

Univerzita Palackého

Filozofická fakulta

Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Representation of Caribbean Community in British Media

(Master thesis)

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(Anglická filologie)

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Olomouc, 2012

Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Palackého

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Počet stran: 65

Počet znaků: 141 223

Olomouc 2012

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a uvedla úplný seznam citované a použité literatury.

Ve Zlíně dne 14. 8. 2012

Hana Urbánková

Děkuji vedoucí mé diplomové práce Mgr. Pavlíně Flajšarové za její čas a trpělivost.

V Olomouci dne 14. 8. 2012

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Abstract

The aim of the thesis is to comment on a portrayal of British Caribbean community in media from the second half of the 20th century until nowadays. It also provides a cultural and historical background to the community, the list of media that focus on Afro-Caribbean community and people of Caribbean origin in media on both sides – as journalists and as objects discussed by British television, radio and mainly by press.

Key words

Caribbean, Afro-Caribbean, minority, ethnicity, media, press, television, radio, advertising, equality

Anotace

Cílem této práce je zhodnotit mediální portrét karibské menšiny v tradičních britských médiích od druhé poloviny dvacátého století do současnosti. Práce také popisuje kulturní a historický profil dané komunity, obsahuje výčet médií, které jsou zaměřeny na afro-karibskou komunitu a na členy této komunity v médiích – jak v pozici novinářů, tak v pozici lidí, o kterých se v médiích diskutuje. Především pak v novinách.

Klíčová slova

karibský, afro-karibský, menšina, etnikum, média, noviny, televize, rádio, reklama, rovnoprávnost

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1. Introduction

This thesis targets Caribbean minority in British media from the 1950s until nowadays. It describes the history of how Caribbeans came to Great Britain and follows their difficult beginnings in a new country including the Empire Windrush and the formation of the community in Great Britain. It introduces the issues that are connected to ethnicity in association with media respectively divided into sub-chapters according to the type of media. The thesis also provides and comments on a list of newspapers that focused on the community in the past and on the titles that are in Britain available nowadays.

It does not only target the representation of the community in the media but also concerns their representation in media staff. The fifth chapter of the thesis then comments on media representation of the community in Britain in general and in the last part uses specific cases to show and describe their stereotypical portrayal. The high profile murder cases that appeared in Britain within the last three decades were used for the observation as they all include members of Caribbean minority both as victims and as murderers. They are ordered unconventionally from the newest to the oldest to denote the legacy that is still present nowadays.

The cases were chosen especially for their complexity thoroughly described by British press, namely *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, *The Independent* and *The Voice* whereas the online versions of the newspapers were used. It is also the reason for the high number of Internet sources that exceeds print sources in this thesis.

The thesis aims to examine whether the portrayal of British Caribbeans in British media is negative – as well as their perception by the majority of British society which is given by high crime rates, connections with knife crime, violence in particular boroughs of London and Birmingham, poor achievement at school, a lone parent families and other aspects that go against the traditionally conservative British attitude.

2. British colonization of the West Indies

2.1. From the beginning to the abolition of slavery

West Indies were colonized by England (later Britain) during the 17th and 18th century. Throughout the centuries the lands became some of the most important British colonies. The colonies included Barbados, Bahamas, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada, Saint Lucia, and many others which were in the past possessions of Spain or France. Britain possessed the land, but there were only an insignificant number of indigenous inhabitants living on the islands. In order to establish extensive sugar, coffee or tobacco plantations, Britain needed strong workers. In the time of flourishing slavery, hundred thousands of Africans were brought to the West Indies to work on sugar plantations and to breed animals. They lived in appalling living conditions working from sunrise to sunset and they were slowly dying of hard work and malnutrition.

The surviving rest was taught to be civilized according to European manners. The English culture, language, and Christian religion were introduced. Some Caribbean slaves were brought to Britain during the colonial period. They worked as servants for wealthy families of army and naval officers. Some of them were even brought to the UK by the owners of plantations.¹

Nevertheless, the European manners arrived to the Caribbean much earlier than in the 17th century. The process of Europeanization started in the Caribbean after the arrival of Christopher Columbus to Caribbean Islands in 1492 where he established a Spanish colony.² However, considering the slavery, the abolition did not come earlier then with the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833. After the abolition of slavery black people were still treated as subordinate to the white and it took another few decades to completely suppress it. Thereafter a life of former

¹ Itzcaribbean, "Caribbean settlement in Britain," itzcaribbean, http://www.itzcaribbean.com/caribbean_population_britain.php (accessed August 13, 2012).

² History Website, "Columbus reaches the New World," History Website, Available at <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/columbus-reaches-the-new-world> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

slaves on the Caribbean islands was not easy. The plantations did not provide sufficient economical support for them and their living conditions did not become better. That is why some of them decided to come to Great Britain. These were usually seamen, students and later also soldiers who served in British army during the First World War and decided to stay in Britain. After the war, they were followed by Caribbeans who came to the UK to work in heavy industry.³ However, the main influx of immigrants came after the Second World War.

2.2. Empire Windrush

A great upheaval which changed the life of people both in the West Indies and in Great Britain began on 22 June 1948 when a ship called Empire Windrush came from Jamaica and arrived in Britain. It carried nearly 500 passengers of Afro-Caribbean origin both men and women. Their country was devastated and there was a lack of employment. When the boat came to Jamaica it advertised free journey for everyone on board of Empire Windrush who is willing to work in the United Kingdom. The decision of British government to invite citizens of the West Indies was not a coincidence. They were still a part of the British Empire, no restrictions of immigration existed, Afro-Caribbeans knew English language and had British passports. Moreover, most of them were converted Protestants, which was convenient and safe for such a Protestant country as Britain because the unity in belief guaranteed religious tolerance. In 1948 Britain, only three years after the end of the war, first Caribbeans on the Empire Windrush arrived to Britain.

First wave of immigrants worked in transport, hospitals or they helped with rebuilding of infrastructure. Most of the higher-paid jobs in mining or textile industry were denied to them, especially because they were new in the country and many jobs in such industries were unionised. The unions often promoted

³ Ibid.

anti-immigration policies and therefore did not allow Caribbeans to enter them.⁴ Seemingly on inferior positions such as hairdressers, bus drivers or nurses, Afro-Caribbean immigrants significantly contributed to rebuild big cities after the Second World War. They settled mostly in the southern part of London or in other big cities such as Nottingham or Birmingham. After they accustomed themselves to new environment of Great Britain and after they found steady jobs, they invited their families to join them. The days of immigration waves started. The Caribbeans were streaming to Britain in masses and after some time a problem appeared. In 1962 the Commonwealth Immigrants Act was passed and immigration became limited. The restriction was based on the alarmingly increasing numbers of new citizens coming from the West Indies. Whilst in 1948 the number of Caribbeans was 500, seven years later it was 18 000⁵ inhabitants of Afro-Caribbean origin. The growing numbers were striking. Caribbeans were for some British people torn in the flesh.

White settlers of London's Notting Hill, where most of poor Caribbeans lived, complained about black street gangs, mess in the streets, and omnipresent violence. The whites and blacks experienced clashes at work, housing, etc. The situation in Notting Hill was so bad that on 30 August in 1953 disputes graduated into violence. The Nottingham Evening Post even reported that the riot scene was like a slaughterhouse.⁶ Particularly young people of both sides became surprisingly active. On the side of white settlers there was a group of young men called "Teddy Boys". When the news about the riot came to the surface, right-wing fascist groups joined them, passing the leaflets with texts such as "Keep Britain White" etc.⁷ The same riots appeared also in other parts of London such

⁴ Mike Phillips, "Working Lives," Movinghere migration histories, Available at http://www.movinghere.org.uk/galleries/histories/caribbean/working_lives/working_lives.htm (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ BBC, Linda Pressly, "The forgotten race riot" BBC. BBC News Website. Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/6675793.stm (accessed August 13, 2012).

⁷ Exploring 20th century London, "Notting Hill Riots 1958," Museum of London, Available at <http://www.20thcenturylondon.org.uk/notting-hill-riots-1958> (accessed August 13, 2012).

as Shepherd's Bush or Tottenham. After five days of violence, police appeased the struggles down. The result of these incidents was that 140 people (mostly white)⁸ were arrested and a lot of people were injured.

Notting Hill Riots are sometimes underestimated as minor disturbances lasting only few days, but the five day long riot helped to start debates over racial issues. In 1961 the number of Caribbean inhabitants reached 100 000 only in London.⁹ The increasing population of various ethnical minorities streaming to Great Britain from 1950s on called for laws conditioning racial prejudice, social and civil rights of newcomers and other important issues. Race Relations Act in 1976 guaranteed to all ethnic minorities racial equality in all possible fields.¹⁰

During the 1970s Afro-Caribbeans were given better jobs and many of them joined various unions or they actively participated at committees and finally achieved desired influence in Britain.¹¹ The arrival of Afro-Caribbean minority to the shores of Great Britain on the board of the Windrush marked a new era of the British Isles. They became starters of the new concept of multicultural Britain. The same changes appeared after the Second World War also in many other European countries, such as Germany or France. However, Great Britain is one of the few countries which succeeded in having the ability to provide ethnic minorities life without cultural, social and work barriers.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Race Relations Act, 1976. Available at <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1976/74/contents> (accessed August 13, 2012).

¹¹ BBC, Mike Phillips, "British History in depth: Windrush – the Passengers," BBC History Website. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/windrush_01.shtml (accessed August 13, 2012).

2.3. The Formation of British Afro-Caribbean Identity

During the first years of the stay on the English Isles, Carribeans lived in ghettos, in a unity – firmly closed by family, friend relations, and common origin. They were separated from the mainstream British society, because of their colour and their distinctiveness. As K. Ramchand noted: “Leaving the West Indies and coming to Britain is like entering a land where the natives suffer from a curious kind of colour blindness in the contemplation of human groups. This special form of blindness manifests itself in insensitivity to racial discriminations and variant shades *within* the category ‘black’. It registers two crude categories, black and White.”¹²

Probably the attitude of Brits towards Afro-Caribbeans in the period between the 1950s and 1980s caused that many of them desired to turn back home.¹³ They felt unwelcomed in Great Britain in all aspects of everyday life – starting with work and ending with their acceptance by British society in general. Being connected with their mother land so much that they wanted to be buried back home, many of the first generation Caribbeans moved there before they died.¹⁴ Some of the second generation Caribbeans eventually turned back to the Caribbean Islands where they experienced a peculiar feeling of being regarded foreigners in their own country.¹⁵ Ironically, they were given the same social status in Great Britain. Whilst the oldest generations compared their life before coming to Britain with the one they led back home, younger generations

¹² Columbia College Chicago, “Caribbean experience in Britain,” Available at <http://work.colum.edu/~zfurness/theories/caribbean-experience-in-britain.pdf>,28. (accessed 10 August, 2012).

¹³ Columbia College Chicago, “Caribbean experience in Britain,” Available at <http://work.colum.edu/~zfurness/theories/caribbean-experience-in-britain.pdf>,16. (accessed 10 August, 2012).

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., 17.

already born in the UK compared their lives with the lives of their white classmates, workmates and friends.¹⁶

The roaring 1960s was the time of changes and fighting for gender and racial equality. It was also the time of youth. The position of young people within the society changed, as they became economically independent and interested in politics more than ever before. They were not afraid of having different opinions far from the mainstream. Young Afro-Caribbeans became associated with Rastafarian movement. The movement had very old roots which date back to the first half of the 20th century. The main idea was to reunite black people with African roots and escape from the oppression of white people. Whilst the first relationships between the whites and blacks were framed as owners and slaves, later after the abolition of slavery and after the immigration to Britain the relationships changed from owners and slaves to the form of discrimination and racism. The movement changed the direction of resistance.”¹⁷ In spite of being a sub-culture and a form of religion too, it helped the young black people to be proud of being black, to unite and to preserve their own community within the mainstream British society.

During the 1950s and 1960s there were no protective racial laws existing in Great Britain and racial oppression was not regarded as illegal. The transformation of laws and the way British people thought about black and other races was completed within the 1970s with the passing of racial acts which made them equal to the whites in work opportunities, education etc. Afro-Caribbeans nowadays hold important offices and are fully incorporated into the British society.

Nowadays in 2012 the fourth generation of Caribbeans live in Great Britain. They are different from the first generation which arrived on the board of the

¹⁶ Columbia College Chicago, “Caribbean experience in Britain,” Available at <http://work.colum.edu/~zfulness/theories/caribbean-experience-in-britain.pdf>, 18. (accessed 10 August, 2012).

¹⁷ Hana Urbánková, “The British Contemporary Sub-Cultures“ (bachelor thesis, Tomas Bata University in Zlin, 2010), 24.

Windrush Empire. They became more interested in education and future. However, being all from the same community, their political leanings are widely diverse. The scale of their political opinions goes from highly conservative to radical and militant.¹⁸ In the sense of national identity which is a frequently discussed topic on the British Isles, dividing people on Scots, Welsh and English, Afro-Caribbeans consider themselves being British rather than English.¹⁹ The rare feeling of being a part of British identity is nowadays associated with immigrants in general.

In spite of living for many years in Britain, they are a proud black British community who established themselves in many fields including the arts, politics and media. The best-known people of Caribbean descendants in Britain are: Britain's first black peer Lord Leary Constantin, political activist and feminist Claudia Jones, writer Andrea Levy, Benjamin Zephaniah, TV presenter Trevor McDonald, cultural theorist Stuart Hall or a model Naomi Campbell. As other immigrant cultures in Britain, Caribbeans have their music, literature and arts in which the theme of racial and cultural difference or adapting into British society appears frequently. As many other ethnical minorities in Britain also Afro-Caribbeans have the sense of preserving their own culture. They have a strong feeling for community unification and in order to both communicate and to spread their culture, they use all possible means including newspapers, magazines, radio, television and Internet websites.

¹⁸ Columbia College Chicago, "Caribbean experience in Britain," Available at <http://work.colum.edu/~zfurness/theories/caribbean-experience-in-britain.pdf>, 20. (accessed 10 August, 2012).

¹⁹ Anne Fraenkel, Richard Hail, and Seamus O'Riordan, *Teach yourself: England*, 2nd ed. (London: Hodden Headline Ltd., 2004), 215.

3. Media and Ethnicity

Media are seen as one of the most important shaper of contemporary society from the second half of the 20th century. This role was in the past played mostly by family attitude, school, community, theatre and probably even church and other institutions. Stereotypical depiction of members of ethnic minorities could be observed even in literature. Black people were usually characterized as silly, superstitious, lazy and easy to be fooled (Renaissance drama), Jews as wealthy and sly (Christopher Marlow – *The Jew of Malta*) and Asians as minority who are not able to assimilate (Zadie Smith – *White Teeth*).

It is clear that if white inhabitants do not have any direct experience with members of other races and ethnic groups, they are dependent on the portrayal provided by various media. Ethnic minorities were incorporated into television programmes, radio streaming, press and advertisements but they are even now sometimes regarded as “the others”. The more distinct they are in their physical appearance, the more untrustworthy they are for white British settlers. This undeserved stereotypical perception is now challenged especially through series, films, advertisements etc., which try to show members of ethnic minorities as they are with the stress on racial equality. It is important to realize the big change which enabled the representation of all British inhabitants disregarding colour of skin, race or ethnicity.

The relationship between media and ethnicity nowadays is according to Simon Cottle, a Professor of Media Communication in the Sociology at Bath Spa University, characterized by “conflict and change”.²⁰ The change can be seen in moving the attention towards ethnic minorities in general. Since ethnic minorities were noticed by mainstream media, there were conflicts and frequent discussions over their representation and portrayal which were not many times positive and

²⁰ Simon Cottle, “Minorities: Mapping the Field“ (Buckingham: Open university, 2000). Available at <http://ww.mcgraw-hill.co.uk/openup/chapters/0335202705.pdf,13> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

accurate. In 1976 the Commission for Racial Equality recommended the British media to improve the portrayal of members of ethnic minorities.

From 1976 to 2012 thirty-six years passed and ethnic minorities are not only represented in all sorts of media and advertising too, they founded their own specialized newspapers, radio stations and programmes. The representation of ethnic minorities in mainstream media was important especially for shaping of “white public opinion” on ethnicity and race. It helped to perceive and demonstrate attitudes of white inhabitants towards other ethnicities and vice versa. All media have their codes of conduct on the basis of which listeners, readers or audience can complain about inappropriate and racially offensive content, so that everyone who feels offended has the right to complain.²¹

3.1. Press

First regular British newspapers can be traced to the beginning of the 18th century.²² The best known and the oldest surviving newspaper is The Times, founded in 1785.²³ Throughout the following centuries the number of newspapers grew rapidly. Nowadays in Britain there are twelve national dailies and eleven national Sundays including both tabloids and broadsheets.²⁴ The total circulation of national daily newspapers was in March 2012 reaching six million copies²⁵ and national Sunday newspapers nearly nine million copies.²⁶ As the most popular

²¹ Brenda Kirsch, *Ethnic Diversity in Britain* (London: Broglia Press, 1999), 6.

²² NS The Voice of Local Media, “History of British Newspapers,” NS The Voice of Media, Available at <http://www.newspapersoc.org.uk/history-of-british-newspaper> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

²³ Media in Britain, Publisher by Foreign and Commonwealth Office, printed in Britain by ABC Printers Ltd 1997

²⁴ The Guardian, “National Newspaper ABC Figures 2012,” The Guardian online, 2012. Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/page/2012/feb/10/1> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

²⁵ The Guardian, “ABCs: National daily newspaper circulation March 2012,” The Guardian online, 2012. Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/table/2012/apr/13/abcs-national-newspapers>. (accessed 13 August, 2012).

²⁶ Ibid.

Sunday newspapers *The News of the World* was replaced by Rupert Murdoch's *The Sun* on Sunday became the leading newspaper in the UK with the highest number of readers.

Whilst the number of newspaper publications is growing, the readership is shrinking.²⁷ The traditional division of newspapers into broadsheets and tabloids signifies also the division of the society. British citizens with higher education and higher standards of living including upper and middle-class are traditionally readers of broadsheets. Working-class people usually form a considerable part of the total readership of tabloids.²⁸ However, the distribution of readers is not only based on a social status but is also influenced by political leanings of the press.

The Daily Telegraph, The Times and The Spectator are rather conservative, *The Guardian* is on the left and *The Mirror* is associated with the Labour Party. It is assumed that the majority of ethnic minorities including Afro-Caribbean community is working-class and left oriented. Except mainstream newspapers and tabloids, ethnic minorities have their own papers such as: Sing Tao (Chinese), Al-awsat and Al-hayat (Arabic), Hurriyet (Turkish), Asian Voice, Caribbean Times, Jewish Chronicle and journals including Asian Trader, Asian Hotel and Caterer and Asian Convenience Retailer.²⁹

3.2. Radio

The representation of ethnic minorities within mainstream broadcasting is gradually on increase over recent years. However, in the research from November

²⁷ Stephen Brook, "Paper readership dips 5m in 15 years," *The Guardian online*, December 21, 2007. Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2007/dec/21/pressandpublishing> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

²⁸ Helena Janasová, "Media in Britain" (lecture, TBU, Zlín, 2008).

²⁹ Brenda Kirsch, *Ethnic Diversity in Britain* (London: Broglia Press, 1999), 6.

2002 edited by Andrea Millwood Hargrave was mentioned that whilst the representation of ethnic minorities in radio is more or less sufficient, the origin of radio presenters (if they belong to any ethnic minority) is often unclear.³⁰ Nonetheless, some of them use names that unambiguously denote the place they come from.³¹

The best known radio in Great Britain is BBC. BBC together with other independent radio services including national and local are regulated by the Radio Authority. The Authority is also a provider of special restricted time limited licences that are issued for ethnic minorities during their religious holidays and events for broadcasting of such kind. These licences are usually issued for 28 days.³² Out of all BBC radio stations, BBC4 has been widely criticized for not appealing to ethnic minorities.³³ BBC1 and BBC2 broadcast new music, including modern music influenced by ethnic elements. BBC3 is famous for black jazz music. BBC5 is a sport station where names of many non-white sportsmen and sportswomen are heard. BBC4 is sometimes referred to as a radio station of wise speech for middle-class and middle-aged. There are several pros and cons in having station like this. In Britain of the 21st century where everyone has their own radio station and majority of stations are focused on young people or they are clean-cut in their scope of broadcasting, BBC4 can be seen as a good source of information for everyone who is willing to listen.

³⁰Andrea Millwood Hargrave, "Multicultural broadcasting: concept and reality" (London: BBC, 2002). Available at <http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/guidelines/editorialguidelines/research/multicultural-broadcasting.pdf>, 1. (accessed 13 August, 2012).

³¹ Ibid.

³² Brenda Kirsch, *Ethnic Diversity in Britain* (London: Broglia Press, 1999), 6.

³³ Claire Ellicot, "Radio 4 drive for ethnic listeners following claims it's too white," *The Daily Mail online*, November 29, 2009. Available at <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1231942/Radio-4-drive-ethnic-listeners-following-claims-white.html>. (accessed 13 August, 2012).

In general, the main aim of radio in Britain nowadays is to offer broadcasting which will appeal to various ages, tastes but also ethnicity. Except special licences issued by the Radio Authority, ethnic minorities have also their own radio stations and programs that broadcast permanently such as ILM Islamic radio, BBC Asian Network, Kismat Radio etc.

3.3. Television

Television in Britain is next to press the most important medium. Members of ethnic minorities were given face on TV during the 1970s when various television series on racial themes and relations appeared for the first time. They usually mocked at racial stereotypes which were present in UK especially during the 1950 and 1960s. Such series were e.g. *Love Thy Neighbour* or *Mind Your Language*.³⁴

The representation of ethnicity on television is nowadays focused on Black, Indian or Asian communities. As they are visually different from the white majority, they are easy to be distinguished. However, there are minorities which “look white” and are without any specific features. Such ethnicity is in media seen as ordinary and more close to WASPS. These ethnicities are for example Jews, Greeks or Irish people. They are very rarely represented on TV or at least members of these communities do not see themselves on mainstream television.³⁵

The majority of ethnic minorities are nowadays represented not only in series, advertisements and films but also as TV presenters and reporters. The BBC and other televisions developed special recruitment programmes for members of other ethnicities.³⁶ They offer employment, trainee programmes but also encourage

³⁴ Sanjay Barbora, “Media and Minorities in the UK” (Calcutta: Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, 2009). Available at http://www.mcrp.ac.in/minority/studyvisit_Sanjay.pdf. (accessed 13 August, 2012).

³⁵ Andrea Millwood Hargrave, “Multicultural broadcasting: concept and reality” (London: BBC, 2002). Available at <http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/guidelines/editorialguidelines/research/multicultural-broadcasting.pdf>. 1. (accessed 13 August, 2012).

³⁶ Brenda Kirsch, *Ethnic Diversity in Britain* (London: Broglia Press, 1999), 6.

young film makers and directors from different ethnic background. The main aim of television companies concerning race equality is therefore employment and portrayal. These practices are secured under the Broadcasting Act of 1990 under a section 38, which says: “Any Channel 3 licence or licence to provide Channel 4 or Channel 5 shall include conditions requiring the licence holder - to make arrangements for promoting, in relation to employment by him, equality of opportunity between men and women and between persons of different racial groups”³⁷ and under the Broadcasting Act of 1996, section 34.³⁸

Nonetheless, in the research by Hargrave³⁹ some participants still could not see a truthful depiction of their own community. They found the portrayal non-authentic and sometimes even silly. Majority of participants saw the main influence of television broadcasting in breaking down the stereotypes and certain barriers between British white culture and minority cultures by showing:

- people from various ethnic backgrounds as respectful models (TV presenters, etc.)
- positively their mother land
- willingness to accept members of different ethnicity within a mainstream society

According to a report by YouGov made for the Culture Diversity Network in 2006 which questioned 780 Britons of ethnic minority origin it was found out that half of them did not regard TV news sufficient in bringing issues relevant to them on screen. On the contrary only 31% of respondents would welcome TV news

³⁷ Broadcasting Act, 1990. Available at <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1990/42/contents> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

³⁸ Broadcasting Act, 1996. Available at <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1996/55/section/34> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

³⁹ Andrea Millwood Hargrave, “Multicultural broadcasting: concept and reality” (London: BBC, 2002). Available at <http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/guidelines/editorialguidelines/research/multicultural-broadcasting.pdf>, 3. (accessed 13 August, 2012).

that was focused specially on them.⁴⁰ These numbers mirror the multicultural makeup of Great Britain and the general attitudes of ethnic minorities. On one hand, they merge with a mainstream white population but on the other hand, even when they are a part of the mainstream, they try to retain something of their own.

3.4. Advertising

The profile of the country's population is highly multicultural (with population in England and Wales where 16,65% inhabitants is of other than white British origin),⁴¹ which is a fact that is very important for all media including advertising, especially then for their strategies that are based on needs and desires of all sorts of society. Advertising industry is constantly pushed to produce advertisements which suit to the tastes of all citizens of the UK. Members of ethnic minorities appear in both printed and television advertisements.

Nevertheless, their representation is not that wide as in television programmes, series and films. A research from 2011 found out that only 5% of all advertisements in Britain feature ethnic minorities. The traditional products advertised in the commercials with non-white actors were usually medicaments and real estate, whilst advertisements on household products did not employed any members of ethnic minorities.⁴²

⁴⁰John Plunkett, „Ethnic minorities criticise TV news coverage,“ *The Guardian online*, 2 October, 2006. Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2006/oct/02/tvnews.raceandreligion> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁴¹ONS, “2011 census,” quoted in Simon Rogers, “The Ethnic population of England and Wales broken down by local authority,” *The Guardian online*, May 18, 2011, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2011/may/18/ethnic-population-england-wales> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁴²Mark Sweney, “Only 5% of TV ads feature ethnic minorities,“ *The Guardian online*, April 21, 2011, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2011/apr/21/tv-ads-ethnic-minorities> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

The report from 2002 made by the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising showed that only 2% of all ad performing actors were of ethnic minority origin. In 2004 the number increased by 6%.⁴³ The improvement is obvious, but the number is still not fully sufficient. The lack of people from minorities in ads could be probably justified by the main aim of advertising which is simply a selling of product. Moreover, advertising does not have any educational purposes and the characters are completely undeveloped as there is no space for their portrayal. Therefore the ethnic underrepresentation is not such a big issue.

The general idea in advertising is to create advertisements that would be directly focused on ethnic communities. This model is widely used in the U.S. where it is popular among audiences.⁴⁴ However, there is a fundamental difference between ethnic minority audience in the U.S. and in the UK. Whilst in the U.S. there is countless number of various ethnic minorities, the society is multicultural and extremely diverse but also more separated from the mainstream culture, in the UK the society is multicultural too but various ethnicities and mainstream population are much more fused together. Such model therefore loses its effectiveness when it comes to reality in Britain.

According to Jonathan Mildenhall, a strategy director at Mother London advertising agency, the best strategy for the future is to employ more people from ethnic minorities on creative positions at agencies, so that they could bring new spirit and ideas influenced by their own origin. That is the most convenient and sensible way to appeal to vast audiences. A 2005 report compiled by the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA) showed that only 6.8% of people working in advertising industry in Britain were of other ethnic origin with leading Asian and

⁴³ Jennifer Whitehead, "A better mix of talent," *The Guardian online*, December 4, 2006, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2006/dec/04/mondaymediasection28> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁴⁴The Economist, "One message, or many?," *The Economist online*, December 31, 2011, Available at <http://www.economist.com/node/21542203> (accessed 10 May, 2012).

black minority.⁴⁵ In census made by the IPA again in 2011 the percentage increased to promising 9.04%.⁴⁶

The history of advertising in Britain concerning racial issues is more than rich and not always positive. There were even several ads which had to be withdrawn for their racially offensive context. These included Bayer's ad on well-known hangover pills depicting a man performing a Hindu yoga greeting stamped across with the word "rubbish" and writing "Go out, have a laugh and be alright". This seriously offended Hindus and the ad was in 2002 withdrawn.⁴⁷

Other companies known for inappropriate advertisements are employment agency Reed and even the Commission for Racial equality themselves. Their ad was unacceptable because of a picture of a black man and writing underneath "Scared? You should be, he is a dentist".⁴⁸ The latter case shows, that it is not only difficult to make a good ad which would attract people of ethnic origin but also not to offend them anyhow when employing their portrayal.

The situation in media adherent to the ethnic minority portrayals, the appeal to ethnic minority audiences and their recruitment is frequently discussed in Britain over forty years. The improvement since the 1970s is visible but it seems that still not sufficient. Nonetheless, it is important to realize what a big step the people of ethnic origin have made over those years. They were first regarded the lowest part of the British conservative society, later they became equal in the eyes of

⁴⁵ Jennifer Whitehead, "A better mix of talent," *The Guardian online*, December 4, 2006, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2006/dec/04/mondaymediasection28> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁴⁶ Staff, "UK's IPA agency trade body launches campaign to recruit more non-white adfolk," More About Advertising, Available at <http://www.moreaboutadvertising.com/2012/01/uks-ipa-agency-trade-body-launches-campaign-to-recruit-more-non-white-adfolk/> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁴⁷ BBC, "Advertisers miss out on ethnic pound," BBC News Website, Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/3129178.stm> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁴⁸ Vanessa Thorpe, "Anti-racism adverts try new approach," *The Independent online*, November 24, 1998, Available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/antiracism-adverts-try-new-approach-1186989.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

Britons. They achieved everything thanks to their own persistence and determination. Only they can be credited for establishing their own press, radios and television companies. Some of them call for better portrayal, some of them for faces of their own ethnicity on television and others only want their issues to be discussed as important and relevant to others. However, what they all have in common is the desire for being seen as an appreciated part of the British society who never forgets where they came from.

4. Caribbean media in Great Britain

The first aim of this chapter will be to list Caribbean media in Great Britain, comment on their history, the information they provide and suggest possible improvements. Secondly, the chapter will demonstrate the similarities and differences in presentation of issues connected to the community in both their own media and in mainstream British media. The parts concerning British press will be based on electronic versions of various newspapers or magazines.

4.1. Caribbean press in Britain

The best known newspapers of the Caribbean community in the past in Great Britain were West-Indian Digest and the Weekly Journal. Both titles were owned by Arif Ali, a businessman who came from Guyana. He is the founding father of Caribbean press in Britain. Ali's life story resembles lives of many Caribbeans in Britain, who first started at low position jobs and later made living with the help of their own business. When he first came to Britain, he opened a shop with Caribbean food. However, he felt that it was not enough and in 1970s he established a family publishing company called Hansib Publications which published books by African, Caribbean and Asian writers.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Fay Wertheimer, "Minority publisher celebrates 40th birthday," *The Guardian online*, November 24, 2010, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2010/nov/24/minority-publisher-hansib-40th-birthday> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

He also started publishing magazines for ethnic minorities including West-Indian Digest and the Weekly Journal. These two publications were in 1997 sold and Arif Ali focused only on publishing books by ethnic authors.⁵⁰ Hansib Publications published works by writers such as Katherine Birbalsingh, Angus Richmond or Deanne Heron.⁵¹ The publishing, although famous among ethnic writers, is very often chosen by these writers as the last chance after a refusal by all the other big publishers.⁵²

This is more than a sad discovery, but it is a cruel reality of the world of literature. Ethnic minority writers are pushed because of financial reasons, reputation and prestige to have their works published by big mainstream publishing houses. Instead of supporting their own publishing house they are forced by various factors to have their books published either by Vintage Books or Penguin. Nonetheless, the market is inexorable. A big and well-known publishing house guarantees that books published are worth reading. There is no wonder that young or starting writers of ethnic origin try to get their books to big mainstream publishers. Hansib Publications then at least serves as a take-off platform for ethnic minority authors.

When Arif Ali sold West-Indian Digest and the Weekly Journal, they were no longer prosperous. *The Voice* became the number one among Caribbean newspapers in the 1980s. *The Voice* was established in 1982 and it was not trusted at first to attract many readers.⁵³ Surprisingly, the opposite was true. It is a weekly newspaper published on Thursday. It targets Afro-Caribbean community in Great Britain and it belongs to the group of tabloids. It is called the best black

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Hansib Books, "Hansib Publications catalogue," Hansib Books, Available at <http://www.hansib-books.com/catalog.htm> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁵² Fay Wertheimer, "Minority publisher celebrates 40th birthday," *The Guardian online*, November 24, 2010, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2010/nov/24/minority-publisher-hansib-40th-birthday> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁵³ The Voice Online, "About us," *The Voice online*, Available at <http://www.voice-online.co.uk/about-us> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

British newspaper and it is not named *The Voice* by coincidence. Its name signifies the fact that it gives voice to all black people in Great Britain.

The Voice newspaper played an important role in the building of British black press in general. It originated after infamous Brixton riots where many members of Caribbean ethnicity protested against constant searching of black people, recession that brought high unemployment, and poor living conditions.⁵⁴ These conditions were strengthened by a tense relationship between the black community and the police. In the disturbances 300 people were injured.⁵⁵ The riots repeated again four years later. It was the time of big instability which was difficult for the white as well as for the immigrants. Brixton, as a part of London which was bombed during the Second World War underwent a reconstruction. This reconstruction was done mainly with the help of Caribbean people who came on Windrush after the war. They also started living there, creating one of the biggest Caribbean communities in Britain. The first editors of *The Voice* came from the generation of black people who were already born in Britain and who had something to say to people from their own communities. This was a revolutionary idea because the primordial aim was no more to provide information of what happened in mother lands of Africans and Caribbeans but it was to show the whole country that black people are there too, they have the same needs as white Britons and though black, they feel British.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ BBC, Cindi John, "The Legacy of the Brixton Riots," BBC News Website, Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4854556.stm (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁵⁵ BBC, "1981: Brixton riots report blames racial tension," BBC News, BBC Website, Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/november/25/newsid_2546000/2546233.stm (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁵⁶ Olive Vassel, "No other but a Negro can represent the Negro" (Columbia: University of the District of Columbia, 2009), 10. Available at <http://journal.afroeuropa.eu/index.php/afroeuropa/article/viewFile/135/124> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

The Voice is a newspaper which reached the highest circulation figures during the 1990s (51 318 copies)⁵⁷ as it advertised many job vacancies targeted at Afro-Caribbean population. While the job advertisements remained, the circulation numbers decreased significantly by 20%.⁵⁸ The reason was the appearance of new newspaper and journal titles such as *Black Briton* and *New Nation* which, however, do not exist nowadays anymore. The last numbers about the circulation of *the Voice* are from late 1990s.⁵⁹ Nowadays its circulation figures are even not available on Audit Bureau of Circulations website.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, the decrease in readership applies to all newspapers in general in the last ten years. The curiosity about the numbers is intensified by the fact that the figures were always shown on the front page. The hunger for numbers was partly satisfied by writing in the right corner “30 years serving Black Britain 1982-2012”.⁶¹

The Voice newspaper is mostly criticized for its approach and for being sometimes too much concerned about racism. Whilst mainstream media provide information with the lack of ethnic focus, *the Voice* provides sometimes too much of ethnic problems connected only to racism within the main white British culture.⁶² Essentially, both mainstream media and *the Voice* fail to meet criteria for high-quality British press for everyone. The solution for *The Voice* might be found in keeping the reputation of the best black newspaper in Britain and start to provide news and information that would be imbedded to the whole context of multicultural British society. It is necessary to realize that the entire Afro-

⁵⁷Joseph Harker, “Voice over?,” *The Guardian online*, July 9, 2001, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2001/jul/09/mondaymediasection.raceintheuk> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ <http://www.abc.org.uk/>

⁶¹The Voice, “Issue no. 1534,” *The Voice online*, July 19, 2012, Available at <http://www.voice-online.co.uk/issue-no-1534-july-19-25-2012> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁶² Joseph Harker, “Voice over?,” *The Guardian online*, July 9, 2001, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2001/jul/09/mondaymediasection.raceintheuk> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

Caribbean community has changed since the time when they had to fight with the harshest forms of racism and had to fight for their place in the society. Britain became a country where all ethnicities fuse together more than anywhere else.

The content and the visual means of the newspaper are very similar to any other British tabloid paper with shocking headlines written with big capital letters. The language is simple and plain with the usage of strong words, phrases and omnipresent subconscious associations with racism, especially then in the OPINION section. The apparent strong point of the online version of the newspaper is definitely the CAREER section which encourages young people, providing them with positive models.⁶³

The management of the newspaper tried to succeed with many other titles, magazines and journals for Afro-Caribbeans in Britain including a magazine for black women called *Woman 2 Woman*, *Weekly Journal* and many others.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, the success did not come. What remained is a fashion magazine *Pride* that celebrates all non-white women and *The Voice* itself. *The Pride* magazine is a high-quality counterpart to mainstream fashion magazines *Look*, *InStyle* or *Elle* which does not target women of colour at all. The peak of ethnic equality in such magazines is a placing of two or three photos of black and Asian women into one issue. The realization of the *Pride* magazine was a good idea as it filled the gap that appeared on the market with magazines for women in Britain.

The latest much discussed topic connected to *The Voice* was the denial of access to Olympic Games starting on 27 July 2012.⁶⁵ The denial was followed by

⁶³ The Voice, "Careers," The Voice, Available at <http://www.voice-online.co.uk/careers> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁶⁴ Olive Vassel, "No other but a Negro can represent the Negro" (Columbia: University of the District of Columbia, 2009), 10. Available at <http://journal.afroeuropa.eu/index.php/afroeuropa/article/viewFile/135/124>, 11. (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁶⁵ Elizabeth Pears and Mahlet Belaye, "Access denied: Voice revers furious over Olympic snub," *The Voice online*, July 17, 2012, Available at <http://www.voice-online.co.uk/article/access-denied-voice-readers-furious-over-olympic-snub> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

protests from readers of *The Voice* and many other Afro-Caribbean Britons. Nobody understood why the best selling black newspaper could not report from the Games and why it was *The Voice* which British Olympics Association (BOA) refused to give the accreditation to. It is known that there is always a limitation to media on such occasions and the BOA chooses them carefully.

It is clear that *The Guardian*, *The Mirror*, *The Sun* and other British media giants cannot be compared to the relatively small newspaper *The Voice* which is only a weekly and targets specific readership, but BOA probably did not consider their decision properly. As Zita Holbourne, one of the protesting participants stated: “Given the number of black athletes that are competing in the Olympics that Team GB rely on for Olympic success, no accreditation for the biggest-selling Black newspaper is just atrocious”⁶⁶ and subsequently she compared the decision of the BOA to an absurd situation that could happen if disabled people were not allowed to Paralympics.⁶⁷

Zita Holbourne at the end launched an online petition in which she collected 2 600 signatures against the BOA’s decision.⁶⁸ The decision has been finally reversed and the accreditation for *The Voice* was granted before the Olympic Games started.⁶⁹

Another well-known newspaper that focuses on Caribbean readership is *The Weekly Gleaner* and it informs about news both in the UK and in Jamaica. As *The Voice* it is published weekly on every Thursday. It is slightly cheaper than *The Voice* and the cost of both is about 2.50 pounds. *The Weekly Gleaner* is owned by

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Roy Greenslade, “The Voice wins its Olympic accreditation,” *The Guardian online*, July 18, 2012, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/greenslade/2012/jul/18/newspapers-race> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁶⁹ Lisa O’Carroll, “London Olympics 2012: the Voice wins the victory after stadium snub,” *The Guardian online*, July 18, 2012, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2012/jul/18/london-olympics-the-voice> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

the Gleaner Company, which is the oldest press company in Jamaica. The Gleaner Company publishes in Jamaica several titles including *Daily Gleaner*, *Sunday Gleaner* and *The Star Gleaner*. *The Weekly Gleaner*, available in the UK then brings the best what happened during the week. The structure and visual layout of the paper is very similar to *The Voice*. This is not a coincidence, because *The Voice* is a part of the Gleaner Company.⁷⁰ The news provided by both titles is usually very similar.

The rest of magazines can be bought at exclusive newsagents in the UK. The best magazine about travelling and living is *The Caribbean World Magazine* which is published quarterly and connects British and Caribbean lifestyle together. Its cost is more than 5.50 pounds at the newsagent's and the advantage for readers of this magazine is that it is also available in full online version. It provides the readers with tips for travelling in the West Indies and interviews with interesting people.

Nonetheless, lifestyle magazines about travelling and living are not as widely read as magazines for women. Magazines for women are probably the most popular type of magazines all around the world. The names as *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar* or *Cosmopolitan* are household names in the UK. They all focus on middle-/upper-class women. This fact is mirrored in their content and mainly in prices of advertised goods. As it was said, majority of Caribbean people living in the United Kingdom are of working-class origin. Most Caribbean women can afford buying these titles, but usually they cannot afford buying the advertised products. That is why the British press market is saturated with titles for black women such as: *Beauty*, *Fab*, *Black Hair* or *Pride*. They are all reasonably priced with prices starting from 2.30 pounds to 4 pounds and proposed or advertised products are more likely to be offered at various price levels. The topics discussed and information provided is aimed at all women of colour.

The overall press situation in Great Britain has changed over the decades. All newspapers, including those targeting black readers moved online. It gave access

⁷⁰ Gleaner Company Website, "Gleaner Company Websites," The Gleaner company corporate, Available at <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/search3.htm> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

to everyone in the world to read what they want. The so-called Black magazines and papers are nowadays also available in online versions. To be able to read all pages, reader must subscribe and pay. Another way to get some information that is relevant to a Caribbean community in Great Britain is to follow particular websites such as itzcaribbean.com which is the UK's leading website for the Caribbean community or blogs e.g. A Musing Miss B, Tricia-BlackBookNews, The Blacknet and many others. Some of the blogs are praised for their open-mindedness but sometimes can be biased. Nevertheless, journalism of the 21st century is no more only about people writing to newspapers and journals. As it might have been seen in the case of Zita Holbourne who raised the public attention about the Olympics vs *The Voice* issue online⁷¹, the future of the press is not in the paper anymore, but on the computer screen.

4.2. Caribbean radio in Britain

The best known radio in the UK is BBC and with its stations it satisfies tastes of all listeners in Great Britain. BBC 1Xtra is a synonym for black urban music. This station is a sister of the BBC1 station which broadcasts the newest music of the world. BBC3 can be also considered as very close station to the taste of Afro-Caribbean Britons for its jazz, swing and soul music. These main stations are more or less music-based as well as the whole range of internet stations broadcasting from various parts of Great Britain. The best known music-based internet stations are SocaFM, GMQEX Caribbean Radio, Tempo Radio and many others.

Some local radio stations supply Caribbean listeners with news and information in programmes aimed at ethnic communities. The most appreciated radio station with such programmes is BBC London.⁷² Although launched in the 1970s, 20 years after the Windrush, it started to notice Caribbean listeners not earlier than in

⁷¹ Zita Holbourne, *Olympic Dis*, performed by Zita Holbourne, July 15, 2012 (soundcloud), 2012. Available at <http://soundcloud.com/zita-holbourne/olympic-diss-written-performed> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁷² Foreign and Commonwealth Office London, *Media in Britain* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office London, 1997), 21.

the 1980s⁷³. The increasing Caribbean population created potential listeners of BBC. The time has changed and the BBC was forced by the needs of multicultural British society to develop new programmes. The first programme for Caribbean listeners was called black Londoners starting at 7pm and ending at 8pm. This programme set high standards for the structure of ethnic broadcasting. BBC London station was also a starting point for many DJs and radio presenters of Caribbean origin such Alex Pascall, Juliet Alexander, Syd Burke and Mike Phillips.⁷⁴

Nowadays the radio programmes that are provided by the BBC are e.g. a programme lead by Dotun Adebayo⁷⁵ that is broadcasted every Sunday from 8pm on BBC London, a programme on BBC Radio Bristol called UK Black⁷⁶ transmitted every Wednesday or The Ace Show⁷⁷ on BBC Radio Derby. All the programmes are lead by black radio presenters who provide listeners with relevant information and subsequently comment on news from Afro-Caribbean perspective. The most discussed topics in these programmes are usually education, crime, health, arts and fashion. They also allow their listeners to have their say via email or phone-in conversations. The possibility to express one's own opinion is highly appreciated by Afro-Caribbeans as they were not given this chance in the past very often. It is not a coincidence that many media titles

⁷³Elizabeth Pears, "Farewell to men who shaped black Britain," *The Voice online*, January 1, 2012, Available at <http://www.voice-online.co.uk/article/farewell-men-who-shaped-black-britain> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁷⁴BBC, "About us," BBC London, BBC Website, Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/london/content/articles/2007/02/08/bbclondonradio_history_feature.shtml (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁷⁵BBC, "Presenters A-Z," BBC London, BBC Website, Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/london/content/articles/2006/08/24/dotun_sunday_feature.shtml (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁷⁶BBC, "UK Black," BBC Podcast, BBC Website, Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/podcasts/series/ukblack> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁷⁷BBC, "Profile: The Ace Show," BBC Derby, BBC Website, Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/derby/hi/tv_and_radio/newsid_8275000/8275193.stm (accessed 13 August, 2012).

connected to Black community in Britain used to have or has the word “voice” in their name (*The Voice* newspaper, My Voice radio programme⁷⁸ etc.)

Internet radio streaming has a big potential especially among young British Caribbeans. There are only few youngsters who turn on the radio every Sunday when Dotun Adebayo has his speech, but there are many of those who find some free time, go online, find the archive and listen to the programme wherever and whenever they want. In 21st century Britain when the time is full of haste, those who really care always have the chance to get the information.

4.3. Caribbean television in Britain

Television as a medium is for many people who come from ethnic background one of the least appreciated. All the channels available in Britain are full of programmes, series and movies that do not appeal to them. Moreover, usually there is very little space given to them. According to the research carried out by the Open University and the University of Manchester it was found out that members of ethnic minorities cannot find themselves or cannot identify with characters from mainstream series. The ratings of the best-known traditional British series *The Coronation Street* showed proved it.⁷⁹ The respondents, including Caribbeans, justified their opinion on the best British soap opera by claiming that the life which might be seen in *The Coronation Street* is simply not theirs. It is too English, too middle-class and too white. On the contrary, they usually preferred series called *EastEnders*,⁸⁰ which seemed to be closer to their lives, because it captured the atmosphere of 21st century East End in London.

⁷⁸ Claudine Tomlinson-Burney, *My Voice*, spoken by Claudine Tomlinson-Burney, (radio broadcasting), 2012. Available at <http://www.wmfe.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=12526> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁷⁹ Mark Sweney, “British TV fails to engaging ethnic minorities,” *The Guardian online*, November 9, 2006. Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2006/nov/09/race.broadcasting> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁸⁰ Dan Sabbagh, “Is *EastEnders* the lifeflood of the BBC?,” *The Guardian online*, February 8, 2010, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2010/feb/08/eastenders-bbc-25-years> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

The general preference of particular television channels by Afro-Caribbeans corresponds to their social status and conditions. In the research, the Channel Five is the most preferred among the community.⁸¹ The channel is widely watched by people with less education. On the contrary, programmes with art focus or other more intellectual programmes remain usually unnoticed by the community.

The Caribbean community is one of the biggest in Britain and in numbers compares to Africans. It is surprising that there are only two “black” cable channels – BVTV and Afro-Caribbean channel in comparison to well-developed media service for Asians.⁸² The question is if the majority of the potential Caribbean viewers would appreciate to have more channels. That is why Sankofa TV decided to make a historically first survey of Caribbean audience to rate the viewers and to find out what people would like to watch on TV. The survey started recently on May 1st 2012.⁸³ Hopefully, the survey will raise the awareness of Caribbean people’s television needs.

The TV is nowadays rather a pejorative synonym to the device in front of which people usually sit when they have nothing to do. In the 21st century it was replaced by the internet especially when it comes to the news. However, it is necessary to realize that the invention of television helped to shape the British society from the second half of the 20th century up to now. It was also a starting point for many people of ethnic origin. It contributed to the personal and career development of several broadcasters, television executives and actors such as Trevor Phillips, Sir Trevor McDonald, Judith Jacob and others. As it is known,

⁸¹ Mark Sweney, “British TV fails to engaging ethnic minorities,” *The Guardian online*, November 9, 2006. Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2006/nov/09/race.broadcasting> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁸² Yasmeeen Khan, “Marketing to multicultural Britain,” *The Guardian online*, June 26, 2001, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2001/jun/26/marketingandpr> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁸³ Blacknet, “The First Ever British Caribbean Survey TV,” The Blacknet, Available at http://www.blacknet.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4249:the-first-ever-british-caribbean-television-survey&catid=88:uk-news (accessed 13 August, 2012).

the television is an invention that has a power to influence people's thinking and it many times redounded to the Caribbeans' credit via various documentaries and programmes such as The Culture on Resistance on BBC2⁸⁴ or The Windrush Years series.⁸⁵ It was mainly television and radio which showed British people that Britain can become a mother land for people of all colours who contributed to the rebuilding of Britain.

5. Contemporary Caribbean generation in media

There are four generations of Caribbeans in Great Britain nowadays. They all differ from each other and there is a strikingly fundamental difference between the first generation and the third one or, more likely there is a big difference in what Britain used to be in 1948 and in 2012. The life of all generations of Caribbeans might be compared but what is impossible for the comparison is their life experience. Whilst in 1948 Britain was in ruins, people were disappointed and afraid of losing jobs, violence in the streets or what can happen next, Britain of 2012 is very different. It is a multicultural country that became a home country for people from the entire world.

British Caribbeans more than any other minority that came to Britain was limited by their social status, economic conditions and their overall distinctiveness from the conservative Britons. Over the years, the situation has changed and today's generation of young Caribbeans are more enthusiastic and they care much more of their education and status in society than their parents and grandparents used to. They have more opportunities and their lives as members of ethnic minority are of better quality than 60 years ago. Although the discrimination is still present at many fields the equality became an underlying principle of the country.

⁸⁴BBC2 Windrush Pilot – Part 1 video, 1998. Available at Youtube Website <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DEK17En5eGE> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁸⁵BBC2 Windrush Pilot – Part 2 video, 1998. Available at Youtube Website <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sh8SeGmzai4> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

Being equal means to be the same or at least similar. The only way, to achieve this for every ethnic minority was and still is the assimilation into the mainstream culture. The level of integration of Afro-Caribbeans is one of the highest from all minorities in Great Britain. This is given by the long time that they spent in the UK and by the highest percentage of interracial marriages with white British inhabitants and also with other ethnicities.⁸⁶

There are also other differences between generations. The gap between the first and the third or fourth one is so wide because of the long time that passed and because of incomparable economic and social conditions. The difference between the second and the third generation can be seen in the terms of the internal feeling about the Caribbean as their homeland. Whilst the second generation used to have thoughts of coming back to the Caribbean to find the roots and reconnect the family, the third generation does not feel any strong bounds to the Caribbean anymore.⁸⁷ They were born in Britain to families in which parents and grandparents had to fight for basic rights and equality. The third generation of Caribbeans lives lives in which they are surrounded by Britons at school, at work and many other places and the majority of them fully accepted the British way of life.

Concerning media, the Caribbeans started to be first noticed in 1939 when a programme on BBC “Calling the West Indies” originated. It was a programme that served for transmitting of letters from Caribbean soldiers to their families back home. The “Calling the West Indies” was followed by other successful programmes such as “Caribbean Voices” or “We See Britain”. These were the first steps to BBC Caribbean service.⁸⁸ The Caribbean Voices programme was special because for the first time there was a programme where Caribbean literary

⁸⁶ Ellen Quirke, Robbert Potter and Dennis Conway, *Transnationalism and the Second Generation Caribbean community in Britain* (Reading: University of Reading, 2009), 30. Available at <http://www.reading.ac.uk/web/FILES/geog/GP187.pdf> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸⁸ BBC, “About us,” BBC Caribbean, BBC Website, Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/caribbean/news/story/2011/03/110330_legacy_about_us.shtml (accessed 13, 2012).

art was introduced. Those, who contributed to the programme, were writers such as V.S. Naipaul, George Lamming, Andrew Salkey, Samuel Selvon and producers such as Michael Manley or Eugenia Charles who became later famous in politics.⁸⁹ The main editor of the programme was Henry Swanzy, an Irishman who started literary careers of the whole generation of Caribbean writers thanks to his radio programmes.

5.1. The first generation

The BBC Caribbean provided a taking off for famous presenters of the first generation Caribbeans such as Trevor McDonald or Jones Madeira. Trevor McDonald is the best known for being the first black newsreader in the UK and the majority of Britons do not regard him black anymore.⁹⁰ He first started working for BBC on the regional level, and then he moved to London where he worked for BBC London. After that in 1970s he changed BBC for Independent Television (ITV) and meanwhile became more and more popular among audiences. In 1999 he was knighted and he received a number of awards. In fact, no other British broadcaster was ever given so many awards. The Bafta Fellowship was the last prize he was awarded.⁹¹ In 2008 he left the news and continued working on special travel documentaries for ITV such The Secret Caribbean, The Secret Mediterranean and the last one of his series The Mighty Mississippi.⁹²

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ BBC2 Windrush Pilot – Part 1 video, 1998. Available at Youtube Website <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sh8SeGmzai4> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁹¹ Bafta television, “Sir Trevor McDonald: Bafta Fellow in 2011,” Bafta TV, Available at <http://www.bafta.org/television/awards/trevor-mcdonald-bafta-fellowship.2391.BA.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁹² 100 Great Britons, “Sir Trevor McDonald,” 100 Great Britons, Available at http://www.100greatblackbritons.com/bios/trevor_macdonald.html (accessed 13 August, 2012).

5.2. The second generation

The second generation of Caribbeans, who were already born in Great Britain, produced also a number of projects such as the first pirate radios, first newspapers (*The Voice*, etc.) or television programmes focused on British Caribbeans. The most notable Caribbean people of the second generation in media are Trevor Phillips, Lenny Henry, Moira Stuart and Darcus Howe. The persona of Trevor Phillips is associated both with media and with politics. In the 1990s he worked for LWT as a head of current affairs and he was much appreciated for making of television programmes, but in 2000 he decided to make a career in politics. He was even a Labour's candidate for London mayor. Then in 2003 he was elected a chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE).⁹³

Nevertheless, Trevor's leadership is marked by controversy and discontent, his formulations of speech and his opinions often provoke. E.g. in the case of the well-known cartoon painting of Prophet Muhammad he defended the cartoonist claiming that the right of free speech equals to the right to offend whoever we want.⁹⁴ It is known that Phillips is not a big supporter of Islam, which might be observed in his comment against Sharia law usage in the UK: "We have one set of laws, and that's the end of the story. Anybody who lives here has to accept that. If you want to have laws decided in another way, you have to live somewhere else."⁹⁵ Phillips' opinions may be stronger than it is expected from the chairman of the CRE, but it is clearly visible that he tries to advocate the rights of minorities, if they are in conformity with the whole British multicultural society. The society is supposed to be a unit, not a unit made of individual communities who live in their own world.

⁹³ BBC, "Profile: Trevor Phillips," BBC News. BBC Website, Available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/3726046.stm (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁹⁴ Dan [pseud.], comment on "Trevor Phillips on freedom of speech," Muscular liberals blogspot, comment posted February 27, 2006, Available at <http://muscularliberals.blogspot.cz/2006/02/trevor-phillips-on-freedom-of-speech.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁹⁵ Ibid.

Lenny Henry is of a Jamaican origin and is known as an actor and a broadcaster. He started in the 1970s with children shows, continued with minstrel shows and then became a much appreciated theatre and film actor. His career is versatile and recently he has become a playwright too. In 2011 he wrote a play *Corinne Come Back and Gone* about problems of immigrants who are coming from Britain back to Jamaica.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, he is the most remembered for being one of the best British comedians.

Moira Stuart is the first Caribbean woman, who became a newsreader on British television in 1981.⁹⁷ She worked as a radio presenter before she became a TV presenter in BBC. There she worked for 30 years. In 2007 she left BBC and worked on other projects. It is said that the reason for her disappearance from BBC was her age.⁹⁸ The BBC apparently tried to renew faces of newsreaders. Nonetheless, this information was not confirmed. After Moira Stuart ended her career in television, she became a face and a voice of HM Revenue & Customs, a company that makes campaigns and advertisements on TV to remind people of paying their taxes.⁹⁹

Darcus Howe is another second-generation Caribbean person connected with British media. He is a broadcaster and a journalist. It is known about him that he participated in various protests, demonstrations and marches during the 1980s to support African-Caribbean community. He is best known for running a show called Devil's Advocate during the 1980s in which he interviewed many publicly known people. The Devil's Advocate was a show that resembled an inquisition. It

⁹⁶ Roya Nikkhah, "Lenny Henry pens his first play," *The Telegraph online*, April 10, 2011, Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/8440124/Lenny-Henry-pens-his-first-play.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁹⁷ Friendsreunited, "Moira Stuart," Friendsreunited, Available at <http://www.friendsreunited.com/television-bbc-moira-stuart/Memory/7e265c2e-de7c-4d48-a133-a00c00a62396> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ben Dowell, "Moira Stuart to star in tax ads," *The Guardian online*, September 25, 2008, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2008/sep/25/advertising.bbc> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

was not very pleasant for guests who were invited into the show. However, Howe never wanted to intimidate them, he just wanted them to tell the audience the truth.¹⁰⁰ On 9 August in 2011, he was accused in one of the interviews by BBC of participating in London Riots in 2011. After the interview, a public disagreement appeared and BBC was forced by viewers to apologise him.¹⁰¹ Darcus Howe remains a well-reputed social commentator on social issues in Great Britain.

5.3. The third generation

The second generation of Caribbeans who appeared in British media were very often role models for a current third generation of Caribbeans. All of them achieved success and recognition both within their own community and the broad British public. They prepared a solid launch pad for new young Caribbean faces. The third generation of Caribbeans in media consists of Clive Myrie (BBC News Channel presenter), Martine Dennis (BBC World News presenter), Gary Younge (*The Guardian* journalist), Pogus Caesar (TV presenter and journalist), Trevor Nelson (radio presenter on BBC1), Devin Griffin (radio presenter) or Neil Nunes (announcer on BBC4).

Clive Myrie is a typical example of a boy with Jamaican ancestry, who was influenced by Sir Trevor McDonald who served as a role model from his own community. Myrie wanted to travel and to explore the world. Moreover, after seeing McDonald on TV he understood that it is possible even for black people to be successful in media. After he graduated from university with a law degree, he became a foreign correspondent for BBC and provided information mostly from the areas of war and conflict. In 2009 he became a BBC News presenter and is

¹⁰⁰ Ben Thompson, interview by Darcus Howe, Available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/the-interview--darcus-howe-tv-presenter-talks-to-ben-thompson-1576481.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁰¹ The Telegraph, "BBC apologises for accusing Darcus Howe," *The Telegraph* online, Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/8693842/London-riots-BBC-apologises-for-accusing-Darcus-Howe.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

considered to be “new Trevor McDonald”.¹⁰² This is a clear evidence of the importance of role models for young Afro-Caribbeans in media.

According to the Aristotle’s theory of a role model, it is always necessary to know somebody whose behaviour is moral, so that we can imitate them and we ourselves can become moral too.¹⁰³ By no doubts, young Afro-Caribbeans have role models. Nevertheless, most of them became role models of the young people because of money and power they dispose. In 2007 a magazine *Tomorrow New Nation* published a list of the most influential black role models dividing them with the respect to gender. On first places among men there were politicians and owners of international business concerns. The first place among women belonged to Baroness Scotland of Dominican origin, who became the first black Attorney General to hold such a post. She was followed by countless number of female managers and politicians.¹⁰⁴

All the people who were mentioned on the list certainly achieved a big success, but the well-balanced core of people who maybe did not earn so much money and do not lead multinational companies was missing. People, who read news on TV or people whose voice can be heard in the radio have a big influence on masses of people. None of them appeared on the list. This can be caused either by the underrepresentation of Afro-Caribbeans in media or by their underestimation.

Martine Dennis’ career was similar to Myrie’s. She started first as a correspondent and then she was asked to be a news presenter for BBC World

¹⁰² The Independent, “Clive Myrie: The man who took over Sir Trevor McDonald’s mantle,” *The Independent* online, February 16, 2009. Available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/tv-radio/clive-myrie-the-man-who-took-over-sir-trevor-mcdonalds-mantle-1622731.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁰³ William W. Lawhead, “The Importance of Role Models,” McGraw-Hill Higher education website, Available at http://www.mhhe.com/mayfieldpub/lawhead/chapter5/the_importance_of_role_models.htm (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁰⁴ Michael Eboda, “The Real Black Power list of 100 leading role models,” *The Guardian* online, August 26, 2007, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2007/aug/26/pressandpublishing.raceintheuk> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

service where she remained up to the present day.¹⁰⁵ Gary Younge is *The Guardian* columnist of Barbadian origin who writes on the whole scale of topics. He started working for Guardian in 1993 and ten years later he was awarded the prize for the Best Newspaper Journalist in Britain's Ethnic Minority Media.¹⁰⁶

Pogus Caesar is a British TV producer who was born in West Indies but was brought up in Birmingham. He is associated not only with media but also with art. He is a TV and radio presenter, a documentary and film maker, a photographer and editor of books about black music. As an artist he opened OOM Gallery which is an online exhibition of his work. As a TV producer he created a number of multicultural programmes such as Reflections series about life of West Indians in Birmingham or The Way Forward series which encouraged young black people in education.¹⁰⁷ He resides in Birmingham and is widely appreciated by public for contributing to British multiculturalism with his work.

Trevor Nelson is a leading British soul DJ, whose family comes from St.Lucia. He started as a radio presenter on one London pirate station, then he presented a programme The Lick on MTV and then he became a radio presenter for BBC. Currently, he presents Trevor Nelson's Soul Show on BBC2¹⁰⁸ and he has his show on Saturday on BBC1 Xtra¹⁰⁹, which is a digital station for urban music. Trevor Nelson is a household name in Britain and he even received a MBE (Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire) for his contribution

¹⁰⁵ Martine Dennis, interview by TVnewsroom, Available at <http://tvnewsroom.co.uk/q-and-a/qa-martine-dennis-2590/> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁰⁶ Gary Younge, "About Gary Young," Gary Young, Available at http://www.garyyounge.com/?page_id=2 (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁰⁷ Birmingham City Council, "Pogus Caesar," Birmingham City Council, Available at <http://www.birmingham.gov.uk/cs/Satellite?c=Page&childpagename=Lib-Central-Archives-and-Heritage%2FPageLayout&cid=1223092759510&pagename=BCC%2FCommon%2FWrapper%2FWrapper> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁰⁸ BBC, "Trevor Nelson's Soul Show," BBC Radio 2 website, BBC Website, Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00b1011> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁰⁹ BBC, "Trevor Nelson," BBC Radio 1 website, BBC Website, Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006wkj> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

to the community.¹¹⁰ Recently, he has been criticized for his commentary on the Olympics' opening ceremony for being too straightforward.¹¹¹

Devin Griffin is a DJ, radio and TV presenter and an actor, who started as a TV presenter of a programme for children on BBC2 *Smile*. He presents on BBC Xtra and is known as Dev. He lives in London and he performs his DJ's skills in famous London clubs.¹¹² His colleague from BBC4 Neil Nunes is of Jamaican origin. He was born in Kingston in Jamaica, but was brought up in Manchester. He started his career in a school radio at university where he fell in love with radio presenting. After that he became a BBC Caribbean Service correspondent. Later he accepted a position of news producer and presenter for BBC World Service. After the experience on BBC World Service, he moved to BBC Radio 4 where he works as a continuity announcer during night time. This radio station is regularly criticized for being too white in content and in staff.¹¹³ When Neil Nunes' voice was heard on the radio for the first time it caused a real row. As the BBC Radio 4's listeners are usually conservative Britons who are not easy to be satisfied, Nunes was reproached for his strong Caribbean accent.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, even in spite of all negative comments from listeners, Neil Nunes remains on Radio 4. His voice became a typical part of the nocturnal broadcasting. By keeping Nunes as the presenter, the radio repelled criticism for its stiff conservativeness.

¹¹⁰ Daily mail, "Radio One's Trevor receives MBE," The Daily Mail online, Available at <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-151307/Radio-Ones-Trevor-receives-MBE.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹¹¹ Daily Express reporter, "Scorn for DJ Trevor Nelson's Olympic chat," Express online, July 29, 2012, Available at <http://www.express.co.uk/posts/view/335968/Scorn-for-DJ-Trevor-Nelson-s-Olympic-chat> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹¹² Hyperagency, "Dev," Hyperagency website, Available at <http://www.hyperagency.co.uk/artist/view/113/dev/> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹¹³ Liz Thomas, "Too many are white, Southern and elderly," *The Daily Mail* online, February 9, 2011, Available at <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1355048/BBC-Trust-Radio-4-extend-appeal-listeners-white-Southern-elderly.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹¹⁴ David Smith, "Now on Radio 4... a row about accents," *The Guardian* online, March 26, 2006, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2006/mar/26/radio.bbc> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

The search for British Caribbeans in media revealed that in the country with many best sportsmen and sportswomen in the world there is not a single sports presenter nowadays on TV in Britain.¹¹⁵ There are several TV channels and countless sports news programmes in Britain but there are no black faces among the presenters. Similar situation is among weather forecast presenters. On BBC there are none and on Sky TV there is only one black forecaster - Denise Nurse.¹¹⁶ The underrepresentation of Caribbeans in such programmes is clear. On one hand, the representation of ethnic minorities in programmes of such kind is insufficient. On the other hand, if the community is represented by somebody, the place of their origin remains very often unclear.

Many Caribbean presenters started their career on pirate radios. These radios are associated with British Caribbeans more than with any other minority group. They originated during 1960s and first they broadcasted from boats and forts. However, soon they were banned by Marine Offences Act in 1967. Then they broadcasted from big cities such as London, Birmingham or Bristol. The number of pirate radios decreased when BBC Radio 1 was established and employed many of the pirate DJs.¹¹⁷

The best known pirate radio station for British Caribbeans was Kiss FM which became licensed by the Radio Authority in 1989.¹¹⁸ There are still pirate radio stations and a majority of them resides in London. According to research by Essential Research from 2006 it was found out that from 1.817 responders there

¹¹⁵ The Voice, "Should there be more Black sports presenters in media," The Voice, Available at <http://voice-online.co.uk/article/should-there-be-more-black-sports-presenters-media> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹¹⁶ TVnewsroom, "Sky News Weather Presenters," TVnewsroom, Available at <http://tvnewsroom.co.uk/sky-news/sky-news-weather-presenters-3947/> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹¹⁷ Ofcom, "Illegal Broadcasting-Understanding the issues" (London, 2007), 4. Available at http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/research/radio-research/illegal_broadcasting.pdf (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹¹⁸ Grant Goddard, *Kiss FM*, (London: Radio Books, 2011), Available at http://books.google.co.uk/books/about/KISS_FM.html?id=LZ-RpGjFavoC (accessed 13 August, 2012).

were 41 % of black people who admitted listening to pirate stations.¹¹⁹ This strikingly high number shows the popularity of pirate radios among Afro-Caribbeans. This suggests that Caribbeans are not satisfied with music and information they can hear on legal radio stations and that is why they listen to pirate radios which provide them with music they like and information they are interested

6. Depiction of Caribbean Community in British Media

This chapter focuses on the portrayal of British Caribbean community in British press, television and radio. It also draws on several cases that appeared in media as they were described in traditional British newspapers (*The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, *The Independent*) and compares them with the portrayal in traditionally Afro-Caribbean newspaper *The Voice*.

In previous chapters of the thesis the content of media and media staff were foreshadowed. The news and people who work in media to make all information as accurate as possible are one of the most important factors of media success. However, the accuracy of the information and mainly objectivity of the journalists are important no fewer. These two basic journalist principles will be taken into consideration when particular cases will be commented on.

The portrayal of British Caribbean community in British media from their arrival until nowadays is rather negative. First, when they came, they were too distinct, too black and unpopular among wide public, but it was expected that they will not stay in the UK for a long time. Surprisingly, they stayed for another 64 years. Their lives in Great Britain were not easy. When they came, they did not have anything and they had to fight for their basic rights and equality. They were in Britain when Britain was in crisis in the 1970s and Britons blamed them and

¹¹⁹ Ofcom, "Illegal Broadcasting-Understanding the issues" (London, 2007), 13. Available at http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/research/radio-research/illegal_broadcasting.pdf (accessed 13 August, 2012).

other immigrants for it. From the beginning the black Afro-Caribbeans served as a scapegoat of conservative British society.

The general opinion of Afro-Caribbeans was improved to high extend especially because of growing immigration and the development of Britain as a multicultural country. Nevertheless, their portrayal in media remains negative. It is given especially by a high number of crimes committed by the minority. According to the statistics from 2010 released by Metropolitan Police it was found out that 54 per cent of street crimes in London was committed by Afro-Caribbeans. They are also twice as likely to be victims of crime in the capital and they are six times more likely to be checked by the police.¹²⁰ The high crime numbers in statistics can have several reasons. First of all, the majority of British Caribbeans come from a lower class, mostly live in big cities, are underestimated at school and work so therefore they might be more predisposed to crime than any other minority in Britain.

According to Stuart Hall, who is a famous sociologist who specializes on race, black people are usually unnoticed by media, but as soon as they commit a crime or do something that is unacceptable by the mainstream white society they become immediately interested in them.¹²¹ It proves how powerful media can be. They are able to shape people's opinion and thinking and they do it so unobtrusively and masterly that ordinary viewers cannot even notice that media influence and lead them exactly where they want.

People generally regard media as reliable source of information and very often they believe more in what was said in the media than what they actually think. S. Hall described the role of mass media in Great Britain and the way they influence people's attitudes to minorities as following: "The mass media play a crucial role

¹²⁰ Andrew Alderson, "Violent inner-city crime, the figures and a question of race," *The Telegraph* online, June 26, 2010, Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/7856787/Violent-inner-city-crime-the-figures-and-a-question-of-race.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹²¹ Chronicleworld, "Revealed – How UK media fuelled race prejudice," Chronicleworld website, Available at http://www.chronicleworld.org/archive/issue_08/html_08/8_6_1rev.htm (accessed 13 August, 2012).

in defining the problems and issues of public concern. They are the main channels of public discourse in our segregated society. They transmit stereotypes of one group to other groups. They attach feelings and emotions to problems. They set the terms in which problems are defined as 'central' or 'marginal.'"¹²²

There is a constant debate among British sociologists and media over the sufficiency or insufficiency of the Afro-Caribbean representation in media in the UK. Some sociologists claim that e.g. soap operas are nowadays full of black people and that the fight for equal representation developed in overrepresentation.¹²³ The representation is welcomed by ethnic minorities but it is not always fully accurate. People of minority origin are often stereotyped no matter if on television or in press. One of the reasons – the criminality, has already been mentioned previously. However, the roots of the reason go much further. First of all, it is necessary to look back into the history when Afro-Caribbeans were regarded as non-human, slaves who were happy with being slaves, people laughed at them. Since ever they were one of the lowest part of British society, together with other ethnic minorities. This image of Afro-Caribbeans is still deeply rooted in conservative Britons and even though subconsciously, they are influenced by it.

Another question is how people from the minority feel about their representation in media. The Youth British Council made a survey in 2006 and asked young Afro-Caribbean people aged 15 – 25 what they think about the portrayal of their community in British media. The 98 per cent claimed that media portray them as antisocial. Four of five perceived themselves in media as a group of inhabitants which everyone should be feared of and all of them wished to be appreciated for positive achievements not only to be criticized for the negatives.¹²⁴ The young

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Sarita Malik, "Minority report," The Guardian online, June 26, 2008, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/jun/26/bbc.raceandreligion> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹²⁴ Catherine Clark, Amrita Ghosh, Emrys Green, Naushin Shariff, *Media Portrayal of Young People – Impact and Influences*, page 8, pdf file, Available at <http://childrens-research-centre.open.ac.uk/research/NCB%20final%20report.pdf> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

people's opinions mirror the opinion of the whole British Afro-Caribbean community. In addition, because of their age, they do not think about the past and their attitude is not influenced by the old history. That is why their opinion should be regarded as clear, unbiased and based on pure observation of the world they live in.

The negative portrayal of Afro-Caribbean youth might be seen especially in traditional press such as *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, etc. They publish news about young black teenagers who killed somebody, stabbed somebody or stole a bag. These newspaper titles choose often negative news about the young black people and not just because they are black. The news is influenced by the basic rule of media. All the news and information published by press or broadcasted by television must be interesting.

The readers and viewers are naturally more interested in negative information such as bomb attacks, wars and murders. Nobody pays attention to an old lady who donated one million pounds to a local charity. Essentially, the colour of the skin is not that relevant for media, but "black" just makes everything even more negative. The combination of wrongdoing and the black colour of skin in news is something that is naturally expected in the society. It is a sociological model which can be seen also in other countries in the world, e.g. negative portrayal of Roma people in the Czech Republic, the portrayal of Kurds in Turkey, etc.

It is generally assumed that Caribbeans are the most negatively depicted in newspapers. The television does not seem to provide so much of negative information about them. That can be caused by the fact that the news on television are precisely chosen to provide only the most important and the most interesting information from the country or a particular part of the country. Another reason why journalists in British press write mostly about crimes committed mostly by members of Afro-Caribbean community is the lack of diligence and endeavour to search for positive deeds and achievements. They would have to be willing to go to streets and ask people because to find out such information is not an easy task. Instead of that they write what readers want to

read. The press is also criticized for not giving any space for the voice of the Afro-Caribbeans.¹²⁵

On the contrary, the television is different and usually they value the opinion of a member of the community which is discussed in news. This approach was used for example by BBC News when a newsreader Fiona Armstrong interviewed Darcus Howe (a journalist and a broadcaster who is associated with civil rights marches and protests for the support of British minorities) about London Riots in 2011. However, the interview was not very successful. It was rather disrespectful. She changed his name from Darcus Howe to Marcus Dowe and accused him of taking part in the riots.¹²⁶ It did not remain unnoticed and caused a massive disagreement of both black and white Britons. BBC then apologized for the accusation and all newspapers including *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph* and *The Independent* informed about the apology.¹²⁷ The BBC News wanted to do their best and they wanted to provide a space for a person who has a lot to say about the riots, but the effectiveness of it equalled zero as it was spoiled by a poorly prepared presenter and an improper question.

The quality of representation of Afro-Caribbeans in British media might be influenced also by the people who work for them. The *New Statesman's* survey from 2011 showed that there is a strikingly small number of Afro-Caribbeans working on higher executive positions in British media. It showed that in traditional British newspapers there are only two Afro-Caribbean columnists. The number of Afro-Caribbean writers in newspapers is even more startling. The *Daily Mail*, *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Express* do not employ any writer of

¹²⁵Stephen Cushion, Kerry Moore and John Jewell, *Media representations of black young men and boys* (Cardiff : Cardiff University, 2011), 3. Available at <http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/corporate/pdf/2113275.pdf> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹²⁶Darcus Howe , interview by Fiona Armstrong, August 9, 2011. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mzDQCT0AJcw> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹²⁷The Independent, „BBC apologises over Darcus Howe interview,“ *The Independent* online, August 10, 2011, Available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/tv-radio/bbc-apologises-over-darcus-howe-interview-2335357.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

Afro-Caribbean origin. In other newspapers such as *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Times* the number of black employees was not more than five.¹²⁸ Another supporting data of the result of *New Statesman*'s survey came in *The Guardian*'s chart of 100 most influential people in world media. Only one of the top hundred was black and it was Richard Ayoade, a British actor of an African origin who plays a character called Maurice Moss in IT Crowd series.¹²⁹

Such figures should be paid attention to by executives of the particular newspapers. If they do not want to be constantly criticized for the lack of representation of minorities, negative portrayal of Afro-Caribbeans and for not employing non-white writers they should take such reports into consideration. A journalist of an Afro-Caribbean origin in a traditional British newspaper would provide a unique insight into cultural issues and would help to improve the negative image by informing people about the positive achievements of the community. The question if the readers care remains, but at least the question of diligence would be solved.

In search for reasons of negative perception of Afro-Caribbeans by the British society followed by their negative portrayal in the media, factors of race as such and all the associations with it must be considered. One of them is the relation between the community and the police. The external and marginal influence that goes hand in hand with the black criminality should come into question too. There is a constant tension between British police and Afro-Caribbeans in Britain which graduated in history many times. One of the biggest riots took place in Brixton in 1981. During the unrest 299 police officers were injured.¹³⁰ The riot

¹²⁸ Hamish Mackay, "New Statesman survey finds ethnic minorities still largely absent from British press," *The Drum* website, Available at <http://www.thedrum.co.uk/news/2012/01/14/new-statesman-survey-finds-ethnic-minorities-still-%E2%80%98largely-absent%E2%80%99-british-press> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹²⁹ *The Guardian*, "Richard Ayoade," *The Guardian* online, July 24, 2011, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2011/jul/24/richard-ayoade-mediaguardian-100-2011> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹³⁰ Metropolitan Police, "History of the Metropolitan Police," Metropolitan Police website, Available at http://www.met.police.uk/history/brixton_riots.htm (accessed 13 August, 2012).

was a result of strain between Afro-Caribbean community and the police who failed in communication with the community. The history repeated in 2011 in several boroughs of London after the police killed a young man of Afro-Caribbean origin Mark Duggan.¹³¹ The death of Duggan was followed by several mistakes and all of them were caused by the lack of communication between the protestors and the police.

These two cases show how fragile is the relationship between the police and Afro-Caribbean community. The police fails and does not care of their problems. Instead of providing a support for the community where it is needed, they sometimes incite new troubles. There is a general distrust between these two sides. The police are influenced by the opinion that is rooted deeply in their minds and regard Afro-Caribbeans to be dangerous or at least more prone to criminality. On the contrary, the black community regard police as uncaring and prejudiced against them. That's why there might be an entire lack of respect for the police. The combination of these two views then results in a problem which is difficult to solve as both sides do not trust each other. After the riots in 2011 finished, *The Guardian* newspaper in cooperation with London School of Economics made a research on what was the cause of the riot. They interviewed 270 who were involved into the riot and they found out that 86% of respondents regarded poverty as the most important cause of the riots. The poverty was followed by policing with 85%, government policy 80%, unemployment 79%, shooting of Mark Duggan 75% and negative portrayal in media 74%. The 81% of them believed that riots will occur again.¹³² The riots, protests and unrest are the part of the Afro-Caribbean resistance against prejudice and it can be perceived as a fight against the power of the mainstream British society.

¹³¹BBC, "Riots in Tottenham after Mark Duggan shooting protest," BBC London. BBC Website, Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-14434318> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹³² Simon Rogers, "Data journalism reading the riots: what we know and what we don't," *The Guardian* online, December 9, 2011, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2011/dec/09/data-journalism-reading-riots#zoomed-picture> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

The trace of the roots of the negative portrayal could go even deeper. One of the internal factors could be e.g. the upbringing and the way of life. Most Caribbeans live in urban parts of big cities such as London, Manchester etc. and because they usually live in communities, they are easily influenced by the majority. The sense of community is usually very strong among older generations. The young Caribbeans do not share it anymore.¹³³ On one hand, it is a positive sign of incorporation into the British society. On the other hand, the lack of community bounds means that the decay in the ethnic culture is approaching.

One of the biggest social issues associated with upbringing of the Caribbeans is that 48 per cent of them are brought up in single parent families.¹³⁴ This goes hand in hand with living conditions, because in such families people (usually mothers) usually cannot afford living in high standard flats or houses. The education is also one of the challenges for the young Caribbeans. From the total number of people studying at universities over Britain in the year 2007-2008 (16 % of the whole population) only 1.4 % out of 16 % was of Caribbean origin.¹³⁵ Another view that goes even deeper into the question of education shows also a low number of Caribbean people who work as professors or other academic staff at universities. From 14 thousand professors in the whole UK only 50 of them are black (disregarding African or Caribbean heritage).¹³⁶ This strikingly low number should be improved. The young British Caribbeans should be encouraged by the country and supported by their families. The education is a key to a better future as it opens doors to many public offices and places where the attitude towards the community might be still changed.

¹³³ Kevin Massy, "Britishness V: African-Caribbean Britons – When it suits us we're British...", Globalpolitician website, Available at <http://www.globalpolitician.com/print.asp?id=1388> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹³⁴ Metro, "Race divide on single parents," Metro website, Available at <http://www.metro.co.uk/news/44768-race-divide-on-single-parents> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹³⁵ Race for Opportunity, *Race into Higher Education*, 2010, 6. Pdf file online. (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹³⁶ Jessica Sheperd, "'14 000 British professors – but only 50 are black,'" The Guardian online, May 27, 2011, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2011/may/27/only-50-black-british-professors> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

It is more than 60 years when first communities of Caribbeans appeared in Great Britain. Since then they had to fight for equality among Anglo-Saxon majority and against strong prejudice. The legal equality was achieved. However, the equality in the real life still drops behind. What still remained is the omnipresent prejudice at schools, at work, in court and other institutions. With the increasing power of media which influence and form people's opinion, Afro-Caribbeans are together with Pakistani and Bangladeshi community an easy scapegoat to blame for many incidents and negative affairs that happen or occur in the country. The following part of the chapter will comment on several cases that appeared in British media (both traditional and ethnic) about people of Afro-Caribbean origin. If and how they tried to shape the public opinion and what are the differences in the portrayal between various newspapers.

6.1. Mark Duggan's case

The case of Mark Duggan was already foreshadowed in the work. He was the young man, whose death evoked 2011 England riots. The treatment of his case in British media showed how good they are at persuasion. His portrayal in various newspapers and the overall news about the riots was a clear evidence of manipulation with readers. Mark Duggan was shot by the firearms police officer on 4 August 2011 during an operation which investigated a gun crime among Afro-Caribbean minority in Tottenham. He died from a single shot to the chest when he tried to escape. It was not proved that he intended to harm the officers.¹³⁷ The traditional British newspapers immediately informed about what happened. However, their information was not very accurate. Nearly all of them described Duggan as a criminal who was shot because he shot at the police first. They also claimed that he was shot by two gunshots. The protest march which took place after his death was meant to be peaceful. Nevertheless, after the marching activists and the police attacked each other, the protest changed from

¹³⁷ BBC, "Mark Duggan Tottenham shooting witness emerges," BBC News, BBC Website, Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-17859958> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

peaceful march into an open fight with the police.¹³⁸ *The Guardian* was in the first article from 5 August 2011 very deliberate about the crime scene and about the number of gunshots. It even provided statements by some of the witnesses which were diametrically different. This made the whole article impartial and open for possible future changes which could come during the investigation. *The Guardian* even published opinions of the people from Tottenham who knew Duggan personally or by sight and described him as a man who was popular among the community but recently was aggrieved with a friend's death.¹³⁹ This claim made readers to sympathize with the victim as well as the information in the description of the victim about the number of his children.

Another article by *The Guardian* appeared on 7 August 2011 and provided a statement by the Independent Police Complaints Commission which tried to calm people down by affirming them that everything will be investigated properly. They informed the public that they are in contact with Duggan's family and that they will try to help them in the sorrowful situation.¹⁴⁰ The events of the same day brought an article where Duggan's family criticizes both the sudden outburst of the violence in the streets and a failure of the police to communicate with them clearly. In the same article again a voice from the community was published, which balanced both sides of the story again. The leader of the community Stafford Scott talked about a good nature of Duggan and about the perspective of young black people living in the area which did not change from 1980s. He said: "In this community for these kids everything is the same as 1985. How often they get stopped and searched has actually gone up. Unemployment for young people

¹³⁸Mark [pseud.], comment on "Protesting," Contemporary issues in criminology blog, comment posted June 6, 2012, Available at <http://www.contemporary-issues-in-criminology.com/blog/author/mark/> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹³⁹ Sandra Laville, "Man shot dead by police in north London during attempted arrest," *The Guardian* online, August 5, 2011, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/aug/05/man-shot-police-london-arrest> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁴⁰ The Guardian, "IPCC release statement concerning Mark Duggan," *The Guardian* online, August 7, 2011, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2011/aug/07/ipcc-release-statement-mark-duggan> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

has gone down ... Nothing has improved for the livelihoods of young black people."¹⁴¹

A day later on 8 August 2011, *The Guardian* comes with an article that admits that there are two completely different portrayals of Mark Duggan.¹⁴² Once he is a loving father and a partner and then a member of a local gang and a criminal. *The Guardian* still left the door open for what will come next. The information published by this newspaper was objective and writers always left space for the opinion of the people from the community. The attitude of *The Guardian* to this incident was one of the best among all the traditional British newspapers. The articles that followed never discriminated British Afro-Caribbeans, on the contrary, it remained impartial and purely objective with several verbal hints that were used in favour of the black minority. Throughout the whole series of articles on Duggan's death it was clear that the newspaper took pride in accurate information. It was achieved by using of multiple sources and a proper research.

On the contrary, *The Telegraph* employed a completely different approach to the news about Mark Duggan's death. From the beginning, in the first article that appeared in the newspaper, *The Telegraph* portrayed him negatively as a local gangster who almost killed a policeman. The sub-headline of the article announced "A policeman's life was saved by his radio last night after gunman Mark Duggan opened fire on him and the bullet hit the device."¹⁴³ This misleading information was used in the newspaper not allowing any hesitation or

¹⁴¹Sandra Laville, "Tottenham riots: relatives of the dead man say they didn't want violence," *The Guardian* online, August 7, 2011, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/aug/07/tottenham-riots-relatives-dead-man> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁴² Patrick Barkham, Jon Henley, "Mark Duggan: profile of Tottenham police shooting victim," *The Guardian* online, August 8, 2011, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/aug/08/mark-duggan-profile-tottenham-shooting> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁴³ The Telegraph, "Man killed in shooting incident involving police officer," *The Telegraph* online, August 4, 2011, Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/8682655/Mark-Duggan-killed-in-shooting-incident-involving-police-officer.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

doubt about the truthfulness. The newspaper, similarly as *The Guardian* published a statement of a member of the community. However, from the whole interview *The Telegraph* used for their article sentence “I don’t know what he had got mixed up in but it has brought a great deal of pain to the family now.”¹⁴⁴ This statement was definitely not meant to give rise to rumours, but because it was inserted into the article which clearly portrayed Duggan negatively and it was declared by a friend of the family, it even supports the negativity in the article. There is nothing more persuasive than that. The readers were proposed an article that was full of inaccuracy and unverified information. Moreover, Duggan was portrayed stereotypically as a criminal whose aim was to murder a policeman.

The article that followed in the same newspaper on 8 August 2011 claimed that *The Telegraph* is sure that Mark Duggan was a gangster who was well-known by the police. They claimed that according to internet sources, he was a founder of an infamous Tottenham gang who always went against the law.¹⁴⁵ The so-called internet sources were social networks such as Twitter and Facebook where the journalists found pictures in which Duggan poses in gangster positions and shows various signs usually associated with gangs. Nevertheless, this should not be considered as a clear evidence of belonging to a particular gang or being its founder. *The Telegraph* did not use a good strategy. They simply wrote what was expected by the society and they supported it by poor sources not leaving any space for possible twists.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Tom Whitehead, “London riots: Dead man Mark Duggan was a known gangster who lived by the gun,” *The Telegraph* online, August 8, 2011, Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/8687403/London-riots-Dead-man-Mark-Duggan-was-a-known-gangster-who-lived-by-the-gun.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

On 12 August 2011, *The Telegraph* informed the public that Mark Duggan was a nephew of a man, who was a leader of the biggest gang in Manchester.¹⁴⁶ This information was probably interesting for the readers but what was the connection with his death and his personality remains unclear. Such information only manipulated the readers into forming a negative opinion of Duggan. There was no need to publish such information. It is as useful as to know that N. Hawthorne's great-great-grandfather was a judge and a chief interrogator at Salem witch trials. *The Telegraph* made a bigger effort to find the negative information about the victim than to ascertain and rectify the details about the shooting.

After the announcement about ballistic expertise in which it was proven that Duggan did not fire at the police, *The Telegraph* published only a short article which was accompanied by a short video in which a commissioner of the Independent Police Complaints Commission reported the results of the expertise.¹⁴⁷ After that, *The Telegraph* had probably nothing more to say to the readers. The evidence completely changed everything that was written in the articles before. The situation reversed against the police and the *The Telegraph* suddenly became speechless.

The Independent published first report on 5 August 2011 and it provided all the essential information. It remained completely objective and did not employ any negative portrayals of Duggan or the British Afro-Caribbean community which lives in Tottenham. They provided a statement made by David Lammy, a local MP for Tottenham, who encouraged people to stay calm and wait until the

¹⁴⁶ The Telegraph, "UK riots: Mark Duggan was a nephew of Manchester gangster Desmond Noonan," *The Telegraph* online, August 12, 2011, Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/8697208/UK-riots-Mark-Duggan-was-nephew-of-Manchester-gangster-Desmond-Noonan.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁴⁷ The Telegraph, "London riots: IPCC says no evidence Mark Duggan opened fire," *The Telegraph* online, August 9, 2011, Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/8692219/London-riots-IPCC-says-no-evidence-Mark-Duggan-opened-fire.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

investigation of the case will be closed.¹⁴⁸ The articles that followed were mostly discussing the circumstances of Duggan's death into details which did not appear in any other British newspapers including the type of a gun and ammunition which was used. *The Independent* made an effort in providing their readers with the most accurate, detailed and objective information and together with *The Guardian* did their best in this case.

The most popular British black weekly newspaper *The Voice* came with the news about Duggan's death on 7 August 2011. They informed public about Tottenham riots, claimed that Duggan was killed with two gunshots and that he was a father of five children.¹⁴⁹ The number of bullets and the number of his children rose. It supported the readers in thinking about him in a good way. *The Voice* also published a comment of a member of the Afro-Caribbean Tottenham community.

Later the news in *The Voice* many times pointed out Duggan's death but probably because of the lack of evidence, good sources and with the respect to investigation, *The Voice* did not focus on his death. Instead of it, they informed about the riots in a well-balanced way. On the contrary, *the Guardian* and *The Telegraph* focused on Duggan's death. They informed about the riots too, but they commented on the disturbances as if from a spectator's point of view. The riots were portrayed as the issue of the black community and not the issue of Britain.

Until now, a year after Mark Duggan's death it is still not clear what exactly happened the day when the police tried to arrest Duggan. In addition, it was never proved that he belonged to any Tottenham gang. This shows how incomplete the information can be and how easy it is to write an article full of information that is easy to believe but difficult to verify. The press should therefore always try to

¹⁴⁸ The Independent, "Cab passenger shot dead by police," *The Independent* online, August 5, 2011, Available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/cab-passenger-shot-dead-by-police-2332439.html?origin=internalSearch> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁴⁹The Voice, "Babylon on fire," *The Voice* online, August 7, 2011, Available at <http://www.voice-online.co.uk/video/babylon-fire-north-london-riots> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

comment on what has happened with a respect to possible changes in investigation.

6.2. Ben Kinsella's case

Another case goes vice versa. Ben Kinsella was a young white boy of 16 who was murdered on 29 June in 2008 in Islington, London. He was stabbed to death by a group of three men (one African and two of Caribbean origin). He was the 17th child who was killed in London with a knife in 2008.¹⁵⁰ The case was immediately noticed by all the media as the age of both the victim and the murderers was very low. Moreover, what made it even more special was the fact that the victim's sister was one of the actors in a well-known TV series in Britain called *EastEnders*.¹⁵¹ *The Guardian* reacted immediately and published the first article on the day of the murder on 29 June 2008. The newspaper condemned the stabbing and pointed out the increasing knife criminality. They interviewed Ben Kinsella's teacher, who said about the boy that he was achieving excellent results at school and was keen on sports.¹⁵² The school results have nothing to do with a life that was lost, but it clearly influences people's thinking about the victim. When one read that Kinsella did his best at school and he was interested in sport, they naturally think of him as of a very good boy. Such information shows the victim very positively. Subsequently, such a portrayal of the victim makes the murderers appear even more demoralized and wicked. *The Guardian* published also a testimony of an eyewitness who described the murder scene.¹⁵³ The thorough description of wounds and blood stains intensified the cruelty of the criminal act. The first article in *The Guardian* resolutely denounced the murder

¹⁵⁰The Ben Kinsella Trust website, Available at <http://www.benkinsella.org.uk/> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁵¹The Ben Kinsella Trust website, "Why Ben," The Ben Kinsella Trust, Available at <http://www.benkinsella.org.uk/get-involved/why-ben> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁵²Matthew Weaver, "Teenager killed in London stabbing," *The Guardian* online, June 29, 2008, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/jun/29/ukcrime?INTCMP=SRCH> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

and commented on a knife crime in London. Nevertheless, in the whole article there was not a word written about the ethnicity of the young men who were arrested.

The article that followed on 30 June 2008 did not reveal the origin of the arrested either.¹⁵⁴ For better understanding and orientation the victim started to be in every following article associated with his well-known sister. Another article that was published later the same day published an announcement of the detective superintendent Vic Rae who made the information about the arrested men clear and he identified them as four black males who were of the same age as the victim.¹⁵⁵ What follows then is the sequel of articles about the protests against knife crime in London and comments on it. One of the protest speeches was from Ben Kinsella's parents. They said: "Please, boys and girls, put down your knives and weapons and think about the pain and suffering they will cause. Parents, please talk to your children and encourage them to stop all this violence."¹⁵⁶ There was not a single protest against the Afro-Caribbean community published in the newspaper. The fact that the arrested youths are black seemed to be just some marginal information to complete the details of the murder.

¹⁵⁴Damien Francis, "Brother of actor is 12th teenage stabbed victim," *The Guardian* online, June 30, 2008, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/jun/30/knifecrime.ukcrime?INTCMP=SRCH> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁵⁵James Orr, "Sister pays tribute to stabbed teenager Ben Kinsella," *The Guardian* online, June 30, 2008, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/jun/30/ukcrime.knifecrime?INTCMP=SRCH> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁵⁶ Sam Jones and Lee Glendinning, "Kinsella's murder sees hundreds march against knife crime," *The Guardian* online, July 1, 2008, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/jul/01/ukcrime?INTCMP=SRCH> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

In the article from 4 July 2008 it was finally declared that three men were charged with the Ben Kinsella's murder.¹⁵⁷ It is more than surprising that even in this article the murderers' ethnicity was not published. In spite of committing such a terrible crime, the case was discussed by *The Guardian* disregarding the murderers' origin. This made the newspaper to stay as objective as it could be and helped the readers to judge the crime on the basis of humanity and not on the basis of race.

The whole range of articles about Ben Kinsella's death in *The Guardian* was followed by an article from 5 July in which the lowering age of offenders was dealt with.¹⁵⁸ Despite the statistics from 2007 which showed that the knife crime is disproportionately an issue of the Afro-Caribbean community more than any other community in Britain¹⁵⁹, the article from *The Guardian* which focused mainly on the knife crime did not mention any words denoting origin such as black, Afro-Caribbean, minority etc. It only foreshadowed who the people inclining to violence are. The detective John Carnochan explained to *The Guardian* that more and more people are violent and aggressive because they come either from families where violence is not seen as a problem or from incomplete families. Drugs and alcohol play also an important role in the violence committed on or by teenagers. He stressed the necessity to solve these

¹⁵⁷ Martin Hodgson, "Three charged in Kinsella murder," *The Guardian* online, July 4, 2008, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/jul/04/knifecrime.ukcrime1?INTCMP=SRCH> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁵⁸ Duncan Campbell, "Offenders are getting younger," *The Guardian* online, July 5, 2008, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/jul/05/knifecrime.ukcrime4?INTCMP=SRCH> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁵⁹ House of Commons, "Knife Crime: Oral and Written evidence," 2008-2009, p. 135. Available at http://books.google.cz/books?id=YRKgvdREHgUC&pg=PA135&lpg=PA135&dq=knife+crime+statistics+afro-caribbeans&source=bl&ots=brwxrwiLn2&sig=dfsv6nSRGpM8FtK5f8F8SMVnj5s&hl=en&sa=X&ei=mP4jUO7WL4rJsgaO6YGIBA&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=knife%20crime%20statistics%20afro-caribbeans&f=false (accessed 13 August, 2012).

issues first.¹⁶⁰ After the reading of the article, readers can find hidden hints on the Afro-Caribbean minority which is known for a lone parent family pattern and lives in ghettos. Another supporting evidence that points out the identity of majority of offenders in the article is a statement by Harry Fletcher from The National Association of Probation Officers, who claimed: "Amongst the kids themselves, the level of fear and of prison and authority is very low and successive policies over the years have done very little."¹⁶¹ As it was mentioned previously in this thesis, the relationships between the Afro-Caribbean community and the police escalated many times in British history. It only resulted in hate and distrust. The police is not regarded an authority anymore. Especially among young Africans and Caribbeans, who live in bigger cities of Great Britain such as London, Manchester, Liverpool or in Birmingham.¹⁶² The article of *The Guardian* therefore re-opened the topic of knife crime that is mostly associated with British black community but did not name any ethnicity directly.

The Telegraph informed on their website about the murder on 29 June 2008, stating that two men were arrested in connection with the murder without publishing their origin.¹⁶³ The information about Kinsella provided by *The Telegraph* was detailed, including the facts about him that were found on his social networks profile including his hobbies and a statement about himself that he could get on well with everyone.¹⁶⁴ The information about the suspected men

¹⁶⁰ Duncan Campbell, "Offenders are getting younger," *The Guardian* online, July 5, 2008, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/jul/05/knifecrime.ukcrime4?INTCMP=SRCH> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Claire Jones, "UK Police Interviews: A Linguistic analysis of Afro-Caribbean and White suspects interviews," abstract, *International Journal of Speech Language and the Law*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2008. Available at <http://www.equinoxpub.com/IJSL/article/viewArticle/5871> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁶³ Richard Edwards and Lucy Cockcroft, "Ben Kinsella, brother of EastEnders actress Brooke Kinsella, is murdered," *The Telegraph* online, June 29, 2008, Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/majornews/2218862/Ben-Kinsella-brother-of-EastEnders-actress-Brooke-Kinsella-is-murdered.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

was hidden from the public because of the investigation. One year after Kinsella's death, his murderers were found guilty. *The Telegraph* published an article on 11 June 2009 about Kinsella's pointless death. The Detective Chief Inspector who led the investigation of the case pointed out that what happened to Ben Kinsella and what happens daily in the streets of London is only about a respect.¹⁶⁵ The young men who stabbed him probably felt that they are not respected enough in the club where the fight started. One of Ben Kinsella's murderers was discussed after the trial in *The Telegraph* in a separate article. The article described his previous criminal acts and it also claimed that people who knew him and his neighbours did not know anything about his criminal past.¹⁶⁶ This statement was placed at the end of the whole article, leaving the readers to think more about their own neighbour – especially then, if they are Afro-Caribbeans. The murder of Ben Kinsella shocked the public especially because of the brutality of the act. The death was completely pointless and the reason for the murder senseless. The murderers killed him because they wanted to be respected. In the end they achieved the greatest disrespect of the whole British society. Their portrayal as murderers was moderate and for what they did they should have been portrayed much more negatively.

The Independent published the news on 1 July 2008. In the first article they already claimed that four black youths were arrested because they are suspected of being involved into the murder.¹⁶⁷ The ethnicity of the murderers was clear at the beginning which could lead to the negative perception of the Afro-Caribbean

¹⁶⁵ John Bingham, "Three Guilty of murdering Ben Kinsella, brother of EastEnders actress," *The Telegraph* online, June 11, 2009, Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/5493477/Three-guilty-of-murdering-Ben-Kinsella-brother-of-EastEnders-actress.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁶⁶ John Bingham, "Ben Kinsella murder: violent past of gang ringleader Jade Braithwaite," *The Telegraph* online, June 11, 2009, Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/5493597/Ben-Kinsella-murder-violent-past-of-gang-ringleader-Jade-Braithwaite.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁶⁷ The Independent, "Four arrested in Kinsella stabbing probe," *The Independent* online, July 1, 2008, Available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/four-arrested-in-kinsella-stabbing-probe-857898.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

minority as a unit. The most popular British black newspaper *The Voice* does not accessed any article about the murder in the online archive.

6.3. Stephen Lawrence's case

Another infamous case which will be dealt with is the one of Stephen Lawrence. All traditional British newspapers published a lot of articles about the murder of Stephen Lawrence. This young black man was stabbed to death in an unprovoked racist attack by a gang of white youths as he and his friend Duwayne Brooks were waiting at a bus stop in Eltham, south east London on 22 April 1993.¹⁶⁸ The newspapers followed the case for more than 19 years and it seemed that this criminal act changed the common life of black and white people for the better and that racism has almost disappeared. At least, it was the point of view of traditional newspapers that wanted to enforce us to believe it. However, the situation was never as clear as it may seem.

The Guardian informed about the case of Stephen Lawrence rather impartially. According to *The Guardian*, the murder of Stephen Lawrence helped to change public attitudes on race and transformed individual lives. John Grieve, a former deputy assistant commissioner at Scotland Yard claimed: "It (the murder) influenced the governance of policing, the way police are supervised, the way complaints are investigated. It influenced investigations, family liaison officers, the first hour at a murder scene, the independent advisers. It influenced the leadership of policing; we changed a whole layer of how leadership was trained to think as a direct result of some of the evidence Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence gave."¹⁶⁹ *The Guardian* reported on the attack very objectively as in the case of Mark Duggan. From the beginning, they informed the public that the attack was

¹⁶⁸ Martin Evans, "Stephen Lawrence murder timeline," *The Telegraph* online, June 1, 2012, Available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/9305537/Stephen-Lawrence-murder-timeline.html#> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁶⁹ Hugh Muir, "The Stephen Lawrence: how it changed Britain," *The Guardian* online, January 3, 2012, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2012/jan/03/how-stephen-lawrence-changed-britain> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

racially motivated and that it was done by a gang of white men.¹⁷⁰ The connection of “gang” and “white youths” is not frequent in British press because of its negative connotations. However, the group of youngsters who brutally killed Lawrence on 22 April in 1993 cannot be described better. *The Guardian* then watched the investigation and provided news about the trial with the murderers. They were found guilty and sentenced to a life in prison after 19 years from the murder.¹⁷¹ After the trial, the newspaper published the commentaries of Lawrence family members, as well as the declaration of the Prime Minister David Cameron. He expressed his regrets over the time which was spent by the family on a fight for the justice.¹⁷² It was a surprising act from a conservative Prime Minister who is not very interested in British minorities. *The Guardian* probably found his statement unique and that is why they could not leave it unheeded. The newspaper proved even in this case that it is one of the top quality newspapers in Great Britain.

The Independent as well as *The Guardian* informed about the murder on 24 April 1993. *The Independent* commented especially on the racially disturbed atmosphere in the London part of Greenwich where Lawrence was stabbed. The newspaper paid such a big attention to the borough that it could not be overlooked. This helped a lot the readers to understand the background. *The Independent* remained independent and slightly sympathized with the black community. The following articles traced the investigation of the case until it was closed by founding two men guilty. The article that commented on the trial captured the fundamental idea that could help to build a healthy multicultural society: “...nothing would have been achieved without the persistence and

¹⁷⁰ Duncan Campbell, “Gang hunted after bus stop race killing,” *The Guardian* online, April 24, 1993, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/1993/apr/24/lawrence.ukcrime> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁷¹ Sandra Laville and Vikram Dodd, “Stephen Lawrence verdict delivers justice after 8-year wait,” *The Guardian* online, January 3, 2012, Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2012/jan/03/justice-for-stephen-lawrence> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁷² Ibid.

determination of Doreen Lawrence (Stephen's mother). This is to her enormous credit. But justice for a murdered teenager, whatever his ethnicity, should be fundamental to the system. It should not have to depend on the devotion of a mother."¹⁷³

In contrast to traditional newspapers *The Voice* showed deeper reflection to the case as well as personal experience of black Britons who have experienced the time before and after the act. That is the reason why *The Voice* was more involved in the case and tried to show that the relations between black and white people are not ideal or equal. The articles that appeared in *The Voice* about the murder were much more emotive and the main emphasis was placed on the importance of the role of the community and family. It is necessary to focus on the feelings and experience of Afro-Caribbean community because they are the right people to tell if something positive has changed about racism, prejudice and race relations in the UK since April 1993 or not. White people who work for the newspapers cannot be unbiased or at least they seem not to be impartial. Very often it is almost impossible for them to realize how difficult it is to be in a black skin. Until a person experiences their own story of racial prejudice they are not able to be aware of it.

The Voice carried a survey among black people if they believe that race relations in Britain have changed since the murder of Stephen Lawrence. An online survey revealed that 83 percent of participants thought things had not got better. Only 17 per cent said race relations had improved since the fatal stabbing of the teenager by a gang of racists in south London.¹⁷⁴ *The Voice's* editor George Ruddock adds:

¹⁷³ The Independent, "Leading article: Justice at last – but this chapter in our history is not closed," *The Independent* online, January 4, 2012, Available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/leading-articles/leading-article-justice-at-last--but-this-chapter-in-our-history-is-not-closed-6284485.html> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

¹⁷⁴ The Voice, "Stephen Lawrence – special edition," *The Voice* online, January 11, 2012, p.2, Available at <http://www.voice-online.co.uk/supplement/voice-stephen-lawrence-special-edition>

“The results of our poll reflect a deep dissatisfaction among black people about the way race relations in Britain have failed to progress.”¹⁷⁵

The question remains, whether the changes continue. Those are questions for government and police. It is necessary to carry on with the fair dealing with black people, to fight injustice and to promote race equality. However, if those succeed, people will see in the long run. *The Voice* further quotes Claudia Webbe who works for the Operation Trident Independent Advisory Group: “There were some advances at the time but it now appears that all of that seems to have rolled back. There are issues that have not gone away, have not improved and have not changed for black communities in decades. You are still four or five times likely to be stopped and searched if you are black as compared to your white counterpart. You are still two to three times more likely to be unemployed than white people. black men in particular are still more likely to be detained in mental health institutions and there are clearly more black young men in prison than there are in university.”¹⁷⁶ The Afro-Caribbean community will become one hundred percent equal to the white majority when all the issues declared by Mrs. Webbe will be solved and the white people’s attitude to British Afro-Caribbeans will be completely transformed and freed from prejudice. Consequently, the attitude of media will change with the attitude of common people – and vice versa.

The history repeats. The riots and murders appear again and again. When Stephen Lawrence died in 1993, people thought that it changed everything – the investigation, policing and attitude to complaints. Nonetheless, what happened in the case of Mark Duggan in 2011 proved that everything is still the same. There is still lack of communication and trust between the minority and the British press and one cannot be changed without the other.

The case of Stephen Lawrence who was killed in 1993 was not forgotten yet. The media very often refer to the case in connection to other similar cases and

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 2-3

recently his name was used again in the newspapers when his mother Doreen Lawrence was asked to carry Olympic torch and run in Deptford, south-east London, in memory of her murdered son.¹⁷⁷ It was an emotional act which showed public that black and white people are equal in Britain. It was a gesture of good will and definitely it helped to improve relationships in the UK. The case of murder of Stephen Lawrence is well-known in the country. The fact, that Doreen Lawrence will carry the Olympic torch appeared immediately in headlines of various newspapers. An ordinary black woman was honoured to participate at the Olympic Games 2012 in London and media noticed it. She did not kill anybody, she did not rob anyone and she was portrayed in media positively. What a change. Only future will show, if such positive news will appear in media again when the Olympic Games of 2012 are over.

7. The future perspective of the Caribbeans in media

The future perspective of the Caribbean minority in British media is not very bright. They are often mentioned in media and their portrayal, especially in British press is not positive. As it was seen from the case of Mark Duggan, there is a constant inclination of journalists to consider the community as dangerous, connected to knife crime and the most specifically, to various gangs.

They are still regarded as one of the most dangerous minority which inclines to crime more than any other British minority. The connection of the community and the crime rates influences their public portrayal more than anything else, because they are frequently in media as murderers or victims. They represent the sort of the British society which always played a role of an outcast. It is definitely not easy to be on such a position. However, it is necessary to realize that media

¹⁷⁷ BBC, "Olympic torch: Doreen Lawrence takes flame on relay," BBC News, BBC Website, Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-18945821> (accessed 13 August, 2012).

representation of British Caribbeans is dependent both on the community's integration and the white majority's perception of the minority.

The future of the minority's representation in newspaper will be also influenced by a possible future change in law that would restrict the publishing of the origin of people who are discussed in media. The fact, that somebody is white, black or Mulatto has no use at all. That is why the restriction would help to equal the position of all minorities to the white majority in the UK. Even though, such a legal abridgement is nowadays probably considered unrealistic, it might be needed in the future.

8. Conclusion

The aim of the thesis was to observe Caribbean community in Great Britain particularly with the respect to their portrayal in traditional and ethnic media. The thesis drew on the general opinion that the Caribbean community is not seen very positively by the white British majority especially because it is an ethnic community with high crime rates, low level of education, and consequently the worst paid jobs.

The thesis described the history of the arrival of the Caribbeans to Great Britain in order to explain the origin of the attitude of white inhabitants towards the black newcomers as this is believed to be the most important and essential factor which has influenced the media image of the Caribbeans in the country.

It is said that the British Caribbeans are underestimated in many fields of a day to day life including education, work, social involvement, and that they are negatively portrayed in traditional British media. This thesis therefore focused not only on their media image but also attempted to foreshadow the cultural and social factors which contribute to form their portrayal such as crime, policing, family pattern etc.

It provided the list of media in Britain that has targeted the Caribbean community with the respect to historical perspective and it also commented on British media and their relationship to ethnicity in general. It served as a basic platform for the search aimed at the particular community of the Caribbeans.

The thesis commented on the community in connection to media from two points. It dealt with the staff representation of British Caribbeans in British media and representation of Caribbeans in media as media objects. The research found out that Caribbeans are heavily underrepresented in media staff but the representation is likely to grow in the future.

On the contrary, it was found out that the media portrayal of the community is rather negative as could be seen on described murder cases in online versions of various British newspapers in chapter six. Based on the thesis, the change of the

image of the Caribbeans in traditional newspapers is possible, but far away in the future.

The representation of the community in media was divided into three generations respectively according to the generations of the Caribbeans living in Great Britain. It provided the list of people of Caribbean origin working for British media from the 1950s to 2010, pointed out their achievements and commented on their importance as role models for the young Caribbean generation.

The last part of the thesis tried to discover the reasons for different portrayal of the Caribbeans in various newspaper titles. It found out that the political leanings of the newspapers played an important role in the information they published. Whilst *The Guardian* which is generally regarded as left oriented and therefore minority-friendly, provided information that never discriminated or interfered with British Caribbean minority, *The Telegraph* as more right oriented portrayed the Caribbean community more negatively. *The Independent*, being politically in the centre, remained neutral and *The Voice* obviously inclined to the support of the community. Although the ability of British newspapers to shape the reader's opinion cannot be challenged, it is peculiar how much the information in particular titles can differ. Generally, the power of information mixed with politics is apparent in worldwide media. However, it is surprising how big the scope of their influence is – especially over social issues.

The change of the media image of the British Caribbeans is conditioned by the social change of the community and consequently the change of public opinion. These three parts are connected to each other in a vicious circle in which one cannot be changed without the others. Only the future will show if the situation can become better and for how long the question of race in media will be discussed in Britain.

9. Resumé

Práce se zaměřila na mediální portrét britské karibské komunity v médiích od padesátých let dvacátého století do současnosti. Popsala historii o tom, jak se Karibičané dostali do Velké Británie s důrazem na Empire Windrush a jaké byly jejich začátky v nové zemi. Práce se snažila popsat faktory, které ovlivňují vyobrazení menšin v médiích s ohledem na rozdělení médií (rádio, televize, noviny) a poskytla seznam médií, které se zaměřují speciálně na afro-karibskou menšinu.

Tato diplomová práce rozdělila problematiku zastoupení této komunity do dvou odlišných pohledů. Poprvé, zastoupení Karibičanů obyvatel v médiích jako novinářů a podruhé jejich zastoupení v novinách v pozici lidí o kterých veřejnost diskutuje. V práci jsou využity medializované případy vražd z novin, ve kterých hráli roli Karibičané buď jako oběti nebo jako vrazi. Tyto případy byly vybrány, kvůli mimořádnému množství online zdrojů a také proto, že všechny vyvolaly reakci veřejnosti, která se odrazila na množství dalších zpráv. Práce vycházela z tvrzení, že afro-karibská menšina není příliš oblíbená jak v médiích, tak mezi samotnými obyvateli Velké Británie. Kromě použitých mediálních případů, práce poukázala na další významné faktory, které ovlivňují postoj obyvatelstva k této menšině.

Na vybrané případy pak práce komentovala a snažila se najít rozdíly mezi jednotlivými novinovými tituly, jejich postojem k případu a kvalitou informací, které k případu získaly. V závěru pak práce zhodnotila, jaké faktory mohly přispět k odlišnému mediálnímu portrétu karibské menšiny, a navrhla opatření, která by mohla vést ke zlepšení celé situace.

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11. Appendices

Appendix 1

Mark Duggan article in *The Telegraph* (footnote 143)

Man killed in shooting incident involving police officer

A policeman's life was saved by his radio last night after gunman Mark Duggan opened fire on him and the bullet hit the device.



Police vehicles at the scene of the shooting in Tottenham Photo: @Shmeelitch

8:18PM BST 04 Aug 2011

Armed police immediately returned fire and Mark Duggan, 29, who was under surveillance, was shot dead in the street in north London.

The policeman, who has not been named, was wounded in the shooting and taken to hospital. But last night he was discharged.

Police sources said the dead man was a "well known gangster" who had been under surveillance by officers investigating gun crime in a pre-planned operation in Tottenham Hale. They added that the police officer had been saved after the bullet fired at him struck his radio.

An eyewitness said that a police officer had shouted to the man to stop "a couple of times", but he had not heeded the warning.

Atouch Bella, 20, who owns a nearby storage facility, said he heard two gunshots in quick succession at around 6.10pm as he walked to the local petrol station to buy cigarettes.

"When I heard the gunshots I ran to the petrol station, I was scared," he said.

"The shots were one after the other. After that there weren't any more."

A waitress at the Ferry Boat Inn, who did not wish to be named, said the incident happened a few minutes walk away from Tottenham Hale Tube station.

She said: "One man came in and he said that he saw police trying to pull some clothes off a man who was bleeding."

Friends of the dead man said his mother Pamela, 52, and younger brother Marlon, 26, with whom he lived, were "in a terrible state" after hearing of his death.

Dozens of mourners gathered last night outside the family's semi-detached house in Tottenham, north London - just two miles from where Duggan was shot dead.

A female family friend, who refused to give her name, said: "His family are still in a complete state of denial, they don't want to believe that he's dead.

"I don't know what he had got mixed up in but it has brought a great deal of pain to the family now."

Friends said the family had lived in the area for many years, having previously lived in Manchester.

The Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC), which has been called in to investigate, said it understood the dead male had been shot by police, adding that the officer had been shot and wounded.

An IPCC spokesman said: "We understand the officer was shot first before the male was shot."

He said the incident, which happened at 6.15pm tonight, had been referred to the IPCC by the Metropolitan Police professional standards department.

He said independent investigators had been deployed to the scene in Ferry Lane, Tottenham Hale.

A Scotland Yard spokesman added: "One male was pronounced dead at the scene and one officer was taken to hospital."

"A Scotland Yard spokesman said: "At approximately 6.30pm on Thursday 4 August there was a shooting incident in Ferry Lane, near Jarrow Road, N17."

Update:

Mark Duggan died from single gunshot to chest, post mortem reveals

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