memebranten, 1985: A13).

Three articles were found from 1986. The story about reaction to the planned Aryan Nations camp in Caroline, Alberta was also reported by the previous newspaper. The remaining two articles referred to a speech by the Governor-General about hate groups gaining support and how a televison program advocating white supremacy in Idaho angered viewers.

In 1987, The Toronto Star published a rather long article on how the Klan was responsible for increasing racial tension throughout the United States. The following year saw three articles concerned with crime. Of the two stories from Alberta, the one about the Klan's involvement in a Calgary bomb plot was also reported in The Globe and Mail. The other story concerned the discontinuation of an Aryan Nations racist phone line two months prior to Human Rights Commission hearings on this issue. There was also an American story where a former Klansman testified how he participated in the hanging of a young black man in 1981.

In 1989 there were three articles that involved conflict between white supremacist groups and society at large. The central theme of these articles was the neo-Nazi rally held in Minden,

Ontario on July 1, 1989. The Globe and Mail also published an article about this event. The first article provided information about a campaign by Jewish groups to alert the public to the spread of neo-Nazi ideology. The second article concentrated on the rally while the third one indicated that a race forum was planned by anti-racist organizations to counter the rally.

The Toronto Star's coverage of white supremacist group activities did not change significantly with the coming of the next decade. There was an article from the United States indicating that "recent mail bomb attacks that rocked the South fit a pattern that illustrates with bloody clarity how much danger white supremacist groups pose not just to minorities but to everyone" (Page, 1990: A13).

Skinheads across Canada continued to be a source of concern for Jewish groups as the number of acts of anti-Jewish vandalism and harassment increased by 57%. In British Columbia, skinheads were gaining notoriety through a group called the Aryan Resistance Movement. The article noted that the group was founded in 1988 by a former Klansman and had an extensive telephone network with similar groups across North America (Kenna, 1990a: A19).

While the Oka Crisis was occurring in Quebec in 1991, the Ku Klux Klan was delivering its message of hate to Montreal homes. As a result of the Ku Klux Klan leaving its literature at Montreal homes, Canada Customs declared the newsletters to be hate literature. This story was covered in greater detail by The Globe and Mail. That same year, John Ross Taylor appeared as an aide to Aryan Nation's leader Terry Long at an Alberta inquiry into the group's activities. Jewish groups were outraged that he was not arrested immediately as he was still free in spite of his hate

conviction with a one year jail sentence being upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada eight months earlier (Armstrong, 1991: A3).

Finally, in 1992, four stories were published and all were related to the criminal and inter-conflict categories. The only international story in this study originated in Germany and mentioned that the Ku Klux Klan had established themselves in many German cities. There was also an article on two well known white supremacists from the United States being ejected from Canada. They were arrested after attending a rally staged by the Heritage Front. This story was also reported by The Globe and Mail. An article about racist phone messages targeting Natives also mentioned the Heritage Front and identified former Klansman, Wolfgang Droege as being associated with the group (Henton, 1992: A10). The final story told of the Federal Court of Canada's ruling that ordered the Canadian Liberty Net to cease its phone message network that ridiculed and humiliated Jews and non-whites.

Profile

As seen in Table 4, The Toronto Star only published two articles that were considered to fit this event category. The first story was published in 1981 and profiled Klan leader, Alexander McQuirter. It occupied most of the page and included a large picture of a burning cross, a larger picture of McQuirter and a smaller one of a Klan membership certificate each somewhat superimposed over parts of the others. This was the first of two articles by a reporter who went undercover for three months to get the inside story on the Ku Klux Klan. Outlined were some of the key individuals in the Klan as well as comments on the political aspirations of the group and McQuirter's craving for media coverage. McQuirter claimed that publicity and propaganda were

the major tools of Klan expansion and he was keenly publicity conscious and liked nothing better than to see himself get media coverage (Louttit, 1981: A10).

The second article appeared in 1990 and dealt with skinheads. It was written from a Jewish perspective as the author was associated with the Canadian Jewish Congress. In addition to information about anti-Semitic acts, it was also made known that all skinheads did not espouse neo-Nazism.

Political

Table 4 shows that only one Toronto Star article fit into this event category and it was published in 1980. This article referred to the fact that two individuals who were running for school board trustee positions in an upcoming election were living with the Klan member who was running for mayor. Although the would-be trustees lived with a Klan member, they were not members themselves (Vienneau, 1980: A3).

Religious

There was only one story within this event category and it was published in 1990. It was a lengthy article that discussed the troubles of American Aryan Nations leader, Reverend Richard Butler. Included was a photograph of Butler and another man with a Nazi flag in the background. He had a dream of building a whites-only nation in the Pacific Northwest. However, it began to unravel after the group's association with The Order, a notorious Aryan Nations splinter group, became known as well as from severe financial difficulties due to legal costs for his successful defense at his trial for trying to overthrow the government in 1988 (Kenna, 1990b: A25).

Intra-conflict

Table 4 shows that no articles were found in The Toronto Star sample that fit this category.

In summary, a comparison of The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star indicates that the most articles from both newspapers fit into the event categories of criminal and inter-conflict. Therefore, in spite of the fact that The Globe and Mail is viewed as a conservative newspaper and The Toronto Star is seen as a liberal one, both tend to treat news about white supremacy groups in a similar way. As was previously stated, reasons for the variations in coverage of white supremacist related stories are likely due to the differences in their intended audiences as well as to the various daily pressures associated with producing a daily newspaper.

Information Sources

The literature (Knight, 1998; Hall, 1978) suggests that the news media tends to over-rely on officials sources. As a result, news coverage of deviance and conflict in particular tends to focus on the actions of the appropriate social-control authorities such as the government, the police and experts to restore order and limit disruptive effects (Knight, 1998: 114). However, as the data from this study will reveal, when it comes to news about white supremacy groups, the print media's lack of reliance on experts does not seem to completely support this notion. Another problem with this over reliance on official sources is that the news is presented from the perspective of these sources.

There are a couple of questions that come to mind when discussing information sources. First, who does the press, in this case the two Toronto newspapers, rely on for information about white supremacy groups? Second, what kind of information about white supremacy groups do

these sources provide? The articles selected from both newspapers were examined to determine the answers to these questions.

Sources of information were classed into six categories. The first source of information for reporters was the white supremacist groups themselves. This category was further subdivided into three parts: leaders, members, and documents. The next grouping consists of government and justice officials. Examples from this source included police, crown/district attorneys, defense attorneys, judges, a postal inspector, customs officials, human rights commission members, and immigration officials. A third source of information was anti-racist organizations. This included members of such groups as B'nai B'rith, the Canadian Jewish Congress, Klanwatch, the Center for Democratic Renewal, as well as other religious and community groups.

A fourth source which is referred to as independent experts included academics, race relations advisors and others who were referred to as being knowledgeable about some aspect of white supremacist groups. It should be noted that academics affiliated with anti-racist organizations were not counted in this category. Politicians at all levels of government were another source of information referred to in the articles. Other persons were also a source of information found in white supremacist related articles. In many cases, these people were involved in the story only because the white supremacist activity occurred around them. Some examples from this category included a school principal, students, neighbors, a union representative, and a barber. The final source of information was the victims of white supremacist group activities. The articles rarely contained only one source of information. They were more likely to draw from a number of different sources.

Tables 5 and 6 indicate the sources of information in rank order for each newspaper. It is interesting to note that the rank order of the categories for both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star is exactly the same until the last two categories. The Globe and Mail used independent experts more often than victims. The opposite was the case in The Toronto Star. Each category will be discussed below in further detail.

Both newspapers had similar figures in terms of the average number of sources per article with The Globe and Mail's having 3.29 and The Toronto Star having 3.02.

Table 5: Information Sources from White Supremacist Articles in The Globe and Mail, 1977 - 1992

Information Source	Number	Percentage
White Supremacists		
Leader	40	16.87
Member	24	10.13
Documents	8	3.38
Gov't. & Criminal Justice Officials	58	24.47
Anti-Racist Organizations	45	18.99
Other Persons	27	11.39
Politicians	21	8.86
Independent Experts	8	3.38
Victims	6	2.53
Total	237	100

Chart 5: Information Sources from White Supremacist Articles in The Globe and Mail, 1977-1992

All Sources

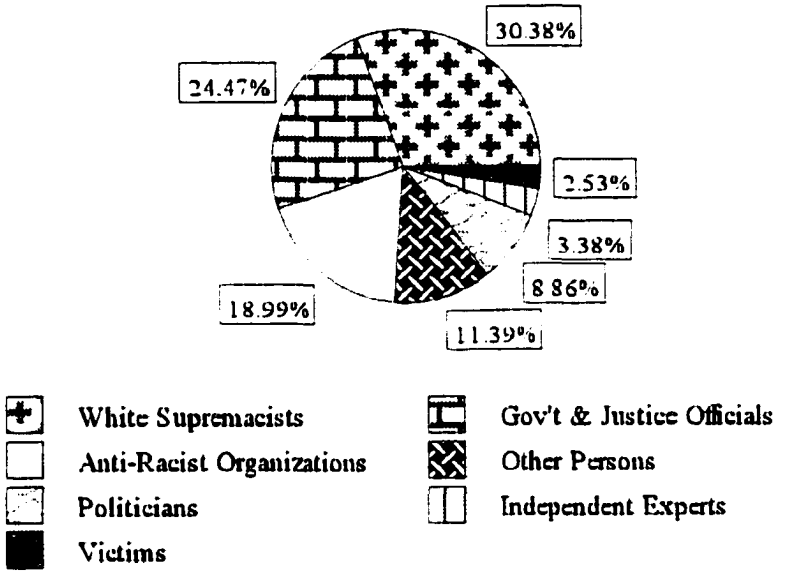
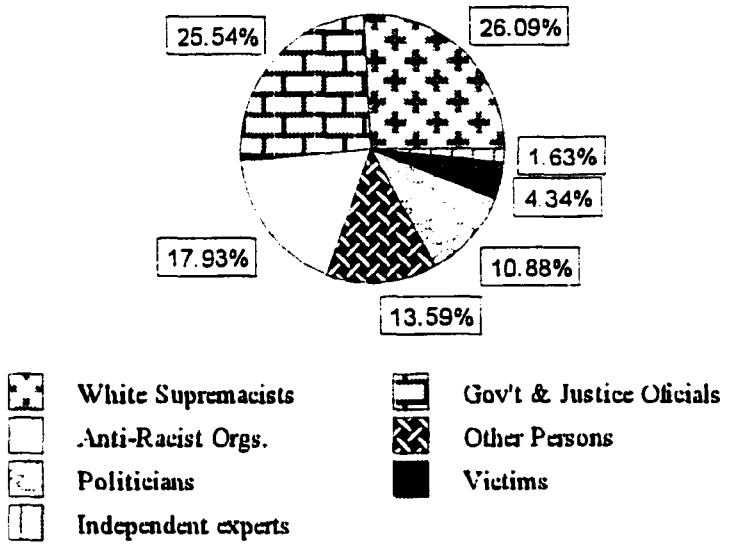


Table 6: Information Sources from White Supremacist Articles in The Toronto Star, 1977 - 1992

Information Source	Number	Percentage
White Supremacists		
Leaders	24	13.04
Members	13	7.07
Documents	11	5.98
Gov't. & Criminal Justice Officials	47	25.54
Anti-Racist Organizations	33	17.93
Other Persons	25	13.59
Politicians	20	10.88
Victims	8	4.34
Independent Experts	3	1.63
Total	184	100

Chart 6: Information Sources from White Supremacist Articles in The Toronto Star, 1977-1992

All Sources



Government & Justice Officials

As shown in Charts 5 and 6, both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star have a relatively similar proportion of information sources from this category with figures of 24.47% and 25.54% respectively. This is not surprising given that the criminal event category represented over 50% of all articles in each newspaper.

In most of these cases, the information presented by these individuals would be negative for it was often presented in the context of a criminal proceeding or in reaction to white supremacist activities. Perhaps somewhat more favorable comments were espoused by the white supremacist's defense counsel but since it took place within a criminal proceeding, it continues to present a negative image.

Given the relatively high status attributed to judges in society, it is anticipated that their comments would have a greater impact on the public's image of white supremacist groups than some other sources from this category. Comments provided by judges were both in the form of opinions as well as facts about white supremacy groups. For example, in the 1985 trial of Donald Andrews and the Nationalist Party, a judge was noted as saying that "their magazine which advocated white unity and power was hatred to an unbelievable degree and was also an idiotic pursuit" (Fagan, 1985: A19 & A21). Another example is from the 1989 Globe and Mail article on a Klan-linked bomb plot in Calgary. In sentencing the two Klansmen to five year prison terms, the judge described them as "socially maladjusted sorts who have not been able to function fully within normal society and have been attracted to the fringes where they find some acceptance" (Fagan, 1989: A9).

In addition to information provided about the specifics of a particular offence, police officials also provided some general information about the white supremacy groups. This is due to their intelligence gathering role. One way for police to get information is through the use of informers. This was clearly evident in The Toronto Star articles from 1977 and 1978 reporting on the Donald Andrews trial where the informer's testimony for the R.C.M.P. Security Service was the central focus of the articles. In 1988, a Toronto Star story mentioned that an informer was used by police in the Calgary Klan-linked bomb plot trial and the police referred to the Ku Klux Klan as a fledgling terrorist group (Ferguson, 1988: A8).

Details about white supremacist groups often included estimations about their membership numbers. These figures usually differed significantly from those provided by the white supremacist

groups. For example, in 1983, police in British Columbia estimated that there were about one hundred and fifty Klansmen in the province, while the Klan claims to have had several hundred members (Kelly, 1983: 8).

White Supremacy Groups

It is evident from both Charts 5 and 6 that white supremacists made up the largest source of information for both newspapers when leaders, members and documents are combined together. This source of information made up 30.38% of all sources cited by The Globe and Mail. The Toronto Star utilized the various elements of white supremacist groups slightly less often as only 26.09% of all sources used were from this category. Charts 7 and 8 that follow provide a more detailed examination of the white supremacist category from the charts above and outline the percentage given to each subcategory for The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star.

Given the media's tendency to over rely on official sources and this study's findings that most articles about white supremacists involved either crime or conflict, it should not be assumed from the above figures that white supremacists are a significant source of information for the media. Rather, it is more likely that white supremacists were used as sources due to cues from the police or other social-control officials.

Chart 7: White Supremacist Information Sources in The Globe and Mail, 1977-1992

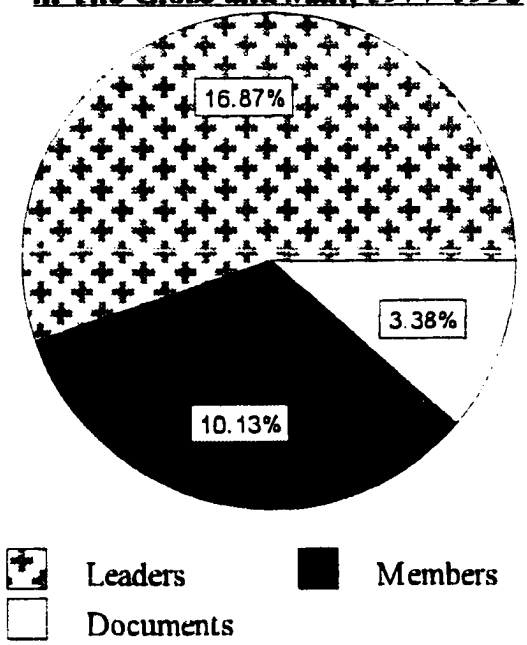
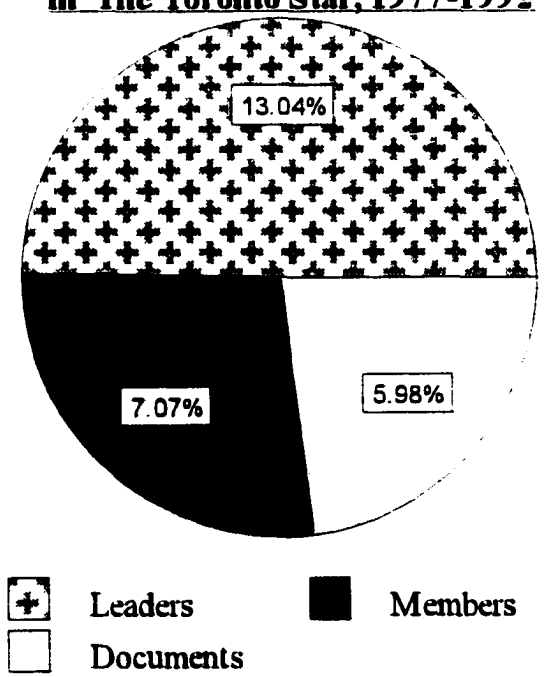


Chart 8: White Supremacist Information Sources in The Toronto Star, 1977-1992



In dividing this source of information into the subcategories of leaders, members and documents, it is noted in Charts 7 and 8 that The Globe and Mail newspaper used the first two subcategories more than The Toronto Star did. The reason The Toronto Star made more references to documents than The Globe and Mail was likely due to its more extensive coverage of criminal proceedings involving these groups. The documents were presented as evidence in court and often outlined the beliefs these groups held about various minority groups. On occasions where white supremacists managed to provide information other than in the context of a criminal proceeding, it was usually about their beliefs, key members of their organization or membership numbers. Often the numbers presented conflicted with those from other more reliable sources. These stories were likely generated by the media as follow-up to previous stories provided by official sources rather than by the white supremacists themselves.

It is also important to remember that information provided by white supremacists must be considered with caution for manipulation of the media is part of their hidden agenda. Klan leader Alexander McQuirter claimed that publicity and propaganda were the major tools of Klan expansion (Louttit, 1981: A10). For example, in one article, Alexander McQuirter stated that support for the political objectives of the Klan came from a millionaire who was the former chairman of the Nazi Party of Canada (Ibid: A1). Yet it seems that there was never any follow-up to determine if this statement was fact or fiction.

In several articles it was noted that white supremacists seemed to downplay the negativeness of their message to the public as well as attempt to legitimatize their movement. For

example, it has been noted on several occasions that they are not white supremacists but rather, white separatists who just are concerned with maintaining the purity of the white race.

The information provided by white supremacy groups was often contradictory. What they said and what they did were often quite different. For example, Klansman Wolfgang Droege noted in an article on the opening of the Klan's Toronto office that "most people think we're a violent group but its not true. We are against violence. It's one of our oaths not to commit illegal acts. Although I'm sure that some Klan members have committed illegal acts, they're not condoned by the Klan." (The Globe and Mail, 1980: 2). However, the next year, he was one of ten Klansman arrested for attempting to overthrow the government of a Caribbean nation. While the numerous incidents of violence and illegal acts by white supremacist groups may seem contradictory with one of their oaths, this may be just one method of bringing about their political objective of eventually coming to power like any other terrorist group. This would be consistent with the reference to jailed members as prisoners of war in various white supremacist groups publications.

Anti-Racist Organizations

The two newspapers' use of anti-racist organizations as sources of information on white supremacy groups was also similarly proportioned. Charts 5 and 6 indicate that this information source comprised 18.99% of all sources referred to in The Globe and Mail and 17.93% of all sources used in The Toronto Star. This source of information was predominantly found in articles from the inter-conflict event category for both newspapers. Anti-racist organizations are generally used as sources of information because of white supremacists' involvement with the criminal justice system. Local anti-racist organizations from various cities to national and international groups

provided information on white supremacy groups. Like the police, some of this information included estimates of the group's membership. Other information conveyed was the anti-racist organization's actions against white supremacist groups as well as information on the social class structure of these groups. Opinions are also offered by anti-racist organizations and they sometimes made reference to the larger society's ineffectual stance against white supremacy groups. Because these organizations sometimes represented a minority or religious group, their information focused on the actions of white supremacists towards these segments of society.

In one Globe and Mail article, the reporter referred to information received from an anti-racist organization as being provided by experts. While it is not disputed that these organizations can be considered to be experts on this subject area, it must be remembered that they have a vested interest in white supremacist groups. These organizations would cease to exist if white supremacist groups were not a threat to certain segments of society.

Politicians

Politicians at various levels of government were used as sources of information slightly less often in The Globe and Mail than in The Toronto Star. The figures shown in Charts 5 and 6 are 8.86% and 10.88% respectively.

In most cases where they were used, politicians provide information about white supremacist groups that is provided to them from other sources or they gave their opinion. At times it seems that they are there to bolster their public image. They need to be seen doing something about white supremacist activities, even though they may know it is not as big an issue

as they are making it out to be. For example, in 1980 when it was announced that the Ku Klux Klan was opening an office in Toronto, one member of the provincial legislature encouraged Ontario's Attorney-General and municipal leaders to tell the Klan that it is not welcome in Toronto and suggested that the Klan should be placed under constant surveillance. In reaction to that article, the Ontario Attorney-General was quoted as saying that "the Ku Klux Klan are bloody well not welcome in Toronto or in the province and their activities will be closely watched by police". He also said that he regarded the Klan as representative of the lunatic fringe of the community.

It seems that the Ontario Attorney-General was only reacting to comments by another politician and was making promises the police may not have been able to keep. In the same article, there were comments from the Deputy Chief of Police in Toronto who noted that the Klan has been in Toronto for three years and is only a minute organization that has never had more than a few members in the city.

Some times the information provided by sources of information can be false. This was the case in one article from 1981 that was published after the story broke about the indictment of Canadian Klansmen in a plot to overthrow the government of Dominica. A provincial politician told The Globe and Mail that the Ku Klux Klan was operating a paramilitary training centre on a farm near Lucan, Ontario where members are taught to use handguns and semi-automatic weapons. A follow-up story was not found in this paper. However, a Toronto Star article noted that, according to a police investigation, it was only a rumor (Ward, 1981: 4).

Other Persons

This category was the third most frequently identified source of information used in both newspapers. Chart 6 shows that in The Toronto Star, 13.59% of sources used came from this category compared to the 11.39% noted from Chart 5 for The Globe and Mail. In most cases, these sources of information only provided cursory information in the form of opinions about the white supremacists that were involved with the specific event being covered by the press.

For example, in The Toronto Star's 1981 coverage of a Klan training camp in Ontario, the first source used in the article came from this category. Ward (1981: 1) noted that "it was a mighty big day in Clarence Lewis' barber shop for he gave eleven haircuts, two straight razor shaves and fourteen interviews to big-city reporters sniffing out a Ku Klux Klan revolutionary training centre supposedly hidden in the midst of this Southwestern Ontario town, population 1,400." Another example was found in The Toronto Star's story about the Ontario Police licensing a Klan member as a security guard. The article outlined the Klansman's criminal history and noted that his supervisor who was initially unaware that his employee was a Klan member, described him as "a sharp cookie, very well-spoken and very intelligent" (Moon, 1981: 5).

Independent Experts

This is one of two sources of information that was rarely used by either newspaper. As indicated in Charts 5 and 6, independent experts represented only 3.38% of all the sources cited in The Globe and Mail articles and 1.63% of all sources used in The Toronto Star articles. In some cases, the information from the independent expert was reserved to a few lines at best with little more than superficial information being provided.

Looking at each newspaper, only six of The Globe and Mail's seventy-two articles were found to have utilized this source of information. The first article concerned the 1980 opening of the Ku Klux Klan's Toronto office and the author, an academic, of a race relations report for the city of Toronto commented that groups such as the KKK could not simply be banned. In 1988, a lengthy article on skinheads made reference to a sociological work on the development of the skinhead movement in Britain by Dick Hebdige[2].

The next time an independent expert was referred to was in 1989 when an article about David Duke was written by a professor of journalism in California. That same year, two experts were mentioned in an article about the recruitment of skinheads by Donald Andrews and the Nationalist Party. One was a Toronto youth counselor who was familiar with the skinhead scene and the other was Stan Barrett, an anthropologist, who wrote a book on Canada's radical right. In 1991, a journalist who wrote a book on Canada's Ku Klux Klan authored an article on David Duke and his connections to the Canadian Klan. The final reference to an independent expert was found in another article on skinheads written in 1991 by someone who was a community worker from Calgary who had a special interest in race relations.

Turning to The Toronto Star, independent experts were referred to in only three of the sixty-one articles examined. The first use of an independent expert was found in an American article from 1979 about the Ku Klux Klan and involved a one line statement from an unidentified sociologist who commented on one of the Klan's issues. The next year a race relations adviser

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[2]Hebdige wrote The Meaning of Style which is not about skinheads but the British punk movement. He does not make any references to white supremacy.

from a Toronto school board was quoted as simply saying that Ku Klux Klan members were recruiting on high school grounds a couple of weeks earlier. The final article that identified an independent expert as a source of information occurred in 1982. Julian Sher, a journalist who wrote White Hoods: Canada's Ku Klux Klan, wrote an article outlining the demise of the Klan in Ontario due to its key figures being sentenced to lengthy prison terms for a number of serious offences.

Victims

The final source of information used by both newspapers was the victims of various activities by white supremacist groups. Chart 5 indicates that The Globe and Mail made reference to them in 2.53% of all sources of information cited. Chart 6 shows that The Toronto Star referred to victims more often with 4.34% of all sources of information belonging to this category. In all cases, the information provided by this source of information was related to the circumstances surrounding how the white supremacists victimized the person or group either directly or indirectly.

In summary, both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star used several sources of information to provide their intended audiences with news on white supremacy groups. Both newspapers made comparable use of the various sources of information. What was surprising was the finding that both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star seemed to have little use for independent experts when presenting news on white supremacy groups. This issue as well as sources of information in general will be addressed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Social Status

Since one of the goals of this research was about the perceived and actual social status of white supremacists, three questions arise out of the articles. First, what did the newspapers say about the social status of white supremacists? Second, who was this information attributed to? Finally, how does this information compare to information in the academic literature?

Upon reviewing the articles selected from both newspapers, it seems that the social status of white supremacists was not a prime concern for reporters. The Globe and Mail referred to the social status indicators of the white supremacists in 25% of the seventy-two articles while 24.59% of the sixty-one articles from The Toronto Star mentioned social status indicators. Most references were limited in detail and related to either the occupation or level of education of the white supremacist in question. There were also a few statements about the social strata occupied by white supremacists in general.

Various members of white supremacist groups identified their occupations in articles from The Globe and Mail. These members indicated that they were employed as a service station operator, a former meat cutter and baker, a security guard, and a construction worker. One article cited information from the Anti-Defamation League that most of the United Klans' members are poor, uneducated whites from rural Alabama and Georgia who can barely afford to pay the group's $10 a month fee (Reuter, 1978: A8).

Skinheads seemed to be an exception to this trend. Because most of them were teenagers or in their early twenties, they were more inclined to be identified with their parents' occupations rather than their own. For example, one article mentioned that their parents were electricians,

doctors, and professors and that the skinheads considered themselves working class with hopes of becoming teachers, carpenters, entrepreneurs, any job where the money was real and the work was honest (Brown, 1988: D5). This article also made reference to the sociological literature about the working class origins of skinheads in Great Britain. There was also an unattributed statement that Nazi skinheads were more likely to have dropped out of high school.

In terms of some of the leaders of white supremacist groups, The Globe and Mail provided more information on their social status indicators than those of members. Generally, this information was provided by the leaders themselves but in other cases it was simply stated without mentioning any source of information. Donald Andrews, former leader of the Western Guard Party identified himself as a college graduate who worked as a public health inspector until he was incarcerated. He was unsuccessful in returning to that line of work upon his release from prison and was reported to be unemployed. In spite of his lack of employment, Andrews said he was hardly a pauper as he owned some properties and was getting along all right (Johnson, 1979: 5).

Karl Hand, neo-Nazi leader in Buffalo, New York was described as being disabled and supported by social security payments in a 1981 article. Jim Farrands, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, said he was employed as a tool and die machinist who lived in a middle class suburb. David Duke was described as a university graduate who was elected to the Louisiana State Legislature and whose electoral support came from an upscale area of Louisiana. The same article referred to Wolfgang Droege as a laborer. Tom Metzger, leader of the White Aryan Resistance, said he was a television repairman who was living on welfare as a result of a multi-million dollar judgement against him and his organization in a civil suit.

In a 1986 article announcing the formation of a new Aryan Nation in the United States, Richard Butler, leader of the Aryan Nations compound, was referred to as a former aeronautical engineer. Also mentioned were John Ross Taylor, Western Guard Party leader, who was described as a former mining executive and Terry Long, leader of the Alberta Aryan Nations, who was referred to as a graduate engineer who worked in a sawmill. Five years later at an inquiry into the activities of the Aryan Nations in Alberta, Long indicated that he was only making $14,500 annually and the press coverage about his political beliefs had forced him onto welfare.

Turning to The Toronto Star, white supremacist group members were noted to have stated that they worked as a painter, a police officer, an upholsterer, a mechanic, a security guard, a former Central Intelligence Agency agent, a former professional wrestler, a welder, a lab technician and a former pop singer. It was noted in a 1979 article on the Ku Klux Klan that most U.S. Klansmen were working class and unschooled (Lowther, 1979: A10). This information was not attributed to any particular source.

The Toronto Star also made reference to the social status of skinheads. One article by a member of an anti-racist organization indicated that skinheads came from widely varying social and economic backgrounds and that their often expressed claim that they were the sons and daughters of the working class was mere rhetoric (Farber, 1990: A29). The article also noted that most skinheads were high school dropouts and that an extraordinarily high proportion came from broken and single-parent homes (Ibid: A29).

In terms of the social status indicators of leaders, Terry Long was described as a sawmill worker, and John Ross Taylor was described as the son of a prominent attorney and the owner

of a local soap factory. David Duke was said to be an honours graduate from Louisiana University.

The literature on white supremacy groups generally suggests that members tend to be more likely associated with the lower class and leaders are more likely from the middle class. It should be noted that information gleaned from both newspapers on the social status of both leaders and members of white supremacy groups must be considered with caution given the desire of these organizations to manipulate the media. It should also be noted that white supremacists interviewed by the media tend to be leaders rather than members. Having said this, with a few exceptions, the status of both members and leaders presented in the two newspapers seems to be consistent with the academic literature. Thus claims that the press represents them as low status would seem to be unfounded.

Conclusion

According to the criteria used in this thesis, only one hundred and thirty-three articles were found in the Canadian News Index from both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star during the period from 1977 to 1992. Given the small number of newspaper articles concerned with white supremacy groups from over a sixteen year period, it seems that these groups are not receiving any significant treatment from the media.

All of the newspaper articles were examined in a number of different areas. Headline analysis was conducted to ascertain if negative and conflict words were used as well as to determine if white supremacists were directly referred to. Results showed that while over 70% of all headlines for both newspapers had negative or conflict terms, it was only slightly over 50% of

the total headlines that made any reference to white supremacists. This data is further proof that white supremacists are not getting any significant coverage in the print media.

An examination of the articles' geographic origin and their location in the newspaper found that the majority of articles originated in Ontario and that very few articles were considered front page news. White supremacist related articles from The Globe and Mail were considered to be front page news in only 8.33% of the articles compared to 3.27% for The Toronto Star. In addition, the articles were divided into six event categories (criminal, inter-conflict, profile, political, religious and intra-conflict). Since articles from both of the first two categories in The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star were 84.77% and 93.44% respectively, it seems clear that the print media tend to portray white supremacists in a negative fashion.

Sources of information were extracted from all of the articles and were found to fall within the following groups: criminal justice and government officials, white supremacists, anti-racist organizations, politicians, other persons, independent experts and victims. Given the media's tendency to over rely on official sources, articles about white supremacists were likely driven by the criminal justice and other government officials than by white supremacists having any significant influence on the media. It is also noteworthy that independent experts only comprised 5% of total sources for both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star.

Details concerning the social status of white supremacists were also extracted from the newspaper articles given the general belief that white supremacy groups are generally depicted to be a lower class phenomenon. Although there were a couple of specific references to white supremacists coming from the lower classes, what little information that was presented tentatively

suggested that both leaders and members come from both the middle and lower classes. Therefore, the data from this thesis indicates suggestions that the press depict white supremacy groups as a lower class phenomenon are unfounded.

In the next chapter, media representation of white supremacists is analyzed using the techniques of Hall (1978) and Knight (1998). Reasons why both newspapers made so little use of independent experts will be examined. Media coverage of white supremacists is also looked at in terms of racism and the media and is also compared to incidents of radical right-wing violence during the same time period. Finally, public opinion about race is discussed in light of the political shift to the right that has occurred over the past two decades.

CHAPTER THREE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

What is the significance of the findings in the previous chapter? The objective of this chapter is to relate the findings of this thesis to broader issues. First, a brief history of multiculturism which is part of the Canadian ideology is provided. Today, multiculturalism is official state policy in Canada and as such is part of the formal ideology of the nation state. By definition multiculturalism encompasses the idea of toleration of racial and ethnic diversity and by implication white supremacist ideas and values must be discouraged.

Second, white supremacy groups are looked at from a news perspective in order to explain what makes them newsworthy and also to reveal why they receive the type of coverage they do. The way in which the findings of this thesis fit the two contrasting perspectives on the media is examined. Are the media an ideological tool of the state? Or are they purveyors of objective information to the public at large. Third, an explanation for white supremacist activities during 1977 to 1992 is provided. Fourth, media coverage of white supremacy groups is compared to incidents of radical right-wing violence in Canada. Finally, public opinion about race is examined to see if there has been a hardening of attitudes towards race. Immigration is examined because it is a main issue of contention for both white supremacists and others.

Multiculturalism in Canada

In Chapter one, I briefly outlined the history of Canadian immigration policy to the early 1930s. It was intentionally racist. This racist and exclusionary trend in Canadian immigration policy remained in effect until the mid 1960s (Elliot & Fleras, 1990: 56).

In 1967 the criteria of country of origin, ethnicity and race were eliminated from immigration policy and were replaced by the 'points system' where immigrants were selected on the basis of points they earned in nine areas such as education, occupation and language (Ibid: 57). As a result of this change, there was a significant increase in the amount of immigration from the Third World (Ibid: 57).

The inequities between ethnic groups in Canada were also considered by the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism that was established by the federal government in 1963. This federal commission was responsible for putting the building blocks of Canada's official policy on inter-ethnic relations in place: bilingualism in 1969 and multiculturalism in 1971 (Bibby, 1990: 49). Reasons for the adoption of multiculturalism as state policy included: to establish a uniquely Canadian identity, to defuse the perceived threat of American-style race riots, to shore up political strength in Ontario and to neutralize prairie province grievances (Elliot & Fleras, 1990: 64). Increased attention by both the federal and the provincial governments to multiculturalism lead to the passage of the Multiculturalism Act in 1988 in order to promote distinct cultures, reduce discrimination, and accelerate institutional change to reflect Canada's multicultural character (Ibid: 64-65).

In spite of the changes made to immigration policy and the inclusion of multiculturalism into the state's ideology, these ideas are not embraced by all Canadians. While Canadians are supportive of immigration as a principle, many are less accomodative of certain classes of immigrants and of immigration patterns (Fleras & Elliot, 1992: 112). It has also been suggested that

> public perception of multiculturalism upon which the immigration policy seems to be based, reflects economic ("immigrants will increase competition for jobs and put additional burdens on social services"), social ("Canada's democratic tradition will unravel faced with immigrants from violent, war-torn countries with no democratic background") and cultural concerns ("promoting the equivalence of all cultures threatens to undermine the integrity of Canadian cultural traditions") (Ibid: 112).

Canadian immigration patterns have changed significantly over the past several decades. These changes have occurred in the composition of the immigrant population rather than in the relative number of immigrants to the rest of the Canadian population. Logan (1994: 32) notes that beginning in the early 1960s the traditional North American and European source countries for immigrants to Canada have been increasingly replaced by Asian, Caribbean, and to a lesser degree, South American and African countries. In addition, recent Census data indicates that 94% of immigrants lived in Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec, and Alberta and within these provinces, over half of all immigrants lived in the census metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Calgary (Badets, 1994: 28). These areas of the country also are where white supremacists seem to be concentrated. Research shows that most incidents of Canadian radical right-wing violence occur in urban areas (Ross, 1992: 88).

Given recent trends in Canadian immigration patterns and a distorted public perception of multiculturalism, it is not surprising that there is evidence of a backlash towards multiculturalism (Fleras & Elliot, 1992: 126). This notion is supported by Kirkham (1998: 244) who notes that the growing hostility towards racial and ethnic diversity in Canada coincides with changing immigration patterns. Barrett (1987: 311) also indicates that because of changes to immigration policy that no longer favor white entry and the sharp increase in Third World immigration, this issue has been strongly opposed by both the radical and fringe right, who contend that non-white immigrants will bring a racial problem to Canada. White supremacy groups are the vanguard of this backlash due to their strong opposition to immigration.

Media Representation of White Supremacy Groups

Previous research (Shoemaker, 1988) suggests that what most people know about white supremacist groups is generally learned from the media rather than from personal experience with these groups. The typical Canadian is not likely to encounter white supremacists in their day to day lives. Based on the results of this study, the typical Canadian is also not likely to encounter them to any great degree in the press. Thus, one can assume on the basis of the findings of this study, most people know little about white supremacists.

What makes stories about white supremacist groups newsworthy? According to Knight (1998: 112-114) three major criteria are used to determine what stories will be presented to the public as news. First, immediacy refers to what is new or immediate (Ibid: 112). Like most stories, those on white supremacist groups get reported because they just occurred or are about to happen. Knight (1998: 112) indicates that

> "to generate interest and curiosity on the part of the audience, news stories often create some sense of uncertainty about what will happen next, which unfortunately shifts the concern to the consequences of events and issues at the expense of their causes and development. As a result, news generally lacks a strong sense of historical perspective and context since causes belong in the past".

This criterion certainly applies to stories on white supremacy groups. Curiosity about these groups is raised in part because these groups do not generate news on a regular basis. The element of uncertainty is also applicable here. An example would be the government's reaction to the reporting of the opening of the Ku Klux Klan office in Toronto in 1980. Government officials immediately took a hard stand against the white supremacists and made threats about constant surveillance by social control agencies. However, it is highly unlikely that these threats would be carried out as agencies have limited resources to monitor other more pressing criminal activity. The focus of the articles was on the present rather than the past with only a few lines outlining past events of Klan activities. Complex issues such the reasons for the development of the Ku Klux Klan and their activities since its inception are reduced to one or two phrases.

Second, personalization refers to the media's method of communicating with an anonymous audience by enabling the reader to identify with news events that are often remote from everyday experience by making them more concrete and familiar (Ibid: 112). Knight (1998: 112) also notes that when news does deal with causes and explanations, it often reduces them to the level of individual motives and psychology and this is an effect of personalization. Examples of personalization in this study can be found in the profile event category. In the 1979 Globe and Mail article on Western Guard leader, Donald Andrews, he is not portrayed as a racist lunatic but as an ordinary person with different beliefs. He is described as "almost handsome in a boyish way

who would fit perfectly at any Toronto singles club" (Johnson, 1979: 5) The article does not simply focus on his racist beliefs but provides a balance between them and his personal life.

Third, extraordinariness is a criterion because news concerns events and issues that are out of the ordinary and that entail conflict, confrontation, deviance, or disorder (Ibid: 112). White supremacy groups meet the above condition on all of these counts. Not only are there few articles written about them but their use of symbols such as uniforms, hairstyles, boots, etc. over the years have set them apart from conventional society. In addition, the majority of articles written about these groups concerns either criminal behavior or some sort of conflict. In the present study, articles on white supremacy groups involved stories of criminal activity or conflict in over 93% of the articles used from The Toronto Star and over 84% of articles obtained from The Globe and Mail. Knight (1998: 112-114) notes that

> "the focus of negative stories does not undermine mainstream values and beliefs but reinforces the state's ideology in two ways. First by dwelling on the negative, news invokes and reproduces dominant definitions of what is socially normal and desirable. One effect of this is to exclude or downplay oppositional and alternative perspectives by associating them with deviant or marginal behavior. Second, news coverage about deviance and conflict tends to focus on the actions of the appropriate social-control authorities to restore social order and limit disruptive effects".

Since multiculturalism is part of the state's ideology, the media's portrayal of white supremacists in a negative fashion serves to reinforce this ideology and also ensures that these groups will have nothing more than a marginal effect on society. Therefore, it seems highly unlikely that white supremacy groups will ever have a greater influence on the general public until the media portrays them in a more positive light. Chances of this occurring are improbable given the federal

government's promotion of multiculturalism as part of Canadian culture. Since criminal activity and conflict were the primary features in most of the articles on white supremacist groups, it is not surprising that social control agencies were the predominant source of information.

While the factors of newsworthiness are important, a story that meets these criteria is not guaranteed to become news. Another important factor of news is that it must have some meaning to its intended audience. Hall (1978: 54) notes that

> "the construction of the news involves the presentation of the item to its *assumed* audience, in terms which, as far as the presenters of the item can judge, will make it comprehensible to that audience. If the world is not to be represented as a jumble of random and chaotic events, then they must identified (i.e. named, defined, related to other events known to the audience), and assigned to a social context (i.e. placed within a frame of meanings familiar to the audience). Things are newsworthy because they represent the changefulness, the unpredictability and the conflictual nature of the world but such events cannot be allowed to remain in the limbo of the 'random' - they must be brought within the horizon of the meaningful"[Emphasis in original].

In terms of articles on white supremacy groups, they are framed within the social context of being pariahs of society and are associated with themes of crime, violence, racism, and hatred. Despite attempts by white supremacists to improve their public image by trading in their hoods for business suits or by referring to themselves as white racialists rather than white supremacists, they continue to be portrayed negatively.

Knight identifies two news sources, primary and secondary, that are relied on to provide information to journalists. According to Knight (1998: 115) these sources are rank ordered according to importance. The ideological bias of the news results from easier access to and reliance on some sources over others. Hall (1978: 57) also raises the issue of bias and notes the media do not themselves autonomously create news items; rather they are 'cued in' to specific

news topics by regular and reliable institutional sources. However, while the reporting on pre-scheduled events saves time and resources, the rules of impartiality, balance and objectivity must also be taken into account (Ibid: 57). He indicates that "these two aspects of news production - the practical pressures of constantly working against the clock and the professional demands of impartiality and objectivity - combine to produce a systematically structured *over-accessing* to the media of those in powerful and privileged institutional positions" [Emphasis in original] (Ibid: 58). As a result, these sources become the primary definers of topics and social realty is defined according to their interests (Ibid: 58).

Primary news sources are usually official voices that provide what the media assume to be credible, authoritative information defining the contours of an event or issue (Knight, 1998: 115). Hall (1978: 58) indicates that these sources are 'accredited' because of their institutional power and position and are 'representative' because they either represent the people (politicians) or organized interest groups. Another accredited source is the expert whose 'disinterested' pursuit of knowledge confers 'objectivity' and 'authority' on his statements (Ibid: 58). The media's tendency to over-rely on primary sources has led Hall to identify them as primary definers of news (Ibid: 58). Since there are primary definers of situations,

> "here must also be counter-definers of those situations. However, for them to have a voice they must be an organized majority or substantial minority and also have a degree of legitimacy within the system or can win such a position through struggle. Many emergent counter-definers do not have access to the defining process at all. If they do not play by the rules of the game, counter-spokesmen run the risk of being defined out of the debate, labeled 'extremist' or 'irrational' or as acting illegally or unconstitutionally. The closure of the topic around its initial definition is far easier to achieve against groups which are fragmented, ... or which adopt extreme oppositional means of struggle to achieve their ends" (Ibid: 64).

As counter-definers, white supremacy groups fail to meet any of the criteria set out by Hall. Although there has been some effort in the recent past to organize, white supremacy groups tend to be fragmented from each other and they already have the reputation of being extremists.

Secondary news sources consist mainly of unofficial voices that provide reaction to news events and issues, usually in negative terms (Knight, 1998: 115). This secondary reaction is further divided into two main types: "first is the reaction from ordinary people who are either actual or potential victims, those directly afflicted, deprived or harmed by an event or issue. Second, is the reaction from more organized sources, such as activist groups or social movements, that are usually opposed to government policies, but on general rather than particular grounds" (Ibid: 115).

Information from these two types of sources is also treated differently by the media.

> "For instance, primary sources usually represent the official viewpoint of dominant institutions like government, the police and the private sector of the economy and are often presented as speaking on behalf of society in general. Secondary sources are mainly heard to complain rather than to analyze, to emphasize what is wrong rather than to offer solutions, to express feelings rather than rational ideas, and to call on others, notably the government to act rather than take the initiative themselves" (Ibid: 115).

The use of both primary and secondary news sources is very evident in this study. Sources of information such as government and justice officials, politicians, anti-racist organizations, and independent experts are considered to be primary news sources whereas sources categorized as white supremacist groups (leaders, members and documents), other persons, and victims are deemed to be secondary news sources. White supremacists are considered to be secondary sources for a number of reasons in spite of their being the subjects of the articles reviewed. First, white supremacy groups are not considered to be credible or authoritative in the information they

provide. Second, most articles about white supremacists are concerned with crime and conflict and the media was cued to these stories by primary sources such as criminal justice and government officials. Finally, when white supremacists are referred to in the articles, their comments tend to be in reaction to information provided by primary sources or are directed against government policies such as immigration.

The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star made similar use of both primary and secondary news sources. In the case of the former, 55.7% of all sources quoted were from primary sources with 44.3% being secondary sources. In terms of the latter, 55.98% of all sources quoted were primary sources and 44.02% comprised secondary sources.

The balance between primary and secondary news sources is not coincidental. Knight (1998:116) notes that the media do not simply take the perspective of the powerful as representative of society as a whole in an absolute or monolithic way. Hegemony entails the need to appear objective, so the media sometimes allow dissenting voices to offer alternative or oppostional definitions of an event or issue that break with the dominant definition provided by primary sources (Ibid: 116).

In their study of the Ernst Zundel trial, Weimann and Winn (1986: 83) expressed concern that Zundel's comments were being reported uncritically. Journalists responded to this concern by noting that although they were aware of Zundel's attempts to manipulate the media, they were bound by ethics to report what he said without direct commentary (Ibid: 84). As was noted in the previous chapter, several newspaper articles were found to present white supremacists' beliefs

without making any attempt to refute them. Perhaps, as was the case with Zundel's comments, journalistic ethics prevented any commentary by the press.

Research (Robinson, 1998) suggests that the journalistic ethics of balance and objectivity are still important. However, there is also evidence to suggest that these ethics are not being universally adhered to. An increasing number of journalists have become ardent political activists and where objectivity was once the golden standard on which the professional credibility of journalists rested, today the rules seem to have changed (Taras, 1996: 486). These journalists are known as pundits; that is they make their living by commenting on rather than reporting the news (Ibid: 487). It has been noted that

> "more and more pundits have become surrogates or stand-ins for politicians. Politicians are aware of the cynicism and distrust that the public has towards them as well as the many traps that are set for them by the media. Yet when the same message is delivered by a journalist, it is not only more likely to be viewed as more credible by the public but other journalists are more likely to treat the pundit who is also a professional colleague with respect" (Ibid: 489-490).

This seems to suggest that pundits have a considerable amount of influence and at least as far as the topic of politics is concerned. This only strengthens the already powerful position of the media in society.

Hall's (1978: 66-70) commentary on crime as news is relevant to this study since articles on white supremacists that were related to crime for both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star comprise 54.20% and 50.82% respectively. Crime is 'news' because its treatment evokes threats to, but also reaffirms, the consensual morality of the society: a modern morality play that takes place before us in which the 'devil' is both symbolically and physically cast out from the

society by its guardians - the police and the judiciary (Ibid: 66). It is also noted that crime news tends to be reported as brief and routine as the bulk of crime itself is seen as routine (Ibid: 67). The present study supports this notion of crime reporting. Headline analysis indicated that white supremacists were directly associated with crime and conflict stories in slightly more than 50% of all articles obtained from each newspaper.

While most crime news tends to be of routine crime, occasionally more dramatic instances of crime occur that result in more media attention especially if violence is involved (Ibid: 67). Hall (1978: 68) states that: "violence represents a fundamental rupture in the social order. The use of violence marks the distinction between those who are fundamentally of society and those who are outside it. It is coterminous with the 'boundary' of society itself". Results from this study confirm the notion of violence elevating the visibility of a crime story. For example, only in very dramatic cases such as the attempt to overthrow the government of the island of Dominica, did crimes by white supremacists make front page news. Violence has been synonymous with white supremacists from the founding of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1860s to the present day racist skinheads.

Another important aspect of crime news is that it very rarely involves a first hand account of the crime itself (Ibid: 68). Crime news according to Hall (1978: 69) is typically either a report based on police statements about the investigation of a particular case or it is the story of a court case, where in some cases, the day to day events of the trial are followed. Findings from this study support both of these ideas. Many articles on white supremacist crime were reported without commentary by the accused. Also, The Toronto Star provided extensive coverage (eleven articles) in 1977 and 1978 of the trial of Western Guard leaders on various charges.

In light of the above information, white supremacy groups are severely disadvantaged when it comes to having any significant influence on the dominant society and the media are largely responsible for this. Not only are white supremacists habitually portrayed in a negative fashion but they are also generally considered to be a secondary news source by the media. In addition, due to their long history of association with violence, white supremacy groups have little hope of becoming anything more than the lunatic fringe that the media makes them out to be. Part of the reason for this is due to the adherence of the media to the state ideology of multiculturalism which emphasizes a pluralistic society.

The media's extensive coverage of white supremacist activities as criminal acts reinforces the state ideology of multiculturalism. Media reports about the creation of hate crime units within major police forces and the monitoring of these extremist organizations by Canada's Security Intelligence Service promotes further evidence to the general public that racism is being taken seriously by the Canadian government. While this is true in part, there is more to racism in Canada than just the activities of white supremacy groups. Therefore, the association of racism with crime creates an illusion that action is being taken against racism while the everyday discrimination and intolerance that exist are ignored. For example, media images often portray racial minorities as violent and emotionally unstable people with a diminished respect for human life or standards of human decency (Fleras & Elliot, 1992: 242).

In order for the public to consider an issue important it has to be treated as such by the media. Hall (1978: 62) states that: "concentrated media attention confers the status of high public concern on issues which are highlighted; these generally become understood by everyone as the

'pressing issues of the day'. This is part of the media's agenda-setting function. Setting agendas also has a reality-confirming effect".

This study has found that over the sixteen year period examined, on average there were less than ten articles on white supremacists published in The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star. Given Hall's comments and the apparent relationship of racism with crime, this seems to suggest that racism has not consistently been defined as a 'pressing issue of the day' by the media.

Since this research is also interested in how the media portrays the social status of white supremacy groups, a few comments will be made here. As was noted in the previous chapter, approximately 25% of the articles taken from both of the newspapers being studied mentioned social status indicators. As was expected, more information was provided on leaders than members given their higher profiles in the organizations.

Given that it is generally believed that white supremacy groups tend to attract recruits from the lower class, why is there a lack of information on this aspect of white supremacy groups? This information is likely ignored because journalists perceive it as irrelevant to the story, since they operate according to the logic of immediacy and sensationalism, rather than the provision of information per se. The main focus of a large percentage of the articles about white supremacists involved their criminal activity and/or conflict with society at large. Providing information on the social status of white supremacists, on any more than an occasional basis would prevent more newsworthy items from being presented as available space is limited. Yet at times when this information is presented, it may serve to personalize white supremacists for the reader.

It was previously noted that independent experts were classed as primary sources of information because of their disinterested pursuit of knowledge. However, findings of this study indicated that they only represented 3.38% of all sources used by The Globe and Mail and 1.63% of all sources used by The Toronto Star. For example, Barrett's book, Is God a Racist?, was mentioned in one article but none of his findings were mentioned. In fact, the only comment made about his book was by Donald Andrews, leader of the Nationalist Party, who said that it was unreservedly critical of the far right and the Nationalist Party's racist agenda (Wilson, 1989: A16).

One of the reasons for this limited use of independent experts is the media's transformation of an event into a finished news item. This transformation involves the way an event is coded by the media into a particular language form (Hall, 1978: 61). In this way

> "the media transform issues into a public idiom that gives the item an external reference point and validity in the images and connotations already sedimented in the stock of knowledge which the papers and its public share. The importance of this external reference point is that it serves to objectify a public issue. That is, the publicising of an issue in the media can give it more of an objective status as real (valid) issue of public concern than would have been the case had it remained as merely a report made by experts and specialists" (Ibid: 62).

This seems to suggest that the information of independent experts is not considered to be important or valid by public at large until it has been coded by the media. Also, independent experts are rarely used because media examination of an issue's causes and development tend to be on a superficial level if they are mentioned at all. The limited use of independent experts by The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star serves to further strengthen the view that the media seem more concerned with mirroring state ideology and economic considerations than providing information to the public at large.

Turning to another source of information, it has been noted that anti-racists see the media as working hand in hand with the white supremacists, giving them free advertising, seduced by the sensational story (Barrett, 1987: 318). Several newspaper articles used in the present study made reference to statements by anti-racist organizations about the excessive amount of coverage that white supremacy groups were receiving. Since this study has shown that stories about white supremacy groups are not considered to be very newsworthy, it is suspected that any coverage of white supremacy groups is too much coverage for anti-racist organizations.

This issue of how much media coverage is too much coverage is mentioned by Barrett (1987). He argues that

> "the critical dimension in the treatment of racism is perspective. Merely to report on the antics of white supremacists, which often are deliberately aimed at the media's eye, is tantamount to promoting their cause. Yet even explicit attempts to denounce organizations such as the Klan can backfire. ... While media coverage - even the most critical and negative - may well attract new recruits, it may equally stiffen the opposition to them among the general population. If the aim is to contain and suppress racism, some media promotion of such organizations may be an unavoidable cost" (Ibid: 320).

This issue is also addressed in the research on media coverage during Ernst's Zundel's trial in 1985 on charges of spreading false news. Evidence from this study concluded that the media behaved in a responsible fashion and the overall effect of exposure to television news and/or the press was noninjurious, and in some instances, informative to the population at large (Weimann and Winn, 1986: 108). Further support is provided by Kallen and Lam (1993: 21-22), who note that media coverage of public trials of white supremacists has been strongly endorsed as a necessary means of curbing the spread of hatred by publicly-identified hatemongerers and also serves an educative and preventative function for other hate propagandists. Therefore, at least as far as media

coverage of white supremacist activities is concerned, comments by anti-racist groups seem to be somewhat of an overreaction and potentially adverse to their cause.

White Supremacist Activities and the New Right

Many Western capitalist countries have been experiencing a resurgence of right-wing politics over the past two decades. In Canada the rise of the Reform Party can be seen as part of this wider trend (Kirkham, 1998: 244). This right-wing resurgence should be understood as a "politics of backlash" as it opposes the more progressive legacies of the 1960s, which include expanded welfare, the politicization of race and gender issues around the civil rights and women's movements, and the gains of organized labour (Ibid: 245). With the rise of the new right comes a new era of racialization and a backlash against efforts to promote equality (Ibid: 246-247).

One of the effects of the general shift to the political right has been an increase in white supremacist activities. Ross (1992) examined incidents of radical right-wing violence in Canada from 1960 to 1990. Using 1977 as the starting point of the general shift to the political right, one can compare incidents of violence before and during the period of right-wing resurgence. Ross (1992:84) indicates that of the one hundred and fifty-nine incidents of radical right-wing violence recorded, 44.65% occurred prior to the period of right-wing resurgence compared to 55.35% during this period. Therefore, Ross' data seems to support the notion that a general shift to the right has resulted in an increase in white supremacist activities.

With the recent re-election of the Conservatives under the leadership of Mike Harris to a second majority government in Ontario and his emphasis on crime control, reducing welfare rolls

and government spending in general, as well as the continued presence of Reform Party at the national level, it seems as though the new right will be around for a considerable time to come.

Given the information above, it is clear that Canada is in the midst of a period of right-wing resurgence. While this shift to the political right is evident in the rise of the Reform Party and the election of conservative parties in several provinces, it is not very evident in the print media at least as far as articles about white supremacy groups are concerned. Findings of this study suggest that both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star treat white supremacists in an equally negative manner despite their different political orientations.

Print Media Coverage of White Supremacy Groups and Radical Right-Wing Violence

How does the number of white supremacist affiliated newspaper articles found in this research compare with incidents of radical right-wing violence? Are they comparable or does the number of incidents far exceed what newspapers have reported? Also, are there other areas of similarity such as the geographic origin of the incidents of violence and the groups or individuals responsible?

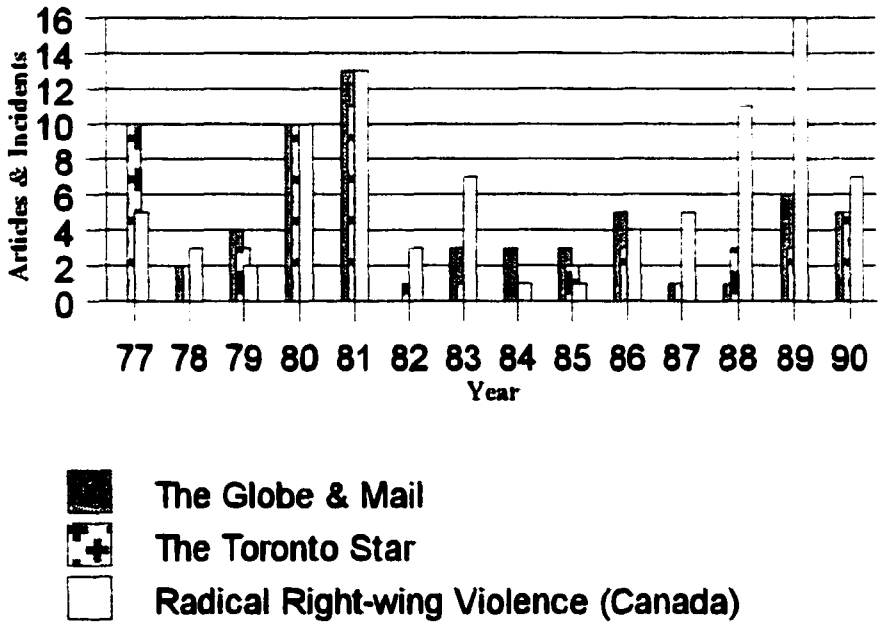
Ross (1992) provides a quantitative analysis of radical right-wing violence from 1960 to 1990 which covers most of the period currently under study. He uses an events data approach and has assembled a detailed chronology of events of right-wing violence such sources as:

> the vertical files collection of the Toronto Reference Library, archival newspaper clippings from files of the intelligence branch of a police agency, files of three private organizations (e.g. newspaper articles, private complaints and right-wing publications), published chronologies of events of violent political behaviour in Canada, newspaper clippings from the morgue files of major newspapers in Canada and articles listed through manual and

computer accessible news indexes of Canadian newspapers and magazines (Ross, 1992: 81-82).

It should be noted that only groups or individuals who had instigated violence and/or were in direct confrontational activities satisfied the criteria for inclusion in the database. All incidents included in Ross's study were verified by consulting one of a number of publically available sources such as the newspaper. The chart below compares his findings on the frequency of events to coverage of white supremacy groups by The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star (Ibid: 82 & 84).

Chart 9: White Supremacist Articles & Incidents of Radical Right-Wing Violence, 1977-1990



While these groupings are not totally synonymous, several observations can still be made from the data contained in Chart 9. First, given that the total number of both incidents of radical right-wing violence and white supremacist articles is eighty-eight and one hundred eleven

respectively, it can be inferred that neither occurred on a very frequent basis in the fourteen year period. Second, with the exception of 1977, the general trend in the first few years is that there is little difference between the amount of press coverage of white supremacy groups and the incidents of radical right-wing violence. It should be noted that the figures for 1977 are somewhat misleading. The ten articles from The Toronto Star in 1977 suggest that there was a lot of white supremacist activity that year but this is not the case. In fact, nine of the ten articles reported on the trial and sentencing of Donald Andrews of the Western Guard party.

Third, both newspapers and the information on radical right-wing violence indicates that there was a surge in 1980 and 1981. This escalation in numbers of both articles and incidents from the previous decade is likely attributable to the white supremacist revival in the United States and the spillover effect of American influence in Canada. A major focus of both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star during those years was on the establishment of the Ku Klux Klan in Ontario and its activities. Ross (1992: 85) confirms this observation by noting that during the mid-1970s and into the early 1980s, the incidents of radical right-wing violence were mainly Ku Klux Klan attacks against minorities.

Fourth, the rise in incidents of violence in the latter part of the 1980s and 1990 and the increase in the number of newspaper articles is attributable to skinhead attacks against Blacks, Jews and homosexuals (Ibid: 85).

Fifth, the general trend in the later years is for incidents of radical right-wing violence to exceed print media coverage of white supremacy groups. Perhaps reasons for this change from the earlier years is either due to the press losing interest in white supremacy groups or that the press

has moved to the right and therefore no longer pays as much attention to the negative aspects of the right. The more plausible explanation for decreased media coverage of white supremacist activities seems to be that the press is losing interest. Possible support for this assumption is that although The Heritage Front was founded in Toronto in late 1989, both newspapers only briefly mention this organization on a couple of occasions in relation to other stories rather than devoting one or more articles to it. Yet according to Canada's Security Intelligence Review Committee (1994: 5), The Heritage Front and the racist skinheads were the predominant white supremacy groups in the early 1990s. Also, no stories were found on the 1990 conviction of Carney Nerland, the Saskatchewan leader of Aryan Nations, on charges of manslaughter. Other reasons for the lack of coverage may be due to a regional issue or bias on the part of the editors. Ontario based newspapers generally do a poor job when covering news from the west regardless of the topic. It is possible that the editors of The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star made a conscious decision to limit stories on white supremacy groups for fear of playing into the hands of racists.

The notion that the press has moved so far to the right that it chooses not to focus on the negative activities of the right is less likely given the findings of this thesis. Previously, it was demonstrated that white supremacists were portrayed in a negative fashion in 84.77 % of all the articles used from The Globe and Mail and 93.44% of all articles used from The Toronto Star. Given that these findings were consistent over the sixteen year period under review and the notion that this general shift to the right is thought to have begun by 1977, there is no evidence to suggest that the press chose not to focus on the negative aspects of the right.

A comparison can also be made between where radical right-wing violence occurred and the geographic origin of the articles from The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star. Charts 1 and 2 in Chapter Two indicate that most of the newspaper articles dealt with the activities of white supremacy groups in Ontario. Ross (1992: 88) also notes that most of the incidents of radical right-wing violence occurred in Ontario with Quebec and Western Canada[3] ranking as second and third. The latter two locations do not match the findings for this study. Chart 1, referring to The Globe and Mail, indicates that the second and third ranked areas of geographic origin were Western Canada and the United States. Chart 2, referring to The Toronto Star, has the United States and Western Canada ranked as second and third.

Another interesting aspect of Ross' (1992) work is his examination on responsibility for action. How does this compare with the white supremacist groups identified in this study? He analyzes responsibility for radical right-wing violence by distinguishing among events for which an organization claimed responsibility, events for which an organization did not claim responsibility, by the nature of the action (i.e. target, type of event, location, etc.), and events which were reliably determined to have been committed by a group (e.g., through media coverage of trials, etc.) (Ibid: 88). His findings show that of the total number of incidents of radical right-wing violence from 1960 to 1990, one hundred and twenty-six (37.7%), were committed either by individuals unaffiliated or not claiming responsibility with a particular group, or by groups not wishing to be

[3]In Ross' study, British Columbia, Alberta and Manitoba were considered as separate entities but for comparison purposes they were collapsed under the category of Western Canada.

publicly identified by their actions (Ibid: 89). Groups such as the Western Guard Party and the Ku Klux Klan referred to in this thesis were found to have been responsible for incidents of radical right wing violence in only 5.7% and 3.1% of the total incidents (Ibid: 89). Therefore, these findings seem to suggest that the general public has less to fear from white supremacist groups than from individuals who act alone without providng any notice of their intended actions.

It was previously noted that one of the findings of Kallen and Lam (1993: 21-22) on the impact of the Zundel and Keegstra trials on a Jewish Canadian audience was that the respondents strongly endorsed criminal trials as a necessary means of curbing the spread of hatred by publicly-identified hatemongerers. Trials also had educative and preventative functions for other hate propagandists. Considering this finding in conjunction with Ross' research (1992 & 1995) and the rise of the new right, he notes that while conducting trials of suspected World War II Nazis and of hate literature distributors may challenge right-wing ideas on one hand, they inevitably will also provoke a radical right-wing backlash that could promote more violence (Ross, 1995: 360).

Public Opinion About Race

One of the byproducts of this neo-conservative trend is likely to be the hardening of racial attitudes by society at large. Do opinion polls support this notion? Reitz and Breton (1998: 50) discuss attitudes on prejudice and discrimination in both the United States and Canada. In terms of open racism, they note that both Canada and the United States are similar in their beliefs about the equality of races and a general lack of support for white supremacist organizations.

> In regards to racial equality, a survey conducted in 1990 indicated that 90% of the Canadians and 86% of the Americans agreed that "all races are created equal". In terms of support for white supremacy organizations, a study in 1989 found that in the United

> States, support for the Ku Klux Klan had increased somewhat during the 1960s and 1970s but was still marginal. Reference was also made to Canadian white supremacist groups as having few members (Ibid: 50).

However, while few whites explicitly challenge the proposition of the equality of the races, research on hidden racial attitudes has shown that a larger proportion of whites, 20.8%, refer to inherent racial inferiority when asked to explain Black poverty (Ibid: 51). Anti-Semitism in Canada and the United States was also compared. Reitz and Breton (1998: 52) note that roughly one in five Canadians and one in five Americans believed negative Jewish stereotypes.

Elliot and Fleras (1992: 50) believe the evidence of racism is irrefutable and noted that in one survey of Toronto residents only 15% were classified as non-racist, another 15% were classified as openly racist while the remaining percentage exhibited intermediate degrees of racial intolerance. They also added that a similar conclusion was reached by a 1989 survey of national attitudes towards civil liberties, the findings of which noted that "70% of those polled agreed with statements that immigrants bring discrimination upon themselves and new immigrants should not cling to old ways. As well, 30% of those polled agreed with statements that races are unequal when it comes to things that count most and employment equity and affirmative action programs are inappropriate" (Ibid: 50).

Although public opinion differs in terms of overt and hidden racism, research suggests that the general trend in both Canada and the United States has been an improvement in public opinion concerning race since the late 1940s (Reitz & Breton, 1998: 48). This notion is also supported by Weinberg (1993). However, he also notes that "extreme right organizational activity and public opinion seem to be largely unrelated to one another. The proportion of Americans willing to

express racist and anti-Semitic views in the late 1980s is substantially smaller in the post-World War II era, yet the number of groups active in the two periods is approximately the same" (Weinberg, 1993: 187).

Conclusion

This chapter began with a discussion of the development of multiculturalism as a tenet of Canadian government policy. This was followed by an analysis of media coverage of white supremacists and examined what aspects of that coverage makes them newsworthy. It was noted that such characteristics as immediacy, personalization and extraordinariness all contributed to the newsworthiness of white supremacist related articles. One note of significance was that the media's emphasis on negative news such as white supremacist activities adheres to the state ideology. Another factor that significantly contributed to the newsworthiness of these articles was their consistent reference to crime or conflict. The emphasis on crime and conflict in stories about white supremacists by the print media helps to reinforce the state ideology of multiculturalism and therefore ensures that these groups will have little more than a marginal effect on society. A problem with relating racism and crime is that it creates an illusion that something is being done about racism while the prejudice and intolerance that occurs everyday is generally ignored.

Two different types of sources of information for journalists were identified as primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are usually official voices who provide information that is credible and authoritative. Examples of primary sources used in this thesis include criminal justice and government officials, politicians, anti-racist organizations and independent experts. Secondary sources are usually unofficial voices that provide a reaction to news events. Examples of secondary

sources used in this thesis are white supremacists, other persons, and victims. Although the print media attempts to provide some sense of balance between primary and secondary sources in covering a story, the primary sources are always seen as the providers of more credible information. Given this fact, and the finding that white supremacists made up 30.38% of all sources in The Globe and Mail and 26.09% of all sources in The Toronto Star suggests that their impact on the public at large is likely not very significant.

Comments were made about two different sources of information. This study found that The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star both made limited use of independent experts. This finding was attributed to the fact that news tends to avoid details of cause and development as well as that information from these sources needs to be coded into a public idiom that gives their intended audience a point of reference. While anti-racist organizations say that any coverage of white supremacists is too much coverage, studies (Kallen & Lam, 1993, Weimann & Winn, 1988) have shown that the public needs to be made aware of these extremist groups and that the print media have reported on them in a responsible fashion.

The issue of objectivity in media coverage of white supremacist activities was also examined. The objectivity of journalists reporting on the Ernst Zundel trial in 1985 was questioned with the need to adhere to journalistic ethics of reporting without commentary.

An explanation for white supremacist activity for the period under study was presented as being due to a shift to the right on the political spectrum in most of the Western world since the late 1970s and early 1980s. The shift to the right is believed to be a backlash to gains made in civil rights, extended welfare, the women's movement and race. While this rightward shift has been

noticeable in various areas in society, it did not appear to be evident in the print media's representations of white supremacy groups. Both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star consistently portrayed these groups in a negative fashion over a sixteen year period despite their different political orientations.

A comparison was also made between print media coverage of white supremacy groups and incidents of radical right-wing violence. One similarity noted is that both the majority of articles about white supremacists and the number of incidents of right-wing violence occurred in Ontario. In the late 1980s and 1990, there is a trend for incidents of right-wing violence to exceed print media coverage of white supremacy groups. The likely reason for this is that the print media seems to be losing interest in these groups.

Public opinion about race was also discussed in light of the general shift to the political right that has occurred since the late 1970s. In spite of the shift to the political right, the general trend in public opinion polls is that attitudes towards race have improved since the late 1940s. Weinberg (1993: 187) suggests that, at least in the United States, public opinion about race and white supremacist activities are largely unrelated. The issue of immigration has become more of a contentious issue in the past few years due to more immigrants coming from Asia, the Caribbean, Africa and South America and their relocation to cities like Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. It is expected that immigration will continue to be a contentious issue in the years to come.

CONCLUSION

The primary focus of this thesis is an investigation of how white supremacy groups are represented in the print media. A content analysis was conducted on one hundred and thirty-three articles taken from The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star as identified in the Canadian News Index from 1977 to 1992. Of the total articles analyzed, seventy-two (54.1%) were taken from the former newspaper compared to sixty-one (45.9%) taken from the latter. Given this information, one finding of this study is that it does not seem white supremacists and their activities are a major focus of the print media. The content analysis of the newspaper articles yielded data in the areas of headlines, geographic origin of the articles, location in newspaper, event categories, sources of information and social status indicators of white supremacists.

Another finding of this thesis is that white supremacy groups were generally portrayed in a negative fashion in both newspapers throughout the sixteen year period under study. In fact, over 84% of the articles used from The Globe and Mail and over 93% of the articles taken from The Toronto Star fell within the Criminal and Inter-conflict event categories. Given this finding, it is not surprising that criminal justice and government officials were frequent sources of information. One conclusion that can be drawn from the media's association of racism with fringe groups and crime is that the media is reinforcing the state ideology of multiculturalism. Unfortunately, this creates an

illusion that something is being done about racism while everyday discrimination and prejudice receive less attention. One of the least used sources of information were independent experts. It was also found that most of the articles about white supremacy groups were rarely considered to be front page news.

This thesis also was interested in how the media portrayed the social status of white supremacists. It is a generally held belief that the media tend to depict white supremacy groups as a lower class movement while academic literature suggests that white supremacy groups also have a middle class component to them. The findings of this thesis suggest that the social status of white supremacists as presented in The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star are consistent with the academic literature. Thus claims that the press represents them primarily as low status seem to be unfounded.

The question of whether there may be a bias either for or against white supremacy groups on the part of the print media also was examined. Findings from this thesis suggest there is either a lack of bias or if one exists, it is against white supremacists. Reasons for this conclusion are the lack of articles about white supremacists identified in both newspapers by the Canadian News Index from 1977 to 1992, the fact that only slightly more than 50% of articles from both newspapers referred to white supremacists in the headline, few of the articles used in this study provided information on white supremacist doctrine, and, again, the consistent linkage of white supremacists with criminal activity.

Having said this, the extremely limited amount of coverage that white supremacists receive in the print media is more likely due structural pressures such as time lines and space rather than

explicit and conscious bias. Shoemaker (1988: 67) noted that what the public knows about white supremacy groups, it learns from the media rather than from personal experience. Therefore, given the minimal coverage of white supremacy groups by the print media, it seems likely that Canadians know little about these groups. This finding leads to the conclusion that if one wants to learn about white supremacists, the print media is not the source to use.

Despite this evidence, anti-racist organizations continually claim that when the media covers white supremacist activities, they are providing these groups and individuals too much coverage. Yet according to Kallen and Lam (1993: 21-22), media coverage of public trials of white supremacists have been strongly endorsed as a necessary means of curbing the spread of hatred by publicly-identified hatemongerers and also serve an educative and preventative function for other hate propagandists. Therefore, at least as far as media coverage of white supremacist activities is concerned, comments by anti-racist groups seem to be somewhat of an overreaction and potentially adverse to their cause.

The academic literature maintains that white supremacists seek media attention. Recent examples of media attention for white supremacists since 1992 include the attempts by The Heritage Front to influence the Reform Party as well as the exposure of white supremacists within Canada's since disbanded elite Airborne Regiment. While media attention is sought by white supremacists, the current research suggests they have little control over how much coverage they receive as well as the image of themselves that is portrayed. Given the media's tendency to rely on primary sources of information such as criminal justice and government officials over others, and the fact that white supremacist activities have been associated with crime, this situation is unlikely

to change. Given this information, it is unlikely that the radical right will ever have anything more than a marginal effect on society.

It has been noted in previous research (Langer, 1990; Albrecht, 1995; Ross, 1995) that studies on white supremacists are few in number when compared to other areas of sociology. It also seems that there are even fewer studies on media representation of white supremacists. It is hoped that this thesis will help somewhat in filling the void in this area. Perhaps an area of future research could examine how the print media portrayed white supremacy groups prior to Canada's commitment to multiculturalism as part of the state ideology.

APPENDIX #1: THE GLOBE AND MAIL ARTICLES

Article #	Headline THE GLOBE AND MAIL	Photo	Page	Place of Origin	Year
10	Principal cites racism in Toronto in barring speech by Klansmen	N	5	Ont	1978
13	2 in Western Guard jailed in racist plot	N	19	Ont	1978
17	Knife toting children are enlisted by Klan for anti-black drive/Klan strategy for renewed anti-black drive is to enlist children	Y - 2	1, 2	US	1979
18	Stop hate message, Guard ordered	N	5	Ont	1979
19	A licence for opinions	N	6	Ont	1979
20	PORTRAIT OF A RACIST: A Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde existence behind the slogans	Y - 1	5	Ont	1979
22	Western Guard fine, sentence suspended	N	5	Ont	1980
23	Leader of Klan held for entering Canada illegally	N	9	West Can	1980
25	Western Guard leader ordered to jail for continuing racist phone messages	Y - 1	5	Ont	1980
26	Despite "flagrant contempt", racist leader won't be jailed	Y - 1	4	Ont	1980
28	Ku Klux Klan opens Toronto office/Klan to open new office	N	1, 2	Ont	1980
29	Klan actions to be watched closely	N	13	Ont	1980
31	Klan chief wizard quits to form new movement	Y - 1	10	US	1980
36	Klan member is contesting mayor's chair in Toronto	N	5	Ont	1980
38	Klan getting too much exposure on radio, TV, rights officials say	N	5	Ont	1980
39	Protest leads TV station to cancel show on Klan	N	10	Ont	1980
42	A low keyed tug of war and tension	Y - 1	8	West Can	1981

Article #	Headline **THE GLOBE AND MAIL**	Photo	Page	Place of Origin	Year
45	Klan notice called anti-union ploy	Y - 1	5	Ont	1981
47	White-power leader surrenders to police	Y - 1	4	Ont	1981
48	Klan linked to plot to seize Dominica; 2 Canadians held/Canadians	Y-2	1, 2	Ont	1981
50	Klan runs arms camp in Ontario, MPP says	N	5	Ont	1981
52	OPP licenced Klansman as security guard	N	5	Ont	1981
55	300 jeer and chant at anti-Klan rally	Y - 1	5	Ont	1981
56	Klan named in motion in cities' condemnation of racist organizations	N	9	West Can	1981
60	Klan in Alberta lets in black, some expect 'real screams"	N	13	West Can	1981
61	Hooded Klansmen taunt 250 protesters	Y - 2	5	Ont	1981
62	Ku Klux Klan makes its mark in Vancouver	Y - 1	11	West Can	1981
64	Drug charge laid against Klan director	N	4	Ont	1981
67	KKK posters create storm in Alberta	N	11	West Can	1983
68	Guard leader faces charge of contempt	N	5	Ont	1983
69	Rumblings about the Klan make ethnic groups edgy	N	8	West Can	1983
70	Man guilty 2nd time in hate message case	N	5	Ont	1984
71	Seizure of literature is assailed by group	N	M6	Ont	1984
72	Scrap law on hate calls, lawyer urges	N	M2	Ont	1984
73	2 publishers deny promoting hatred	N	19	Ont	1985
75	Toronto pair guilty of promoting hatred against Jews, blacks/Hatred trial avoided sensationalism	N	A19, A24	Ont	1985
76	Men sent to jail for promoting hatred	N	A21	Ont	1985

Article #	Headline **THE GLOBE AND MAIL**	Photo	Page	Place of Origin	Year
77	Yankee Klansman/Wizard	Y - 1	A1, A2	US	1986
78	Jury's death award of $7 million could financially ruin Klan group	N	A8	US	1987
82	Calgary men get 5 year terms for part in Klan-linked bomb plot	N	A9	West Can	1989
83	Keeping an eye on a wizard and his tricks	Y - 2	A7	US	1989
84	Veteran of Canada's extreme right recruiting alienated youth	Y - 1	A16	Ont	1989
85	Klansmen get lesson on rights from black	N	A4	US	1989
86	Site of Klan founding, town plans to ignore supremacists' march	N	A8	US	1990
87	Nationalist Party leaders jailed	N	A8	Ont	1990
88	White trash	N	A11	US	1990
89	Groups say Ku Klux Klan is active in Chateauguay	N	A3	Que	1990
90	KKK newspaper left at Montreal homes	N	A4	Que	1991
92	Klan paper hate literature, official says	N	A5	Que	1991
93	Klan paper labeled hate tract	N	A6	Que	1991
95	The Klansman who came to Canada	Y - 2	D4	Ont	1991
96	Metzger's court date last gasp for glory of white supremacist	N	A10	US	1991
97	Jury's decision split on cross-burning	N	A14	US	1991
98	Klan crippled in Manitoba, police say	N	A6	West Can	1991
99	Anti-racism group's office ransacked, walls defaced	N	A7	West Can	1991
101	RCMP plan Customs Act charges in case involving Klan newspaper	N	A8	Que	1992
102	KKK literature smugglers fined	N	A4	Que	1992

Article #	Headline **THE GLOBE AND MAIL**	Photo	Page	Place of Origin	Year
105	Quebec anti-racist groups warn violence could escalate	N	A7	Que	1992
116	New Aryan Nation declared in U.S.	N	A12	US	1986
118	New Nazis or Old Hat?	Y - 4	D5	Ont	1988
121	Town outraged by neo-Nazis rally on Canada Day	Y - 2	A10	Ont	1989
123	Hate groups hit in pocketbook by U.S. anti-racism organization	N	A16	US	1989
126	Skinheads denounce backlash	N	A12	Ont	1990
129	Young, white & racist	Y - 1	A15	West Can	1991
131	Probe expenses paid for Aryan Nations leader	N	A3	West Can	1991
132	Albertans warn of "spectre of evil"	N	A7	West Can	1992
133	White Aryan leaders deported	N	A13	Ont	1992

It should be noted that the articles for both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Star are numbered in this manner because it is the order in which they were located in the Canadian News Index. If one compares both appendices, it will be obvious that there are one hundred thirty-three articles in total.

APPENDIX #2: THE TORONTO STAR ARTICLES

Article #	Headline **THE TORONTO STAR**	Photo	Page	Place of Origin	Year
1	Klan plans drive in Canada	N	A2	Ont	1977
2	Broke law 100 times - informer	N	A2	Ont	1977
3	RCMP spied to save Games trial is told	N	A3	Ont	1977
4	RCMP was willing to pay spy's fine conspiracy trial told	N	B1	Ont	1977
5	Accused admitted smoke bomb plan to police, jury told	N	A21	Ont	1977
6	Western Guard trial told of hate letter to Jews	N	C2	Ont	1977
7	Racist leaflets read to jury	N	B2	Ont	1977
8	Best frame artists' in RCMP, trial told	N	A4	Ont	1977
9	Former Guard leader denies printing poster	N	A4	Ont	1977
11	Western Guard members convicted	N	A4	Ont	1977
12	Western Guard's ex-leader jailed/Andrews jailed	N	A1, A12	Ont	1978
14	Men jailed for racist crimes	N	A12	Ont	1978
15	Hooded bigots Ku Klux Klan promises "long hot summer"	Y - 1	B6	US	1979
16	The merchants of hate get a hearing	Y - 1	A9	Ont	1979
21	The Klan is ready to ride again	Y - 1	A3	US	1979
24	Race-hate messages bring year in jail	N	A3	Ont	1980
27	Godfrey vows to run the Klan out of town	N	A3	Ont	1980
30	The Ku Klux Klan - phone in a shabby east-end room	Y - 1	A15	Ont	1980
32	Anti-Klan rally on despite threats	N	A3	Ont	1980
33	500 march to protest the Klan	N	A3	Ont	1980
34	Trustees dodge Klan vote	N	A18	Ont	1980

Article #	Headline **THE TORONTO STAR**	Photo	Page	Place of Origin	Year
35	KKK recruiters on high school grounds	Y - 1	A3	Ont	1980
37	Would-be trustees live with Toronto Klandidate	N	A3	Ont	1980
40	Klan asked to leave Yonge office	N	A3	Ont	1980
41	No room for Klan in city - Eggleton	N	A3	Ont	1980
43	They plan to waltz the KKK out of Metro	N	A29	Ont	1981
44	Klan leaflet is scare tactic against us, union says	N	A20	Ont	1981
46	Klan chief's school visit riles students	N	A3	Ont	1981
49	Metro Klansman one of 10 nabbed in invasion plot	Y - 2	A2	US	1981
51	No Klan in Lucan locals say/ Klan in Lucan? You must be kidding, locals say	N	A1, A4	Ont	1981
53	Fire that killed Klansman set, officials say	Y - 3	A3	Ont	1981
54	Anti-racists clash with Klansmen	Y - 1	A2	Ont	1981
57	Three get 6 months for painting Klan ads	N	D20	Ont	1981
58	The racists who run the KKK in Metro	Y - 2	A10	Ont	1981
59	KKK: How they nearly found me out	Y - 3	A8	Ont	1981
63	Police put end to Klan joy	N	A14	West. Can	1981
65	Arrests halted Metro KKK seminar told	N	A3	Ont	1982
66	How OPP "stung" the Klan	Y - 2	A25	Ont	1983
74	Publisher and editor guilty of promoting obscene hatred	N	C5	Ont	1985
79	Klan fans flames of US racism	Y - 1	H1, H4	US	1987
80	2 Klan sympathizers appear in court to face charges in Calgary bomb plot	Y - 1	A8	West Can	1988

Article #	Headline **THE TORONTO STAR**	Photo	Page	Place of Origin	Year
81	Ex-Klansman tells murder trial how he helped hang black man	N	A18	US	1988
91	Customs orders ban on Klan newsletter	N	A17	Que	1991
94	Man convicted of hate still free	N	A3	Ont	1991
100	Ku Klux Klan takes root amid other German neo-Nazis	N	A-13	Other	1992
103	Canada ejects 2 men for inciting hatred	N	A24	Ont	1992
104	Phone line racist, natives say	N	A10	Ont	1992
108	White supremacist messages arrive from US by computer	Y - 2	A13	Ont	1985
109	Groups set to battle white supremacists' compound in Alberta	N	A16	West Can	1986
112	Hate groups gaining support Governor-General warns	Y - 1	A7	Ont	1986
114	White supremacist show angers Idaho viewers	N	B3	US	1986
115	Aryan Nations unplugs alleged phone hate line	N	A10	West Can	1988
117	Spread of neo-Nazi ideology sparks B'nai B'rith campaign	N	A27	Ont	1989
119	Minden white supremacist rally draws outrage from townsfolk	N	A21	Ont	1989
120	Race forum planned to counter Nazi rally	N	A30	Ont	1989
122	Skinheads called growing threats as acts against jews rise by 57%	N	A3	Ont	1990
124	Skinheads; A minority are white supremacists	N	A29	West Can	1990
125	Bombs mark sinister turn by racist hate group	N	A13	US	1990
127	Racists come out of closet to spread message of hate	Y - 3	A19	West Can	1990
130	Court pulls plug on "hate line' propaganda	Y - 1	A8	Ont	1992

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