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Communication & Social Change

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Communication and Social Change

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Cheryl Renee Gooch

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Submission Guidelines

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Editor's Introduction

There is a sustained interest in the historic Civil Rights movement and how it inspired activism among diverse social groups locally, nationally and globally, and the need for scholarship that addresses how media and communication can foster social change. In February 2007, the Center for Excellence in Communication Arts at Clark Atlanta University launched an inaugural conference called *Communication and Social Change: Advancing Civil and Human Rights through Media and Communication Arts* that gathered an eclectic group of scholars, educators, media professionals and community activists to address these issues.

Concomitantly, the Center has launched this journal *Communication and Social Change* which features research reflecting both historical and contemporary perspectives of how media frame and influence social and political agendas, while providing frameworks in which to teach, learn and study issues of social change. The articles are as follows: "The Ukrainian Press as an Agent of Social Change through the Soviet Era, Independence and the Orange Revolution," by Yuliya Kartoshkina, Richard Shafer and Eric Freedman, studies the role of the mass media in the social change process as the Ukraine attempts to complete the transition from Soviet republic to an independent and democratic nation. "A Tale of Donkeys, Swans and Racism: London Tabloids, Scottish Independence and Refugees," by Jairo Lugo-Ocando, presents an insightful study of coverage of immigration and refugee issues and its impact on racial discourse. "A Crusading Journalist's Last Campaign: Wendell Smith and the Desegregation of Baseball's Spring Training," by Brian Carroll, provides a rare glimpse of activist journalism and its impact on integration efforts. In "Solving the Negro Problem: Social Commentary in the Journalistic Writings of Joel Chandler Harris," Cheryl Renee Gooch provides a rare analysis of efforts by the new South editor to undermine racism. And in "IP-Based Videoconferencing: Can it Promote Intercultural Understanding, Internationalization of the Curriculum and Social Change?" Michel Leslie reviews some university applications of videoconferencing to create an international 'classroom without walls' for student participants.

Clark Atlanta University, formed in 1988 by the consolidation of two institutions, Atlanta University (1865) and Clark College (1869), is located in the historic Atlanta University Center which includes Spelman College, Morehouse College, the Interdenominational Theological Seminary and Morris Brown College. The historic Civil Rights movement is philosophically tied to the continuing missions of these institutions which promote social justice and scholarship that addresses change in local, national and global communities.

Communication and Social Change continues this tradition.

Cheryl Renee Gooch
Clark Atlanta University

The Ukrainian Press as an Agent of Social Change through the Soviet Era, Independence and the Orange Revolution

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Ukraine struggles to maintain its independence and national identity as it experiences ethnic and linguistic schisms dividing it roughly between Ukrainians looking westward to Europe and others looking eastward to some form of re-unification with an increasingly powerful and wealthy Russia. This article uses historical narrative to examine how the press in Ukraine has adapted from being an appendage and voice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to an agent of independence, nationhood, and integration. It first examines Ukrainian writers and journalists as agents of change and of the status quo under the Soviet Union. It then examines their new role in nation-building and democratization after independence in 1991, and through the Orange Revolution of 2004 and its aftermath. It further explores how former Soviet-era journalists faced new forms of censorship and repression as they attempted to adapt to a reformed but authoritarian government after independence. The study provides evidence that independent and pro-opposition journalists and writers were a significant catalyst for the Orange Revolution and for subsequent positive social and political changes in Ukraine.

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

Newly liberated and dynamically critical journalists and writers in Ukraine have been a contributing force for social and political change since that heterogeneous nation achieved independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, when Ukraine began the difficult nation-building process of unifying its culturally and linguistically diverse population. One challenge was to modify or dismantle Soviet structures. These included the institution of state-controlled media and literary publishing houses that adhered to Marxist-Leninist theory. Such institutions were imposed by Soviet central planners after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the ensuing civil war, and were very much directed toward ideological consensus, censorship and propaganda. The task of reducing the effects of these Soviet institutions is a complex and difficult one, since many Ukrainian journalists and writers were empowered by them.

For seven decades, these writers and journalists were fully integrated into the Soviet system, serving as advocates and guides for socialist experiments, including collectivization of industry and agriculture, and as supporters of “five-year” and other centralized economic plans. Under the Soviets, they were instrumental in legitimizing Cold War policies of militarization and confrontation with the West through reporting and writing. Soviet writers and journalists were

either complicit or active in supporting permanent Russian occupation of nations in Eastern and Central Europe, and in propagandized for communist-imperialist expansion in the developing world, culminating in the invasion and ultimately unsuccessful occupation of Afghanistan. These intellectual workers were recognized by the party leadership as critical agents of the social and economic changes that were essential to Soviet central planning. Since Ukraine as a Soviet republic before 1991 was directly part of this central planning process, its press system was virtually inseparable from the larger Soviet media apparatus.

A balance to this somewhat critical portrayal of a monolithic Soviet press system and the complicity of Soviet writers and journalists is an acknowledgment that the Soviet mass media also engaged in encouraging unification of disparate cultures and propagandized to reduce religious strife and other forms of historical strife within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.). Given the lasting rhetoric of the Cold War, there is rarely an objective analysis in the West of what the positive accomplishments of the Soviet press might have been. Those accomplishments might have been significant as variables in preventing negative social change such as ethnic and religious violence, and particularly religion-based terrorism.

Since the collapse of the U.S.S.R., there is evidence of resurgent ethnic and religious tensions in former Soviet republics such as Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. The Soviet system was very much focused on integrating diverse cultures and reducing the role of religion with the goal of instilling party loyalty and consolidating and expanding the Soviet empire. Novelists, fiction writers, poets, journalists, and other professional writers contributed greatly to this cultural and ethnic integration process, and the Soviets were quite successful at building a sense of belonging to the Soviet Union above ethnic and other affiliations.

Throughout the U.S.S.R., journalists and writers in particular were trained to focus on class conflict, while encouraging ethnic and nationalistic unification under Communist Party leadership. Most journalists who were party members were active in promoting Marxist-Leninist ideology and in validating and furthering the plans and policies. They were generally well-rewarded with perks such as access to automobiles, better housing, summer homes, and mountain or seaside vacations. Androunas (1993) points out that political dissent prior to the perestroika period was strongest among scientists, physicists, and mathematicians who were less indoctrinated by Marxist ideology and less susceptible to party control in their daily lives. He adds that Soviet-era journalists were subject to overwhelming control.

For journalists, education, selection and promotion were directed at the single goal of keeping the entire media structure uniform, manageable and obedient. The supplementary role of the press in ideological and political activities was proclaimed as the basic underlying principle of the press in the Soviet Union. "It is a 'party-minded' principle that the foremost obligation of the media is to defend the interests of the Communist party and support its politics."(Androunas, p. 40)

According to Hopkins (1970), the professional Soviet journalist by his or her education and training and integration on an editorial staff was less iconoclastic than were writers working for other forms of mass media. They usually attained and retained their positions because they proved to be reliable spokespeople for the bureaucracy. Like journalists everywhere, Soviet journalists engaged in self-censorship out of self-interest. Hopkins adds that this does not imply that the Soviet press was monolithic or incapable of change (p. 127). Journalists working within any press system find ways to defy or negotiate with authority without risking retribution.

Soviet-era journalists, however, as state workers had much less opportunity to engage in the kind of adversarial critique and criticism that is associated with the Western “watchdog” journalistic tradition of a privately owned press. Kulikova (2001) says of the Soviet press before 1991:

Available was a broad hierarchical network of print media, from the central level to the lowest one, which unified journalists of the Soviet breed, who were capable of serving the party and were not accustomed to professional freedom. There existed a multi-decade tradition in the relations between the media and government, where the government communicated with the media in a monologue-style. (p. 20).

Although this study focuses on the press in the Ukraine after 1991 and independence, it is not possible to separate the Ukrainian press from its long experience as an appendage of the much larger Soviet press system. The research primarily relies on the historical narrative method to explain the evolution of the press in the Ukraine after independence. The historical narrative is appropriate here because it goes beyond the mere recitation of facts. According to Harvard historian Richard Marius (1995), such a method provides a strong sense of the existing tensions and resolution of those tensions, to capture important elements of time and of place.

The Soviet-era Press

In pre-revolutionary Russia, the commercial press system that flourished before World War I had long deviated from Western press models but was democratic in its own way. McReynolds’ 1991 study of pre-revolutionary Russian newspapers found that they widely supported equal rights, the extension of civil rights, and the public’s role in political decision-making. She added that even newspapers obviously loyal to the czar inherently subverted the continuation of absolutism by advocating greater citizen empowerment and individual rights. At the same time, the style of journalism was modernized with more concise journalistic writing and reporting. This brief period of Russian journalism was brought to an abrupt end by the revolution, but elements of the style are evident in both Russian and Ukrainian media today, which while democratizing, are not adopting wholesale Western press conventions.

An overview of press history after the Russian Revolution of 1917 shows that although press controls tightened dramatically, working journalists found ways to express self-determination in their writing and reporting. It is also evident that journalism educators and even some party officials recognized that dogmatic adherence to authority produced lap-dog journalists who tended to be incompetent at their craft and to produce embarrassingly ineffective and counter-productive propaganda that Soviet citizens scoffed at. Journalists were not wholly compliant. Nor was the central authority as monolithic and successfully repressive of the press as is generally assumed.

Journalists and journalism educators demonstrated elements of independent thinking and practices even during the most repressive days under Josef Stalin in the late 1930s. Johnson (1999) wrote:

Except for the worst days of Stalinism, Soviet media were never as monolithic and uninformative as Western readers tended to describe them. Not only was the Cold War to blame for the misrepresentation, but also the Western philosophy of the media that has favored an objective, watchdog, understanding of the role of the press. (p.18)

Ukrainian journalists with nationalistic beliefs were probably more resistant to—or at least less compliant with—press controls emanating from Moscow than their Russian counterparts, thus sowing seeds for press reforms that came with liberalization under Gorbachev in the 1980s and the eventual collapse of the U.S.S.R.

Altschull (1995) points out that although the implosion of the Soviet Union and the central communist party was widely heralded, it was premature to consign to the grave the ideology that formed the foundation of the U.S.S.R. He adds: “Eulogies have been pronounced over many ideologies throughout history, including conservatism and liberalism but they have nevertheless survived” (p. 195). In Ukraine and elsewhere in the U.S.S.R., journalists who were educated in high-status and competitive programs, schools, and press institutes could be expected to retain the theoretical and practical knowledge they acquired. For instance, journalists who were taught the ideal of serving the working class and helping to bring about an economic and social utopia through the mass media they served were likely to be disappointed when producing the sensational, often shallow journalistic content newly independent and commercial media in developing nations often market.

Altschull further asserts that the Marxist-Leninist theoretical underpinnings of Soviet journalism education and practice were not as pervasive as Westerners might think, he says:

Journalism schools throughout the Soviet empire made a point of teaching Marxist journalism. Whatever that phrases meant the idea that Marxist journalism began with Marx was a central element of Soviet press doctrine. Yet this is not a valid idea; it is folklore that was politically useful in the Soviet Union just as the folklore of an adversary press is politically useful in the United States. In truth, Marx is as difficult to pin down as Jefferson, who can be found on all sides of the issue of press freedom at different periods of his life. (p. 196)

The Moscow Institute of Journalism, where many Ukrainian journalists were educated, would become one of the most prestigious training programs in the Soviet Union, was proletarian in design when established in 1921; its mission then was to produce worker-peasant correspondents. In 1923, however, it was reorganized into a college offering a three-year course. Also in the early 1920s, Moscow University began training students in editing, publishing, and literary criticism. It graduated about 420 young journalists from across the Soviet Union during the 1920s. In Ukraine and throughout the rest of the country, journalism programs developed with the main objective of building the party at all levels and promoting socialism. Hopkins (1970) added that after the 1917 revolution and increasingly after the Russian civil war:

Odds and ends of journalism courses and lectures were begun at provincial universities, on newspapers, and in journalists' organizations.... Much of this training and guidance was short on journalism and long on politics. It is essential said a party resolution in 1924, that party organizations give the most serious attention to party-political education of press workers. The ideal accordingly was the politically partisan journalist who thought in unison with the party; in short, a skilled public relations man. To this must be added Russia's traditional association of literature and popular press. Both literary monthlies and 'thick journals', and newspapers published quality essays and fiction. (p. 81)

Despite generally tight press controls, journalists and journalism educators had a legal basis for advocating some degree of press freedom. They could cite both the 1936 and 1977 Soviet constitutions as guaranteeing freedom of speech, the press, as well as assembly, meetings, street processions, and demonstrations. Lendvai (1981), in acknowledging that such provisions were usually not implemented and were even ignored, asserted that the 1977 constitution drafted under Leonid Brezhnev was less hypocritical in that it more explicitly limited press freedoms, declaring them contingent upon acting “in accordance with the interest of the people and in order to strengthen and develop the socialist system...in accordance with the aims of building communism” (p. 19).

The Soviets did not substantially change the basic journalistic reporting and writing style that had emerged before the Bolshevik Revolution. Perhaps because of a universal, professional writing and reporting style that developed in late 19th century Russia and Ukraine—and sustaining itself in Soviet-era newspapers and academic journalism programs—the Ukrainian press after 1989 was able to flourish immediately after the collapse of the U.S.S.R. when most controls over the press were lifted.

During the Soviet era, arguably the most dramatic failure in reporting by both the Russian and the Western press was the lack of coverage about massive starvation in Ukraine amid mass industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture. Collectivization met with stiff resistance by Ukrainian peasants, prompting widespread confiscation of grain by authorities. The resulting famine may have claimed as many as five million lives. During this period, the Soviets also tightened control over Ukrainian cultural life and suppressed nationalistic movements.

Throughout the Soviet period, large-scale dissatisfaction and social discontent were primarily confined to quiet grumbles on the street and “intellectual criticism” in the home, according to Kulikova (2001). Official channels conveyed optimism and placated incipient discontent. Outright disinformation and lies destructively impacted the general population and the journalists charged with informing them, corroding the collective psyche. Since the press was officially an agent and advocate of Marxist-Leninist thought, journalists were rewarded most for supporting the Party. In fact, that remained the hallmark of education and training for more than seven decades, according to Morrison (1977) who said. “In the Soviet period (1917-1991), journalists in Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) were trained for one purpose—to serve the State” (p. 26).

Androunas (1993) noted that laws in post-independence Ukraine and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union declaring press freedom did not automatically bring about such freedom. Those laws, however, did signify an end to the monopoly of communist ideology and to control over the press as “the party cause.” New laws instituting press freedom also established that legal mechanisms rather than party decrees and resolutions would regulate the press.

In some respects, the Soviet period of journalism education and practice that began with the revolution in 1917 and extended to the end of the 1980s may be viewed as an historical interruption in an emergent commercial and independent press system that had its origins before the Russian Revolution.

Critiquing the Soviet press system, Hopkins said that in the constant evolution and interaction of social institutions, the press tended to assume assorted political responsibilities and duties that constituted the primary journalistic values that journalists adhered to. Similarly, American press theory describes the duties and performance of American journalists in the context of U.S. political and economic conditions. Hopkins (1970) cited a common Soviet reference list of values and virtues that served as ideal guidelines:

(1) Party orientation (*partiinnost*), which may be interpreted as conscious acceptance that the press is a politically partisan institution, and it therefore expresses party philosophy and goals; (2) high level of ideology (*vysokaya ideinnost*), which suggests that the mass media should be spiritually reinforced with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism; (3) truthfulness (*pravdinost*), an obligation to transmit information truthfully; (4) popular orientation (*narodnost*), which reminds the Soviet press of its responsibilities toward the masses, and simultaneously of the people's access to the publicly owned press; (5) mass character (*massovost*), which not only maintains that the Soviet press serves the masses, but functions among them; and (6) criticism and self-criticism (*kritika* and *samokritika*), which calls upon the press to criticize failures and faults of the Communist Party, the government, and their agencies, as well as to criticize its own performance." These values indicate a fairly high level of professionalism among journalists, and with some modification might serve as a professional code of conduct for journalists today. (p. 34)

For Soviet journalists, Marxist-Leninist theory was deeply engrained in their education and ideology. According to Androunas, the press was instilled in young journalists:

In contradistinction to bourgeois customs, to the profit-making, commercialized bourgeois press, to bourgeoisie literary careerism and individualism, 'aristocratic anarchism' and drive for profit, the socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of 'Party literature'. They must develop this principle, and put it into practice as fully and completely as possible. What is this principle of Party literature? Literature can not be a means of enriching individuals or groups: it cannot, in fact, be an individual undertaking, independent of the common cause of the proletariat. Down with non-partisan writers! Literature must become part of the common cause with the proletariat... Literature must become a component of organized, planned and integrated Social-Democratic Party work. (1993, p. 40-41).

Androunas added that "journalism students in the Soviet Union could recite this quotation almost by heart, so often was it repeated in different courses. What they were not told was that by 'party literature' Lenin originally meant only party publications" (p. 41). Having reviewed the press during Soviet era, we now examine how journalists in Ukraine emerged from such a constrained press system and dealt with the obstacles to both nation building and to constructing an effective press model best suited to Ukraine.

Media and Social Change in the Soviet Ukraine

Post- independence press constraints and rights in Ukraine have been the subject of critical reports by external agencies such as the U.S. State Department, multinational entities such as the Organization for Co-operation and Security in Europe (OSCE), and by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Freedom House, Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), and Reporters sans Frontieres. However, there have been few scholarly studies of Ukraine's press system since independence. Dyczok's 2005 and 2006 studies examined Ukrainian media since independence but concentrated mostly on discussing censorship and how effective it was in the first fourteen years of independence.

Because of the long history of domination of the Ukraine by first the Russian czars and then by the Soviets, the development and expansion of Ukrainian literature and journalism has been effectively repressed, despite an historical and long-frustrated desire for Ukrainian autonomy and independence. By the late 18th century, most of the territory that is now Ukraine came under czarist control, and the Ukrainian press system was married to the pre-revolutionary Russian press system. Before 1917, the Ukrainian language was treated as a peasant dialect of Russia. Ukraine was sometimes called “Little Russia” under czarist rule. Due to the constant persecution, fewer than 1,000 books were published in Ukrainian through most of the 18th century. (Encyclopedia of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1969). Under such unfavorable and repressive conditions, independent-minded Ukrainian publishers and writers had to publish from abroad. For instance, the socialist-democratic newspaper *Hromada* (Community) was published in Geneva, Switzerland (Hrushevsky, 1943, p. 504).

During the first Russian revolution in 1905-1907, circumstances became more favorable for printing Ukrainian books. In 1907-08 the book *Kobzar* by the poet Shevchenko was printed in St. Petersburg and included poems prohibited earlier by czarist censorship. The number of social-democratic books increased. After the 1917 revolution, Bolshevik publishing houses expanded in Ukraine. They concentrated on the works of Marx, Lenin, and Engels, as well as popular political brochures and leaflets that played an important part in Soviet power in Ukraine.

In 1919, the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee passed a decree merging all publishing houses in Ukraine into a single one called Vsevidav. The central publishing house allowed for the most effective censorship within the Ukrainian S.S.R. Vsevidav had 18 branch offices in cities throughout the republic. Other publishing houses appeared in the early 1920s, including *Proletary*- responsible for social and economic literature, and *Molodoi Rabochy* (Young Worker) of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Komsomol. These publishing houses were the starting elements of the state-control machinery responsible for propagandizing Soviet ideology.

To increase publication of propagandistic Marxist literature, several important decisions were made during the 13th Party Congress in 1924. Publishing houses were to specialize in certain categories of literature. New publishing houses appearing later in the 1920s were *Chervonyi Shlyah* (the Red Way) and the *Ukrainsky Robitnyk* (the Ukrainian Worker). Special attention was paid to producing political, technical, and agricultural literature. The Soviets were proud of their support for the Ukrainian language and boasted that four times more books were published in Ukrainian in the first ten years of Soviet control, than in the previous 120 years (Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1969).

Before Stalin came to power in 1932, Ukrainian language dominated in the Ukraine Socialist Republic. Even ethnic Russians posted to Ukraine as Soviet officials were encouraged to learn Ukrainian, and the number of Ukrainian schools and publications grew. In 1932, however, Stalin developed a “Russification” program that was to impose Russian language in the all sphere of life in the entire republic. He knew that an official language would make it easier to control the masses. Ukrainian was considered of secondary importance, and an excessive attachment to it was considered a sign of nationalism and therefore, “politically incorrect”. Many Ukrainian writers and poets were banned and some were executed for their dedication to nationalism and culture.

The development and expansion of printing and publications strengthened censorship as well. For instance, in 1963 the State Committee of the Council of Ministers and Republican Committee of the Press became responsible for checking the content and controlling publication

of all types of literature. Kolasky (1970) describes the process of publishing a manuscript, saying first the reviewer gives a written opinion of the piece, and if approved, it goes to an editor. He adds that:

However, if the author is in disfavor or his work is unacceptable, there begins a game of cat and mouse. Rarely is a writer told that his work can not be published. Underhanded procedures are followed: either the manuscript sits in the publishing house and the author is continually reassured that it is still being considered, or more often one editor recommends changes. After these are made the manuscript goes to another who demands other changes. After being referred to three or four editors, the author gets the message and gives up. (p. 147)

If the manuscript was approved, it went to one of the offices of Holovlit that was usually managed by a Russian leader, the main censor. If the manuscript went through the censor and did not contradict communist ideology, it would receive a stamp and special number. The censorship was extended to all newspapers, publisher's catalogues, and even the programs of public meetings and concerts. The writers were also self-censored and they were well aware of the parameters regarding what to write and what to omit. They even knew what adjectives to use when describing prominent people. For example, M. Hrushevsky, a Ukrainian historian and the president of the Ukrainian Republic from 1917 to 1919, was after his fall from power by edict to be referred in press accounts as "an inveterate enemy of the Ukrainian people" (Kolasky, 1970).

Ukrainian journalists usually received university-level educations, and internalized the ideology and objectives of the Soviet leadership. A study of historical problems and of the history and practice of journalism in the Ukrainian S.S.R. in the 1920s and 1930 was conducted on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology and was centered at the Ukrainian Communist Institute of Journalism in Kharkiv. After World War II, such work continued in journalism programs at Ukrainian universities in Kiev and Lviv, and at other Ukrainian institutes and academies. Research in these programs focused on the Ukrainian pre-revolutionary press, on the Soviet press, and on the authorized works of Ukrainian writers. Other curriculum content focused on journalism and publicity techniques, organizational theories, and theories related to journalistic genres, styles, and editing.

Although they might be proficient in the mechanics and skills of professional journalism, Soviet-Ukrainian journalists and editors were guided by the principles and instructions of the Communist Party and were taught to emphasize positive initiatives and achievements by the state and by the party. They were also trained to laud economic achievements and heroes of socialist labor in propagandist manner. Negative events, tragedies, and controversies were generally ignored or prominently placed in the media. A good example was coverage of Holodomor (the great famine) of the 1930s, with evidence that Stalin promoted it. Although millions of Ukrainians starved to death, the press in the Ukraine and elsewhere in the U.S.S.R. ignored the story, although some foreign reporters wrote about it (Manning, 1953).

By the 1980s as the end of the U.S.S.R. approached, such repression had greatly declined. Ukraine experienced an increase in nationalistic aspirations, partially because of Gorbachev's attempt to repair the ailing economy with economic perestroika (restructuring) policies. The perestroika movement was accompanied by calls to confront problems through a more open social dialogue termed glasnost. In non-Russian regions of the U.S.S.R., that encouragement of

freedom of expression was not limited to economic reforms, but also stimulated nationalistic impulses.

Starting in mid-1986, the Ukrainian press and literature were addressing previously forbidden topics related to nationalism that, by 1988, resulted in mass movements and public demonstrations centered in Lviv and Kiev. By 1989, there was a full resurgence of nationalism focused on topics such as language, culture, religion, the environment, and the economy.

The Press and Social Change after Ukrainian Independence

After achieving independence in 1991, the new Ukrainian government encouraged press freedom and other forms of freedom of expression. These freedoms were exercised in reasserting national identity and nation-building. However, economic instability and pervasive government corruption hindered construction of a strong civil society and a functional democracy. The influence of perestroika and glasnost meant that Ukrainians demanded and expected more freedom in every aspect of their lives: social, political, and personal. Still, some aspects of the Soviet system were retained, and the evolution from socialist republic to democracy was only partial. The Ukrainian press also achieved only partial independence.

In her study of media transitions in post-communist Eastern Europe, Raicheva (2003) observed that “such wholesale changes as abolition of state monopoly over the production and distribution of newspapers, as well as long-entrenched journalistic practices could not be accomplished overnight.” To understand the main trends in the transformation of Ukrainian media after independence in 1991, it is necessary to first outline major political events related to independence.

In 1991, Leonid Kravchuk was elected the first president of independent Ukraine; during four years of radical social, economic, and political transformations, he concentrated on nation-building, economic reform, and consolidating Ukraine’s position on the international arena (Dyczok, 2006). Kravchuk paid little attention to mass media, and controls were generally relaxed even more than they had been under Gorbachev and the Glasnost era. Censorship officially ended when Ukraine proclaimed independence, and in 1992 the parliament legalized private ownership of media (Law on Print Media, 1992).

With or without help from the West, the years from 1992 to 1994 are commonly called the “golden era of Ukrainian journalism” because many new media outlets operated without state interference. However, many features and practices of the Soviet press system continued, and the government retained control of portions of the print media and broadcast stations. Censorship re-emerged during the 1994 election that Kravchuk unsuccessfully tried to win by silencing his opposition (Dyczok, 2006).

Leonid Kuchma became Ukraine’s second president in 1994 and was reelected in 1999 for a second term that ended in 2002. OSCE’s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights concluded that in the 1999 presidential elections, the Ukrainian media had failed to meet their obligations to provide balanced coverage of the campaign and equal treatment of all candidates. The report added that this was in breach of the laws of Ukraine and relevant OSCE commitments (OSCE, 2000, p.1).

As a former director of the U.S.S.R.’s largest missile production facility, he applied methods he had learned as a Soviet official to maintain and wield political power. His leadership combined features of the old Soviet regime with modern Western approach. Over time, his government became the target of domestic and international criticism and internal discontent for

its extensive and high-level corruption and for the erosion of political and free speech rights. In 1999, the U.S. based press rights advocacy group, the Committee to Protect Journalists, named him one of the world's "ten worst enemies of the press." Kuchma appeared on the list again in 2001 alongside such other world leaders as Vladimir Putin of Russia, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei of Iran, and Fidel Castro of Cuba. Referring in particular to the assassination of independent Internet journalist Georgy Gongadze of *Ukrainskaya Pravda*, discussed in more detail later in this study. The Committee to Protect Journalists explained:

Leonid Kuchma's government has stepped up its habitual censorship of opposition newspapers and increased attacks and threats against independent journalists. The disappearance and presumed murder of Internet editor Georgy Gongadze late last year brought the plight of Ukrainian journalists into sharp focus. Allegations that Kuchma himself may have directed the elimination of Gongadze sparked a political crisis that threatened to bring down his government and police security services made numerous attempts to muzzle publications that carried coverage critical of the Gongadze scandal. (2001)

During the same period, pervasive corruption in the political and economic systems created huge obstacles for journalists. In 1999, the U.S. Agency for International Development conducted a media survey of Central and Eastern Europe. In a 2000 *Foreign Policy* article a member of the survey team recounted interviews with Ukrainian reporters and quoted a television journalist as saying, "Corruption in the West has an honest face. Corruption in Ukraine has a Russian face. In Ukraine..., you pay the bribe and it doesn't mean anything. The mission of the journalist right now is to provide honest rules for the game of corruption" (O'Rourke, 2000, p. 78). His article also estimates at least 100 Ukrainian journalists were killed in the decade after 1990.

In their media economics study of Studio One Plus One, a national television network, Sohn and Bondar (2004) wrote of Kuchma's second term:

The current government has utilized bureaucracy to establish controls. Violence against members of the media also has played a role in curtailing opportunities for media to move toward libertarian, social responsibility, democratic-participant or other more imminent forms of development. Those working in the media have become experts at understanding their limitations and exploiting their opportunities.

There were ample independent reports to buttress their conclusions. For example, in 2001, former editor Oleg Lyashko of the independent weekly *Polityka* received a suspended two-year prison term and was barred from journalism for the same amount of time on a conviction for criminal defamation based on his 1997 reporting about two government officials. In 2006, the European Court of Human Rights overturned the conviction and ordered the government to pay \$3,860 as compensation, saying the "articles concerned a matter of public interest and that there was no evidence to suggest that [Lyashko] deliberately intended to damage the reputation of those concerned or the police force in general" (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2006).

In its annual human rights report for 2002, the U.S. State Department cited on its official website intimidation of Ukrainian journalists through use of libel laws, strengthened governmental control over broadcast media, negative coverage of opposition parliamentary candidates on national television and radio channels, the arrests of journalists, and police

interference with the distribution of independent newspapers, among other problems. On the other hand, the State Department reported, “Despite government pressure and media self-censorship, the numerous newspapers and periodicals on the market, each espousing the view of its respective sponsor, provided a variety of opinions” (2003). A Reporters sans Frontiers annual report issued in 2003 made similar blunt findings, including:

Despite government promises to the Council of Europe, press freedom declined in 2002, with political censorship, physical attacks on journalists and failure to punish crimes against them. Physical violence against journalists steadily increased during 2002, especially in the provinces. No investigations into killings or disappearances of journalists were completed and top government officials implicated in such crimes continued to enjoy total impunity. Reform of the legal system, to make it independent of the government, was not completed either.

Problems related to media controls and economic viability mirrored other challenges at that time. During Kuchma’s tenure, the economic situation began to stabilize and emerging oligarchs gradually acquired ownership of the main media outlets. By the late 1990s, political clans and the state owned all six television stations able to reach national audiences. Censorship intensified, however, during Kuchma’s second term. When media became a combination of two systems—Soviet and Western—and began to resemble its persona under the Soviet regime, but without the accompanying adherence to Marxist-Leninist ideology. The media landscape looked Western with an abundance of glossy magazines, young attractive news presenters, and rapidly growing Internet use (Dyczok, 2006). Although Article 31 of the new constitution of 1996 guaranteed freedoms of speech and expression, those guarantees were not practiced.

Another trend of the time was the development and spread of independent journalism on the Internet, a medium that became an increasingly important source of news and political information. In her case study of Ukrainian online journalism, Krasnoboka (2002) found that almost 60 percent of online media regarded themselves as independent from outside political or financial influence. She states: “Original online media have emerged as a counter-reaction to increasing censorship and self-censorship in traditional media.” However, she adds that online media are regarded by the authorities as oppositional, and thus also biased, even when they deliver an independent analysis (p. 496).

Some distinctive features of Kuchma’s second term influenced the media. In 1999, he defeated Communist Party leader Petro Symonenco, although outside observers declared the election unfair and invalid. The press received blame for some of these irregularities and the government was accused of harassing independent journalists. At the same time, state-owned media were charged with biased coverage. Other faults in the election process included intimidation of candidates and their supporters, and illegal campaigning by state officials. After his victory, Kuchma attempted to create an information vacuum and take advantage of media profits, while narrowing the availability of information that would promote democracy.

Freelance journalist Irina Pohorelova (2003) stated that although many Ukrainians were aware of the corruption and lack of government transparency, they lacked information and details about it. The government manipulated the press, not only to sustain the regime, but to conceal corruption by officials, Pohorelova states. According to Coyne and Leeson (2004), although print and broadcast media were largely in private hands during Kuchma’s tenure, the government greatly influenced them through direct and indirect means.

“Direct means” included subscription subsidies from the government, as well as controlling printing privileges and distribution for state-run media outlets through the state postal service. The state also exercise control over broadcasting transmitters. New forms of censorship emerged such as “temnyky,” a technique developed by Russian public relations experts who helped Putin win the 2000 presidential election in Russia. “Temnyky”—translated as “themes” or “instructions”—are written directives to the news editors (Way, 2005). The origins of the memos are not revealed. For example, a December 2001 “temnyky” memo precisely detailed how the opposition candidate should be portrayed in the mass media with regard to his appearance, hobbies, clothing and humor (Human Rights Watch, 2003).

The most direct interference with the press was physical abuse of journalists. The best known instance, nationally and internationally, was Gongadze’s abduction and murder after he criticized the president and the government, and there is strong evidence that Kuchma was involved. That sparked the nation’s 2000-2001 political crisis that began with his disappearance and accelerated with the release of audiotapes in which a voice similar to Kuchma’s ordered the kidnapping. In their framing and content analysis study of television, newspaper, and Internet coverage of that crisis, Baysha and Hallahan (2004) wrote that the murder case dominated the country’s political agenda until April 2001 and that “the crisis included protests, demands for the president’s resignation, clashes with police, arrests of opposition leaders, and analyses of the authenticity of the tape recordings” (p. 233).

“Indirect means” of media control were also common. They included excessive taxes on news organizations, unwarranted citations for fire, building, and safety code violations, and enforcement of vague licensing procedures (International Research & Exchanges Board, 2002) For example, the U.S. State Department (2003) reported that the Ukrainian tax authority began to closely inspect mass media outlets in 2001, particularly those critical of the government. In 2002, tax enforcement officers raided the office of the Internet newspaper *Obkom*, confiscating computers and documentation of a criminal investigation *Obkom* was engaged in. *Obkom* editors said the raid was a result of its investigation and resulting critical stories about the local tax administration. One *Obkom* journalist was jailed on charges of vagrancy after his home was searched for evidence of alleged tax evasion. He was released ten days later and the tax evasion charges were dropped.

The U.S. State Department 2003 report described other indirect means of media control, including governmental directives requiring important businesses to buy ads or to stop buying ads on regional television stations based on the stations’ news coverage. It noted that the government infrequently enforced broadcast fees for state-owned channels and required nongovernmental broadcasters to get two licenses while state entities needed only one. There were also allegations that the licensing agency National Council for Television and Radio Broadcasting stripped Kiev’s UTAR television of its license in retaliation for backing an opposition politician.

Overall, government censorship in Ukraine proved less than successful. Kuchma’s popularity remained low throughout his second term, as did public trust of the media. The Institute of Sociology at the National Academy of Science in Ukraine has compiled data on the level of public trust for both the president and the mass media, indicating the levels were low through the first 11 years of independence (Dyczok, 2006). The failure of the government to effectively control the media was partially responsible for the mass democratic movement beginning in 2004, known as the Orange Revolution.

The Press and the Orange Revolution

The Orange Revolution, named for the color the opposition chose as its symbol, was a series of protests and political events between November 2004 and January 2005. It followed the narrow, fraud-stained victory of Kuchma-backed Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich over the opposition candidate, former Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko, in the first round of presidential voting on 31 October. Because no candidate won a majority, a run-off was scheduled for 21 November. After local and international observers reported massive vote fraud, people took to the streets for peaceful demonstrations. “People were fed up with corruption, election fraud and the slide back to authoritarian rule which the independent press was reporting,” said Andriy Shevchenko, one of 2,000 Ukrainian journalists trained after independence (U.S. Agency for International Development, 2005, p.12). The movement started in Kiev and spread, with opposition-organized general strikes, sit-ins, and other forms of protest.

The press played an important role in the Orange Revolution. The two candidates had drastically different media strategies, but both concentrated on television. Yanukovich was supported by the establishment and by Kuchma, who controlled almost all mainstream media outlets in Ukraine. They tried to maintain an information blockade and developed the media project “Stop Yushchenko” that concentrated on expanding censorship by denying Yushchenko access to media outlets, discrediting Yushchenko in analysis and talk shows, and engaging in a massive and sometimes negative political advertising campaign.

The opposition forces developed its own strategies to bolster Yushchenko’s campaign and confront the rival campaign. One was to travel around the country and meet with voters directly. Another was to use advertising that promoted Yushchenko as a moral alternative to the corrupt Kuchma government and showed him with crowds of supporters, with the aim of encouraging masses of Ukrainians to join the resistance to the Kuchma government. The last part of the strategy focused on television. The opposition purchased its own station, Channel 5, well before the elections to break through the information vacuum created by the government. Before the election, Channel 5 was considered semi-mainstream because its national broadcasts could reach 37 percent of the population. However, during the election period the number of people watching the channel increased because it presented non-censored information. As Volodymyr Mostovyi, editor of the newspaper *Dzerkalo Tyzhnya* stated in an interview, that pro-opposition Channel 5, owned by a Yushchenko supporter, was the only station with that engaged in balanced reporting. Before the first round of elections, there was an attempt to ban Channel 5; its assets were frozen and its license was brought under review by the National Television and Broadcasting Council of Ukraine. After a huge strike by Channel 5 staff, and other protests and strikes in Kiev, the stations assets were released and its license restored. This signaled the beginning of the opposition’s empowerment, and although Channel 5 had only a small share of the television audience nationally, its round-the-clock coverage was recognized as a powerful tool for empowering the opposition, as it rallied the public to join in mass demonstrations in Kiev’s Independence Square (Dyczok, 2005).

Channel 5 was soon joined by other media outlets, such as Studio One Plus One, where journalists went on strike. Natalia Dmytruk, a UT-1 sign-language interpreter, ignored her script and told an audience of 100,000 hearing- impaired viewers that the elections were fraudulent (Dyczok, 2005). By the fourth day of protests, journalists at most other pro-regime broadcast stations had joined forces with the street demonstrators (McFaul, 2005, p.13).

The online media also played a key role. McFaul (2005) writes that the Orange Revolution may be the first political mass movement of this scale to be organized largely online. McFaul adds that the online independent newspaper *Ukrainskaya Pravda* by the end of the Orange Revolution had become the most widely read news source in Ukraine. He says that the Web site proved instrumental in disseminating results of exit polling, detailing accounts of fraud, and providing protesters with critical logistical information (p. 12).

The streets of Kiev filled with demonstrators demanding new elections, which the Supreme Court ordered to be held. Domestic and international observers declared the second election “fair and free” and reported a clear victory for Yushchenko, who received 52 percent of the vote. On 23 January 2005, he was inaugurated and the Orange Revolution ended peacefully and successfully, with much of the credit for its success attributed to both new and traditional forms of mass media.

The Aftermath of the Orange Revolution

Freedom House (2006a) reported that at the beginning of 2005, after Yushchenko’s victory, optimism about greater press freedom was high. However, that optimism was credited as an immediate and natural outcome of the Orange Revolution itself, rather than due to a clear commitment by the new government. More publishers began to establish their own presses and Ukrainians enjoyed greater diversity in media outlets. The form of censorship known as “temnyky” was officially banned. Nationwide television channels began to provide more balanced news coverage, and political candidates received more equal access to the media. Currently most nationwide media are private, and there has been no evident trend of media acquisitions by Yushchenko loyalists. Overall, a decrease in press controls and manipulation has been reported. Freedom House (2006b) also reports that because of the Internet, traditional media have lost their “privileged” role in Ukraine as the only promoters and purveyors of free information.

This is not to say that the press received unanimous endorsement after Yushchenko’s victory in the December 2004 election or that Ukrainians widely believe the election made it safer to practice objective journalism. Two months after the election a survey of public opinion by IFES, formerly named the International Foundation for Election Systems), an NGO supported by the U.S. Agency for International Development, found that more Ukrainians said it was safer for the media to objectively report the news and information critical of government. At the same time, 11 percent of respondents said their perception of the press had declined, and 27 percent said it was very or somewhat dangerous for the media to report the news objectively. (Buerkle, Kammerud, and Sharma, 2005, p.7).

Ukraine also has welcomed international cooperation and development projects, including consultants and trainers promoting Western journalism models. These “democratic journalism” workshops, seminars, and courses have been sponsored or organized by governmental agencies, NGOs, foundations, and Ukrainian professional organizations; they include the Soros Foundation, U.S. State Department, the Fulbright program, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), International Research and Exchanges Board, National Union of Journalists (IREX), Freedom House, Internews, the Crimean Association of Free Journalists, Independent Association of Broadcasters, and International Center for Journalists. For example, in 2001 the U.S. ambassadors to Ukraine and the European Union announced a \$750,000 Ukraine Media Development Fund. The fund was designed to improve the administrative, legal

and tax environment for the press, expand Internet use as a news and information tool, improve professional standards, and increase the media's capacity to operate freely and independently (U.S. Embassy in Ukraine, 2001). There also have been exchanges arranged and supported by university journalism programs in the United States and Europe to introduce Western journalism theory and practice in Ukraine.

With or without the Orange Revolution, Ukraine would not be alone in wrestling with transformation from a state-controlled media system to one of market-supported media outlets independent of government ownership and control, and protected by enforceable press rights. Writing about the challenges that journalists in the former Soviet bloc faced after the Iron Curtain fell, a Czech journalist used the metaphor of teaching old cats to bark (Urban, 1999). And discussing Eastern European media systems a dozen years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Gross (2004) found that a "tentative and limited trend" had begun by the late 1990s. He cautioned, however, that "institutionalizing this autonomy is difficult to achieve in a situation in which the owners struggle for economic survival, corruption is extensive, clear support from the public is lacking, and the absence of independent judicial systems restrict the autonomy of journalists" (p. 118).

Gross identified other shared problems that differentiate Eastern European media systems from Western European ones "and that inhibit their contribution to democratization." They include "a dearth of professional personnel capable of managing noncommunist media enterprises," poor journalism education, and weak or nonexistent access-to-information laws (pp. 118-119). As defamation laws, he stressed that they may resemble those of the West but are not interpreted or applied the same way, despite external and internal pressures from press rights advocacy organizations and foreign governments.

Conclusion

This study reviewed the press as it developed in Ukraine under the Soviet Union and after independence in 1991, as well as its influence on the Orange Revolution. Further research on developments in Ukraine will further document the role of the mass media in the social change process as the country attempts to complete the transition from Soviet republic to an independent and democratic nation. Relevant topics include statutes and constitutional provisions that affect press freedom; the impact of market-driven media outlets; attempts by rival political forces to acquire news outlets and to manipulate the press; efforts by foreign governments, especially that of Russia, to manipulate the Ukrainian press; changes in university-level journalism education and the training of professional journalists; and the ramifications of broadened Internet use and other alternative media on access to filtered and unfiltered information about politics, economics, social conditions, and international relations.

Although there is reason for optimism regarding Ukrainians' commitment to a free press system, scholars cannot ignore the interventionist journalism conventions and values that are likely to be retained in some form among journalists and journalism educators who were educated and worked under the Soviet system. The common Western assumption that all doctrine, practices, and conventions of Soviet-era journalists were suddenly anachronistic and vanished with independence or the Orange Revolution was premature. Instead, the ones most useful and relevant to Ukrainian society and cultural integration were adapted to an evolving national press model. However, subsequent internal political and economic developments,

external pressures, and development of a new generation of journalists who use traditional and new media will continue the metamorphosis of the lingering Soviet journalistic legacies.

Finally, Ukraine was the first of three former Soviet republics, followed by Georgia and Kyrgyzstan, to experience a grassroots revolution—or at least a regime change initially characterized as revolutionary, whether or not it proved to be so. Those parallels give rise to another arena of potential study, comparing and contrasting the trio of press systems between their independence and their revolutions. Raicheva's observation (2002) that “transition should be examined as a complex, multi-layered, asynchronous process where different countries undergo transitions across different layers—political, economic, and cultural—with different beginning points and pace” suggests that such research may uncover commonalities and differences that are relevant to other post-communist and post-authoritarian societies.

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A Tale of Donkeys, Swans and Racism: London Tabloids, Scottish Independence and Refugees

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This article explores the nature of immigration and refugee narratives and how they are structured by a constellation of media interests in the specific context of Scottish news agenda. It also looks at the coverage of asylum issues by The Scottish Sun, The Scottish Daily Mail and The Scottish Daily Express between September 2003 and September 2004 as examples of media interventions. This comparative analysis identifies these interventions as distinctive and orchestrated racist efforts that use elements such as culture and national security to legitimize it narratives. It studies the amount of coverage and looks at specific examples in terms of narratives and textual analysis.

Scotland is a very distinctive place compared to the rest of the United Kingdom. These differences have become even more evident in recent times in light of the electoral success of the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP), which calls for independence. As the then SNP Shadow Justice Minister Kenny MacAskill MSP said last year:

Our economic needs and social wants are different and distinct to the rest of the UK. As a nation of emigrants we wish to see immigrants coming to Scotland dealt with kindness and compassion, not brutality and oppression. (SNP, 2006)

Indeed, when it comes to immigration, Scotland, as the rest of Europe, is a land of paradoxes. On the one hand, it faces a decline in population in terms of numbers and ageing, that is predicted to create a major crisis in the pension system in the next four decades. On the other hand, there is increasing hostility towards immigrants in general, especially against asylum seekers. These attitudes seem even more paradoxical since Scotland has historically been a nation characterized by massive flows of emigration, which remains significant.

Scotland is the least densely populated of the four countries of the United Kingdom. It has 65 people per square kilometre, as opposed to 125 people per square kilometre in Northern Ireland, 142 people in Wales and 383 people in England (Office for National Statistics, 2004). In addition, its population is rapidly ageing with more than 60 per cent of people over 40. John Randall, Registrar General for Scotland says that:

Under these latest projections, which reflect recent demographic trends, the population of Scotland is projected to continue declining slowly. The biggest factor influencing the population change is the falling number of births. Migration flows to and from Scotland are projected to balance out in the future. (Pauling, 2004)

The figures of the Office for National Statistics in the UK predict that the total population of Scotland is projected to decrease from 5.11 million in 2000 to 4.93 million by 2025, and that the number of children under the age of 16 to fall to 78 % of its 2000 level by 2025. Meanwhile, the number of people over 65 is estimated to rise by 15 % to nearly 1.1 million in that same period, which means that, in practical terms, the number of people over retirement age will have increased by 36 % between 2000 and 2025 (Scottish Executive, 2001).

Despite this several surveys and opinion polls indicate that the Scottish public is among the most reticent to welcome immigration. In 2004, a report of the National Centre for Social Research (NCSR) found that the number of people who thought immigration ‘should be reduced’ is now 74 % as opposed to 65 % in 1995 despite significant rises in Scottish family income (Office for National Statistics, 2003). The NCSR research also showed that this increasing anti-immigrant sentiment has been shaped by a growing belief that immigration has “negative consequences for society,” particularly “in relation to crime.” More critical still is the attitude towards asylum seekers. A survey carried out in 2005 in Scotland by the polling company Ipsos-MORI¹ and commissioned by the charity Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM), found that over 46 % of people surveyed thought that “the number of asylum seekers living in Scotland is a problem,” while less than 5 % strongly believed that that “they made any positive contribution to life in Scotland.” This survey showed that the terms most commonly associated with asylum seekers are ‘desperate’ (34%), ‘foreigners’ (23%), ‘problem’ (20%) and ‘scroungers’ (12%); which also happens to be terms that are frequently used in the tabloid newspapers in their coverage of asylum seekers.²

One of the possible explanations for the paradox of a nation urgently requiring immigrants but whose population is overwhelmingly reluctant to embrace them can be explained by means of underlying narratives regarding immigrants. These are articulated and reinforced by the media which have the ability to construct and dispense social knowledge (Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 1991). These narratives are by no means neutral and, as Paul Gilroy³ has pointed out, they can be understood in relation to racism:

We increasingly face a racism which avoids being recognised as such because it is able to link race with nationhood, patriotism and nationalism. A racism which has taken a necessary distance from crude ideas of biological inferiority and superiority and now seeks to present an imaginary definition of the nation as a unified cultural community. (Bulmer & Solomos, 1999, p. 244)

This article explores the nature of these narratives and how they are structured by a constellation of media interests in the specific context of Scottish news agenda. In order to that, it looks at the coverage of asylum issues by *The Scottish Sun*, *The Scottish Daily Mail* and *The Scottish Daily Express* between September 2003 and September 2004 as examples of media interventions. This comparative analysis identifies these media interventions as distinctive and orchestrated racist efforts that use elements such as culture and national security to legitimize its narratives.

Knowing Me, Knowing You

These referenced narratives are sustained in a non-explicit manner (Bailey & Harindranath, 2005), although they present agency. They use nationhood and culture to determine who is and who is not part of the imaginary nation, arguing for the need to defend 'Britain's embattled culture', as written in a recent headline of *The Scottish Daily Express* (Blacklock, 2005). This is, by all means, a mechanism of exclusion often used to argue monoculturalism (superior, civilized, assimilation, etc.) without mentioning race. Examples of this have been already discussed by Ward (2002, p. 28) who noted the existence of a "dog whistle journalism" which, using a reasonable language, delivers a calculated message to the target audience. The audiences to which Ward refers in his article on the Tampa affair in Australia in 2001 were the undecided voters in that country. According to him the explicit intention in these cases is not necessarily related to attacking refugees as a group, but to achieve an electoral goal. In so doing, the media creates moral panics that facilitate the mobilization of voters towards the right, since –as other authors have pointed out- the electorate tend to choose those candidates with a more conservative platform in these types of situations when there is a perceived threat (Lewis, Inthorn & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2005, p. 129).

This is the case of Britain where similar racist strategies are often used by rightwing groups and some media outlets to achieve political goals. In the case of the UK the evidence suggest that the Conservative tabloid press mobilizes the public towards more conservative views by creating moral panics on immigration and refugees issues in the hope that this translates into votes for the right (Law, 2002). This type of racism articulates the fear of the invading hordes as a *devil folk*, mobilizing voters by fear and defining vote intention by means of panic. This has been a regular xenophobic and racist practice in the past since the fear of difference has been a feature of colonial discourse that recurs today in political discourse (Gale, 2004). This is because the politics of race in Britain is fuelled by conceptions of national belonging and homogeneity; this not only blurs the distinction between race and nation, but relies on that very ambiguity to create moral panics. According to Gilroy (1978) "It specifies who may legitimately belong to the national community and simultaneously advances reasons for the segregation or banishment of those whose origin, sentiment or citizenship assigns them elsewhere" (p. 45).

However, Britain presents a much more complicated scenario since it has created legally, and in terms of media narratives, two categories of people: refugees and asylum seekers. In the first case, the term complies with the Geneva Convention and it mainly refers to those who had been granted political asylum. The second term, asylum seekers, designates those who have arrived to the country but who had not yet been granted legal status of refugees. This second group has become a key element of electoral narratives for which they cause 'public service collapse', 'social tensions' and, more recently, 'terrorism'. Indeed, media coverage of asylum seekers in Britain increases by about 8 % in the build up to general because the concept of race still remains central to political debates in Britain on issues such as immigration, national identity (Law, 2002), and culture and religion (Bulmer & Solomos, 1999).

This media coverage is therefore far from neutral; framed instead by colonial narratives and representations which present immigrants as incompatible with Western values and therefore uncivilized. This practice of using culture to denote barbaric behaviour was epitomized by an article in *The Daily Star* under the headline "Asylum Seekers Eat Our Donkeys". The article, published on April 21, 2003, claimed that a group of asylum seekers stole nine donkeys from south-east London:

Asylum seekers have stolen nine donkeys - and police believe they've killed and eaten them. The pets - which gave kids rides at a Royal park - are said to have been stolen by East Africans, who see their meat as a delicacy. The female donkeys vanished after thieves cut through a wire fence at night. They were then led across a golf course and driven off in a lorry. (Nicks, 2003, p. 14)

The Daily Star, part of the Express Group (owner also of *The Scottish Daily Express*), presented this story as a factual scoop. However, the only police source cited in the article is an 'insider' who was not identified and who said that they police were "totally baffled over what has happened to the donkeys". Nevertheless, the reporter wrote:

One of our main lines of inquiry is that they may have been taken by immigrants who like eating donkey meat as a delicacy. 'It's no secret that we have a large African immigrant community here.' Donkey meat is a speciality in some East African countries, including Somalia. And two areas near Greenwich - Woolwich and Thamesmead - have large numbers of Somalian asylum seekers. (Gary, 2003. p. 14)

In so doing, the article implies that it had to be the group of Somali asylum seekers living nearby. The reporter emphasizes the credibility of this piece since 'the donkey rustling follows reports of swans being stolen from ponds and lakes in London by immigrants to eat' (Gary, 2003). The story in itself under the front page headline "Asylum Gang had 2 Swans for Roasting" said:

Police swooped on a group of East Europeans -and caught them red-handed about to cook a pair of Royal swans. The asylum seekers were barbecuing a duck in a park in Beckton, East London. But two dead swans were also found -concealed in bags and ready to be roasted. The discovery last weekend confirmed fears that immigrants are regularly scoffing the Queen's birds. (Sullivan, 2003, p. 1)

However, by the time that *The Daily Star* had published the donkey story, the story about the swans published by *The Sun* had largely been discredited as a hoax; leading to a public apology from *The Sun* on December 6, 2003, which confessed that it had been made it up (The Sun, 2003).⁴ Despite this, the story on the asylum seekers eating donkeys published by *The Daily Star* received wide attention and was later reproduced by a number of radio and television stations all over the country.

Hundreds of complaints were launched against *The Daily Star* at the Press Complaints Commission, a self regulatory body set up by the newspapers in Britain that deals with inaccuracies of the press but that has no way of enforcing decisions. Only one complaint was upheld and later resolved. This complaint came from Nuradin Dirie, Chair of the Somali Coordinating Committee, who complained that the article was inaccurate (therefore in violation of Clause 1 of the PCC Code of Practice)⁵ in suggesting that Somali asylum seekers may have stolen donkeys from Greenwich Royal Park to eat them. In the complaint, Dirie explained to the PCC that eating donkey meat was actually prohibited by Islam, since this meat is not *halal*.⁶ In other words, the PCC did not uphold the complaints because of misrepresentation nor because no

source had actually said what the headline suggested, but because of a fundamental flaw in the story. Weeks later, the newspaper published an apology, but not in the front page. No disciplinary action or reprimand was taken against any journalist or editor of this newspaper.

This case is by no means an isolated incident, but instead typical of a widespread and common practice among some British tabloids that not only represents asylum seekers as ‘non individuals’, racializing them as a homogenous group in the same way that was done in the past to ‘Blacks’, ‘Jews’, ‘Asians’ and ‘Gypsies’, but that also attaches to these representations the same pejorative values. That is to be a ‘threat’ to the imaginary national identity and unity, which draws simultaneously and differentially upon constructions of the Other and the Self (Lynn & Lea, 2003). This phenomenon has been called by Bailey and Harindranath (2005) the “racialized othering” of asylum seekers (p. 274).

Findings of this researcher and other researchers in Scotland suggest that British tabloids in contraposition to Scottish tabloids are far more focused on the theme of asylum seekers. Indeed, there is a clear distinction that needs to be made between the British tabloids based in London, with a regional ed. for Scotland, and those newspapers with their main headquarters in Scotland. This is manifest in the agenda, angle and approach to all level of news concerning asylum seekers. In some cases, while the Scottish newspapers adopt a favourable or neutral approach to the issue, the British tabloids tend to almost inexorably adopt a negative approach, with the exception of the leftwing *The Scottish Mirror*. Indeed, in the case of most of the British tabloids, this news agenda has become almost a fixation.

Because of this, this coverage should be considered as a public communication campaign in terms of the way asylum seekers are conceived in the context of race. This is, of course a problematic departing point from a traditional methodological point of view. However, as Paul Gilroy suggests, we should pay less attention to the issue of the epistemological relation of race to class and to the status of race as a distinctive order of social phenomena sui generis. Instead, as Gilroy has insisted among academics and activists in Britain, we need to concentrate more on the manner in which racial meaning, solidarity and identities, provide the basis for action (1987, p. 27). This ‘action’, refers in this specific case to the need to deconstruct and contextualize the orchestrated interventions and narratives displayed by tabloid newspapers in Scotland as both manifestations of what Stuart Hall called ‘overt and inferential racism’ (1997, p. 162). This because, categorizing persistent and orchestrated negative media coverage of asylum seekers as an electoral racist practice, which, as some authors have already pointed out, is crucial for anti-racist efforts (Mendelberg, 2001). This is because the implicit racist appeal constructed and conveyed by candidates and the media, “loses its implicitness –and its effectiveness- when it is challenged and rendered explicit” (Mendelberg, p. xii).

This is particularly the case in Britain, where the implementation of anti-racist and anti-hatred legislation in the past few years in the UK, especially those provisions of the law that affect speech against ethnic and religious minorities, has obliged some of these racist narratives and representations to become more subtle, using the ‘dog whistle’ technique. Indeed, media campaigns against asylum seekers are nowadays rarely overtly racist. Instead, in many cases, they seem to be based on what some authors have called legitimate ‘news values’ (Fuller, 1996, p. 6). However, because anti-immigration is one of the few ‘digestible’ terms left in the mainstream media discourse, it is still used to deliver racist narratives and mobilize the electorate politically; a function that has been lately reinforced by the issues of national security and terrorism. Therefore media interventions in the form of public media campaigns are delivered not necessarily to create and reinforce negative attitudes towards asylum seekers, but to undermine

the government (or particular members of the government); creating moral panics to deliver inferential racist narratives, and articulate racist representations.

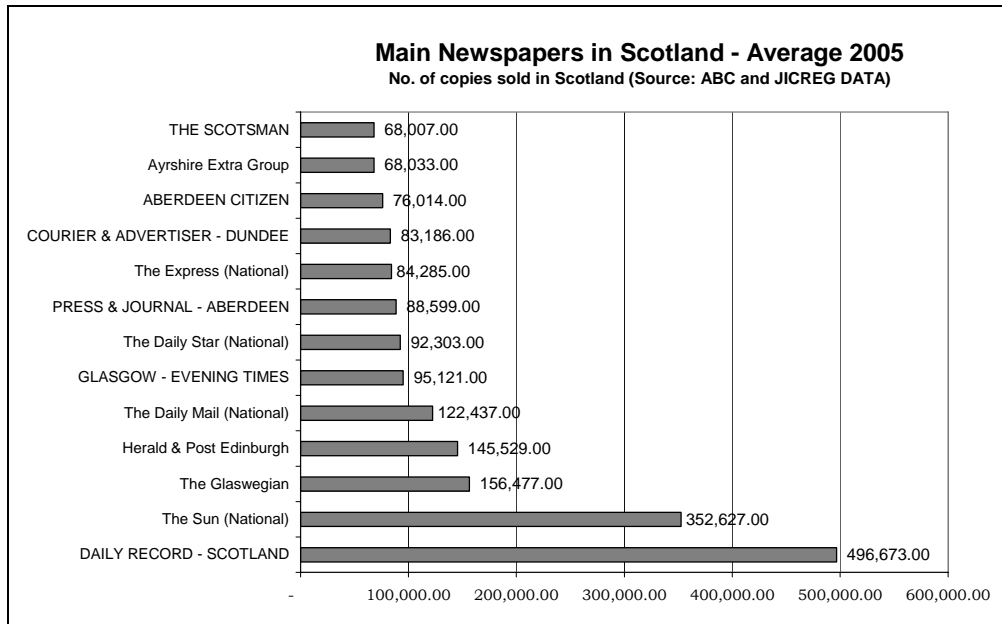
Perhaps it is important to highlight at this point that what traditionally have been called 'public communication campaigns' (Rice & Atkin, 1989, p. 37) have been in fact defined as "orchestrated but temporary efforts to promote specific political goals by means of a given media outlet" (Arterton, 1987, p. 82). In some cases, they have been categorized as 'media advocacy' (Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p. 61), since their aim is to create awareness, triggering action and ultimately promoting the public good. This is because the understanding of these campaigns departs from an ethical notion of what public relations is about (Lloyd, 1973; Seib & Fitzpatrick, 1994; Sallot, Cameron, & Lariscy, 1998; Theaker, 2001; Lloyd, 1973; Sallot et al., 1998; Seib & Fitzpatrick, 1994). However, intention (that is ethical intention) is not necessarily relevant. Not only because intentionality derives from subjective interpretations, but also because the morality of this definition needs to consider the wider picture of racist practices at least in the way some media outlets cover asylum seekers in Britain. In this alternative framework, some variety of media coverage, including those that undermine groups of people in a systematic way, can then be categorized as media campaigns, even if the main actors deny racist intention.

To deconstruct and contextualize these campaigns as racist, it is important not only to look at the wording often chosen by news editors and journalists but also at the frequency, timing and persistency of representing asylum seekers as a social and political issue. In this case it is reflected in the way in which asylum seekers are constantly portrayed 'as a source of conflict between identifiable groups over the distribution of resources' (Cobb & Elder, 1983, p. 27) 'that deserve to receive mass media coverage' (Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p. 3). This was one of the main conclusions of Smart, Grimshaw, McDowell, & Crosland in a report carried out for the Information Centre about asylum and refugees in the UK (2007, p. 51).

In other words, by identifying asylum seekers as an 'issue' in terms of resources and security the rightwing press reinforces rightwing narratives, pretty much in the same way that 'Blacks' who arrived from the West Indies in the 1950s were explicitly represented as a problem by politicians such as Enoch Powell who gave the infamous racist speech 'Rivers of Blood' (Jones, 1999, p. 13). Lynn and Lea (2003), in their study of the British press and the coverage of asylum seekers, have identified three discursive or rhetorical strategies: a) the differentiation of the Other; b) the differentiation of the Self; and c) the enemy in our midst. Media campaigns often tend to ride on these rhetorical strategies conveying asylum seekers as 'different to 'us' (Gale, 2004, p. 327).

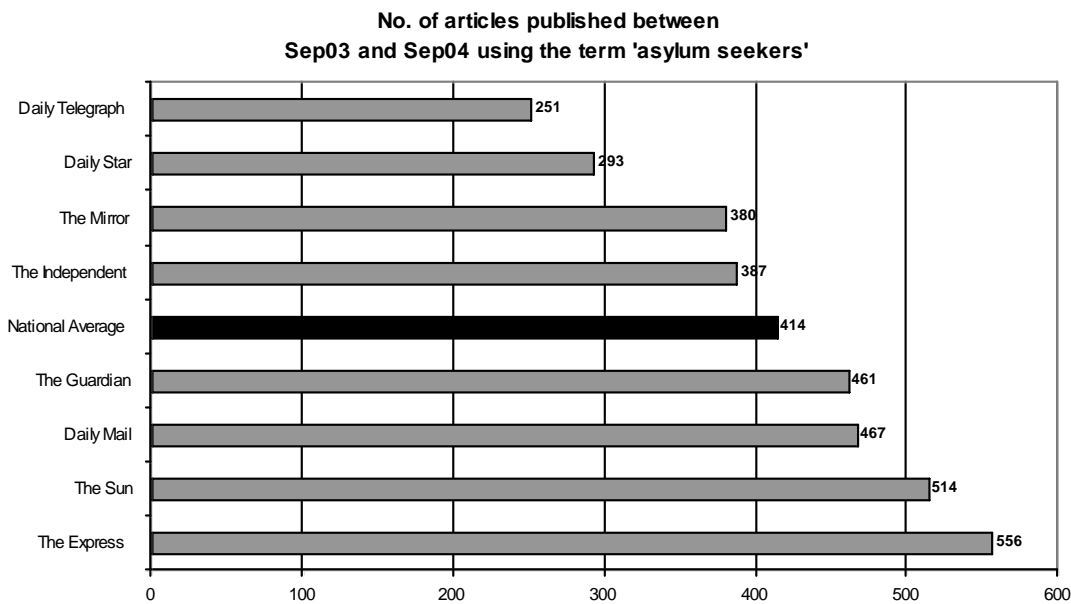
Playing Devil's Advocate

The pro-refugee camps in Scotland have often singled out a group of national tabloid newspapers as providing the most systematic anti-asylum coverage: *The Scottish Sun*, *The Scottish Daily Mail* and *The Scottish Daily Express* (Smart et al., 2007). These three newspapers are among the ten best-selling titles in Scotland, despite being London-based tabloids re-branded as Scottish ed.s:



(Source: LexisNexis database, 2006)

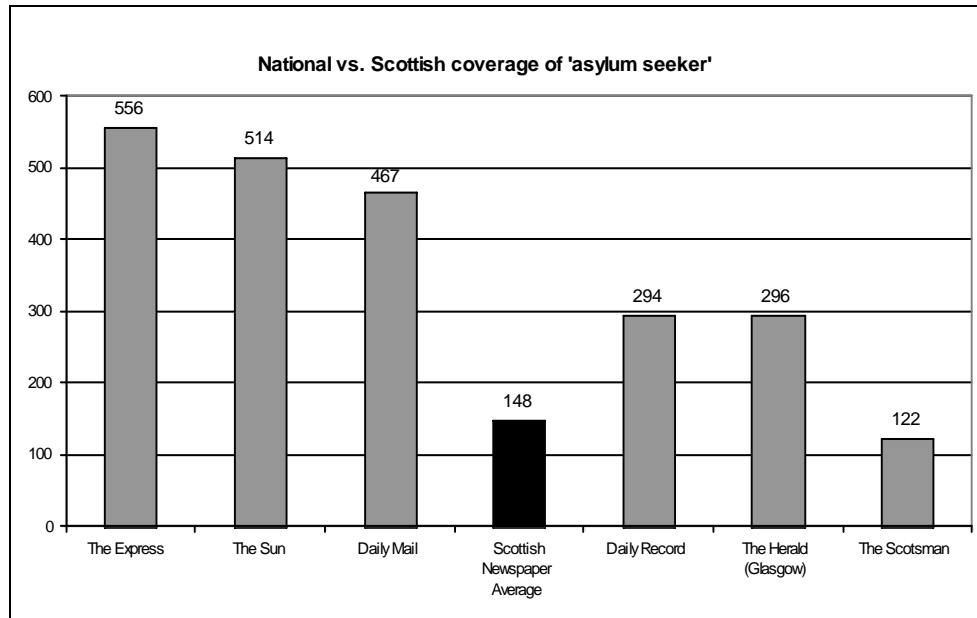
These London-based tabloid newspapers dedicate more articles to asylum seekers matters than any other newspaper in the whole of the United Kingdom:



(Source: LexisNexis database, 2006)

The emphasis on the 'issue' of asylum seekers is even more of a contrast when compared with the number of articles that the Scottish press dedicate to the same subject. In the building of the 2005 general elections this group of national newspapers published, between September 2003

and September 2004, three times more articles on the issue than their Scottish counterparts did on average:

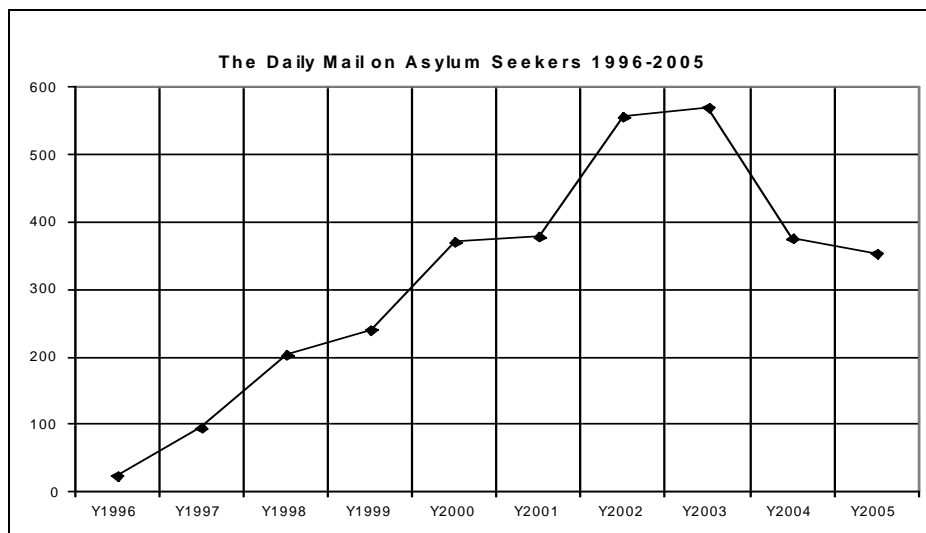


(Source: LexisNexis database, 2006)

Some additional data also suggests that the ‘issue’ of asylum seekers is a debate that is being brought to Scotland by national papers’ coverage. It also suggest that not only have these three newspapers taken a more proactive role in covering asylum, but they have done so from an anti-asylum perspective as recent research by Anthea Irwin of the University of Glasgow Caledonian reveals (Irwin, 2007). Irwin’s work, which was commissioned by the NGO OXFAM through its Asylum Positive Image Project states that the indigenous Scottish press tends to be far less anti-asylum than their British counterparts:

It is clear that the Scottish papers (as opposed to the Scottish ed.s of British papers) have a neutral to pro-asylum stance and the dominant discourse is that many asylum seekers are refugees who have fled from intolerable situations in their home countries and should be welcomed and treated with respect and dignity in Scotland. (Irwin, 2007, p. 21)

It is important to point out that the coverage of asylum seekers has become even more evident during Labour’s term in office. For example, since the landslide victory of the Labour party in 1997 *The Daily Mail’s* readers have seen a substantial increase in column inches dedicated to asylum-seeker matters:



(Source: LexisNexis database, 2006)

The peaks here correlate with the run-up to general elections in both Scotland and the UK. Furthermore, a comparative analysis of the coverage *The Scottish Sun* and *The Daily Express* show a similar trend. There was however a slight difference in Rupert Murdoch-owned *The Sun* which seems to show a fall in the number of articles published on the subject on 2001 in the run up to the general elections. This apparent anomaly, which differs from the historical patterns of *The Scottish Sun*, can be explained by the fact that since 1997 this newspaper has been supporting Tony Blair's New Labour platform.

However, the persistent negative coverage of asylum seekers should not only be seen simply as a strategy to undermine Labour and mobilize a potential Conservative victory, but also as a technique to strengthen the most right-wing voices inside all the political parties, including Labour. This practice allows those politicians in Britain who adopt a strong stand against asylum seekers and immigrants to increase their media exposure. The biggest beneficiary in recent times of this practice has been David Blunkett, MP for Sheffield Brightside, who as Home Office Secretary (2001-2004) promoted some of the most draconian measures against immigrants and asylum seekers in recent times. Although having to resign twice from the cabinet due to corruption scandals, he was rewarded with a weekly column in *The Sun* for which he earned last year nearly 150,000 pounds, almost US\$ 300,000 (Branigan, 2006).

This media practice has responded to the identification of immigration policy as a key issue to target in the past two general elections. In the 2005 elections, the then Conservative leader, Michael Howard, enlisted the help of the man who advised Australia's Prime Minister, John Howard, in the last four elections. Lynton Crosby as Liberal Party of Australia's chief electoral strategist was responsible the slogan "We decide who comes here" for the 2001 campaign in that country. It is reported that he advised the Conservatives to repeat some of these same tactics in Britain (Watt, 2005), including asking pro-Conservative papers to intensify their coverage of asylum seekers. The Labour government responded by also toughening its immigration policy and discourse.

This strategy now seems to be exhausted, and recently the new leader of the Conservative Party, David Cameron, called upon his followers to embrace 'genuine' asylum seekers fleeing from persecution and promised to review the policy of capping their numbers for the next

manifesto. Cameron criticized former Home Secretary, David Blunkett, who he said got immigration most 'spectacularly wrong':

He was the person who talked about us being swamped: he used irresponsible language at the same time as having a chaotic immigration policy. I want the Conservative party to do the opposite: use moderate, reasonable, sensible language, and to have a policy that actually delivers. (Hinsliff, 2005, p. 1)

This was not, however, a complete departure from the traditional Conservative view of asylum seekers as an issue. In that same interview for the Sunday paper *The Observer*, Cameron praised the cultural and economic benefits of immigration, but added:

We will have a big amount of emigration and immigration, but will also recognise that a responsible government needs to look at the level of net migration in terms of also providing good public services and having good community relations (Hinsliff, 2005, p. 1).

Refugees' News on Balance

The coverage of asylum seekers in tabloid newspapers suggests agency towards weakening liberal sectors in both parties. However, there is no evidence that journalists from these newspapers are directed to take specific stands towards asylum seekers or immigrants in what they write. Interviews with journalists and editors prove to be inconclusive in this respect. Instead, it can be suggested that the organizational culture serves as the framework for the newspaper agenda, defining the way in which stories regarding asylum seekers will be covered. There is awareness among staff in these newsrooms of the angle that they are expected to take and the sources that they need to interview;⁷ something that is reinforced by the editorials published by these newspapers during the year previous to the general election. For example, all the editorials referring to the subject published by *The Express* or the *The Daily Mail* in 2004 questioned the immigration policy of the government and portrayed asylum seekers as an 'issue'. It is logical to assume that for any journalist wanting to make a career inside those organizations, this was an unequivocal sign of what to write and what angle to take.

The objective is clear although not explicit; to undermine the government by criticizing its immigration policy. For example, between 2004 and 2005, not only did *The Express* have 238 articles that associated the term 'asylum seeker' with 'problem' but also 123 articles associating 'immigration policy' with 'problem' in the same paragraph. This same newspaper published 175 articles that associated the term 'asylum seeker' with the word 'terrorism'. During this same period there were 28 editorials and 104 headlines with the term 'asylum seekers', with overwhelmingly negative connotations. The numbers in the cases of *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail* are similar and also significantly higher than the average number dedicated by the Scottish press. In that same period, *The Sun*, published 45 opinion pieces and editorials criticising asylum seekers and immigration policy with little or no balance (that is, without a source contradicting the main assertion of the article), while *The Daily Mail* had 53 editorials and opinion pieces on this subject, equally excluding alternative points of view.

These newspapers also tend to link the 'issue' of asylum seekers with Labour in government, but they are careful not to present it as an explicit attack coming from the

Conservative party, since once explicitly presented as a political message it loses its power to mobilize. *The Daily Mail* dedicated 244 articles to asylum seekers that questioned the ability of the Labour government, but of these only 81 included a Conservative party source, when this would be in other cases a matter of course when questioning government policy (since they are the main opposition party). Particularly interesting is the way in which certain news pieces are orchestrated to reinforce criticism to government policy in other areas. For example, *The Sunday Express* published a feature article with the headline 'Got AIDS? Welcome to Britain'. The article argues that asylum seekers with AIDS, tuberculosis and other killer diseases were gaining permanent entry to Britain by exploiting what the article called 'a dangerous loophole in the law' created by the European Convention of Human Rights.

Asylum-seekers with AIDS, TB and other killer diseases are gaining permanent entry to Britain by exploiting a dangerous loophole in the law. 'The loophole, discovered by a Tanzanian woman and her lawyers, relates to an article in the European Convention of Human Rights. All that needs to be proven is that the asylum-seeker is suffering from a life-threatening disease and that health care in their country of origin is not up to first world standards. (McMullan, 2002, p. 10)

The feature article published by *The Sunday Express* on April 7, 2002 addresses the case of Hindu Mwakitosi, a Tanzanian woman, who successfully managed to appeal under article three of the Human Rights Act against the decision of the British government of denying her asylum claim on "medical grounds" (McMullan, 2002). A very similar story was also published by *The Daily Mail* in a two page feature next day about the Ugandan born George Muwanga, who came to Britain being HIV positive:

For now, under the provisions of the Human Rights Act, he will almost certainly be able to remain here for the rest of his life --receiving an expensive cocktail of drugs designed to keep Aids at bay for years. The cost, of more than GBP 11,000 a year, will be met by the British taxpayers....immigrants from Africa have over-taken homosexual men as the largest single group newly-diagnosed as HIV-positive in Britain. (Craven, 2002, p. 32)

The articles were published at the time that Labour's record investing and modernizing the National Health System (NHS) was being questioned and also at the time that the Euro was introduced. The first article suggests that it would cost the tax payers some UK£ 15.000 (US\$ 26.413.45) a year to treat this woman and other similarly 'infected' asylum seekers (the amount varies in *The Daily Mail* that claims it will be UK£ 11.000 per year).

This campaign had a very clear objective: to dispel fears of not receiving medical attention. Instead of exposing the fact that the 'new' resources made available to the NHS since 1997 were having a minimal impact because it was a historical correction after decades of under funding by previous Conservative governments, the agenda became (by extension) that the asylum seekers were responsible for draining NHS resources. This piece was also published to address tangentially the anti-European Union position of the newspapers in the year that the Euro had been introduced as a single currency. The article attributes the loophole not to international law, but emphasizes that this is a European matter, despite the fact that the European Convention

of Human Rights is not European Union legislation (something that was not explained to the reader). The corollary to this episode was that, a year later, the Labour government proposed to deny AIDS/HIV treatment to asylum seekers, something that was rejected by all medical bodies in the UK but that is still pretty much in the agenda. This same approach was mirrored in Australia more recently when the John Howard called to ban all entries of HIV positive persons in that country, including refugees (BBC, 2007).

Local Against National

It is widely recognized that national newspapers tend to set the agenda for local newspapers (Herman & Chomsky, 1994). The case of Scotland is no different. Once this type of campaign is launched other local newspapers tend to follow, because of the nature and dynamics of the news agenda. On August 29, 2004 *Scotland on Sunday* published on its front page an article entitled “Asylum Seekers to Get IVF on the NHS before Childless Scots” (Barns, 2004). It must be said, however, that this newspaper published a series of letters of complaints from its readers and that since then it not only has lowered its tone on the matter, but it has also made an effort to pursue a more responsible pro-refugee agenda.

As explained earlier, although there is no evidence of racist intention in this coverage, the degree of orchestration and direction set towards specific political objectives, nevertheless, suggests a constellation of interests in which asylum seekers are caught up. Since 1997 this agency has been defined by Conservative electoral needs and the promotion of right-wing voices across the political spectrum, including the Labour party. It is a media campaign that, while not necessarily designed as such nor formulated in an office by public relations specialists, nevertheless, delivers similar outcomes. It is worth remembering the front page headline of *The Observer* after Labour’s landslide victory of 1997: ‘Goodbye Xenophobia’ (Hutton and Wintour, 1997). Ten years later, not only has Labour gone ahead with some of the most draconian legislation against asylum seekers and immigrants, but *The Observer* itself has dropped some of its original editorial views and has become much more conservative in these matters.

Conclusions

Recent tensions and violence against refugees in Scotland cannot solely be blamed on the tabloid orchestration of a particular news agenda. Instead they are a manifestation of a deeper and much more complicated set of problems linked to racism as an ideology, which is both institutionalized in the State and spread across vast segments of society. Nevertheless, these campaigns bear some responsibility; either because they have failed to deliver understanding or because they have exacerbated existing tensions among people. The situation in Britain has worsened since the London bombings of July 7, 2005, pretty much in the same way that 9/11 has worsened the situation of some communities in the U.S. The binary distinctions that sustain racist narratives in the media have become more legitimized even among traditionally liberal newspapers. These narratives have found their way into Scotland through the channels opened by the national press. In the case of Scotland, they set an endogenous agenda that responds to interests and motivations derived from London, while strengthening a rightwing agenda that otherwise would have difficulty finding a niche audience in Scotland because of specific historical circumstances.⁸ This is a process, orchestrated and systematic, that has clear objectives

and target-audiences, and that delivers racist messages and narratives under the pretext of security.

This is the real challenge of anti-racist campaigns in Scotland: to compete against powerful racist media campaigns that are presented as non-racist and legitimate media coverage. This is not something that other campaigns have had to confront in the past. Campaigns against drunk driving, disability awareness and domestic violence developed in Scotland, and often compared to anti-racist campaigns in academic and professional analysis, had no contradictory narrative coming from the mainstream media to neutralize their message; at least not on this scale.

Scotland, however, lives a particularly historical moment in which the independence movement has secured power for the first time. The recent poll results show the composition of a Scottish Parliament made up of progressive groups in terms of an immigration agenda with a strong presence of voices that have been traditionally in favour of refugees' matters. In fact, the latest elections in Scotland on May 2007 saw the arrival Bashir Ahmad as a Member of the Scottish Parliament for the SNP, the first ever from an ethnic minority to be elected. This is indeed a completely different ball game; one in which the priorities and real needs of Scotland could become the main news agenda for all newspapers.

Notes

1. Ipsos MORI is the second largest survey research organisation in the UK, formed by two of the UK's leading companies in October 2005. MORI (Market & Opinion Research International), was originally founded in 1969 by Robert Worcester, and was the largest independent research organisation in the United Kingdom. Ipsos is one of the largest survey research organisations in the world, with offices in dozens of countries, founded in the mid 1970s in France by Didier Truchot and Jean Marc Lech. Ipsos MORI is a member of the British Polling Council.
2. The widespread use of these words to refer to asylum seekers has of course its own historical baggage. This is apparent in Enoch Powell's words when he asked: what kind of people are we? Only to answer to himself: "We are not muggers, we are not illegal immigrants, we are not criminals, Rastafarians, aliens or purveyors of arranged marriages" (cited by Gilroy, 1987: 48).
3. Paul Gilroy's theories of race, racism and culture have been among the most influential in shaping the cultural and political movement of black British people. He is the author among other books of *Ain't no Black in the Union Jack* (1987), *Small Acts* (1993), *The Black Atlantic* (1993), *Between Camps* (2000) (also published as "Against Race" in the United States), and "After Empire" (2004). He has taught at Yale University where he was the chair of the Department of African American Studies and Charlotte Marian Saden Professor of Sociology. He now holds the Anthony Giddens Professorship in Social Theory at the London School of Economics.
4. However, no disciplinary action was taken against any reporter or editor in the newspaper for this blunder.
5. This clause relates to accuracy and it states that "the Press must take care not to publish inaccurate, misleading or distorted information, including pictures". It also says that "a significant inaccuracy, mis-leading statement or distortion once recognised must be corrected, promptly and with due prominence, and - where appropriate - an apology

- published" and that "the Press, whilst free to be partisan, must distinguish clearly between comment, conjecture and fact (PCC, 2007).
6. The term "Halal" is used in Arabic-speaking countries to describe anything permissible under Islamic law, in contrast to haraam, that which is forbidden. The term is most commonly used in the narrower context of just Muslim dietary laws. This dichotomy of usage is similar to the Hebrew term "kosher".
 7. Interview with journalists of The Sun and The Daily Mail in Scotland carried out between September 2005 and October 2006. Anonymity was granted.
 8. The Conservative party in Scotland has indeed a difficult time finding support in Scotland; this because Scottish industry and economy were hardly hit during previous Conservative governments. There is also the perception that Conservatives tend to limit Scottish autonomy. For example, in the 1970s Margaret Thatcher reversed Heath's support for devolved government for Scotland. She also implemented the poll tax first in Scotland, a year before than in England. This tax brought down her government in 1990, when her own party replaced her with John Major.

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A Crusading Journalist's Last Campaign: Wendell Smith and the Desegregation of Baseball's Spring Training

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*Long after Jackie Robinson broke through professional baseball's color barrier, racial segregation and discrimination marred life in the big leagues for black players. The inauguration of each new season brought daily reminders that integrated play had not meant equality for all. Forgotten in the swirl of attention around the Kansas City Monarch-turned-Brooklyn Dodger are how long black players and sportswriters were unfairly treated during spring training each year through the early 1960s and how much more work remained to be done after Robinson's gleaming first season in New York in 1947. Black sportswriter Wendell Smith proved central in desegregating spring training housing conditions 15 years after Robinson cracked baseball's color barrier. The crusade to integrate spring training facilities in the deep South proved to be Smith's last, punctuating an unprecedented career in activist sports journalism that is often overlooked in the retellings of baseball's integration. This article aims to help correct the oversight by examining the very deliberate and mostly successful campaign waged throughout 1961 by Smith and the *Chicago American* newspaper to ensure equality for white and black players during big league baseball's annual spring training season in Florida and in Arizona.*

Long after Jackie Robinson broke through professional baseball's color barrier, racial segregation and discrimination marred life in the big leagues for black players. The inauguration of each new season brought daily reminders that integrated play had not meant equality for all. Forgotten in the swirl of attention around the Kansas City Monarch-turned-Brooklyn Dodger are how long black players and black sportswriters were unfairly treated during spring training each year through the early 1960s and how much more work remained to be done after Robinson's gleaming first season in New York in 1947.

Just as he had been in the great drama that brought Robinson to the Dodgers in the mid-1940s, black sports writer Wendell Smith proved central in desegregating spring training housing conditions 15 years later. The crusade to integrate spring training facilities in the deep South proved to be Smith's last, punctuating an unprecedented career in activist sports journalism that is often overlooked in the retellings of baseball's integration. This article aims to help correct the oversight by examining the very deliberate and mostly successful campaign waged throughout 1961 by Smith and the *Chicago American* newspaper to ensure equality for white and black players during big league baseball's annual spring training season in Florida and in Arizona.¹

Few outside of baseball scholarship have ever heard of Smith. When the general literature refers to him, it typically mentions him merely as the man who recommended Robinson to Branch Rickey as the Negro League player best suited to break pro baseball's color barrier.² Smith's 10 years laboring to bring down baseball's color barrier have been largely overshadowed in the public's consciousness by Rickey's bold stroke. Media coverage of and attention to the

60th anniversary of Robinson's first day in Dodger blue, on April 15, 2007, proved this reality as well as contributed to it. Amidst the hype and hoopla, repeated in major league ballparks throughout the country, Smith's name was never mentioned and the black press's crusading never cited. The popular narrative has simply left them out, repeating the marginalization of the black press and its contributions to social change.

Smith's approach in 1961 paralleled that of Martin Luther King, Jr., in its tone, patience, and credibility. Like King, Smith had first-hand experience with the conditions being challenged. Though the writer is due much credit for the spring training campaign, which, according to one columnist, was hugely successful, that credit has for the most part eluded him (*Chicago American*, December 1, 1961).³ An important chapter in the histories of the black press, baseball, the South, and Smith himself, therefore, has not previously been written.

Smith and Crusading, Activist Journalism

Smith's assault on baseball's color barrier began on a baseball sandlot. A high school senior playing American Legion baseball in Detroit, Smith pitched his team to a 1-0 playoff victory. After the game, a top scout for the Detroit Tigers, Wish Egan, signed Smith's catcher and boyhood friend, Mike Tresh, to a major league contract. Tresh would play 16 seasons of big league baseball. Egan also secured the services of the losing pitcher, but he did not offer a contract to Smith. "I'd sign you, too, if I could," Egan told the young pitcher.

Decades later, after a celebrated career in journalism, Smith cited Egan's words as inspiration to dedicate himself to contributing "something on behalf of the Negro ballplayers" (Wendell Smith Papers, no date). Fortunately for the black press, and for black baseball, Smith chose to make his contribution through a conspicuously activist journalism that sought better treatment of blacks everywhere, beginning with those on the baseball diamond. According to Smith's wife, Wyonella Smith, Tresh lived on the same block as Wendell Smith, whose family was the only black family in their Detroit neighborhood. The realization that only the color of his skin prevented him from a career in baseball "broke his heart," Wyonella Smith said. "He knew he was good enough" True to his word, after college Smith became a crusading black press journalist described by contemporaries as perhaps the best of his time (Reisler, 1994, p. 33). His career began at the *Pittsburgh Courier* in 1937 and continued at the *Chicago American* as its first black sports columnist. He also wrote for the *Chicago Sun-Times* and briefly was the sports anchor at WGN-TV (Reisler, 1994, p. 36).

A freshly minted graduate of historically black West Virginia State College in 1937, Smith roared onto the baseball scene and into the sports pages of the *Pittsburgh Courier* in October 1937, writing with a force and flair that immediately distinguished him from his colleagues. Unlike Ches Washington, who Smith would replace as the *Courier's* sports editor in 1938, the young writer did not reflexively accept segregation and with it the implicit subordination of blacks. Smith and his counterpart and contemporary at the *Afro-American*, Sam Lacy, not only covered Negro league baseball's efforts to force integration, they became directly involved themselves. For much of the previous two decades, black sportswriters preached to the converted. In the late 1930s and even more so in the 1940s, Smith and Lacy combined eloquence in print with activist intervention and dogged persistence to expand the campaign beyond the black community. They took the campaign to the white major league baseball owners, where

ultimate power to bring down the bar resided, and in this they enlisted support from white sportswriters at the big dailies.

The crusade grew especially active during and after World War II, a period during which black Americans became significantly more active and confrontational on social and civil rights issues. Though economic conditions for blacks deteriorated during the years between the wars, the period saw growth for the black press in terms of readership and influence, growth that fueled an expansion in the black protest movement. Smith used the backdrop of World War II to compare the treatment of blacks in the United States with that of Jews in Nazi Germany, reacting in particular to the hypocritical exclusion of blacks from baseball, a sport that was held up as a great paradigm of democracy, American moxie, and fair play. Smith pointed out the contradiction of these values, which the government extolled and defended against Nazi oppression, with the daily reality for black baseball players (*Pittsburgh Courier*, February 18, 1939.) When the United States entered the war, Smith reminded all-white major league baseball that it was “perpetuating the very things thousands of Americans [including a disproportionate number of blacks] are overseas fighting to end, namely, racial discrimination and segregation” (*Pittsburgh Courier*, July 25, 1942).

After the war, in the 1940s, Smith met with Commissioner Kenesaw “Mountain” Landis and other baseball officials to prod them to articulate their policies on race so they could then be challenged. As Red Barber pointed out in his account of the 1947 season, racism and segregation were so difficult to fight because they weren’t explicit policies, yet “all men in baseball understood the code.” Barber wrote that if “a man breaks a law, is clever enough to get away with it, people think he is a smart fellow. But when you break an unwritten law, a code of conduct, you are damned, castigated, banished from the club, so to speak” (1982, p. 51). He polled players and managers about race to keep it a part of the national debate, and to maintain pressure on baseball. Smith conducted nearly 20 interviews, mostly in hotel lobbies, determining where players, managers, and coaches stood on whether blacks should be allowed to play in major league baseball. Among those interviewed were the Pittsburgh Pirates, New York Giants, and Brooklyn Dodgers, including Dodger manager Leo Durocher, who later, when asked if he’d play Robinson should Rickey sign him, responded, “Would I use him? Hell yes. I’d sleep with him and watch him like a mother watches her newborn baby” (*Pittsburgh Courier*, November 16, 1946). In all, approximately 75% of those interviewed were in favor of erasing the color line.

Smith’s survey had a huge impact. First, many fans, perhaps even a majority, were not even aware of baseball’s color bar (Holtzman, 1974). Secondly, the results showed that a majority of white athletes supported integration. Third, in finding that white players were in support of integration, the survey erased one of the owners’ main excuses, which was the claim that white players would not tolerate playing with black teammates or against black opponents. Finally, the survey led to support for Smith’s crusade among white sportswriters and columnists, as *The Sporting News’s* Jerome Holtzman pointed out. The Pittsburgh papers, *The Sporting News*, and the wire services started running Smith’s stories. Later, influential white sports columnists joined the fight. Jimmy Powers of the *New York Daily News*, Shirley Povich of the *Washington Post*, Dave Egan of the *Boston Record*, and Dan Parker of the *New York Daily Mirror* were some of the more prominent allies in the campaign.

Though gentle in person, in print Smith could be scathing and punishing of individuals found to have racist views or, even worse in Smith’s view, to have acted hypocritically. Clark Griffith, owner of the Washington Senators baseball team, was a prominent Smith target in 1943

for his public, unvarnished resistance to desegregation (*Pittsburgh Courier*, February 27, 1943; May 8, 1943). Smith wrote that Griffith would rather sign up Cuban, Spanish, or Portuguese players than blacks (February 27). St. Louis Cardinal great Rogers Hornsby was questioned by Smith in a 1947 column about the former slugger's suitability to his appointment as manager given his opposition to integration a few years prior (*Pittsburgh Courier*, May 3, 1947). And Effa Manley, owner of the Newark Eagles of the Negro Leagues, was lacerated by Smith in several columns in 1948 for publicly campaigning for integration and garnering publicity about and for her efforts, then, hypocritically preventing her best players from breaking through to the major leagues. Smith called her "the publicity-mad Queen of Newark," "two-faced," and wrote that she had "stuck her fine feminine hand" and "raised her monotonous howl" where they did not belong (*Pittsburgh Courier*, January 22, 1948).

Smith and Robinson, 1947-1961

The heroic story of Jackie Robinson becoming big league baseball's first black player is one of the game's most familiar. Missing from the popular narrative, however, is a private meeting in Rickey's office between the Dodger president and Wendell Smith in 1945. In some ways, this meeting crowned the more than ten years of campaigning for baseball's integration, mostly in the pages of the *Pittsburgh Courier* (Lamb & Bleske, 1996). It was during this meeting, which convened just after Robinson's tryout with the Boston Red Sox, that Smith recommended Robinson as the right man to challenged baseball's "Gentlemen's Agreement."

In Robinson's autobiography, *I Never Had It Made*, the player wrote that he would be "forever indebted to Smith for the recommendation made to Rickey" (1972, p. 41).⁴ Personal letters also reflect Smith's behind-the-scenes, personal support of Robinson (Wendell Smith Papers).⁵ Put on the payroll by the Dodgers explicitly to ease Robinson's transition and secure housing in segregated towns, Smith produced a steady diet of newspaper copy supporting Robinson, chronicling his celebrated pro start, and providing historical context, something the mainstream press rarely did (Sandomir, 1997). As an example, New York's *Herald Tribune* included no story on Robinson in its sports section on baseball's opening day, April 15, 1947, instead burying him in a preview of the season "after news that Gladys Gooding will accompany herself at the organ as she sings the national anthem" (Sandomir, 1997, p. C9). Smith, by contrast, devoted several stories and his column to Robinson's first game, a 14-5 win over the New York Yankees, in which Robinson was mobbed by reporters and fans (*Pittsburgh Courier*, April 19, 1947). These inequities in coverage are analyzed by Lamb and Bleske in two articles (1996, 1998).

Wiggins credited the *Courier* for proving to be "most effective in seeing that the game's racial barrier was finally lifted" and, more specifically, Smith, who "most doggedly fought for the inclusion of Blacks in organized baseball (1983)." Wiggins also notes the crucial efforts from other black newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender*, *New York Age*, *New York Amsterdam News*, and *Baltimore Afro-American*. Led by Smith and the newspaper's president, Ira Lewis, the *Courier* first made public the previously unwritten rule that big league clubs not sign up black players.⁶

Even after Robinson's big breakthrough, integration proved slow. In July 1959, 14 years after Smith arranged a tryout with the Boston Red Sox for Robinson and two other players, the Red Sox became the last team in big league baseball to suit up a black player when Elijah

“Pumpsie” Green took the field at Fenway Park (Behn, 1997). Even five years after Robinson’s signing, most teams had yet to add a black player to their rosters. The Cubs did it in 1953 (Ernie Banks). The Yankees, Pirates, Cardinals, and Reds waited until 1954. The Phillies completed integration in the National League in 1957.

It should not come as a surprise, then, that 14 years after Robinson took baseball’s center stage by playing with the Dodgers in a World Series, the social norms and racial policies of the South still were largely unchanged. By Spring 1961, only the Dodgers had desegregated their spring training facilities, doing that by leasing a former naval station in Vero Beach, Fla., and building Dodger-owned living quarters (Tygiel, 1997, p. 316). Called “Dodgertown,” the training complex was built in 1948 to fulfill Branch Rickey’s dream of operating a “college of baseball.” Tygiel describes it as being a “haven of tolerance” (p. 317), but said that as soon as a black player stepped off the base, Jim Crow was waiting. Brooklyn’s Dodgers, then, were the only big league players who could room together, eat together, and train together without running up against local authorities. As one player told the *Afro-American*, the only segregation in Dodgertown existed “by ability, not color” (Baltimore *Afro-American*, April 10, 1948).

Although Smith has been most completely ignored in popular accounts of the integration of baseball and in histories of the sport in general, he has received better treatment from academic scholarship, thanks mainly to a very small circle of historians – Tygiel, Lamb, Reisler, Wiggins, and Carroll. Tygiel stands alone in giving Smith’s career-long contributions careful attention. In several books he notes the sportswriter’s campaign against Jim Crow and to integrate baseball. Tygiel’s *Baseball’s Great Experiment* is his best known and one of the most celebrated books on Robinson.⁷ In it, the author gives a great deal of credit to Smith, Joe Bostic, and Sam Lacy for “informing the American people of the existence and injustice of Jim Crow athletics” while falling victim to it themselves (p. 35).

Lamb and Bleske focused on the efforts to integrate baseball prior to the 1947 season (1998, 1996, 1993), while Reisler has written about the sportswriter’s coverage of the Negro Leagues (1994). Wiggins, in his valuable book, *Glory Bound: Black Athletes in a White America*, devotes a chapter to Smith (1997), but the period of Smith’s career he covers ends in 1945 with Robinson’s signing by the Montreal Royals, a Dodger farm club. A 2007 book, *When to Stop Cheering: The Black Press, the Black Community and the Integration of Professional Baseball*, carefully documents Smith’s career through the early 1950s, but stops well before the spring training crusade in 1961 (Carroll). This article adds to the literature by examining a key period in the latter part of Smith’s newspaper career.

Though much has been published about the integration of baseball, scant little has been written about the lingering segregation in the South experienced by professional baseball players each year during spring training. A review of the literature found nothing at all on Smith’s and the *Chicago American*’s campaign to create awareness of and spur corrective action on the disparate living conditions afforded white and black ballplayers each spring. In fact, one of the few scholarly works to investigate segregated spring training conditions, a 1992 article by Jack Davis gives credit for spring training’s desegregation almost entirely to local black community leaders, especially those in St. Petersburg.

This article is partly a response to Davis, who describes Smith’s efforts as “joining in the chorus of public denunciations” by quoting an April 1, 1961 *Courier* article (p. 157).⁸ This characterization is at best unfair because it was Smith’s January 23 article in the *Chicago American* that first raised awareness of spring training conditions and, as subsequent *Chicago American* articles throughout the rest of 1961 claim, significantly contributed to the movement to

correct them. Smith has been denied the credit he and, more broadly, the *Chicago American* and other black newspapers deserve for leading the fight rather than merely joining in the chorus.

Florida served as springtime home to 13 of the 18 big league clubs, but Jim Crow laws, customs, and unwritten policies kept blacks and whites apart. Seating at ball games also was segregated.⁹ Despite calls to action by Smith, Lacy, and others, black players for the most part did not protest these practices, and, without complaint from the black players, neither did the ball clubs. Some of the players said they were content just to be in the major leagues. The Giants' Monte Irvin told Tygiel that black players "wanted to play so badly, that (segregation during spring) didn't bother us that much" (p. 318). Additionally, a culture among players discouraged disputes with management for fear of expulsion from baseball. Chuck Harmon, also in an interview with Tygiel, said, "Anytime you dispute with the management, whether you're white or black, or indifferent, you're gone." Some southern players had partly grown accustomed to segregation and, therefore, didn't challenge it, at least not directly (Aaron, 1992, p. 153-154).

It was 1959 before Henry Aaron would complain to Milwaukee Braves management about segregated housing during spring training in Bradenton, Fla. Baseball's all-time home run hitter called the segregation in the state's hotels "the hardest thing to break down" because they stuck together, much as the big league clubs had successfully done prior to Rickey and Robinson (Aaron, 1992, p. 153).¹⁰ The hotel owners knew that if one gave in, it would make it very difficult on the others. Aaron's complaints were heard, but at a cost to the entire team. Rather than tolerate segregated housing in Bradenton during the spring of 1959, the entire team moved to nearby Palmetto for a "two-bit" motel with inferior food (Shouler, 1997). The inferior quarters were, according to Aaron teammate Joe Torre, Palmetto's Twilight Motel, which did not have a restaurant.

Smith, Aaron, and Jackie Robinson agreed it would require economic pressure to force change, and they believed the clubs had the influence of the millions of dollars spent in Florida each spring. In an interview with *The Sporting News* in 1956, Robinson blasted baseball saying that major league teams should lean on the Florida communities to "remedy a lot of the prejudices that surround the game as it's played below the Mason-Dixon line" (*The Sporting News*, June 6, 1956). Robinson repeated and elaborated on his charges in his controversial 1963 book, *Baseball Has Done It*, in which he eloquently argued that baseball's dollar would speak with more force than anything else. As Tygiel points out in *Baseball's Great Experiment*, Robinson interviewed major league players for the book and "almost every player" complained about the conditions in Florida, particularly the discrimination faced in the local communities (p. 319).

Assault on Spring Training

Smith's January 23 article in the *Chicago American*, which kicked off the campaign, was hailed by several pro ballplayers, including future hall-of-famer and Cub shortstop Ernie Banks, who told Smith for the article, "I am sure I am speaking for every Negro player in the big leagues when I say we are very grateful to the *Chicago American* for bringing this situation to the attention of the American public" (*Chicago American*, February 6, 1961). Banks also praised the tenor and dignity of Smith's story, characteristics that marked Smith's life's work. In the same article, Larry Doby, who integrated the American League when he joined Bill Veeck's Cleveland Indians during the 1947 season, saluted the campaign "started by the *Chicago American* to secure equal treatment for Negro big leaguers in the South." (The term "integration" admittedly

is problematic. For the sake of simplicity, in this article it refers to a team or institution opening itself for membership by blacks. Obviously, true integration as a social ideal is a complex process. One player obviously does not “integrate” a team, and one player cannot change the norms, policies, and practices of an institution.)

On the field, the 1961 season dazzled. The pastime’s “unbreakable” record – Babe Ruth’s 60 home runs in a single season – fell at the hands of the Yankees’ right fielder Roger Maris, and in the season’s final game. Maris toppled Ruth by winning a wrenching, season-long home run race against his roommate and the fans’ clear favorite, Mickey Mantle, who finished with 54. Off the field, however, the year proved turbulent for baseball in the area of race relations, as it did for the entire nation. In Alabama, white and black liberals who had loosely organized to test and force integration were attacked and beaten by white citizens in Anniston and Birmingham, where riots would make national headlines in May 1963 (Grun, 1991). Sit-ins swept through as many as seventy Southern cities as part of a protest movement started in part by North Carolina A&T University students at the Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C. (Chafe, 1980). The Greensboro sit-in by four A&T students, memorialized with a museum at the site of the former downtown Woolworth department store, occurred on February 1, 1960 and garnered national attention. In the fall of 1960, Martin Luther King was arrested in Georgia during a sit-in protest (Houk and Creamer, 1988, p. 37). In analyzing how inequities between black and white ballplayers during spring were addressed by Smith and the *Chicago American*, important perspective can be gained on what conditions were like 14 seasons after Robinson first broke into major league baseball.¹¹

Smith’s article in the January 23 ed. of the *Chicago American* newspaper ran on the front page, and it punctured for many readers the picture of racial tranquility in professional baseball promoted by baseball. In the article, which carried the headline, “Spring Training Woes,” Smith revealed to the nation the “growing feeling of resentment” among black players who continued to suffer “embarrassment, humiliation, and even indignities” during the six weeks of spring training in Florida (1961). Each spring star players such as Hank Aaron, Willie Mays, Ernie Banks, and Minnie Minoso were segregated from their white teammates and, therefore, forced to sleep, eat, and recreate in separate and largely inferior facilities. White players, by contrast, were put up in some of south Florida’s finest hotels, including the Soreno and Vinoy Park in St. Petersburg, and the Sarasota Terrace in Sarasota.

By 1961, major league baseball’s black players had had enough. Three years before President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to abolish legal segregation, Smith’s campaign encouraged strides by baseball to erase the barriers of segregation during spring. Again, baseball was leading the way toward a more racially integrated society. In 1947, baseball’s integration preceded by seven years the Supreme Court *Brown v. Board of Education* decision on May 17, 1954 outlawing segregation in public education.

Just after the *Chicago American* article ran, the Major League Baseball Players Association demanded that the teams do more to integrate spring training.¹² But knowing to whom to assign credit for desegregating training in Florida is difficult, particularly when seemingly everyone claimed it. Bill White, in 1961 a first baseman with the St. Louis Cardinals and later president of the National League (Randolph, 1992),¹³ said he remembers telling a UPI reporter about the St. Petersburg Yacht Club issuing invitations only to white players for its annual “Salute to Baseball” breakfast (Aaron, 1992, p. 154.) The reporter, Joe Reichler, ran a story about segregation during spring training, a story White credits for getting “the ball rolling. .

. . . After Reichler's article, there was a lot of pressure in St. Louis to do something about the segregation."

White said he believed his words to UPI sparked his club to act. The Cardinals became the first team after the Dodgers to take dramatic action, leasing an entire hotel in St. Petersburg and housing all of its players there. Aaron's autobiography, in which White gives his account of the Salute to Baseball breakfast, does not dispute White's account. White, along with black teammates Curt Flood and Bob Gibson, certainly had influence, and undoubtedly contributed to the Cardinals' actions. But according to Aaron, White had the exchange with Reichler during spring training in March, fully two months after Smith launched the *Chicago American's* campaign.

White spoke also to the *Pittsburgh Courier* about the yacht club incident specifically and about segregation in general for an article that appeared on March 18. He told the *Courier* that the segregation policies were "gnawing at my heart. When will we be made to feel like humans?" But in Davis's journal article, "Desegregating Major League Spring Training Sites," the author described White as merely "following the lead of Florida black citizens who were engaged in their own struggle for equality" (1992, p. 145.) Documenting the activism of these citizens, most notably local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People members Ralph Wimbish and Robert Swain, is the main purpose of Davis's article, in which it is argued that Wimbish and Swain were the change agents. Because the claim relies wholly for its veracity on testimony from Wimbish and Swain, who were interviewed about their efforts by Davis 30 years after the fact, it is difficult to dispute or to verify. Clearly grass roots efforts contributed greatly to the pressure the individual clubs felt, especially in St. Petersburg by the New York Yankees. Davis states that the NAACP's Florida headquarters joined Wimbish and Swain, hoping to generate national attention and support (p. 148).

Players seemed to recognize the importance of the *Chicago American* campaign and its precedence before other efforts, and the chronology of events points more to Smith's role and that of the *Chicago American* in leading the way, however instrumental and successful Wimbish, Swain, and others in the St. Petersburg community happened to have been. According to the *New York Times*, Wimbish held a press conference on January 31, 1961 to announce that he would no longer find housing in St. Petersburg for the New York Yankees, most notably for black catcher and superstar Elston Howard (*New York Times*, 1 February 1961).

Yankee shortstop Tony Kubek remembered that Howard and teammate Hector Lopez stayed with a family in a black neighborhood. "I don't remember any of us inviting [Howard] out for dinner," Kubek said. "We all liked Ellie." Mickey Mantle, in fact, did dine with Howard, as the catcher later remembered. Howard's wife explained to Kubek that discrimination "was the law of the land. Elston knew it. I knew it. Every black person in Florida lived with it." Lopez remembered having to stay in a black undertaker's home in Fort Meyers, a housing situation that was "quiet because the five dead bodies in they had in the house didn't make much noise" (Kubek & Pluto, 1989, p. 213).

It is important to note, however, that Smith and the *Chicago American* launched their campaign on January 23, before Wimbish's press conference. It is unknown how interrelated Smith's coverage in Chicago was with local efforts in St. Petersburg and other spring training host cities in Florida. According to Davis, the NAACP worked closely with the *Pittsburgh Courier* and Smith's replacement at that paper, Mal Goode. He described the *Courier* as acting as a "public voice for the NAACP in their activities in Florida" (p. 153). This characterization,

too, depends on a long memory, however, in this case of former Florida NAACP field secretary Robert Saunders three decades after the struggle.

According to Smith, in two weeks the *Chicago American* campaign had managed to garner national support and had led to a competition among newspapers as to which one should get the credit for the progress made thus far. More research is necessary to verify this claim, but in an editorial in that same February 6 ed., *Chicago American* publisher Stuart List hailed the advances toward desegregation made in the two weeks since the paper's campaign began and pledged that his newspaper, "which began this campaign for equal treatment, will continue to watch developments carefully and report them fully."

Several aspects of Smith's first salvo on January 23 are worth noting. By using personal pronouns, as in, "his patience is growing short," Smith claimed to speak for all Negro players, something few writers could have credibly done. Second, Smith relied exclusively on unattributed sources, presumably to avoid putting the players in jeopardy with their respective clubs. This method also inferred a high level of cooperation and confidentiality with the players. Third, he referenced first-hand experiences, in particular, his successful alliance with Jackie Robinson in breaking the color barrier, which added weight to his description of the problem and to his very specific plan for taking steps to solve it. Smith had a proven track record spurring baseball to change.

Finally, Smith prodded baseball's owners gently and carefully, proposing humble first steps and saying that the black players "realize, of course, that the owners are not responsible for their plight." The players were going about their struggle "in their own quiet way" and not enlisting the aid of the NAACP "or any other such group." It was this conciliatory tone that Ernie Banks had praised. Similar to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s espousal of pacifism, Smith's approach was one of conciliation, give-and-take, and dialogue rather than direct confrontation and protest.

Spring training was more than four weeks away at the time of the initial article, and though the players, according to Smith, wanted to avert a "fiery debate" over civil rights in baseball, they were "tired of being second class citizen(s) in spring training." Afforded respectability during the regular season, all the black players wanted was "the same treatment in the South during spring training that they had earned in the north," Smith wrote. This meant no longer staying in flophouses and eating in second-rate restaurants. The article contained muted but perceptible threats, such as when Smith cautioned that "at the moment he [the black ballplayer] is not belligerent. He is merely seeking help and sympathy, and understanding, and a solution . . . (but) his patience is growing short."

Now that black players could eat and sleep in the same hotels with their teammates in cities such as St. Louis, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, they turned "southward to correct the evils they encounter there," Smith wrote in the approximately 40-inch article, which was entitled, "Negro Players Want Dixie Rights." One of the more bothersome inequities for black players, according to Smith, was the inability of black players to spend spring with their families. It was customary for white players, who were put up by the teams in nice hotels close to the training field, to bring their families and make a vacation out of the six weeks spent south. But the Negro players, facing poor housing conditions and discrimination in town, naturally were reluctant to bring family members into a hostile environment.

In the Davis article, Elston Howard is quoted telling the *St. Petersburg Times* that white players could make all their arrangements in advance through an agent. Howard, however, had to wait to see what living conditions he could secure before bringing his family down. And Robinson, in *Baseball Has Done It*, tells the story of another player whose wife left because of

her fear of going into town and facing discrimination (p. 115). "Most black players kept their families isolated from these problems by simply leaving them at home," Davis wrote (p. 156).

The plan Smith proposed, citing the players as its source, included meeting with club owners to discuss the problem, giving player representatives the authority to negotiate and make decisions, and selecting one former player to explain the black players' position to baseball's top executives. Organizing the article like a legal argument, Smith then described the contributions black players had made since Robinson broke through in 1947, specifically those of Hank Aaron, Willie Mays, Ernie Banks, and Minnie Minoso.¹⁴ Echoing Robinson's argument in *The Sporting News* in 1956, Smith also cited the money clubs spent in and attracted to the Florida towns in which they trained, revenues few towns would have wanted to lose.

California towns, for example, would be glad to host spring training, he wrote. Smith followed up two weeks later with a deeply personal article on February 5 that gave the January 23 story full credit for no fewer than eight steps major league baseball and its teams were taking. Among them were hotel changes for the Chicago White Sox, owned at the time by a long-time critic of segregation, Bill Veeck. The White Sox were in negotiations with the Sarasota Terrace, where white players stayed in Sarasota, Fla., during camp to win accommodations for six black Chicago players (Banks, 1989, p. 116).

Black players had to find accommodations with area families, like Lucille and Chester Willis in Tucson, Ariz. The Willises housed black Cleveland Indians players for spring training camps during the years 1949-51. Among those players hosted were Doby, Minoso, Luke Easter, Jose Santiago, and Art Wilson. For the six weeks of training camp, the couple "moved the piano from the living room to the back porch to make space, and sent the two oldest of their three children to their grandmother's, in San Diego" (Banks, 1989, p. 116). So large at 6-foot-4, 220 pounds Easter had to shower at the ballpark because the Willis' bathtub couldn't hold him. Banks quotes Sam Lacy, who noted the irony of the players playing, showering, and dressing with their white teammates, but becoming "colored" upon stepping outside the locker room." Tucson's hotels began desegregating in the early 1950s.

According to Smith, Veeck also moved his team from Miami's McAllister Hotel to the more tolerant Biscayne Terrace hotel for a pair of games two months later, in April, against Baltimore. According to Jack Davis' article, however, Veeck was responding to the Wimbish press conference held on January 31 when he canceled reservations in March at the McAllister. Smith's article, however, was published on February 6, indicating that Veeck canceled the reservations long before March and possibly even before the Wimbish press conference.

Also, according to Smith's February 6 story, the Cubs made the decision to house all of its players together in Mesa, Arizona, at the Maricopa Inn, and not to play exhibition games in cities where black Cubs players would be forced to sleep in separate quarters. Baseball's commissioner, Ford Frick, had said four days prior to Smith's story that he was "sympathetic" with the problems of the black players. Lee MacPhail, at that time general manager of the Baltimore Orioles, also reported that he was working to keep his team together at a Miami hotel (*Chicago American*, February 6, 1961).

Finally, Smith listed a formal statement from New York Yankees president Dan Topping that the team wanted all its players training in St. Petersburg to "live under one roof." Davis claims that Topping's announcement was "in response to Wimbish's demands" made at the January 31 press conference in St. Petersburg (Davis, p. 152). In this instance, it is possible Davis is correct. According to his article, the *Fort Lauderdale News* quoted an anonymous

source “close to the Yankee organization” as saying that Wimbish’s demands had backed Topping against a wall.

As both Smith and the *New York Times* reported, the Yankees’ St. Petersburg home, the Hotel Soreno, and the Cardinals spring home, St. Pete’s Vinoy Park Hotel, both of which were owned by the same company, had no intention of changing their policies, advising the two clubs to “look for other hotels” (*Chicago American*, February 6, 1961; *New York Times*, February 2, 1961). The Yankees did just that, moving to Fort Lauderdale and ending 36 years spent training in St. Petersburg. Topping, however, claimed it had nothing to do with segregation (Davis, p. 159).

By April 1961, Smith was with the White Sox in Sarasota, Fla., documenting firsthand the conditions black Sox players were facing with a flood of almost daily copy. This was a situation far different than Smith worked with at the *Pittsburgh Courier*, when his copy was printed only weekly. The Sarasota Terrace Hotel refused accommodations both to the black players and to Smith, citing economic reasons for refusing blacks. The owners were afraid of losing business from white guests if the hotels risked integration (*Chicago American*, April 3, 1961).

According to Smith, Veeck was working hard to change the situation, as was the Sarasota Chamber of Commerce. Smith chronicled the tedium he and the players faced at night. Black players staying in a white section of town had few recreational options. Public eating places, bowling alleys, and most taxis were off limits. There were no accommodations for family members. And special permission was required even to visit the Sarasota Terrace, where their white teammates were housed (*Chicago American*, April 4, 1961). Smith also reported from Florida the story of the two white hotel owners who were willing to house Chicago’s black players, a couple isolated both by their white neighbors and by civic leaders (*Chicago American*, April 6, 1961).

Smith’s campaign picked up a huge endorsement in June 1961 when the Major League Players Association formally joined the struggle. The MLBPA’s legal representative said the association not only approved of the campaign, but said “the issue raised by *Chicago American*” would be “thoro[ugh]ly discussed” at its annual meeting in August (*Chicago American*, June 19). Presenting the players’ grievances at the August meeting would be Bill White representing the National League and Bill Bruton, an outfielder with the Detroit Tigers, representing the American League. The official, Robert Cannon, expressed to the newspaper at the time that after discussions with most of the team owners he was confident the problem could be solved to everyone’s satisfaction. The owners, Cannon said, agreed that the black players had a valid complaint and that something had to be done. Just prior to the meeting in Boston, Smith published the thoughts of several top black players on segregation during spring. Mino, Howard, Aaron, and others went on the record with their grievances. Their anger and thinning patience were clear.

At the same time, the Cardinals, Yankees, and Orioles announced they had secured integrated spring training housing, but under different circumstances. The Cardinals benefited from the Yankees’ decision to vacate St. Petersburg for Fort Lauderdale. The town did not want to lose another club, so the Cards were given permission to keep its team together (*Chicago American*, June 31). The Braves moved their living quarters from Bradenton to nearby Palmetto to keep their team together. MacPhail’s Orioles, meanwhile, finally came to terms with their Miami hotel.

The White Sox during this time, in mid-season, were still in negotiations with the Sarasota Terrace, but in November, the club announced it was buying the hotel outright “so that all of their players can live under the same roof during their training season” (*Chicago American*, November 9). Smith called it an “extreme step” that came as “a direct result of the campaign waged thru [sic] last season” by the *Chicago American*. In response to the hotel purchase, the city of Sarasota agreed to chip in three baseball fields and clubhouse accommodations, according to Smith. There still were teams with segregated spring training, including Washington (Pompano Beach, Fla.), Minnesota (Orlando), Detroit (Lakeland), and Kansas City (West Palm Beach), but Smith reported that he had checked in with each team and that all were “taking measures” to end the segregation.

Full integration throughout spring training in Florida and Arizona would require two more years, but Smith and the *Chicago American* should be credited for helping to first begin the debate and then to raise it to a national level. In his obituary of Smith, Meyer wrote that Meyer, Smith was a “leader in getting the big leagues integrated” who “pushed hard for equal housing during spring training, winning that battle in 1963” (1994, p. D1). Smith helped to legitimize black players’ complaints and to de-stigmatize them by providing context and first-hand experience, by avoiding winner-take-all confrontations, and by acknowledging progress when and where he saw it.

Areas for future research include examining the level of cooperation between the press and grass roots efforts in the Florida communities, the reactions by the individual local communities in Florida and their governments, and the degree to which coverage in the *Chicago American* was picked up by other papers, how often it was reprinted, and in what ways it was treated. The stance taken by the *Chicago American* so early in the effort and then sustained is significant enough, but additional research is necessary to find greater evidence of the paper’s impact. This study depends greatly on evidence found in the *Chicago American*’s own pages, its writers, and their attributed sources. It is an acknowledged trap journalism historians fall into to assume the media are central to historical events, movements, or social change, but in this case there is corroborating evidence of a significant contribution, if not a decisive one.

As Smith did during his entire career, he gave black athletes a voice. He also kept individual teams accountable as they worked to change their training conditions. As *Chicago American* writer Milton Gross put it in December 1961, perhaps baseball would have made the changes without the newspaper’s pressure and accountability, but the swift changes big league clubs made in 1961 to breach Jim Crow barriers, collectively, were “a great step forward” (*Chicago American*, December 1).

Upon Smith’s induction into baseball’s Hall of Fame, the *Chicago Sun-Times* credited him for having “led the campaign for equal treatment of black baseball players in housing and meals during spring training and on the road” (Ettkin, 1994, p. 9). Prominent black players, including several future hall-of-famers, recognized Smith for the campaign, players such as Banks, Doby, the American League’s first black, and Minoza, who integrated the White Sox.¹⁵ The Major League Baseball Players Association cited the *Chicago American* for raising the issue of conditions black players faced each spring, pledging to join the fight. And an examination of the chronology and chain of events point to Smith as an author and a principal sustainer of the fight for equal rights and fair conditions.

As it had in 1945-47, baseball led and in some ways paved the way for society to re-evaluate and, ultimately, to begin formally abolishing segregation. Upon Smith’s death in 1972, the *Chicago Defender*, a leading black newspaper, wrote that Smitty had “a vision of an

American society, where ability, skill and character are the sole measures of a man and not the color of his skin. He pursued that idealism . . . not with the militancy of the new breed of black spokesman, rather with the calm and patient logic of a wise man whose vision was sharp enough to see the light at the end of the tunnel. He has made his contribution. History will not pass him by” (Reisler, 1994, p. 34).¹⁶

Notes

1. The primary source documents for this paper were the Wendell Smith Papers, which are housed and arranged at the National Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, N.Y. These papers include biographical material, correspondence, and newspaper clippings of Smith’s columns for the *Courier* and *Chicago American* newspapers. The correspondence dates from 1945 to 1949 and includes letters between Smith, Rickey, and Robinson. The newspaper clippings are more comprehensive, covering 1943 through 1961. A majority of the clippings are Smith’s columns for the *Courier*, the nation’s top black weekly during Robinson’s historic breakthrough (Entine, 2000),ⁱ and for *Chicago American*. Smith’s papers were donated in 1996 by Wyonella Smith, widow of Wendell Smith. The material in the informational folder includes items photocopied from Hall of Fame Resources. Papers were arranged and described by Corey Seeman, January 27, 1997.
2. See, for example, Barber, 1982; Frommer, 1982; Mann, 1950; Peterson, 1970; Ward and Burns, 1994; and Robinson, 1972.
3. Writer Milton Gross wrote an obituary, albeit a bit prematurely, for “that quaint southern custom” of segregation, saying that it is being breached . . . it is a great step forward.”
4. Interestingly, another of Robinson’s autobiographies scarcely mentions Smith, but then *Jackie Robinson: my own story* was an account “as told to” Wendell Smith, a man disinclined to bring attention to himself. According to Smith’s wife, Wyonella Smith, her husband was “very soft-spoken” and very rarely talked about what he did for and with Robinson (Meyer, 1994).
5. Correspondence dates from 1945 to 1949 and includes letters between Smith, Branch Rickey, and Jackie Robinson.
6. According to a December 11, 1943 article in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the Commissioner of baseball, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, met with members of the Black Newspaper Publishers Association during baseball’s winter meetings. Smith had worked hard behind the scenes to enable this meeting, at which he hoped to influence Landis on behalf of black players. Landis, quoted in the *Courier* article, told the black press that it was his understanding that there had never been a rule “formal or informal . . . written or unwritten . . . against the hiring of Negroes in the major leagues.” Lewis challenged Landis, however, saying that he believed there indeed was a “gentlemen’s agreement that no Negro players be hired,” calling it an “unfair and unjust attitude of organized baseball toward Americans of color.”
7. Other books on the subject by Tygiel include: *The Jackie Robinson reader* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1983) and *Pastime: baseball as history* (New York and Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2000).
8. It is unknown why Davis quoted a *Courier* article in connection with Smith, who by that time was writing for the *Chicago American*. It is possible, perhaps even probable

- that the *Courier* reprinted some of Smith's articles first appearing in the *American*, a common custom of the time and for black weekly newspapers.
9. For more on conditions and daily life in the South during spring training, see Tygiel (1997), p. 303-27.
 10. When this article was being completed, Aaron still was reigning homerun champion, but San Francisco Giant Barry Bonds was closing in on Aaron's 755 career total.
 11. According to Tygiel, the 1887 season represented the "apex of black acceptance" in baseball (14). Cap Anson, manager and star player of the Chicago White Stockings that season, is blamed for leading the segregation of baseball and for being "one of the prime architects of baseball's Jim Crow policies." Moses Fleetwood Walker was the last black player in major league baseball, hitting .216 for Syracuse of the International League in 1889. His release began a 57-year exclusion of blacks.
 12. This statement by MLBPA director Robert Cannon is stunning given Cannon's well-known sympathies with the team owners. Judge Cannon had aspirations of becoming Commissioner of baseball, a pursuit wholly dependent on the owners. Cannon would never become Commissioner, however ("A history of baseball disputes," *USA Today*, March 19, 1990, 8C).
 13. When White was named president of the National League in 1989, he became the first black to head a major professional sports league and the highest-ranking black official in the history of pro sports.
 14. Baseball historian Bill James conducted a fascinating statistical study in 1987 comparing 54 black rookies with 54 white rookies, expecting to find "nothing in particular or nothing beyond the outside range of chance," (Entine, 2000). James found that the black players went on to have better playing careers in 44 of the 54 cases, played 48% more games, had 66% more hits and clubbed 66% more home runs. "Nobody likes to write about race," he said, but "the results were astonishing."
 15. Banks was the first black to play for the Chicago Cubs, signing in 1953. He played 19 seasons, set a record for shortstops with 512 home runs, and was inducted into the Hall of Fame in 1977. Doby signed with Cleveland late in the 1947 season, Robinson's first with the Dodgers, and played 13 seasons. Howard of the Yankees was that club's first black player, signing in 1955 and playing 14 seasons and 10 World Series. In the famous 1961 season, he batted .348, second highest in the league, and would win the MVP award two seasons later. Cuban-born Minnie Minoso played at least one game in five different decades, beginning with Cleveland in 1949 and finishing with the White Sox in 1980 (from *The Baseball Encyclopedia*, 1996).
 16. J. Entine (2000, p. 182). Entine also wrote that the *Courier* was "considered the most influential of all black newspapers in the United States."

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Solving the Negro Problem: Social Commentary in the Journalistic Writings of Joel Chandler Harris

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While the controversial themes of Joel Chandler Harris' famous Brer Rabbit and Uncle Remus tales have been extensively debated, Harris' journalistic writings about the "Negro Problem" have been largely overlooked. During his 24-year tenure at the Atlanta Constitution as associate editor and lead editorial writer, Harris addressed a range of issues affecting Blacks, and later wrote a series of popular articles on Negro issues for major publications. Harris' commentaries are examined within the context of Booker T. Washington's ideology of racial compromise popularized by his 1895 Atlanta Cotton States Exposition speech, the historically Black Atlanta University-sponsored Negro problem studies under the direction of W.E.B. Du Bois, the Atlanta Constitution's sensationalized coverage of the 1899 lynching of Sam Hose, and racial tensions that erupted in the 1906 Atlanta riot. Harris' complex views of race elude definitive interpretation, yet his views of liberal learning coincided with those of progressive educators who promoted the role of intellectual autonomy in advancing the Black race.

Four color sketches of unmistakably Black children learning to read and spell hang over the fireplace in the master bedroom of *Wren's Nest*, the former home of famed folklorist and Uncle Remus creator, Joel Chandler Harris. During the 1880s Harris commissioned the sketches, noting the artist's "conception of the negro is perfect."¹ Harris seemed to believe in the power of the written word to inform and liberate all minds, yet his conflicting views of race, and the contexts in which they were expressed, annul definitive conclusions about the effects of his writings.

While the controversial themes and interpretations of Harris' famous Brer Rabbit and Uncle Remus folk tales, and the impact of these tales on the American social conscience, have been extensively debated (Bickley, 1987; 1986-87; Mixon, 1990; Turner, 1968), Harris' journalistic writings about the Negro problem have been largely overlooked. During his 24-year tenure at the *Atlanta Constitution* (1876 to 1900) as associate editor and lead editorial writer Harris addressed a range of issues affecting Blacks. Between 1900 and 1904, Harris also wrote a series of popular articles on Negro issues for major publications addressing the then increasingly controversial theme of race relations.

This article examines Harris' journalistic commentaries dating from post-slavery Reconstruction era through the early 20th century that reflect prevalent dialogues of the day about the best social strategies for Negro advancement within the United States. The most persistent of these dialogues involved questions about ideal types of education, voting rights, and causes of lynching and crime, questions that were inseparable from the more general issue of race. Harris' commentaries are examined within the context of and with specific references to Booker T. Washington's ideology of racial compromise popularized by his 1895 Atlanta Cotton States Exposition speech, the historically Black Atlanta University-sponsored Negro problem studies under the direction of W.E.B. Du Bois that examined socio-economic conditions facing Blacks,

the *Atlanta Constitution*'s sensationalized coverage of the 1899 lynching of Sam Hose, and the racial divide that culminated in the 1906 Atlanta riot.

The primary sources for this analysis of Harris' representative journalism addressing the Negro problem and related race-themed issues are editorials attributed to Harris by biographer Julia Collier Harris in her one-volume collection of his early, mid, and late career writings, *Joel Chandler Harris: Editor and Essayist* (1931), and her publication *The Life and Letters of Joel Chandler Harris* (1918) that contains support letters from southern Black educators who regarded Harris as an ally and friend of the race; *Atlanta Constitution* editorials and commentaries published during Harris' tenure that acutely echo his views published elsewhere in a variety of articles and interviews; and Harris' bylined articles and editorials that appeared in major publications including the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Mowing Down Prejudices that Rattle in the Wind: Harris as a Social Progressive

Early in his newspaper career, Harris positioned himself as a socially progressive editor who aimed to set a tone of reconciliation between the South and North, particularly on the issues of racial prejudice and class. In a well-known and frequently cited 1878 editorial, he wrote about "mowing down prejudices that rattle in the wind." He stated:

An editor must have a purpose...I shudder when I think of the opportunities the editors in Georgia are allowing to slip by...never was a time when an editor with a purpose could accomplish more for his state and country that just as present. What a legacy for one's conscience to know that one has been instrumental in mowing down the old prejudices that rattle in the wind like weeds.²

Noted Harris scholars have critically analyzed the socio-political context in which Harris espoused his New South editorial ideology while addressing the complex Negro question. Bickley aptly notes that Harris, a segregationist, advocated racial justice and economic advancement for Blacks when white editors did not, and in writing from a late 19th not 20th century perspective, "his opinions were progressive for his day even if they fall short of the liberal thinking of our own time" (1987, p. 35). Brasch's study of Harris' journalism points to consistent efforts on the part of the editor to present balanced discussions of race relations in general, and in particular, the value of education and voting rights for Blacks (2000). Both Bickley and Brasch rely heavily on Julia Collier Harris' 1918 and 1931 seminal works. A journalist, Julia Collier Harris also was Harris' daughter-in-law. Her books contain substantive examples of Harris' optimistic assertions that Blacks would advance socially and prosper economically within the New South if afforded opportunities.

During 1883, Julia Collier Harris notes, newspapers nationwide ran numerous editorials addressing the future of Blacks in the South, and in particular, the necessity of education and voting rights. The *Atlanta Constitution* editorial staff, under the direction Harris, challenged a series of *New York Sun* editorials that were pessimistic about "the probable effect of education on the negro...that educating the negro will merely increase his capacity for evil" (Harris, 1931, p. 103). In response, the *Constitution* editorial vigorously denied the claim asserting that if "education of the negro is not the chief solution of the problem that confronts the white people of the South then there is no other conceivable solution and there is nothing ahead but political chaos and demoralization" (p. 103). While promoting the value of education for Negroes in his editorials, Harris assiduously warned against "ignorant suffrage" (a phenomenon he labeled a "continual menace") that used Blacks as a political football for Northern interests. This was a

popular sentiment reflected in most southern Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction journalism and a theme Harris would revisit in his journalistic writings through the turn of the 20th century.

Atlanta Constitution editorials published on May 11 and May 18 in 1883, and directly attributed to Harris, reiterate his well-intentioned albeit paternalistic views of solving the Negro problem. The May 11th editorial states:

There is no reason why any Southern man, woman or child should have any prejudice against the negro race. There is no ground for it, no excuse for it; for there is nothing more pathetic in history than the fact that the negroes, with a full knowledge of all the circumstances (of the Civil War), remained faithful to the interests of the Southern people to the end...the negro has been the creature of circumstances over which he has no control. He was not responsible for slavery and he is not responsible for his freedom; nor is he responsible for the problem of which he is one of the factors...It is the opinion of the *Constitution* that the Southern people will solve the *problem* in the best interests of both races and of the entire country. (Harris, 1931, pp. 105-6)

The May 18th editorial continues the discussion under the headline “The South and the Negro,” asserting that “when all is said and done, the negro is in the South to stay, mainly because the South is dependent upon him as an agricultural laborer...” and that it is incumbent upon white Southerners “to provide the right kind of education for the negroes, lest outsiders take it upon themselves to force foolish or even hostile theories upon the ignorant blacks under the guise of education” (Harris, p. 106). While Harris believed that education would help solve the Negro problem, he “never entirely freed himself of a conviction that the white race would have to patronize the black, while keeping both races socially distinct, if the Negro were going to triumph over inherent ignorance and weakness” (Bickley, 1987, p. 36). Indeed, throughout his journalistic writings, Harris espoused the view that southern whites, not the federal government or northern philanthropists, were crucial to the salvation and advancement of Blacks. In an exhaustive editorial, “The Negro Question: The Southern View,” published in *The Christian Union*³ Harris discussed this and similar themes he would reiterate in virtually all of his editorials and articles on the topic.

While Harris and the majority white press (southern and northern) debated the implications of education and suffrage for Blacks during the period following the Civil War through the 1890s, historically Black colleges and universities were evolving and promulgating widely accepted (in both Black and white sectors of society) philosophies of the role of education and social research in uplifting the race. The teaching and scholarly advances occurring at Atlanta University are of particular interest and relevance to this examination of Harris’ journalistic commentary on the Negro problem.

Since its founding in 1865 as a normal school, the principal work of Atlanta University (which eventually evolved as the first historically Black institution of higher learning to grant terminal degrees) was to train teachers for Black public schools and colleges. Under the aegis of sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois, the university conducted periodic conferences from which emerged a series of annual reports addressing almost every aspect of Black life, including morality, urbanization, business, college education, church, and crime. The Negro studies that began in 1897 established Atlanta University as the first institution in the south to engage in scientific sociological research on the Negro (Bacote, 1969). These studies framed and influenced many inquiries and studies addressing America’s race problem, and increasingly Du Bois was regarded

as a respected authority on the Negro problem. Harris often cited Du Bois' work in *Atlanta Constitution* editorials.

Similarly, *The Bulletin of Atlanta University*, a publication that contained commentaries on political and social issues, reprinted numerous Harris editorials citing the university's work in uplifting the Black race, as well as other *Atlanta Constitution* columns and articles pertaining to educational and social issues affecting Black life. Of particular note are the *Bulletin* reprints of the *Atlanta Constitution's* February 14, 1894, editorial heralding Atlanta University's excellent "teachers, pupils and their progress" in solving the problem of colored education ("Boston and Atlanta"), and the *Constitution's* January 1898 editorial referring to the informative nature of Du Bois' studies of Negro life and how such inquiries provide the best opportunities for understanding the conditions under which Negroes live ("A Study of Negro Life in the South").

During this period that Harris wrote about and Du Bois supervised studies of the Negro problem, Booker T. Washington (commonly referred to as "Booker Washington" by Harris) advanced an ideology of racial compromise popularized by his 1895 Atlanta Cotton States Exposition speech,⁴ an ideology Harris would publicly acknowledge and support as an ideal model for Black leadership. Washington argued that Blacks should temporarily forgo political power, insistence on civil rights and intellectual education, and instead concentrate their energies on industrial education and traditional trades.

The gist of Washington's ideology that most appealed to Harris, southern whites, and industrial interests that advocated the availability of a mass Black labor force, is captured in frequently cited assertions such as the following:

Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.⁵

On September 20, 1895, the day after Washington's address, the *Atlanta Constitution* ran an editorial Julia Collier Harris directly attributes to Harris that lauded Washington as "a wise counselor and a safe leader," and that if his message "could reach the hearts and touch the minds of the colored people, it would undoubtedly accomplish great good" (Harris, 1931, p. 109). Within this editorial Harris seized the opportunity to reassert how northern interference, in disrupting the social order and advocating political rights for Blacks, contributed to the "great problem known as the negro question," (p. 109) noting that

...there never was any problem in this question until certain Northern politicians insisted that the property and intelligence of the South should be placed in charge of those who had no property and intelligence. This was a little too much of a good thing, and out of it has grown what is known as the negro problem. Professor Washington solves it in a few terse words, and what he says ought to illuminate the minds of those Northern philanthropists who imagine that the political advancement of the negro means his social advancement...While he may have temporary success as a politician in an abnormal period, he must surely find his proper level. And his proper level is that which he has won, and must win, through the work of his hands and his brains. (p. 109)

Four years later Harris and the *Atlanta Constitution* editorial staff would evoke and continuously assert their favored Washington, “the wise counselor and safe leader,” viewpoint during a time of intense racial violence against Blacks.

Unhesitatingly Living Up to a Paternalistic Role: The Lynching of Sam Hose and Hatred on Display

On April 23, 1899, Sam Hose, a Black farm worker, was tortured, lynched and burned in the town of Palmetto, several miles southwest of Atlanta. His alleged crime: killing a white man over wages owed him and raping the man’s wife. The next day Du Bois left his home near the Atlanta University campus and began walking downtown. His destination: the offices of the *Atlanta Constitution*. He intended to introduce himself to Harris and discuss ways, possibly through an editorial series, to address the lynching problem.

By the time of Sam Hose’s murder, Du Bois was thoroughly familiar with the lynching of Black men accused of assaults on white women, a phenomenon so pervasive throughout the south; his knowledge partly informed by Ida B. Wells’ anti-lynching discourse that as early as 1892 posited that lynching was an excuse to eliminate Blacks who acquired wealth and property, and thus keep the race terrorized (Royster, 1997). Du Bois’ own assessment of the circumstances surrounding lynching suggested that disputes over wages and work conditions, rather than rape, more typically explained cases like Sam Hose who likely committed an act of violence against his white employer “in the course of defending his right to disagree, or in refusing to be physically intimidated,” and that the rape charge had been “trumped up to arouse the worst passions of the countryside” (Dray, 2003, p. 7). Du Bois argued:

The man wouldn't pay him, so they got into a fight, and the man got killed, and then, in order to arouse the neighborhood to find this man, they brought in the charge of rape. *Even from the newspapers* you could see there was no foundation to it. (p. 7)

En route downtown that April day in 1899, Du Bois suddenly became aware of some of Sam Hose’s charred remains that were on display in a white storeowner’s window. Numbed by this horror of a hate crime so prominently and publicly displayed, he immediately returned to the university. From that point forward he realized that he could no longer be “a calm, cool and detached scientist while Negroes were lynched, murdered and starved” (Du Bois, 1968, p. 222). He did not meet Harris that day, nor would he ever engage in a conversation with the associate editor whom some considered a liberal thinker of the era.

During his 1967 interview with anti-segregationist editor and publisher of the *Atlanta Constitution*, Ralph McGill, Du Bois, then 95 years old, reflected on Harris’ purported ideology for addressing the Negro problem in general, and, in particular, the newspaper’s handling of the Hose case. Of Harris and his *Atlanta Constitution* associates he said:

...they had no question in their minds about the status of the Negro as a separated, lesser class. They perhaps were kind men ...They unhesitatingly lived up to a paternalistic role, a sort of *nobles oblige*. But that was all. The status slowly had become immutable insofar as the South’s leaders of that time were concerned. (p. 78)

Du Bois' reaction to the grisly hate crime and his cynicism of the agendas of Harris and the *Atlanta Constitution* is well placed. In the days leading up to and following the lynching, the newspaper ran headlines and articles containing incendiary language that most often were accompanied by equally provocative editorials that justified white mob violence, based largely on the rape claim, and placed the primary blame of Hose's fate on the Black community.

Known as a progressive-minded editor who opposed lynching and advocated social rights for Blacks, Harris presided over the content of the *Atlanta Constitution* editorials during one of the newspaper's most sensationalized coverage periods. The overall tone of the Sam Hose coverage and the editorials that included inflammatory, and, at times, racist language, may have caused some dissonance within Harris who, since the late 1880s, had deplored lynching as "a demoralizing and dangerous form of barbarism" (Harris, 1931, p. 102). A January 4, 1880, editorial he wrote for the *Atlanta Constitution* expressed a vigorous protest against lynching, that, according to Julia Collier Harris, was precipitated by an 1879 national lynching report disclosing 74 lynchings, four of which had occurred in Georgia. Harris wrote: "These figures are a disgrace to the country...Judge Lynch should have no more excuse to show his head in Georgia ... or any other civilized state" (p. 102).

On the same day Du Bois observed Hose's charred remains in the store window, the April 24th ed. of the *Atlanta Constitution* carried a detailed, front-page account of the grisly murder. The bold-lettered headline and sub headline capture the outcome:

**Sam Holt, ⁶ Murderer and Assailant, Burned at the Stake at Newman
His Ears Were Cut Off Before He Was Killed and He Suffered Untold and Indescribable
Agonies**

Readers were provided details of Hose's torture and death before an audience of 2,000 people who "watched the flames eat way his flesh, saw his body mutilated by knives and witnessed the contortions of his body in his extreme agony..." ("Sam Holt," 1899, p. 1). Of particular note is a detailed statement from Georgia governor Allen D. Candler, widely known to endorse lynching as a method of controlling black criminality, that echoes the prevailing attitudes conveyed by the *Atlanta Constitution's* coverage and editorials. Candler admonished law-abiding Blacks to "separate themselves from the lawless and criminal element" and to "show a disposition to protect whites against lawless blacks" in order to "secure protection against lawless whites..." (p. 1).

The Chicago-based detective whom Wells sent to cover the case provided an independent account of the torture and murder as well as an analysis of the press coverage, noted that the "awful deed was suggested, encouraged and made possible by the daily press of Atlanta, Georgia, until the burning actually occurred, and then it immediately condoned the burning by a hysterical plea to 'consider the facts' (Wells, 1899). Indeed, the *Atlanta Constitution* April 24th editorial admonished readers to pardon the newspaper when reviewing the details as presented to "Keep the facts in mind!" and "remember that shocking degradation which was inflicted by the black beast, his victim swimming in her husband's warm blood as the brute held her to the floor!" ("Keep the Facts in View," 1899, p. 1).

From the beginning when Hose was accused of killing his white employer and assaulting his wife, the *Atlanta Constitution* predicted his lynching and suggested burning and torture, in the April 15th headline "Negro Will Probably Be Burned" and in the body of the story that boldly stated: "Several modes of death have been suggested for him, but it seems to be the universal

opinion that he will be burned at the stake and probably tortured before burned” (“Capture of Sam Hose,” 1899).

The same ed. ran an editorial containing excerpts from North Carolina pastor Robert Campbell’s pamphlet *Some Aspects of the Race Problem* that purport to explain the socio-political complexities of trouble between the races. In a voice that echoes Harris’ previously and subsequently published views about northern political influence over Blacks, the editorial is emphatic that such influence “had the effect of making the negro and the southern white man political enemies” (“Some Aspects,” 1899, p. 6) and out of this problem had grown nearly all of the trouble between the races, including lawlessness among Blacks that explained, even justified, the propensity of whites to resort to lynching in order to stem the lawlessness. The editorial asserts the need for whites to restore control in order to maintain “that mutual confidence and friendly feeling that marked the relations of the two races in slavery,” and that “Booker Washington, that clear-headed, right-thinking negro, sees the point very clearly, and when he perceives the truth he is prompt to utter it” (p. 6).

The next day, April 16th, the headlines and coverage continued to inflame and encourage vigilante violence. The headlines read: “Excitement Still Continues Intense,” “It Is Openly Declared That if Sam Hose Is Brought in Alive He Will Be Burned.” A continuation of the lawlessness angle, the story states that Sam Hose, when burned at the stake will be “an example to members of his race who are said to have been causing the residents of this vicinity trouble for some time” (“Hose is a Will O’ the Wisp,” 1899, p. 2). Furthermore, Blacks are implicated as accessories to Hose’s crime. The story stated “...it is very probable that Hose will make a fight for his life, as he has probably already been warned by negroes that it is the intention of his captors to burn him at the stake” (p. 2).

The April 17th lead story predicts Hose will be caught by nightfall and made to “pay” for his crime (“Hose May,” 1899), while an editorial revisits the issue of justifiable divergence from lawful process in the case of murder or rape, and argues for the “uncompromising pursuit, capture and punishment of the criminal” (“The Enforcement of Law,” 1899, p. 7). Like the on going daily coverage, the editorial indicts Blacks for not aggressively pursuing Hose. Instead, it states:

...it is the white men who are carrying the burden, while their wives are huddling together at home for fear, while the negro citizens and their sympathizers are sulking at home, ready to pass meaningless and false resolutions as soon as they learn that the inevitable has happened. (p. 7)

The April 18th lead story, “Circle of Vengeance Slowly Closing on Fleeing Sam Hose,” contains a full, detailed physical description of Hose. The April 19th editorial “Catch the Criminal” reprints the description and announces a reward of \$500 from the *Constitution* as an addition to those already presented by the governor (\$500) and residents of Palmetto (\$250) for a total of \$1,250. The editorial asserts that delivering criminals to authorities was the only effective way to enforce the law:

The *Constitution* makes this offer, fully convinced of the fact that we have reached a critical period—one in which the safety of the home must be measured against the chances for criminals to escape. The people of Georgia are orderly and conservative, the descendants of ancestors who have been trained in American methods for 150 years...When, therefore, a lynching occurs among such a people, it has connected with it

premeditation and purpose, and it follows that when such a people can be so moved behind it there is a motive so strong and overpowering that all the bonds of conservatism have been broken. (p. 4)

The editorial then implores its readers to pass along the description of Hose and “keep up the chase!” (p. 4). Notes Wells: “This reward, together with the persistent suggestion that the Negro be burned as soon as caught, make it plain as day that the purpose to burn Hose at the stake was formed by the leading citizens of Georgia” (1899).

Sketchings of the lynching accompany the April 25th articles “Constitution Pays its Reward of \$500 for Capture of Holt” and “What the Press and People Say About the Lynchings in Georgia” carried extensive excerpts from various newspapers including the *Boston Transcript*, *Boston Globe* and *New York Evening Post*.

Two related editorials appear. In the first “The Reward Paid” editorial the newspaper congratulates itself on issuing the reward and its leading role in aiding the capture of Hose, noting that:

The Constitution never issued a check with greater pleasure...Sam Holt might escape from half a dozen counties of contiguous territory, but he could not wholly escape that territory which is covered by *The Constitution*...All that *The Constitution* wanted was to serve the country people of the south, to whom the occasion meant so much. Safety for wives and children, security for the hearthstone! As the leader in that work of protection for the country people *The Constitution* intends to hold its place. (p. 6)

The second editorial, “Let Us Reason Together,” appears to offer a conciliatory appeal to the community to consider ways to redress perceived racial disharmony, yet reasserts the supremacy of the white race in maintaining social order, namely the protection of white women and the curtailment of the Black criminal element: “The citadel of that race is in its women, and the integrity of these women, who are the mothers of the race, is the prize for which their fathers and brothers will lay down their lives, and for the violation of which they will exact life!” (p. 6)

The editorial posits a thesis echoed in Harris’ journalistic writings: The relations between the races achieved during slavery were ideal and benefited Blacks who willingly accepted their inferiority, and that such social order minimized deviant behavior among Blacks. “The colored race, the most docile of the inferior races, content to dwell in the tents of his white neighbor, became measurably Christianized and happily adapted himself to the situation. The proportion of criminals was really small,” (p. 6) the editorial states.

The editorial further echoes Harris’ frequently stated view of how northern influences, by encouraging independence among Blacks, engendered criminality:

They (Blacks) were incited to distrust the people (whites) among whom they lived, and who alone, in the whole history of the world, had made any progress in civilizing them. They were told to assert their ‘manhood,’ to talk back, to be impertinent, and to seek the first places without invitation. Their docility was rudely shocked, and there grew up a generation of self-sufficient, aggressive negroes, who threw aside the counsels of their fathers for advice of their new and indiscreet mentors. Thus were added to the criminal class recruits with faulty education whose proudest boast was that they held the sidewalk against the white man. (p. 6)

Finally, the editorial offers a suggestion as “*A Word to the Colored 95 Per Cent*” in a voice characteristic of Harris’ proclivity for nostalgic assertions of the well-behaved Negro of the old days:

The colored 95 per cent, docile, averse to crime if left to its own impulses, has been served off from the arena of personal, political and domestic aggression. Take the aged colored man who grew up under better conditions, and he is found to be as respectful of himself as he is to others. Such a man never gets into trouble. Take his self-asserting and insolent grandson, and what a change! Let the colored 95 per cent begin its work of good citizenship by giving these people (criminals) up. Let the good men in the colored race—and there are good men in it—draw a definite line between themselves and lawbreakers. Let them aid the law by punishing the guilty 5 per cent, and thus prove, in the most effectual way, that they are not themselves sympathizers with lawlessness...(p. 6)

And the duty of the white 95 per cent, according to the editorial, is to “more thoroughly investigate the character and antecedent” of the Blacks they employ in order to avoid the trouble of a Sam Hose (p. 6).

Over the next several days, the *Atlanta Constitution* ran three editorials offering remedies to the racial dissonance, all of which emphasize similar points: the acts of Black rapists justified lynching and that in order to put an end to lynching, Blacks needed to undergo a radical change in attitude, namely cease to regard criminals as martyrs and demonstrate their willingness to cooperate with whites in the capture of Black offenders; and that Black leadership should strive to exemplify the character and comportment of Washington.

On the inter-related issues of lynching and martyrdom, the April 26th editorial “What is the Remedy?” asserts “if negroes had more leaders as honest, as earnest as Booker Washington we should presently see a great change for the better...As matters stand today, a negro who comes out of the chain gang, no matter what crime he has committed, is given an ovation by his race...” (p. 4), a view that would have to undergo a radical change. Hence, the “real remedy” to the race problem, the editorial states, “is in the hands of the negroes themselves. Whether they will have the good sense to apply it, or whether they will continue to insist that lynchings are simply a form of attack on the negro race, we do not know” (p. 4).

Continuing on this thematic line the April 28th editorial “Indiscreet Friends of the Negro” reminds readers that during the ten days Hose eluded capture, no Black leaders through sermons or editorials urged punishment or “talked in behalf of the crushed white woman—she was thrown aside by them as a creature whose woes were unworthy of consideration!” (p. 6). Again, it reiterates: “If black men...who have character and civilization do not definitely divorce themselves from the criminal element and join in with the whites in enforcing the law by delivering up criminals, then they must bear the odium which will follow” (p. 6). The editorial concludes with a recently published statement from Washington reiterating a message of submission and patience in order to succeed and gain acceptance in American society.

The same message is conveyed in the April 29th editorial “Booker Washington and His Opposites” that is vitriolic of the “sinister declarations of...negro leaders who have declared...that the charge of rape against the abandoned negro who fell victim to the mob’s fury last Sunday was trumped up because he was black...” (p. 6), such talk that “...tends to place the rapers on the plane of martyrs” (p. 6). Over such illogical influences, the editorial notes:

...stands Booker Washington...the one negro throughout the length and breadth of the continent who has been wise enough to conceive and undertake a mission... which, instead of teaching negroes to hate the whites among whom their lot is cast...teaches them that self-respect is the basis of character and conduct. (p. 6)

The Sam Hose headlines, stories and accompanying editorials are inflammatory, justify the violence based largely on the rape claim; and implicate Blacks for protecting Hose, thereby declaring themselves the enemies of the white race. The editorials were written under Harris' direction and reflect his input. There is an unhesitatingly paternalistic tone under girding the editorials that echoes Harris' most popular Negro problem views expressed in his journalistic writings both during and after his tenure at the *Atlanta Constitution*: restoring the ideal relationships between whites and Blacks that existed during slavery; the inherent superiority of southern whites over Blacks and their right to lead Blacks; northern interference in southern race relations; the ideals of Booker Washington which the Negro race should emulate; and the need to neutralize the criminal element that erodes the moral fiber of the Black community.

The Negro of To-day

Yet, evidence exists within Harris' writings that a major objective of his journalistic work was to undermine racism. Mixon (1990) notes that in attempting to understand Harris' conflicting views of race it is important to "remember that Harris was a white man working for a major southern newspaper during the South's most viciously racist era. In that capacity, he sometimes did what was expected of him" (p. 461).

Following his retirement from the *Atlanta Constitution* in early September of 1900, Harris' commentaries on the Negro condition increasingly were sought for inclusion in nationally distributed publications. In a 1901 article for the *New York Journal* entitled "How Education Will Solve the So-called Negro Problem," Harris challenged a prevalently held view of the futility of trying to educate Blacks beyond their capacity, declaring instead that higher education was key to advancement and a more noble alternative to the pursuit of political careers, a trend of which Harris was consistently critical. "The trouble with the majority of the best-educated negroes, until Booker Washington came upon the scene," he declared, "was the fact that they regarded politics as the chief end and aim of their ambitions," and that "it should be borne in mind that some of his most efficient workers are negroes who have received a liberal education" (Harris, 1918, p. 502). Hence, well educated Blacks rendered invaluable service to the "race slowly and painfully feeling its way to a higher destiny" (p. 502).

In this regard, Harris' views coincided with those of well-known progressive advocates of higher education for Blacks. In his concluding remarks for the Atlanta University-sponsored *College-Bred Negro* study published in 1900, Du Bois stated that industrial training and liberal arts education were "supplementary and mutually helpful in the great end of solving the Negro problem" (p. 114), and that "thrift and skill among the masses" as well "thought and culture among the leaders" provided for overall educational development..." as "the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters—but to make carpenters men" (p. 114). Atlanta University chaplain and later president Edward Ware in the January 1903 *Bulletin of Atlanta University* referenced Harris' advocacy of education for Blacks in response to more pessimistic views on the issue. Ware wrote:

I wish to call attention to what Mr. Joel Chandler Harris of the *Atlanta Constitution* has said with reference to education of negroes: 'the solace they will be able to receive there from and the service they will be able to perform for their kind will more than repay the leakages and losses...' (p. 3)

Ware, a white man, agreed with Harris that educated, Christian Black men and women such as those enrolled at institutions of higher learning like Atlanta University were "needed by their kind to fulfill the service of wise and conservative leadership" (p. 3). In a letter to the editor of *The Saturday Evening Post*, he reiterated to a national audience the credibility of Harris' advocacy of higher education for Blacks (Ware, 1906).

In 1904, Harris contributed articles to the *Saturday Evening Post* in which he expressed a mixture of paternalistic and socially progressive opinions of the Negro condition while continuing to assert the importance of higher education in advancing the race. The articles were published as follows: "The Negro as the South Sees Him" (January 2), "The Negro of To-day" (January 30), and "The Negro Problem," (February 27).

Overall, within these three articles Harris cleaves to his nostalgic views of the beneficial nature of relationships that existed between whites and Blacks during slavery, reiterates how the federal government's influence in the affairs of the south during Reconstruction adversely affected race relations, and characterizes the notion of social equality as impractical. In Harris' view, the Negro "confidential family servant" of the old days who knew his proper place was a fine example of appropriate comportment for Negroes in the then current period who, having been "misled by the carpetbaggers and scalawags," needed a "clearer understanding of their responsibilities as citizens" ("The Negro As the South Sees Him," p. 2). Moreover, the Freedmen's Bureau had engendered a sense of dependency and irresponsibility among Negroes, another poor lesson learned from the carpet-baggers ("The Negro of To-day"). On the "wholly and completely human" nature of the Black mammy, he asserted that a positive aspect of slavery was that it "was far more beautiful and inspiring than any of the relations that we have between employers and the employed in this day and time" ("The Negro as the South Sees Him," p. 2). And as for social equality, Negroes had been woefully misled and "had to bear the brunt of the indignation that is always aroused by...thrusting themselves into places where they were not wanted," Harris surmised, flawed conduct that was traceable "to the teachings of their political instructors" ("The Negro Problem," p. 6).

Within the January 30th article "The Negro of To-day" Harris again aggressively countered the view that Blacks were incapable of assimilating knowledge acquired through formal education. He argued that while slow, the educational process would inevitably bear fruit in current and future generations, and that it was unfair to compare the accomplishments of Blacks in this regard to those of the white race, noting that the Black man "is only about three centuries from a state of barbaric slavery in Africa compared with which his term of servitude in the United States was Christian freedom" (p. 3). Harris was optimistic that over time, Blacks would begin to develop intellectual capacities in line with standards of the white race.

Interestingly, his article garnered positive responses from Black educators, including Washington, who regarded Harris as an ally and friend of the race. Isaac Fisher, the principal of Branch Normal School at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, wrote to Harris complimenting him on presenting "candid and fair expressions relative to the colored people" and for expressing optimism of the race's future (Harris, 1918, p. 505). Similarly, R.R. Wright, a graduate of Atlanta University and president of the Georgia State Industrial College, wrote to Harris "I

regard the article as one of the fairest and most sympathetic that I have read from the pen of any Southern man” (p. 506). Wright invited Harris to visit the school to observe its successful work in educating more than 500 country boys.

On February 1, 1904, in response to the article published during the previous week, Washington wrote to Harris:

It has been a long time since I have read anything from the pen of any man which has given me such encouragement as your article has. It has been read already by a large number of colored people, and it would surprise and delight you to hear the many pleasant things which they are saying about it. In a speech on Lincoln’s Birthday which I am to deliver in New York, I am going to take the liberty to quote liberally from what you have said.⁷

Two years later, Harris and his son Julian established *Uncle Remus Magazine*, largely as an attempt to promote racial understanding. The circumstances surrounding the 1906 Atlanta race riot also suggest that Harris had begun to rethink what could be viable solutions to the racial divide.

During the summer of 1906, Atlanta, which had projected an outward image as a socially progressive city of the New South, experienced racial violence during a heated political campaign, violence whose flames were fanned by the city’s newspapers that carried sensationalized reports of alleged assaults on white women by Black men (Burns, 2006). John Temple Graves, editor of the *Atlanta Georgian*, a self-described “friend and helper” of the Negro who provided shelter to Blacks during the riot, saw the propensity to rape among the criminal element of the Negro population as the cause of the violence (Graves, 1906). Du Bois (1906), while noting the city’s newspaper coverage of claims of alleged assaults upon white women by Black men as a direct cause of the violence, asserted that deeper reasons lay in class conflicts among white working people who feared losing jobs to lesser paid Black laborers, as well as fear of the rising Black middle class.

The racial hatred and violence sobered Harris, who had enthusiastically celebrated the New South through his journalistic writings and expressed confidence in the goodwill of white southern leaders; and, in the wake of the conflict, he felt compelled to address race issues in ways he had been unable to as a public editor (Martin, 1981). According to Julia Collier Harris, who was married to Julian, Harris and his son often discussed the need for a southern publication that would “hold itself high above partisan politics...prejudices...and offensive...sectionalism” (Harris, 1918, p. 526). The editorial philosophy as outlined by Harris indicated his desire to improve race relations. He wrote that the magazine would “preach a cheerful... philosophy and practice a reasonable toleration in all matters where opinions and beliefs are likely to clash... be broadly and patriotically American, and genuinely representative of the best thought of the whole country...”(p. 524).

In what may have reflected a shift in his own understanding and framing of the race issue, Harris asserted that his magazine would emphasize “neighbor-knowledge,” something he stated was “more important in some respects than most of the knowledge imparted in the school” (Harris, p. 525). The first issue was published in June 1907. Harris died in July 1908. On his deathbed, Harris purportedly urged Julian to increase the magazine’s coverage of social and political issues and call for racial equality (Brasch, 2000).

A year after the riot and less than a year before his death, Harris told a *Boston Globe* reporter who asked his views on the race question that “there will be trouble and possibly bloodshed now and then, north and south, but eventually there will be peace and a good understanding.”⁸ During the interview, Harris reiterated his support for education as the most viable means of Black advancement. When asked, “Does an education hurt him (the Negro)?” he replied: “Does it hurt a white man? There are plenty of white men in jail and plenty of others who ought to be, but that is no argument against schools and colleges. An education won’t hurt anybody.”⁹

A Significant Witness

The sketches of Black children learning to read and spell that still hang on the wall within *Wren’s Nest* are emblematic of Harris’ enduring view of education as the primary means of upliftment for formerly enslaved people and their children. During his retirement years, Harris served as a juror, an experience that provided him direct experience with social conditions, including the welfare of children. His views of the Negro condition were still much in demand as he took a particularly keen interest in the prevalence of juvenile delinquency among Atlanta’s Black community. Following a particular court day in which the majority of cases involved Black youngsters, Harris publicly urged Black preachers and leaders of Atlanta to go to the courtroom to observe what he saw and then “go to work to remedy the evils that exist.”¹⁰

Following Harris’ death, Atlanta University President emeritus Horace Bumstead (1909) asserted the enduring importance of Harris’ writings, describing him as “a significant witness” to the advances made by the Black race. Harris, he said, “advocated the liberal education of Negroes on the two highest possible grounds—‘solace and service’—the enlargement of the individual soul and the opportunity for ministering to others,” (p. 2) a view that was “much above the average sentiments of either South or North”(p. 2). While Harris’ complex views of the race question as presented in his journalistic writings elude definitive interpretation, he has left a record of his thoughts concerning the value of education for Blacks. In this sense, Harris’ views of liberal learning coincided with those of progressive educators of the day who promoted the role of intellectual autonomy in advancing the Black race.

Notes

1. Quoted in Brasch, pp. 65-66. These and similar sketches were developed by James Henry Moser, a renowned artist of African American life in the South after the Civil War, to illustrate the first ed. of *Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings* in 1880. Harris desired that the illustrations capture the humanity of the characters instead of conveying caricature-like representations that would detract from the stories.
2. Harris’ editorial “An Editor Must Have a Purpose” appeared in the *Sunday Gazette* on October 5, 1878. The un-numbered clipping is contained in the Joel Chandler Harris papers housed in the Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Library at Emory University.
3. The undated clipping (most likely published during the late 1880s) is contained in the Joel Chandler Harris papers.
4. For a full text of the speech see Harlan, L. R. & Blassingame, J.W. (Eds.). (1982). *The Booker T. Washington papers: Volume 1: Autobiographical writings (Open Book Ed.)*.

- Retrieved April 26, 2006, from <http://www.historycooperative.org/btw/Vol.1/html/330.html>
5. Harlan, L. R. & Blassingame, J.W. (1982).
 6. Note the occasional misspelling of Hose's name that often appears as "Holt" in news accounts.
 7. See Washington's February 1, 1904 letter in response to the article in Harlan, Louis R. and Blassingame, John W., editors, *The Booker T. Washington Papers: Volume 1: Autobiographical Writings* (Open Book Ed., University of Illinois), 330-334, available at <http://www.historycooperative.org/btw/Vol.1/html/330.html>
 8. *The Boston Globe* "Joel Chandler Harris Talks of Himself and Uncle Remus" clipping dated November 3, 1907 is contained in the Joel Chandler Harris papers. There is no page number.
 9. *The Boston Globe* "Joel Chandler Harris Talks of Himself and Uncle Remus."
 10. The undated *Atlanta Journal* "What Uncle Remus Learned as a Juror" clipping is contained in the Joel Chandler Harris papers with other clippings that describe Harris' experiences as a juror.

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IP-Based Videoconferencing: Can it Promote Intercultural Understanding, Internationalization of the Curriculum and Social Change?

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During the last decade, universities have been experimenting with using videoconferencing to extend interactive international and intercultural learning opportunities to the 95 percent of their graduate and undergraduate students who will never be able to travel abroad as part of their academic study program. This article reviews some exemplary university applications of such videoconferencing, including presentation of the lessons learned from an intercultural education experiment conducted at a major land grant institution in Florida, where video conferencing was incorporated to create an international 'classroom without walls' for the student participants. The writer hopes that this article will encourage other professors to scientifically evaluate videoconferencing as a tool for internationalizing and globalizing the academic experiences of their students in an efficient and cost effective manner, while preserving the transactional space and interactivity that are essential to a transformative learning experience.

Introduction

International Education is Essential in the 21st Century

Hilary E. Kahn

Internationalization of the curriculum has surged to the top of the agenda as universities worldwide seek to provide the kind of education students need to function effectively in a globalized environment. Both administrators and faculty are aware of the importance of preparing students to interact effectively with the various cultures they will encounter as they make their careers in a brave new world, where they might be posted to Japan or South Africa, just as easily as they might meet Japanese or South Africans at their work places here in America (Rosenau, 2004; Matveev, 2004).

American students encounter international students and faculty with regularity among the myriad cultures now represented on our campuses and some international students and faculty are expressing increasing concerns about the provincialism of American students, faculty, staff and administrators, and our limited appreciation of the differing international and intercultural perspectives, attitudes and understandings of the 5.5 billion people who live outside our borders (Martin & Nakayama, 2007; Neuliep, 2003; Lysgaard, 1995).

At the same time, dramatic changes are taking place in higher education, including the commodification of knowledge, marketization of education, the demand for increased productivity, the standardization of curricula, the individualization of learning, and the expanded

role of computer mediated communications and information technology (CMC) in the intercultural learning (Moore & Kearsley, 1996; Bartolic-Zlomislic & Bates, 1999; Kling, 2000; Miller, 2001). For those of us who view higher education as a vehicle for developing critical social consciousness in students as a precursor to enrolling them in progressive social change efforts, these new technologies offer both a threat and a challenge. On the one hand, they offer great possibilities for an incredible diversification of learning opportunities for both students and faculty. They offer the opportunity to both employ and test the effectiveness of these technologies in conveying the kind of intercultural knowledge and insights that can result in an expansion of international understanding, tolerance and acceptance, the essential ingredients for world peace (Heyward, 2002). They can also increase the ability of our students to investigate in comparative international contexts our power and agency to influence the information networks that give us our identity in the modern world (Watson & Downes, 2001; Preston, 2001).

These CMC technologies also have to potential to result in further alienation and exacerbate the social anomie and disconnection of the student distance learners, who while pursuing classes in a virtual environment perhaps lose out on the social aspects of learning that are an integral part of the traditional classroom experience. They may further weaken the educational process, making students less creative, because they have lost the transactional space, the interactivity and the immediacy provided by the traditional classroom space (Sherry, 1996).

This paper argues that when video conferencing is incorporated into intercultural education it becomes possible to include the human presence in our international distance education activities with the required transactional space (Chen & Willits, 1999), contributing to the emergence of new perspectives on our global society in our classrooms and enriching the international and intercultural experience of students through virtual exchanges. In other words, videoconferencing allows students who lack the resources to travel abroad the opportunity to have a vivid and 'natural' intercultural learning experience with students and faculty around the world, without ever leaving their own country. This saves them time and money while reducing the security risks normally associated with international exchange programs, giving them the critical perspectives they need to truly become world citizens (Potashnik & Capper, 1998).

This article offers a review of some recent university experiments that used international videoconferencing to internationalize their curriculum. It also provides a detailed report on an experiment between a large land grant university in the United States and a foreign university, in which video conferencing was employed successfully to decrease the transactional distance associated with CMC and to enrich a traditional intercultural communication course.

The writer hopes that this article will encourage other professors to design experiments that systematically evaluate the effectiveness and suitability of videoconferencing as a tool for internationalizing and globalizing the academic experiences of their students in an efficient and cost effective manner, providing them with critical perspectives they need to understand their role in the new world society.

Some Background on Internet-Based Videoconferencing

Internet-based voice and video technology allows for conducting full motion, virtual interactive communication at low cost. The technology uses the broadband capacity of the high-speed Internet to allow for IP-based video and telephony, using the H323 standard. A typical set top unit for this type of communication is the Polycom FX, which is employed by many

universities, both in the United States and abroad. This unit allows users on either side of the connection to control the audio levels and the video composition of the image, making it possible to attain precision control over the transactional distance associated with virtual classroom. Although internet-based videoconferencing technology has been used by businesses for meetings for years because it saves time and money, its deployment to support teaching in higher education has accelerated during the past five years, and is beginning to demonstrate great potential for academic collaboration, cooperative curriculum development, and the internationalization of learning in general (Potashnik and Capper, 1998). It is an extremely low cost technology. Typically, a high-quality desktop camera, within a built in codex can be had for under \$150 dollars. The software to operate it from a laptop or desktop computer is another \$150. The only other hardware required is a computer projector and a screen. State of the art systems that allow for the simultaneous use of whiteboard, chat, PowerPoint, file transfer, and multi-point conferencing can be had for less than \$5000 dollars, enabling full scale teleconferencing (Polycom.com).

Interactive videoconferencing is distinct from other forms of teleconferencing. Wilcox (2003) describes videoconferencing as an exchange of digitized video images and sounds between conference participants at two or more separate sites. The most prominent advantage of videoconferencing is advanced by its etymological roots: video, first person of the verb 'to see' in Latin and conference, from confer which in Latin means 'to bring together'. Simply put, the barriers of distance collapse to allow synchronous exchange of images and audio communication between distant points, humanizing the distance communication experience. Important non-verbal aspects of human communication are often lost in one-way and asynchronous communications streams. Interactive videoconferencing solves this problem by adding facial gestures and body movements to the CMC mediated message.

By contrast, a traditional CMC teleconference is nothing more than a meeting, through electronic communication techniques, between parties that are physically separated from each other (Schaphorst, 1999). Broadly speaking, three teleconferencing systems can be categorized: audio only, audio-graphic, and full motion video. Full motion video, in turn, can be either interactive or a one way video-cast. But whereas a video-cast is from one to many, often without feedback, an interactive videoconferencing can be used by a small group of people or a single person with maximum opportunities for feedback to increase communicative effectiveness.

Although the first experiences in videoconferencing date back to the 1920s and 1930s (Wilcox, 2003), video conferencing did not become practical for higher education until the late 1990s, because of the high costs that were associated with the use of phone lines and satellites for connectivity. However, the advent of high speed broadband internet connectivity and advances in computing has enabled videoconferencing to take place between universities large and small throughout the world. Although the reliability of Internet communication has not yet reached its optimal performance, the quality of the image and the transmission has now reached satisfactory levels for everyday use.

As mentioned earlier, the business sector has long benefited from the advantages of videoconferencing, including faster decision making, increased productivity, more meetings, increased employee safety and morale, and avoided travel costs (Schaphorst, 1999). Moore & Cozine (2000) note that these same benefits can now be realized by institutions of higher education as they seek to internationalize and serve both their traditional students and the growing number of off campus adult learners, via distance education strategies. In addition,

faculty and students at different institutions can meet without the cost traditionally associated with student and faculty exchange programs.

To summarize, interactive videoconferencing allows for collaborative curriculum development, research exchange, course sharing and real-time learning (Moore & Kearsley, 1996). It can help internationalize the university and provide access to the intercultural perspectives essential to developing the competences our students need to survive in the global environment (Xu & Morris, 2007). In the next section of this paper, we take a look at some of exemplary applications of videoconferencing in intercultural education.

Literature Review

Some Examples of University Use of Videoconferencing to Promote Intercultural Understanding

The academic use of intercultural and international videoconferencing is varied. It has been used for teaching and learning in a variety of disciplines, ranging from political science, to health communication, to language education, to intercultural communication, to science communication. Here are some examples.

During the spring of 2004, the College of Staten Island (CSI) undertook a project to connect its campus in New York City with three international partners in China, Turkey and South Africa, using internet based videoconferencing. Based on a model developed by East Carolina University and funded by the State Department, CSI partnered with Shanghai Television University (China), University of Port Elizabeth (South Africa) and Kadir Has University (Turkey). A team comprised of a content expert and a technical lead, traveled to each University and met with its counterparts to develop the curriculum and deploy the technology to create the virtual classroom. The purpose of the project was to harness commodity internet technology to bring students from different cultures together in a common classroom. The model successfully utilized videoconferencing over the Internet using video over IP (internet protocol, H.323) technology and an inexpensive desktop based videoconferencing system to create a “virtual classroom” where all the participants could engage in meaningful and pedagogically sound lecture and discussion regardless of geographic location. In addition, the project incorporated the use of Internet Relay Chat (IRC) and e-mail to further enhance student to student communications. The project team deemed the experiment a success in meeting its objectives (Lewental & Kress, 2005).

In 2001, Lepp et al used video conferencing to explore how reflection promotes self-awareness in nursing students, in a project linking a Swedish university and an American university with baccalaureate and post graduate nursing degree programs. As defined by Lepp et al, reflection is a process using the individual’s thoughts and feelings to promote self-awareness. It can be promoted by learning in a group context and sharing experience. In Phase I of their project, they conducted a pilot study which included a 75-minute interactive videoconferencing class. Phase II included both interactive videoconferencing classes and online meetings between the two universities. Students were asked to keep a journal throughout the study and the faculty appraised their reflections on both educational and personal issues. The findings showed that students who participated in the program developed greater authenticity and professionalism through their interactions with students across cultural boundaries, and reported that they these cross-cultural interactions helped them identify their personal values more explicitly.

In April 1997, two faculty members, one at a state school in Missouri and another at an engineering school in Brittany, France used interactive videoconferencing to enrich the teaching of languages at their respective institutions. Previous studies had indicated that spoken French is not usually included in American instruction and American French textbooks deviate from the conversational usage of French. The French course took place at a state university in Missouri with 14 students, and the English course took place in Brittany at a graduate school. The experiment demonstrated that videoconferencing technology makes it easier to access the real spoken language of each country, as well as to observe the nonverbal language used by native speakers, improving language acquisition by the students, as well as improving classroom instruction (Kinginger, 1998).

The Mercury Project, a consortium of North American and French universities, used videoconferencing to explore new methods for teaching French politics and culture. Austin Peay State University and the University of Tennessee at Martin in the U.S., and the University d'Orleans in France, used the videoconferencing technology to discuss the November 1996 French presidential elections. They found that videoconferencing was beneficial to the American students in that it provided them with insider information on French political views as well as direct contact with native French speakers. Student feedback indicated that the direct contact stimulated student interest in participating in existing or other more traditional university exchange programs (Jones & Sorenson, 2001).

International interviews conducted by the senior author in 2004 revealed that professors at the University of Montclair in New Jersey and Jussieu University in Paris have used video conferencing to co-teach a course in American Civilization and Culture at their respective universities (personal communication, Gayle Zachmann, University of Florida Paris Center, 2004). Other international university partnerships that use videoconferencing for intercultural enrichment include Humbolt University in Berlin and Indiana University, who employ videoconferencing to co-teach a course in chemistry (personal communication, Guenter Lenz, Humbolt University, 2004); and the Free University of Berlin and MIT, who use video conferencing to conduct a course in physics (personal communication Ursula Lehmkuh, Free University of Berlin, 2004).

Videoconferencing at the University of Florida

The University of Florida (UF) is a land grant institution with 100 different degree granting programs and a population of over 50,000 students. As have many similar educational institutions serving diverse populations, it has adopted internationalization as one of its strategic objectives. Several of its colleges and departments have been involved in projects using video conferencing. Although these experiences were initially simply a supplement to first generation distance education approaches (international shipping of videotapes in the College of Veterinary Medicine and web-based instruction in the College of Education) many departments and colleges now employ interactive videoconferencing as one of their teaching modalities. One of the main users of interactive videoconferencing, the Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences (IFAS), started videoconferencing in 1993 via satellite, changed to phone lines in 1997, and switched to IP- based interactive videoconferencing in 2004. Its facilities include a fully-equipped distance education center. IFAS has 10 other community based video-conferencing centers located throughout the state of Florida. The facilities are available for rental to faculty from any department in the rest of the university. The equipment is reliable and run by full-time professionals.

Through its Working Professional Doctor of Pharmacy degree program, the College of Pharmacy conducts a professional program for students who have a Bachelor's degree, with over 1000 students in 27 states, Germany and South America. In this program, UF contracts a local lab and hires a local person to supervise training in each country. Most of the instruction is asynchronous, with interaction between the students and the faculty maintained via e-mail, and through visits of the professors to the sister sites. However, the program envisions using videoconferencing to connect with the onsite practitioners it hires and meets with the students at least once a month. The number one strategy of the program is to provide access to students who cannot come to Gainesville, expanding its student base. The program has already created a new College of Pharmacy, without the costs of the buildings and facilities or travel.

Other UF units that have experimented with non-IP based distance education overseas are ripe for IP-based interactive video-conferencing. For example, in collaboration with Nova Southeastern University in Fort Lauderdale, UF veterinarians are preparing 53 foreign veterinary graduates for the licensing examination they must pass to practice in the United States. Currently, lectures are videotaped and sent to students. Once students have watched the tapes, professors can hold a live question and answer session with via interactive videoconferencing.

In the Center for Latin American Studies, a UF professor taught "Introduction to the analysis of Latin American Data," a hands-on course, in collaboration with a colleague at the University of Miami, which attracted many international students. The two classes were connected by interactive videoconferencing, with the help of one camera, for an hour and a half. Students shared data sets and each class had its own lab. Student participants at the remote site thus had access to a top research professor, without ever having to leave their Miami campus.

Finally, in the UF College of Journalism and Communications' telecommunication department, a professor used IP-based video conferencing to critique the documentary projects prepared by students at the University of Ghent in Belgium and Florida students. Both professors were able to review their students' projects and discuss them in an international virtual classroom, with international perspectives.

These experiments illustrate the diversity of academic applications of interactive videoconferencing. Nonetheless, the serious scholar of social change might ask: what are some ways in which a faculty member might scientifically ascertain the impact that video conferencing technology might have on *intercultural* and *international* understanding? In the next section, we present a report on just such an experiment, conducted between the University of Florida and the Universite de Mons-Hainault, a 5000 student regional university in Belgium.

The Experiment

In the Spring of 2004, as the war with Iraq was approaching, Professor Jean-Louis Sauvage (Mons) and Professor Michael Leslie (UF) began planning to use internet-based videoconferencing technology to allow business students at Mons and communications students in Florida to promote international and cross-cultural understanding through a discussion of both domestic and world affairs. The experiment was conducted using the Polycom FX set top unit on both sides of the broadband connection. Guided by the action research approach (Argyris, Putnam & Smith, 2000), the researchers used qualitative observation and participant reports to explore three notions:

1. The notion that the social interaction allowed by videoconferencing (Gunawardena, 1995) would induce a dimension of intercultural learning not normally available in non-face to face interactions;
2. The notion that international collaborative learning (Gillies & Ashman, 2003) could contribute to the formation of new knowledge and perspectives not available in a purely domestic learning environment.
3. The notion that video-conference virtual exchanges might contribute to better international understanding and stimulate the interest in learning more about other cultures (Chia & Poe, 2004); and
4. The notion that video-conferencing could create a transactional space that would enhance intercultural interest and learning.

The research design:

- 1) Linked the classrooms of the two professors with similar aims, i.e., introducing their students to a different cultural perspective on topics of contemporary interest;
- 2) Allowed the professors to observe in real time the impact of this curricular innovation on their students;
- 3) Enabled the professors to qualitatively evaluate the effectiveness of this form of internationalization as a pedagogical innovation.

The Setting

UF and Mons were selected for this action research for several reasons:

- 1) Mons had the connectivity and the equipment required to have full motion audio and video teleconferencing via the Internet with UF;
- 2) The faculty member at Mons had significant U.S. experience as a Fulbrighter and was willing to spearhead the Mons portion of the project;
- 3) The faculty member at UF had visited Mons on a Fulbright and saw the potential for a partnership that would also internationalize his own courses at UF.
- 4) Technical support for interactive video conferencing was available at both universities.

It should be noted that at both universities, the administration was willing to support this experiment, providing both faculty members with the resources and the equipment necessary to experiment with this innovation.

Physical and Technical Considerations

Leslie's class met from 8:30 to 9:20 in a windowless basement in the College of Journalism. This provided for some measure of control over the natural lighting conditions. Nonetheless, the classroom was not really adequately lit and the sound quality was substandard. After the initial session, Leslie did not have daily technical support for his videoconferencing activity and had to operate the Polycom unit as well as moderate the instructional aspect of the video conference. Because of the large size of his class, only half of his 30 students were able to actively participate in the videoconference activity.

Sauvage had access to a designated video conferencing facility for his students, with a measure of control over both lighting and sound conditions. In addition, he had a technician

available to handle the technical aspects of the conference so he could devote himself fully to the instructional aspect of the videoconference.

Procedures

The two classes were connected six times during the course of Fall semester, 2004. During those connections, students from both classrooms were asked to prepare questions for each other on a number of designated topics. The topics were selected by the students, based on their shared interest.

The sessions were conducted in English, since most of the American students were monolingual while many of the Belgian students had at least an adequate command of English.

In Leslie's class, student teams were assigned the responsibility for answering each of the questions posed by the Belgian students. In general, the two professors attempted to restrain themselves from intervening in the student exchanges, except to clarify answers to questions not understood sometimes because of the quality of the sound or more frequently the speakers varying accents in English and divergent forms of English usage.

Some of the topics included:

- Racial profiling in Europe and the United States
- Reasons for the U.S. invasion of Iraq
- Differences in Belgian and U.S. television use
- Dating Behaviors Among U.S. and Belgian Young People
- Media Institutions/Political Coverage in Europe and the United States

In general, the Belgian students spoke less than the U.S. students, although they seemed to be equally well prepared on the discussion topics. This was not only because they were conversing in a foreign language while the U.S. participants were conversing in their native tongue but also because of the teaching method in Belgium, which requires less response from students than in the United States.

Findings

Participant Assessments

After the six sessions were completed, the students were asked to comment on the teleconferencing experience. Here are some of their comments:

From Leslie's class:

This was a wonderful experience! I did not know that the technology to do this was available, that we could connect with students from other countries that easily.

I never thought about our involvement in the way the Belgian students talked about it!

I think that this is a good alternative to finding about other people in a way we can't learn about them through or mass media.

Talking to these students makes me want to travel to Belgium and Europe to learn more about them!

From Sauvage's class:

I like this kind of experience! This is a wonderful way to improve our English.

It is very interesting to see and hear we have a lot in common and at the same time some very different views on some issues. But just talking about them makes us agree to differ.

What is racial profiling?

It would be wonderful to go to Florida and to meet our American counterparts. Or, why not have them come over to Mons!

It was good because American students can present their views on Europe and we can present our views on the U.S. and compare our understandings.

Videoconferencing not only enables us to talk together but also forces us to listen to each other. Listening to the other is the first step to tolerance, a “commodity” in great demand nowadays.

Qualitative Observations

The videoconference yielded several lessons about collaborative learning, the impact of the video presence in teleconferencing, the benefits of linking classes internationally, and about what one can do to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of such collaborations. First, the student comments clearly demonstrate that they enjoyed the process of learning about each other via video-conferencing. This is in line with learning theory, which suggests that pleasure is an important part of the learning experience and enhances it (Jarvis, Holford, & Griffin, 2003). Second, the manifest content of the students’ comments demonstrates that the video conference generated new questions about each others languages, societies and culture. Third, a number of students expressed an interest in visiting each other in their respective countries, indicating that the videoconferences helped them create new international relational and networks (Watson & Downes, 2000).

Discussion and Critique

The benefits of international video conference are:

- Students can have a virtual exchange without costly travel.
- Faculty can collaborate with each other internationally for course enrichment and curriculum development.
- Students can query faculty outside their university about topics of their interest.
- Faculty can effectively expose students directly to new ideas thus helping students to acquire critical perspectives about their own media and culture.
- Students and faculty can develop new social and information networks, promoting traditional international exchanges and collaborations.

- Such exchanges can boost multidisciplinary collaboration. In this project, the collaboration was between a business school and a communications school.

Of course, university use of videoconferencing to internationalize student experiences does have its own requirements, limitations and critics. For example, in a study of the influence of video images in learning factual information, researchers found that increasing the video capability of an Internet-based course did not necessarily improve learning Wischer, R. A., & Curnow C.K. (2000). Sherry (1996) suggests that educators who use distance technologies must carefully consider how their use will enhance the overall effectiveness of their teaching pedagogy. Clearly, formal evaluation of each video-conferencing activity should be conducted, not only to assess outcomes, but to identify aspects that can be rendered more efficient (Stigler & Herbert, 1999).

The literature on videoconferencing also emphasizes that a sense of community between the two partners must be constructed through joint activities outside the videoconference. This might be accomplished via email exchanges or joint research projects with integrated teams from both universities, undertaken between videoconference events (Chia & Poe, 2004). It is also important that faculty continue their conversations on a continuing basis, either by phone or via email. This can sharpen the quality of the video conference exchanges by allowing for early diagnosis and continuing assessment of the progress of the videoconference activity and early intervention when problems emerge (Lin, 2002). In addition, there are important technical and operational considerations for videoconferencing:

- The system can go down unexpectedly (this never occurred during our experiment, but it has happened to others who have experimented with videoconferencing).
- The energy/return ratio is only worth it if the videoconference is carefully prepared. Students need to do their research and be prepared to answer key questions *live* before the videoconference
- A technician or teaching assistant is required for an optimal experience, to operate the Polycom unit, to make sure technical issues such as sound loss are quickly resolved, and to restore the connection if it is lost.
- Both sides should use designated teleconferencing rooms to ensure even quality on both sides of the video conference (Chia & Poe, 2004).

Conclusion

Despite the fact that some international distance learning experiences are still asynchronous or rely on costly ISDN technology, the new IP-based videoconferencing using widely available broadband capability of the Internet instead of standard telephone lines is growing. Although the use of the Internet for education related videoconferencing is still in its infancy -- the Internet is most often used for class support, through course management systems like WebCT and BlackBoard – videoconferencing for education is expanding and will continue

to expand as broadband access is extended to more and more universities throughout the world (Harry, John & Keegan, 1993).

Without a doubt, videoconferencing can be a useful tool for internationalizing the university and providing the intercultural experiences that are an integral part of becoming a global citizen. This paper has shown that this can be done effectively at low cost. The challenge now will be to find the best ways to scientifically test the impact, effectiveness and suitability of videoconferencing as one of the tools in CMC arsenal, particularly its comparative advantage in promoting intercultural and international understanding and consequently social transformation (Schwartz, Lin & Holmes, 2003).

Videoconferencing can indeed contribute to the internationalization of the courses we teach, the adoption of more critical perspectives by our students, and greater intercultural sensitivity and awareness, all of which are essential ingredients for the kind of education that is critical for our student's success, now and in the next century. As scholars and teachers committed to having a social impact with our teaching we should harness its power by putting it to test.

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