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Yellow Skin – White Prison: a content analysis of French Television News broadcast

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MSc in Global Media and Communications

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Dissertation submitted to the Department of Media and Communications, London School of Economics and Political Science, August 2013, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MSc in Media, Communication and Development. Supervised by Dr Myria Georgiou

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Published by Media@LSE, London School of Economics and Political Science ("LSE"), Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE. The LSE is a School of the University of London. It is a Charity and is incorporated in England as a company limited by guarantee under the Companies Act (Reg number 70527).

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Yellow Skin –White Prison: a content analysis of French Television News broadcast

Bossoro Ngo

ABSTRACT

Bienvenue in the French Republic! Since 1789, the Republic guarantees the equality of all its citizens regardless of their “origins, race or religion”. However it is clear that the theory does not often correlates with the practice. This research brings back the sensitive concept of ‘race’ at the forefront of discussions on the representation of ethnic minorities in the Media. By articulating ‘race’ as a mean of first categorisation, then of stereotyping and finally of discrimination, this research will seek to prove that despite claims of a ‘colour-blind’ Republic, ‘race’ is profoundly anchored in the French Republic as one root of French identity construction by processes of Othering, Stereotyping and hegemonic influences. Relying on the extensive research on the *Black* and *Beur* representation in France, this research will seek to add a new colour at the centre of the debate: the *Yellows*, a community absent of during the last heavy radicalised banlieue event in 2005 but nevertheless present.

Through the content analysis of television news broadcast from 1977 to 2012, this research will attempt to bring a historical outlook on the state of Yellow representation and correct any inaccuracies and flaws concerning the current research on this particular community. The operationalization of the methodology inspired by Stanley Cohen’s atrocity triangle, Pickering’s stereotyping, Hall’s Other, Said’s Orientalism and Couldry’s voice shall bring interesting insights and give a new substance to debate of immigration, integration and diversity in France.

The outcome of the research will demonstrate that the *Yellow* minority is victim of the same processes of marginalisation, stereotyping and Othering encountered by other ‘ethnic’ minority group. However, this specific study of Asians does bring forward, a new insight in the construction of a racial hierarchy in the very indivisible French Republic. Enjoy the journey! **Liberté. Egalité. Fraternité**

INTRODUCTION

April 2013: It is Sunday lunchtime in a Parisian *banlieue*. An 'Asian' family is gathered in a Chinese restaurant. An 'Asian' looking boy orders some *Crevettes sauce Thai* (Thai shrimps). The 'Asian' waiter immediately responds "Don't take this! Not good! It's for the French who do not know..." The table laughs.

By giving this piece of advice to the boy, the waiter allows us to draw some preliminary suppositions on the state of 'minorities in France. Firstly, by specifying '*the French*' the waiter "expresses a classic form of everyday racialised discrimination, which misrecognise that [the young boy] may be French too." (Keaton, 2013:236). The waiter also excludes himself from being defined as 'French'. Secondly, it is hardly thinkable that this complicity between the boy and the waiter would have existed if they both were looking 'different', in that case non-Asians. Thus, the racial criteria may play a role in the building of a 'French' identity and may fuel injustice, discrimination and even violence. Thirdly, as the table laughs in unison, it appears that this kind of everyday 'innocent' discrimination is ritualised, applied by the discriminated themselves and accepted by all.

The contrast is stark. Indeed, these observations bring us straight to the paradox of the French republican model. On one hand, France is the fiercest advocate of the ideal of Equality directly inherited from the revolutionary struggle of 1789 with the associated tag of 'country of the Human Rights' (Bancel, 2013:213; Franchon, 2008:101). The 1st Article of the French Constitution states that "France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of origin, race or religion." The very idea that there might be some differentiation based on racial differences between the daughters and sons of the Republic is simply unthinkable. On the other hand and until a recent partial realisation, the supposedly "colour-blind" republican model has had strong normative effects in preventing any attempt to raise issues coming from 'minorities' because of the sacrosanct dogma of Equality. There is a "fear of 'anomic' France, where individuals lose sight of shared interests and become alienated from collective goals and values". (Murphy, 2011: 35). The construction of a French identity is thus highly institutionalised at the very root of its constitutional model (Noiriel, 1995: 373).

However, the story of the boy and the waiter tends to go against the model brought forward by the French Republic. Indeed, other empirical examples do demonstrate that in contemporary France, the question of 'race' is still relevant (Silverman, 2007: 234). As this

paper cannot explore all sites of identity construction, we will focus mainly on the study of television screens. Eric Macé (2007b) argued that in France, “television has been transformed into a national identity battlefield of the and an arena of conflicts between what will be visible and what remains invisible” (p1). Donadey (2000) amplifies the argument and considers that “the media functions as privileged sites of racist repetition” (p12). For example, in Autumn 2005, television screens broadcasted scenes of burning cars, civil unrest and riots in French *banlieues*. Earlier, summer 1998, France celebrated the victory of its multi-ethnic (*Black, Blanc, Beur*) national football team. Both events triggered heavy media coverage and academic research, which highlighted France’s post-colonial ‘*Black*’ and ‘*Beur*’ (Arab) racial heritage.

Surprisingly, little has been covered or researched on the French ‘*Yellow*’ community originating from former Ex-Indochina colony or Far-Eastern Asian countries. As it is impossible to have access to any demographic figures of the presence of the ‘*Yellow*’ immigration in France because of Equality laws, this paper will not be concerned with the under-representation of ‘*Yellows*’ in French media. Rather, this paper shall seek to bring some ground-breaking observations on the state of representation of the “forgotten” ‘*Yellow*’ community in France. (Mills-Affif, 2004: 104). Enlightened by the breadth of the existing research on other ‘ethnic’ minorities in France, it shall also attempt to give the first historical account of the representation of the ‘*Yellow*’ migration on French television screens and try to capture the societal evolution in a postcolonial era. Finally, this paper will strive to find any similarities or differences in the treatment of ‘ethnic minority’ in French television screens and see how the French Republic have sentenced its own citizens to prison based on one’s skin colour.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Article 1: La Nation exprime sa reconnaissance aux femmes et aux hommes qui ont participé à l’œuvre accomplie par la France dans les anciens départements français d’Algérie, au Maroc, en Tunisie et en Indochine ainsi que dans les territoires placés antérieurement sous la souveraineté française.

Article 1: The nation expresses its gratitude to women and men who participated to the work accomplished by France in its former French departments of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Indochina; as well as former territories, which were under the French sovereignty.

(Law n° 2005-158, 23 February 2005)

Thinking about skin colour in a French context goes beyond thinking about this particular ‘outward signifier’ of race. (Lentin & Titley, 2011: 49). Being a proud advocate of the principle of equality, France is deeply “confused and uncomfortable” (Thomas, 2013: 156) with any denominator which might divide its equal citizens. It is “unthinkable” and even “taboo” (Bancel, 2013: 213; Montague, 2013: 225) to think about ‘race’ in the French Republic and more so on television screens. In the land of Human Rights, new “buzz words” such as ‘immigration’, ‘diversity’ and ‘visible minorities’ are preferred over words such as ‘race’ or ‘ethnicity’ (Downing, 2005: 7; Hargreaves, 2007: 1-2; Mattelart, 2007: 58; Noiriel, 1995: 373).

Since the III Republic, the population census stopped registering the ‘ethnic background’ of French people and it is impossible to count precisely the level of ‘diversity’ France has. (Noiriel, 1995: 374) This research will be enlightened by three main concepts. Firstly, by looking at ‘race’, we will be able to prove that this ‘category’ can shed some interesting lights on the French society. Secondly, we will dissect the French Republic with the concepts of ideology, hegemony and post-colonialism. Finally, we will be looking at representation and especially processes of othering, stereotyping and the power of media.

We need to talk about ‘Race’

Nowadays, the concept of race may seem “irrelevant, but all is race” as Lentin & Titley argued (2011: 49). One tends to hide behind the political correctness or the fear of being about accused of racism but one shall be confident that everyday practices suggest that the category ‘race’ is still relevant. It is used as a “thinking habit” (Downing, 2005: 1), a way of making sense of the world by relying on superficial physical variations which may enlighten how one may differentiate how a ‘black’ person looks and how a ‘yellow’ person looks. By no means, this discussion will suggest that because of their ‘colour’, some humans are superior to others. Quoting the UNESCO, Lentin and Titley (2011), remind us that as “far as research is concerned, everyone is equal biologically ‘for attaining any level of civilisation’ ”(p70). Acknowledging that race is used as a classification system, a categorisation of human beings by the way they ‘look’, we can understand the second purpose of race. Interestingly, if we travel through time in France, recent events shows how talking about ‘colours’ structures the way the French society is organised, how it defines itself and the values it is trying to convey more or less successfully.

In 2012, François Copé caused outraged at the primary elections of the right-wing party UMP by denouncing an “anti-white racism” (Copé, 2012). In 2011, the French national football team was too “*Black and Beur* and not enough Blue” (Fall, 2011) contrasting sharply with the « *Black, Blanc, Beur* » - Black, White, Arab – euphoria that followed France’s victory at the 1998 World Football cup. (Macé, 2007b: 2). Finally, the heavily racialised 2005 riots media coverage confirms the covert prominence of ‘race’ in the supposedly “colour-blind French Republic” (Murphy, 2011: 34; Silverman, 2007: 634).

‘Race’ is the surface of a much deeper social construction hidden behind the simple categories of colour. ‘Race’ is what makes the ‘foreign’ visible and is thus heavily disguised under the contemporary ‘problem’ of ‘immigration’ (Silverman, 1990: 21). Being white is the norm and is deemed normal (Ferguson, 1998: 181). However, thinking about Frenchness as a white-dominated “baguette-and-beret affair” (NYT cited in Murphy, 2011:34) would reduce France to the simple expression of its hyper-real image without taking into account its diversity, fruit of a long colonial history, immigration influx and welcoming of refugees.

There is, it is true, a strong vision of a white French identity that is rarely questioned (Young, 1992:202). This ‘white’ identity is an “illusory identity because it is actually highly dependent on its others to shore up its sense of security, to reflect back the disowned parts of itself as inferior, contemptible, dependent, frightened or threatening, perhaps excremental” (Pajaczkowska & Young, 1992: 202). By expressing its fear of “anti-white racism”, Copé, the current opposition leader, is linking this fear to a vision of a nation under threat from alien, a nation that needs protection and a nation that has legitimised, institutionalised and created a hierarchy of ‘race’ between its citizens. As Winant (1994) argues, “such concepts [of race] are essentially metaphors for institutionalised social relationships that combine processes of exploitation and domination, on the one hand, with processes of subjection and representation, that is, with struggles over meaning and identity, on the other.” (Cited in Downing and Husband, 2005: 5). Following World War II, France experienced a “demographic deficit” which triggered a mass immigration to France (Scheffer, 2011: 153). Then it became a problem in the 60s when the first measures on immigration regulation were taken. Later, Jacques Chirac who was prime minister in the 70s correlated immigration with unemployment and the crisis (Silverman, 1990: 111-124).

In 1981, the psychological barrier of one million immigrants was reached and the first *banlieue* incident happened in Lyon. Two years later, the first *Front National* (French extreme-right party) breakthrough happened. The formerly “immigrant worker” became the

contemporary “*black*” or “*beur*” in popular discourses and people from ‘non-white’ ethnic background were held responsible for stealing jobs, violence, crime and generally creating unsafe neighbourhood (Lentin, 2011: 60; McGonagle, 2002:282).

It is thus not that surprising that “racial profiling” has become a common practise in France (Keaton, 2013). In fact, any attempt to uphold differences and threaten the ideal of the Republic must be eliminated which paradoxically is a clear targeting of ‘minorities’. In Silverman’s words, “the republican model disavows its own role in racialising self and other, and [...] presents itself as the neutral opponent of all particular identities in the public sphere”. It is highly paradoxical also that the urban planning of big cities in France has self-created the very concept of the highly racialised communitarian *banlieue* it is trying to fight so badly nowadays.

The “*banlieue* generation” (Boubeker, 2013: 190) is symptomatic of a France incapable at looking at its own flaws. Drawing on Mill’s thoughts, Lentin & Titley (2011) consider that “race naturalises and classifies the cultural attributes of human groups, ordering those deemed to be inferior and superior on the basis of those seen as capable of mastering nature, and those incapable of emerging from a state of nature.” Immigrants who are locked down in their *banlieue* have no other choice than to conform to the norms of the ‘superior’ French Republic and wear their Fanonian “white masks” to have at least the illusory dream that they may one day be allowed to join the ‘French’ centre that put them at the periphery.

The French Republic strikes back

The majority/minority identity game

As this discussion is concerned with the representation of ethnic minorities, we shall use the most appropriate term of “non-white” as a substitute to the imprecise terms such as ‘diversity’ or ‘visible minority’. Anderson (2006) defines a nation as “an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (p6). As said earlier, France is predominantly imagined as a ‘white’ community (p153) and both its borders and the “finite” numbers of its inhabitants constitute the limits of the French community. In Gramscian terms, the French Republic acts like a hegemonic project. Relying on its “coercive power, it ‘legally’ enforces discipline” (Ferguson, 1998: 19) and allows the white hegemony to withstand the test of time. Previously, we recognised that race was heavily involved in the notion of Frenchness. Now, we have to acknowledge that the “number game

[is] clearly essential to racial theory” (Silverman, 1990: 121). In *Fear of Small Numbers*, Appadurai (2006) clearly articulates that the dominant “majority identity” acts as a “predatory identity” against the “minority identity” when it feels threatened.

The second half of the XXth century saw the rapid emergence of transport and ICTs global infrastructure, which allowed merchandise, people and ideas to travel very rapidly, efficiently and in mass. France is in the middle of this global momentum and is no longer in possession of a colonial empire that stretches as far as the extreme Orient. It feels like a small country that needs to protect its cultural legacy (Noiriel, 1995: 372). As *banlieues* are outside city centre and yet close enough to cause disturbance, there is a feeling of “threat [coming from] the margin” (Lentin, 2011:50). The enemy is both outside and within the national borders (Boubeker, 2013: 190).

Operationalisation of the Republican ideology

We shall now examine how the Republican project is unfolded and applied to its citizens. Firstly, it is important to accept the importance of language as “instrument of control” as it ensures a certain “political unity” and acts like a “theoretical norm” (Bourdieu, 1992: 44-46; Ferguson, 1998: 27). Without surprise, knowledge of the host country language is often a prerequisite for obtaining the citizenship of that country. Furthermore, as Bourdieu pointed out, “all linguistic practises are measured against the legitimate practises”(1992:53) meaning that any language variations, other than ‘regional’ ones, will differentiate a ‘legitimate’ French person from a foreigner through their accentuation, grammar or even spelling. Using Thompson’s mode of operation of Ideology (Table 2.1 in Ferguson, 1998: 50), we can see that France is operating under the helmet of “fragmentation” by differentiating and expurgating the ‘non-whites’ without offering them the opportunity of having a “differentiated citizenship” which would require the “equal recognition” of all its citizens, thus ensuring a currently inexistent “assumed common humanity” (Downing & Husband, 2005: 196). At the present moment, the definition of multiculturalism in France is “assimilation and secularism” (Taguieff cited in Franchon, 2008: 100).

This authoritative vision conforms to an “institutionalised French identity” which “expresses the auto-satisfaction of a population whose national frontiers and specific characteristics are no longer questioned and have not been for centuries, because they are permanently fixed” (Noiriel, 1995: 373). This echoes, Thompson’s “naturalisation” and “eternalisation” of ideology. Since 1789, France is sustaining the myth of ‘Equality’ under some liberal principles where ‘good’ immigrants are integrated on the basis of an economic integration

rather than a more profound cultural integration in the French landscape. A well-integrated immigrant must work, not steal and does not need state help. Thus he or she will be more likely to be accepted in society. However, as long as there will not be a 'cultural' integration of 'non-whites', immigrants will always be considered as "second-class citizens" separated from "fully fledged citizens" (Boubeker, 2013: 185).

A postcolonial era

Much of the immigration movements find their roots in former colonial ties. Contemporary research have been concentrated on the '*Beur*', from former Maghreb, and 'Black' from former African and Caribbean colonies and less so on the 'Yellows'. The reader should be reminded that the French word for 'Asians' – *Asiatiques* – does locate people's ethnic origins very differently. British Asians come more from a South Asian background whereas French Asians encompasses immigrants from ex-Indochina territories and Far-East Asian countries. French presence began in 1624 with the first missionary mission led by P. de Rhodes. Colonisation started in 1859 with the takeover of Gia-Dinh (Saïgon, now Ho Chi Minh City) and ended in 1956 (Simon, 1981: 26-30).

The colonial project was seen as a "civilising mission" and decolonisation was a true "test of the equality principle" as ex-colonised were offered French citizenship allowing them to migrate to the metropolis (Scheffer, 2011: 157). However, their migration was unwelcomed. Franchon & Sanson (2008) note that "the French population originating from former colonies [...] [were] publicly assigned a series of flaws that keep them away from the rest of the population" (p100). This obvious infringement to the Equality principle was nevertheless legitimised and forgiven when in 2005, a legal bill voted by French MPs paid tribute to France's colonisation era, as a veritable sign of French fading *grandeur* (Bancel, 2013:210; Somdah, 2003: 31). Today, France struggles to come to terms with its colonial past (Hargreave, 2007: 1-2).

Lost in representation

Othering

The previous sections on 'race' and the historical functioning of the Republican ideology have highlighted the creation of strong "binary oppositions" between 'white' and 'non-white', 'French' and 'foreign', "civilisation and "savagery" (Hall, 1997: 243). It is therefore important to reflect on these processes of Othering that cast the 'foreigner' as a permanent

‘alien’ to the hegemonic majority. Drawing on Levina’s observations, Drabinski explains that, on one hand, the “explicit articulation of the Other’s difference” creates “racism or anxiety about national difference. And yet, even as that difference is given in jester and words, the Other is met with cultural prejudice and chauvinism” (2011:xiii).

On the other hand, Hall does not downplay the degrading use of Othering but he considers that difference is necessary for the maintenance of a “symbolic order which we call culture” and “is fundamental to the constitution of the self” (1997: 236-27). Indeed, there will always be an Other to define what Frenchness is. However, this defining process should not put aside France’s diversity and richness of its population for the sake of protecting its uniqueness. Moreover, the idea of Frenchness should transcend racial category and focus more on cultural practises. France will always be recognised for its food, cinema or fashion and anyone who loves it enough can practise, spread and be part of the ‘French culture’. The most degrading usage of Othering is when the Other is locked in his Otherness and represented in an authoritative way. For instance, it is nearly impossible for ‘non-whites’ to be seen, considered and recognised as French as a result of a strong process of Othering, based on ‘skin colour’ distinction to qualify very unfairly what is and is not French.

Stereotyping

As a result of this Othering processes, the Other thus experience a ‘mind colonisation’ as he is unable to define him or herself, unable to free her or himself from categories imposed by the majority and, as a result, becomes prisoner of a supra-structure. Dangerously, what started as a simple categorisation of people becomes a power struggle over the representation of non-whites through the means of stereotyping. Pickering (2001) differentiates ‘categories’ from ‘stereotypes’. Categories changes or are added according to the ever-evolving knowledge. At the contrary, stereotypes are “elements of broad cultural practise”(p2), they cause damage and exclusion as they have “a morally normative effect in rendering them as natural, absolute and invariable”(p47). Hall furthers the argument by stating that stereotyping “reduces, essentialises, naturalises and fixes difference” (1997: 258). The ‘race’ categorisation produces something profoundly unjust, human who are pointed as ‘different’ are prisoners of a cage of meanings that have been arbitrarily attributed by the hegemonic majority. Those who belong to the hegemonic majority are also entrenched in their stereotypes and as it is fixed and closed to any additional representation, stereotyping settles differences and denies any possible evolution.

As, our research is concerned about the representation of ‘Yellows’ in France, we cannot

avoid Said's Orientalism, which exposes the case of an East totally 'invented' by the West. He claims that "Asia speaks through and by virtue of the European imagination" (Norindr, 1995: 37; Said, 1978: 56-63). Moreover, the recent moves at creating "anti-stereotypes" to counter-balance any negative stereotypes by creating positive ones (Macé, 2007b) reinforce the idea of Otherness. Indeed, 'non-whites' must go through another step for finding a place in the Republic, they must wear a "white or gold mask" (Fanon, 2008; Rigouste, 2007: 117). "The figure of 'Zidane, world champion' supports a postcolonial French mythology, where the ex-colonised can succeed if he wants to" (Rigouste, 2007: 123) and especially if he alienates himself to serving France. This leads to think that the Republic fosters inequality at the base of its Equality principle by promoting a meritocratic Republic.

The power of the media

One of the most powerful sites of creation of this hegemony, of representation of racial difference, and of these processes of Othering and Stereotyping is to be found in the Media. "The communications apparatus" - [part of Althusser's Ideological State Apparatus] - provides "every 'citizen' with daily doses of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism, moralism etc., by means of the press, the radio and television" (Althusser cited in Ferguson, 1998: 30). Billig (1995) considers that the media is a site of "banal nationalism" where we repeatedly "show our colours" and are "renewing our national identity and demarcating it from others in a host of everyday routine." (in Beck, 2002: 28). It is thus very difficult to resist a hegemonic power that is embedded in the very structure, vision and mechanism of the apparatuses of the French Republic. As we are concerned with the representation of 'race', we have to acknowledge the "centrality of the visual, [...] the simple presence/absence of people of colour in frame is immediately an issue, even before we address the equally significant question of the roles they play." (Downing & Husband, 2005: 37) Moreover, the media obeys its very own logic. To increase its outreach, it follows rules of "newsworthiness" (Ferguson, 1998:76), sensationalism (Boubeker, 2013:190) and portrays 'difference' in "repetitive and limiting news scenario" (Downing & Husband, 2005:36). Mattelart (2007) describes the media as a "site of stigmatisation" (p59) and we cannot deny its "long-term attitudinal effects [which] are a consequence of structural aspects of media production and content, which may include ongoing bias or imbalances in the representation of minority groups" (Hargreaves, 2001: 25). Without doubt, by focusing on the central role of television in our lives (Fiske, 1989: 16), this research shall highlight some interesting features that led to the exclusion of 'non-whites' on screens and by extension, in the French Republic.

Conceptual framework

This research's particular interests on French 'Asians' goes against the current of contemporary research as the 'hot races' of the moment, in a post 9/11 world, are the 'Beur' or 'Black' ones. Indeed, in the French context, the events in New York echoed strongly the trauma caused by the 1995 RER attacks in Paris. It is true that the rapid and unjust assimilation of the 'beur' figure with 'muslim', 'islamist' or worse "terrorist" justify the plethora of research on those two ethnic communities. The existing research of *Black* and *Beur* will enlighten our understanding of the phenomenon of representation, othering and stereotyping on television screens.

This research will mainly focus on television news broadcast because the "discursive status television reporter" acts as a "source of truth" for television viewers (Wilson cited in Ferguson, 1998:181). Also, as Mills-Affif highlighted, news broadcast, are highly visual and saturated with constant narration (2004:8). Finally, "news is carefully produced and structured according to routines" (Ferguson, 1998:176). The television medium will hopefully offer a strong, extensive and fertile soil of exploration, discovery and analysis of the following research question:

RQ: How does the representation of 'Yellows' on French Television screens news broadcast foster a particular orientation towards the integration of ethnic minorities in France and the construction of a wider multi-coloured French Republic?

In order to focus the research, several elements of the literature review will retain our attention.

- Are Asians experimenting the same process of spatial exclusion as French *Black* and *Arab* and are portrayed mainly in closed communities ?
- Are Asians considered French? Do processes of Othering affect them?
- Enlightened by Stanley Cohen's atrocity triangle (2001), we shall decipher what kind of stereotypes affect the representation of Asians.
- Finally, as the "offer of effective voice is crucial to the legitimacy of modern democracies" (Couldry, 2010:1), we shall retain and adapt the CSA's methodology (CSA, 2009-2012) and proceed to locate, identify and index all expressed voices in television news broadcast and see what place is attributed to Asians with regards to their representation.

Research orientation

Through the content analysis of television news broadcast, this paper will seek to do justice to the Yellow community who have been - in the words of Mills-Affif - “forgotten by television screens” (2004:11). This research proposes to add a new colour to the racial ‘diversity’ in France and rehabilitate French ‘Asians’ in the contemporary discussions on French ‘diversity’ and ‘ethnic minorities’. The exploration of this ‘non-white’ minority located doubly at the margin of other ‘ethnic minorities’ and the ‘hegemonic’ majority will allow us to correct some inaccuracies, false understandings and shortcuts that have undermined the quality of the research on French Asians. Moreover, in a world where Asia is surfacing as the next powerful continent, the issue of internal representation of ‘Asian’ migrants can enlighten future researcher and offer them a strong analysis on the evolution of the representation throughout the late XXth and XXIth century.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The choice of the methodology required in order to explore the representation of ‘Asians’ phenomenon in France needs to take into account the researcher’s background. As a French national, born in 1990 and belonging to the 2nd generation of ex-Indochina immigrants, there is a strong possibility that my understanding of the issue is subject to a national, epochal and ethnical bias. Without the empirical trigger such as my upbringing, my various experiences and observations that led me to be interested, passionate and willing to share this matter; there would probably have been no research. Nevertheless, as a researcher, I understand that the choice of methodology is crucial in order to eliminate potential bias and doubts on the seriousness of the research.

Content analysis

By acknowledging the “centrality of content” in media representation (Riffe, 1998: 8), the orientation towards content analysis, “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” is an attractive choice (Berelson, 1952:18). Moreover, Because of the researcher’s background, the need for objectivity is a prime concern. Riffe (1998) defines the method as

“the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of

relationships involving those values using statistical methods, in order to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption"

(Riffe, 1998: 20)

On one hand, the 'systematic' aspect of content analysis allows the exploration of "media content in a more comprehensive way, a way less prone to subjective selectiveness and idiosyncrasies" (Hansen, 1998: 91, Riffe, 1998: 20). Also, the 'replicability' feature of content analysis is one guarantee of the reliability of the method (Krippendorff, 2004a: 18, 2004b: 414; Riffe, 1998: 21-22). Moreover, the conversion of samples into a computerised dataset can allow the rapid, efficient and reliable analysis of large population sample once the coding process is over. (Riffe, 1998: 31). Finally, inferences drawn from the statistical analyses have a high chance to deliver meaningful results as the frame used for the analysis of each sample is consistent, using valid variables thanks to the construction of a rigorous coding 'framework' based on the literature review and its rigorous application into coding procedures that can be applied, in the exact same way, for future research.

On the other hand, that very rigid coding structure can lead to some problems in research. As even words cannot describe the whole world, certain variables do reduce some data to its most 'expressive' feature and the risk of "data-reduction process by which the many words of texts are classified into much fewer content categories" may cause some analytical bias according to the conceptual framework chosen (Weber, 1990: 15). Also, despite being praised for its objectivity, we cannot fail to deny human's subjectiveness as "signs can have several designation and data can be subjected to various analyses" (Krippendorff, 2004: 22). (i.e.: French/UK difference perception of 'Asians') Moreover, as the ambition of this project is to reflect a historical evolution of 'Yellows' representation in France, we must be wary about the "meaning of images [that] changes over time as they are viewed by different audiences" (Krippendorff, 2004: 127). Finally, as coding is not a natural process, not everyone is pre-equipped with the "cognitive abilities" needed to carry out the research and proper training must be implemented in order to make the coding more accurate and therefore more reliable (Gunmar, 1981: 47; Weber, 1990: 17). Training of second coders would include an overview of the literature review, methodological considerations on content analysis and some 'dummy' exercises and debriefing session with the researcher.

Coding unit

This content analysis relies on a double layer of coding. The first sampling unit is textual, it is one single ‘reportage’ broadcasted as part of a television news broadcast starting from the set introduction by the news presenter and the actual reportage itself. The second sampling unit is inspired by the French independent regulator of the audio-visual outlet in France (CSA)’s barometer of diversity on French Television Screen. It indexes every ‘expressed voice’ by which a person, an interviewee or a character is heard by the audience in the first layer of analysis.

Access to texts

The research has been conducted at the *Institut National de l’Audiovisuel* (INA) based in Paris. Since 1995, the pioneer François I’s 1537 *dépot légal* Act- a mandatory legal obligation for all francophone publishers to submit a copy of their publication to the French National archive - has been extended to audio-visual content. The INA thus has an impressive viewable archive database of more than five million hours of television of radio content across 120 French and international television and radio channels. Fortunately, some pre-1995 content have been retrieved from broadcasters’ archive and stored at the INA. Overall, it was not an issue to access texts as nearly the whole population of sample - “the entire set of potential newspaper, editions, broadcasts, documents, and so on, within a pertinent time frame” (Riffe, 1998: 50) - was available for viewing at the INAtheque.

Sampling

Mills-Affiff located the first images of ‘Yellow’ immigrants on French television screens in 1977 with the arrival of “boat-people”. Thus, it seems logical to set the observation period between 1977 and 2012, date where the first ‘Asian’ minister takes office in the newly elected left wing government.

The INA-research oriented tools truly help in the sampling process over these long 35 years. In the HyperBase software, two databases are the centre of our focus: INATV (some content from 1945 – 1995 over 3 channels) and DLTV (all content from 1995 over all French channel to date). Three search criteria were used to define the population:

- Mot Clé = “Asiatique” OU “Chinois” ET Type = “Journal Télévisé”
- Keyword = “Asians” OR “Chinese” AND Type = “TV news broadcast”

The keyword ‘Chinese’ was used as French ‘Asians’ can be generalised under this term. (Macé, 2007:250). The following table summarises the results obtained thanks to HyperBase:

Database	Search Terms	Universe	Population
INATV (pre-1995)	Mot Clé = ‘Asiatique’ OU ‘Chinois’ ET Type = ‘JT’	326 references	32 selected
DLTV (post-1995)		1051 references	131 selected

Table.1: Hyperbase results returned on 06/05/2013 (see appendix II for a screenshot of HyperBase)

Due to time constraints, the first layer of analysis needed to be skimmed to a manageable sample population. This has been done so in three steps:

- Step 1: Unit that did not portray human ‘Asians’ in a French context where excluded. (e.g.: the SARS scare in Asia, a drug traffic in the US, an ‘Asian’ terrorist gang dismantled in London, the Asian football cup matches and Asian insects invasion). Some sample, not belonging to the ‘television news broadcast’ type erroneously made their way to this universe and were also eliminated
- Step 2: The new universe was then subjected to a simple random sampling to give all units “an equal chance to be selected” (Riffe, 1998: 91)
- Step 3: Further samples were eliminated due to the physical content support being unavailable for viewing, bad or missing of either sound or video track or wrongly referenced video.

122 samples joined this research’s sample population. The second layer of coding unit used the highly unbiased “census” by indexing all “expressed voices” in the sample population.

Methods and procedures

As content analysis is “a set of procedures to make valid inferences form text” (Weber, 1990:9), it is important to give an account of the methods and procedures implemented for the operationalisation of the methodology. Moreover, the INA-designed and researcher-friendly software *MediaScope* allowed exploring audio-visual texts at a highly precise level and relieved the researcher from some time-consuming data collection tasks. In total, 90

hours over 10 days were allocated for the operationalisation of the content analysis at the INA.

The Codebook

After a pilot phase, conducted in April 2013, the codebook used for this project has been simplified, rationalised and refocused on the research question. It comprises 2 sections for the two layers of analysis (instead of 4 in the pilot). Section A focuses on some metadata information, the location portrayal and the representation of 'Asians' through the perception of Othering and Stanley Cohen's atrocity triangle (2001). Section B concentrates on the 'expressed voices'. Both sections draw on the previously unfolded literature review. Please check the codebook in appendix 2.

The observation period is comprised of 35 years between 1977 and 2012. Conveniently, the median year is 1995, which marks the year when greater availability of content of French television material is possible thanks to the systematic archiving of all broadcast 24/7 across all channels.

Ensuring reliability

To avoid 'coder fatigue' (Weber, 1990: 24), a short break every four texts analysed has been implemented and a 30 minutes lunch break instituted. To avoid mistakes, before each coding session, the researcher had to read through the codebook in details. During the coding sessions, each sample were analysed according to the following 7 steps:

- Step 1: Loading the DVD or server file, which contains the sample. Locating the audio-visual sample in the timeline panel in MediaScope and isolating the sample from the rest of the audio-visual stream with the 'section creator' tool.
- Step 2: First viewing - checking that the text corresponds to the targeted sample thanks to both the INA information sheet and the unique time-code tag assigned to the media sample.
- Step 3: Second viewing – the sample was then broken down in MediaScope into different sections according to speakers and narration's changes. Each different "expressed voices" were assigned one unique colour, making it easier to calculate time variables. Variables 4, 5 and 24 – which are time variables - were automatically calculated by MediaCorpus and reported on the coding sheet. Also, by cutting the text, MediaCorpus automatically generates stills at the different cuts.

- Step 4: Third viewing - Every voice that was narrated or expressed was then transcribed using the 'annotation tool' in MediaScope. Big section of speech were subdivided in order to ease the transcription process.
- Step 5: Coding directly into SPSS. Section A and B were coded into two different SPSS tables as their unit of analysis were different. The samples were viewed and reviewed as much as it was necessary for coding
- Step 6: Saving the MediaScope .vue file and generating different data accordingly.
an excel spread sheet with the exact timing and transcription.
a text file with the sample transcription.
a folder containing all the sample stills automatically generated by MediaScope.

Once, the whole population has been analysed, Step 7 consisted in reviewing each sample unit in the SPSS tables with the data generated during the coding process and fill missing data, correct inaccuracies where applicable. Screenshots of the MediaScope software can be seen in appendix 3.

RESULTS

Inter-coder Reliability Test

The intensity of audio-visual content analysis, which requires a lot of attention, motivation and time-commitment to the research, did not offer the possibility to measure the ICR on the final population of samples. However an ICR has been determined during the research pilot, which gathered $n=20$ for the first layer of analysis and $n=86$ for the second one. The pilot applied a percentage agreement formula, which calculates the "percentage of all coding decisions made by pairs of coders on which the coders agree" to determine the ICR (Lombard et al., 2002: 590). Using its formula [$r = a/(a+d)$], the overall ICR was .92 or 92%. Individual variables that scored below coefficient .80 were removed along with variables considered as a "waste of manpower" (i.e: irrelevant coding or double coding) (De Sola Pool, 1959: 15). As the coefficient is higher than .90, the achieved ICR is deemed "acceptable" for replication (Lombard et al., 2002: 593). Moreover, the pilot sample size represents 17.85% of the total research sample size for the first layer of analysis and 16.92% for the second one, it is thus in accordance with Wimmer & Dominick's recommendation who suggested that "between 10% and 20% should be tested" (cited in Riffe, 1998: 123).

Preliminary results

The time allocated for data collection allowed the collection of $n=112$ for the first layer of analysis and $n=514$ for the second layer of analysis. In total, 4 hours 02 minutes and 36 seconds of television news footage from 1967 to 2012 have been analysed, 112 samples have been transcribed into words and 2396 stills have been extracted from the sample population. Due to lack of time, 10 selected samples were not coded. Moreover, due to the greater availability of content in the DLTV (post-1995) database, there is an imbalance reflected in the distribution of sample across time as pre-1995 samples accounts for 32 sampling units towards the final population and post-1995 samples totals 80 analysed television news piece.

The section will in a first phase deliver the results of the first and second layer of coding. It will then, in a second phase assess, interpret and analyse the methodological and empirical outcome. Finally, in a third phase, it will assess the future of representation of ‘non-white’ minorities, reopen the narrowed discussion on ‘Yellows’ to a wider discussion on the treatment of ‘race’ in France. As a transversal observation, this discussion will also allow a historical account on the state of the representation of ‘Yellows’ in France.

This research can claim that the oldest sample discovered so far in the archive dates back from 1967. Indeed one sample was considered as outlier in this study to show that representation of French ‘Asians’ on television started well before 1977, date set by Mills-Affif in his extensive research (2004:104). The variables were mainly treated with descriptive statistics methods and their significance have been tested with chi-square and one-sample t-test technique of statistical significance.

Representation of location

Section A.2 of the codebook is concerned with the spatial representation of the ‘Asian’ community. Drawing from the *Beur* and *Black* empirical evidence of ‘Banlieue-isation’, it is important to consider the representation’s location settings. Asians are mainly represented in urban environment (88.3%) in the Parisian region (76.8%). Rural representations of Asians in France accounts for 10.8% of total representations and 16.2% of those representations are located outside the Paris area. Variables 9 allows us to affirm that for 44.3% of samples analysed, ‘Asians’ have been portrayed in mainly or exclusively Asians neighbourhood. The 13th district of Paris, rebaptised the “French Chinatown” (Mills-Affif, 2004:104) was cited in 19 cases and Belleville, a borough stretching across the Xth, XIth, XIXth and XXth districts was cited on 17 occasions. There can be no claim of the same

process of 'banlieue-isation' of the 'Yellow' community without effective measure and comparison of the *Black* and *Beur* representation, however nearly half of the representation are shot in heavily 'Asian' settings where splashes of colour (mainly red, yellow), big window shop written in foreign languages and overwhelming majority of 'Yellow' passers-by can contribute to the feeling of 'invasion' coming from an "interior enemy" (Mills-Affif, 2007, 41).

Othering and stereotyping

Research have highlighted the prominence of *Black* and *Beur* role as perpetrators in negative representation or when it comes to positive representation, their role is located in an "expository dimension" on a stage or in a performance (football stadium, stand-up comedy show...) (Rigouste, 2007:113). This research has used Stanley's Cohen atrocity triangle and adapted it slightly by changing the passive-bystander side of the triangle with Rigouste "expository dimension." Section A.3 also measured the level of Othering by considering representation 'deviant' from what the hegemonic majority as a process of Othering, the sample population revealed that in 98.2% of total cases, a perception of Othering has been clarified.

Most 'Asians' representation depicted them as Foreigner living on French soil (47.3%), followed by Integrated (27.7%) and Temporary Immigrants representing 17.7% of the population of sample. Thus, out of the 82.2% permanent French resident, 75% of Asians are not recognised as French. The main reason discovered for their presence on French soil is clearly negative. 31% are illegal immigrants, followed by both Economic and Temporary Immigrant scoring 27% and the rising 2nd generation representing 22% of all cases.

Looking at the atrocity triangle, the majority of 'Asian' representation follows an expository angle (41.1%), followed by Asians as perpetrators (17.9%) and as victims (2.7%). 'Asians' are thus in the majority under the spotlight for their Otherness and sometimes their malicious behaviour. They are rarely considered as victims. 41 cases reported a video on the theme of 'Asian' Integration in France; 24 cases highlighted 'Asians' being the perpetrators of the crime of using fraudulent or fake papers for immigration purposes and even the delivery of fake university diplomas or illicit GP licencing. For a full breakdown of the atrocity triangle please see the appendixes.

Statistical inferences about Layer 1 of Analysis.

In order to determine some interesting inferences, a chi-square significance test has been conducted to determine some interesting inferences. They are all based upon calculation at the 5% significance level

H_0 : The side of representation of Asians in Cohen's Atrocity triangle has no effect the sample prominence in the news broadcast.

H_1 : The side of representation of Asians in Cohen's Atrocity triangle has a direct effect on the prominence of the sample in the news broadcast.

There is a moderate evidence that the distribution of attitude toward the prominence of the news sample are not the same for Asian representations as perpetrators, victims or expository as the P-value of .010 is lower than .05. As the table below demonstrates 'Yellow' stories which depicts them as perpetrators are highly prominent in the news bulletin and stories with a more 'victim' or 'expository' angle are more likely to be in the middle or end of the news bulletin.

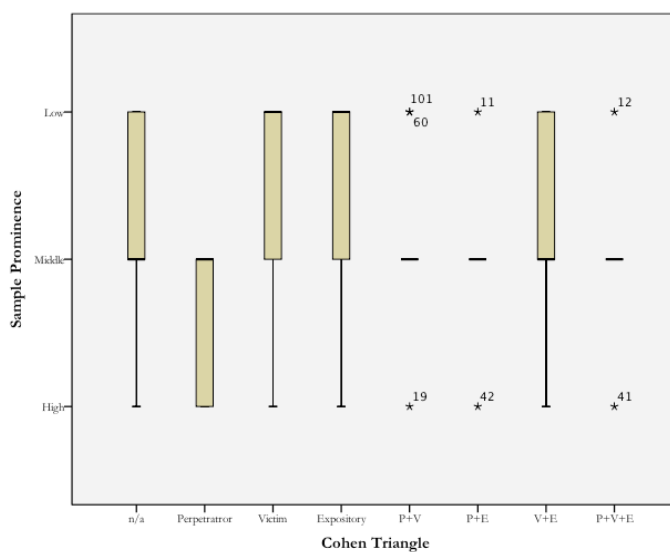


Chart 1: Sample Prominence according to the Cohen's Triangle side of the news story.

Cross-Tabulation of Variables 12 (Level of Integration) and the results for the Cohen Triangle gives a high P-value (<0.001) meaning that there is a strong association between the level of integration and their representation. Perpetrators are always considered as foreign apart from one outlier and only 4 cases depicts French 'yellows' having reached the state of differentiated citizenship.

Voices

Out of the 514 different voices indexed, a majority of them were masculine (65.9%) for 34.1% of feminine voices. The media voices, journalists, narrators and presenters accounted for 39.8% of total voices. The main age group perceived in the news television broadcast was the 25 to 55 years old age group totalling 73.2% of the total population. Overall 55% of the voices expressed belonged to the hegemonic majority and the rest were mainly distributed in Integrated, Foreigner or Temporary Immigrant category (respectively 12.7%; 14.6%; 10%)

The conceptual framework of this research is concerned with the “offer of effective voice”(Couldry, 2010) and we can assume, in an ideal world, the following null hypothesis:

H₀: There is no evidence between the individual voice ethnicity and the attribution of speech time on air in French television news broadcast.

Counteracted by the following alternative hypotheses

H₁: The individual voice ethnicity affects the speech time offered on screen on French television news broadcasts.

Unfortunately, there is a very strong association between ethnicity and distribution of voice time in French television news broadcast ($P < 0.001$). Variable 24, which measured the perceived ethnicity of visible on-screen protagonists counted 229 cases of ‘white’ voices (55.6% of valid cases) accounting for 2 hours 58 minutes and 29 seconds of speech time and 168 cases of ‘Yellow’ ones (40.8% of valid cases) representing 39 minutes and 4 seconds of air time. Thus a ‘white’ speaker has four times more speech time than a ‘non-white’ speaker in news television broadcast. It should be noted that narrators’ voices were not included in the visible ethnicity count but did get included in the speech time count as they narrate the discourse of the hegemonic ‘white’ majority.

The majority of interviewees are just simple witnesses, citizens or active bystanders. (67.4% of valid cases, 207 cases), trailed by Specialist, Academic or Philosopher (9.1% of valid cases, 28 cases) and representatives from NGO and charities (7.8% of valid cases, 24 cases).

Finally, it is important to remind Bourdieu’s argument about the ‘standard’ language becoming a “normalised product” which helps to the building of one single nation (1992, 46-48). The quantification of ‘standard’ language relied on three measurements: the command of French, the perceived “foreignness” of the accent and whether the voice needed to be translated either via an interpreter or subtitles. Regarding French language accent, this research treated “regional variations” as a simple variation of “the dominant usage of language” still related to Frenchness (Bourdieu, 1992:54). In addition, *le français des*

banlieues, or “*Banlieue* language” was also considered as tied to a assimilated, differentiated or hegemonic French citizenship following Kent’s (2009) argument that it “does not seem to be tied to one group or origin, but it seems to be used among those who have assimilated to some extent into French culture” (p191). However, this research does not confuse the perceived *Banlieue* language with perceived Arabic foreign accent. Having considered those specific aspects of languages, we can formulate the following null and alternative hypothesis.

H₀: The fluency of the French language has no effect on the perceived integration level and perceived ethnic background of the individual voice.

H₁: The fluency of the French language has a direct effect on the perceived integration level and perceived ethnic background of the individual voice.

Both the cross-tabulation of variables 24 (Ethnicity) and 31 (Level of Integration) with the language coefficient determined with variables 27 to 29 delivered a P-value <0.001. This suggests that there is a very strong association between the mastery of the French language and both the level of integrations of individuals and their ethnicity. Focusing on ethnicity and French fluency, we can see that the distribution of cases for the perceived as ‘Yellow’ is more widely distributed across the language mastery than other ‘non-yellow’ population as illustrated in table 2 overleaf.

Table 2 : Cross-tabulation of Perceived Ethnicity and French Language Fluency

Perceived French Language Fluency	Perceived Ethnicity						Tota
	White	Black	Beur	Yellow	Mixed	Other	l
Standard French	222	7	4	34	1	0	268
Standard French Use, Weak Foreign Accent	1	0	2	11	0	0	14
Standard French Use, Strong Foreign Accent	0	0	0	5	0	0	5
Good French, Weak Foreign Accent	0	0	0	8	0	1	9
Good French, Strong Foreign Accent	1	0	0	28	0	0	29
Weak French, Strong Foreign Accent	0	0	0	29	0	0	29

Weak French, Strong Foreign Accent, Translated	0	0	0	8	0	0	8
Foreign Language	5	0	0	45	0	0	50
Total	229	7	6	168	1	1	412

We can note that the perceived lower tier of the French language fluency - where understanding is pushed at its limits - of the yellow population accounts for 82 cases corresponding to 48.

Eight per cent of the total yellow population. Because it concerns half of the yellow population, we can infer that the most memorable representation of 'Asians' will surely be an image of Asians being foreign or struggling with French and thus clearly foreign. Further statistical exploration also allows us to affirm that the 89.9% of the 67 voices perceived as aged from 16 to 25 are perceived as 'Yellow' young people, are mainly located in the upper tier of language mastery allowing us to suggest that the second generation of Asians has been more able to learn the essential language tool, key to their integration in the French Republic.

DISCUSSION

Having exposed the results, this research will now seek to explore the relevance of the figures and numbers highlighted. In addition, relevant extra data gathered during the coding process shall be brought in to illustrate and help our understanding of the 'Yellow' representation in French Television news broadcast and how it fosters a particular orientation towards the integration of ethnic minorities in France and the construction of a wider multi-coloured French Republic. As previously demonstrated, the results highlighted that most representations are following an expository pattern. We shall thus expose some of the most relevant representation of 'yellows' and explore the darker side of their representation but first and foremost, here is a thought about the chose methods implication on the outcome of this research.

Methodological consideration

Content analysis was mainly chosen for its objectivity claim. Considering the amount of data generated (stills, transcription of video, INA Information sheet), there was the possibility to adopt all data available (visual, written texts) requiring thus a methodological triangulation (visual and critical discourse analysis) which would add more depth to the analysis given (Joo, 2012; Flick, 2002:226).

This research may well be criticised for its bias treatment of ethnic group in the French Republic. However, I shall prove that this is a ‘purposeful’ bias. The bias comes from the method of sampling, the INA archive itself and the researcher’s background. Indeed, this research is very ‘yellow-centric’ and it would have been interesting to apply the same coding process to a sample population determined by the full rainbow of colours France has.

Finally, the content retrieved relies on the rigorous method of indexation of content developed by INA technicians and librarians. Every single piece of broadcast is indexed in the INA database like books would be in a library database and this research mainly relied on the metadata information *Descripteurs*, *Résumé* and *Titre*: Description, Summary and Title. That metadata information is mainly filled through the possibly biased albeit professional perception of the audio-visual librarian and technician but this should not affect this research as this is precisely what this research is trying to decipher.

This small scale study has only been made possible thanks to the very focused choice of methodology, the narrowing definition of ‘non-white’ to a manageable issue and the already pre-coded content retrieved thanks to the INA’s incredible archive organisation.

Beyond Orientalism: Asian art and folklore

Orientalism is not new in France. Yee’s study on the representation of Women in postcards from French Indochina concluded that this particular art was the result of artistic code exchanges between Europe and Asia. For instance the ‘portrait’ was brought from Europe to Indochina and certain patterns such as birds and landscapes motives followed the reverse route (2004:5-19). Our oldest sample from 13 January 1967 follows the excitement of a journalist who is exposing the viewer to “a little corner of China in Paris XIth district” where in a shabby workshop, ‘Asian’ workers are making ‘Chinese’ furniture. He explains that “Chinese art is more and more fashionable in Paris” a clear echo of an artistic movement born at the royal court of Louis XIV in Versailles called *Les Chinoiseries*. The presenter seems intrigued and to ensure the authenticity of the work he even asks if “the sculptures are the same one that existed before, a long time ago, thousands years ago in China” to

which one worker replies that the sculptures cannot be the same but they try their best to imitate.

Some may argue that this western gaze on ‘Asian’ art production sits the superiority of the West over the East as their art becomes a pure and simple buyable commodity. However, other sample revealed that it can just be an innocent enlightening form of curiosity towards Eastern culture that ‘non-yellows’ may adopt towards Asian culture to better understand the culture. Three decades later, on 29 January 2009, it is Clement, a young French college student who, aged 9 years old fell in love with ‘Asian’ painting technique. Other prime examples of curiosity include President Mitterand portrayed eating with chopsticks in a Chinese restaurant (Sample IDNO_033, 26.01.1993), President Chirac visiting the Thang Long imperial citadel in Vietnam to “satisfy a personal curiosity” (IDNO_081_3, 07.10.2004) or explaining his “passion” for Asian art which started at the dedicated Musée Guimet in Paris (Sample IDNO_090, 13.05.2007).



Still 1: Anonymous Asian sculpting a piece of wood in a shabby Parisian workshop in 1967.



Still 2: Clément, drawing an ‘Asian’ landscape in a class in 2009.



Still 3: President Mitterand eating with chopsticks in a Chinese restaurant in 1993



Still 4: President Chirac visiting the Thang Long Imperial Citadel in Vietnam, 2004

In these situations, the Other is the subject of attractiveness, attention and fascination.

However, where should we draw the line between seduction and objectification? innocent enjoyment or possessive consumption of the Otherness? This has been partially answered by Pickering's differentiation between categorisation and stereotyping. As long as the categorisation of the Other is left open to new meanings, new information and new qualification, it should prevent from falling into the eternal trap of stereotyping which produces pattern of power domination and lock the powerless into their subordinated condition (Hall, 1997:261). This could be understood as 'soft' form of Orientalism which does not construct the 'Orient' but rather seeks to explore the oriental Otherness and adapt it to understandable 'non-oriental' code of understanding.

A 'hard' form of Orientalism may also exist as it can be showed in the representation of the Asian New Year. Indeed, as splashes of colour, dragon dances and 'Asian' food fill television screens, the spectacle of the new year celebration acts as a symbol *par excellence* of Asian marginalisation in the French society. For instance, 'Yellow' Tan Buon-Huong declares that "the Chinese new year is like Christmas in Europe" (Sample IDNO_032, 23.01.1993) and a perceived as 'white' father affirms that he brought his children to the parade in order to "open their mind, show them what it is, and show them all these culture which are coming *chez nous* in France" (Sample IDNO_061, 27.01.2001). Both 'white' and 'yellow' prevent themselves from thinking that they can celebrate their traditions as well as belonging to the same nation. Despite this clear "rupture between the politics of the nation and the human condition within nations and even more so for those human subjects who cross national boundaries, especially through migration" (Georgiou, 2010:25) the 'finite' geographical entities - markers of those 'imagined communities' - still act as strong opponent tot the building of a cosmopolitan identity.

Negative stereotypes

We cannot go over all the stereotypes but here is a selection of the main ones. Amusingly, on 16.01.2002, a regional news Bulletin of France 3 stated that the "consumption of dogs does not cease to grow in Asia" and goes on telling the story of those *St-Bernard* dog, a mountain dog, who are "crossed with Chinese dogs to improve the quality of their meat" stating that in order to achieve a "tender meat, the dog must suffer". The sample even uses the term "barbaric" and the grave tone conveyed in the narration implies a feeling of threat coming from the "Chinese" perpetrators (Sample IDNO_064). The strangeness of these Yellow Other are also heavily depicted when reportage following police descent into clandestine clothes workshop or Asian restaurant are broadcasted. The images are often dark and highlighting the quasi-third world stereotypes of dirty premises, full of cockroaches, stingy

and hyper-crowded.

As Mills-Affif coined down, ‘Asians’ are often portrayed through their ‘mysteriousness’ their ambiguity which is a cause of fear, typically referred as ‘Yellow threat’. The immigrant caught in his illegal situation “conveys a routinised sense of alien threat in which ‘the other’ is seems as culturally threatening” (Downing & Husband, 2005:7). Dutronc was singing *700 millions de Chinois et moi, et moi, et moi...!* “700 million of Chinese and me, and me, and me...”. Already in 1986, they are portrayed as too many in Paris causing some immigration problem and even competing with other non-white communities. As Belleville welcomes a growing Chinese community, journalist Patrick Velay states that the “Beijing Roast duck has replaced the couscous and that the Yellow money is imposing itself in the neighbourhood” (Sample IDNO_016, 01.08.1987).

Two decades later, in the same neighbourhood, the ARTE news bulletin recounts the uproar emanating from the “Asian community” which are “the main targets” of petty crimes. “According to their victims, the majority of the aggressors are from African aggressors”. This statement is the dangerous sign of France’s inability to deal with its multi-ethnic population and an urgent worry about the “recycling of stereotypes of French people with sub-Saharan or Maghreb origins” stated Patrick Lozes, president of CRAN, a charity fighting against discrimination (Sample IDNO_106). Furthermore, Macé (2007) argues that “ethno racial stereotypes are the expression of racialisation and ethnicisation operations of the individual” (p6). This is clearly a proof that the concept of ‘race’ does matter in the French context and the post-2005 *banlieue* riot may have helped to open the debate. Indeed ‘couscous’ and ‘Beijing roast duck’ metaphors are substituted with the correct label of ‘ethnic origins’. France is now calling a spade, a spade.

Beyond positive stereotypes

Firstly, it is to be noted that among the journalists and presenters, no ‘Yellow’ equivalent of Harry Roselmack were found and this must change. Surprisingly, they are a few ‘yellow’ “Anti-stereotypes” which is the “showcasing of non-whites of the middle class, or even from prestigious social background in first role position” acquired by the subsequent denial of their ethnicity (Macé, 2007:6). It seems that the image of a “polite, hard-worker and discreet” has persisted (Mills-Affif, 2004:106). In 1978, Denise Colin, interviewed for a role as adoption coordinator in France gave the following statement:

“The majority of [future parents] are choosing children from ‘Asian’ origins [...]. This is due to the identification of the Black or Maghreb child with social workers, here, in France. So we see them, grown-up, as street cleaners whereas ‘Asians’ are more perceived as engineers. This is very important for families.”

(Sample IDNO_005, 28.06.1978)

This declaration is obviously very racist towards the *Black* and *Beur* community but it also naturalises a dangerous process of “racial hierarchy” incompatible with the idea of a prosperous multi-ethnic society. When positive representation of ‘Asians’ are broadcasted, it is often linked to the image of successful immigration and as Immigration is a pan-racial issue, it often put ‘Asians’ as success model solely based on their economical merit and resiliency at not trying to push for a French differentiated citizenship. We have to consider both that “Blackness is a product of whiteness, not a melanin” (Fiske, cited in Cottle, 2000:64) and that colonisation of Indochina was seen as “successful [form of] imperialism” and is thus a “mourn and model colony”. It could be questioned whether the American war triggering the wave of boat-people in Vietnam covered the sense of French ‘guilt’ and ‘shame’ over the loss/decolonisation of Indochina. At the contrary, nothing major covered the bloody decolonisation of Maghreb and especially Algeria and maybe the French ‘resentment’ towards this community was born from there.

Finally, one recent positive development of representation is the nomination of Fleur Pellerin as ministers of the current French government. Her ‘colour’ in this prominent position is clearly an attempt to promote ‘difference’ but the media coverage around her does not heavily correlates her racial (Korean) origins and her excellent professional career towards the ministry. She could represent the promising appearance of neo-stereotypes, showing “a difference ‘which does not make any difference’ ” (Hall cited in Macé. 2007:7)

Different shades of yellow

Dyer (1997) demonstrated that there are different shades of ‘Whites’ (p51), we shall now argue that the same applies with ‘Yellows’. The previously mentioned 14 cases of samples reporting on ‘Asian New Year’ celebration is a leading example of the confusion between the different ‘shades’ of the yellow ethnicity. *Asiatique*, French Asians diversity are often named and represented through the umbrella word *Chinois*, Chinese. Only one case in 1988 made the differentiation between the Chinese (from China) New Year and *La fête du têt*, the Vietnamese name for the New Year celebration (Sample IDNO_018, 18.02.1988).

One sample from 1987 (IDNO_014) openly exemplifies the consideration that different

shade of yellows are conveyed. The very salient sample tells the story of “Daniel Chou, a little 2-year old boy” with “Cambodian parents”. “2 perpetrators from Chinese origins” have kidnapped little *Chou*. This sample is sympathetic to the Cambodian and expresses antipathy for the Chinese. It is striking that the representation of ex-Indochinese immigrants, in our sample population, is never negative. They are represented as victims, in need of help provided diligently by the French state. Boat-people have to “relearn” everything and “start [their new life in France] from scratch” says journalist Jean Marc Illouz in 1979 (Sample IDNO_09, 24.08.1979, Sample IDNO_024, 09.04.1988). Journalists’ narration are coupled with images that intend to trigger compassion to the viewers.

The colonial past may have an effect on this. On the other hand, the particular case of Chinese representation is only distributed between ‘perpetrators’ or ‘expository’ representation. They fascinate as much as they are feared. In 2008, one Chinese made the headline of the TF1 news bulletin as he spent 46,423 euros worth of wine at Charles-de-Gaulles airport duty-free (Sample IDNO_097, 25.12.2008). This incredible spending power mirrors the now significant (super)power of China as leader of the global economy which is both a model for European countries but also a threat to their shrinking economy and significance at the global economical level. Appadurai’s Fear of small numbers model may now have been reversed. France is trying to resist being a minority in a global world by enforcing its hegemonic apparatuses at a national level and making sure the idea of ‘Frenchness’ still remains untouchable and impenetrable to ‘alien’ races for the identity.

The future of media representation

Thinking about integration institutions, Terzian (2007) considers that Media are “not windows of the world, nor mirrors of the society but constructions and symbolic representation of certain aspects of reality (p210). We have seen that the special news format is particularly dense in processes of stereotyping, othering and racialisation. As it functions as a site of symbolic recognition, it plays a very important role in the identity construction of the individual and we must not underestimate the effects representation have on the perception of the majority over the minorities and how the minorities perceives themselves.

Todorov (1995) sees the recognition of the individual as a two-step process. Firstly, a recognition at the narrow sense of the term and secondly a confirmation of the Other’s right

to construct its own identity within the wider community (p110-111). Fighting racial prejudices demands effort. It requires the acceptance of the fact that “meaning can never be finally fixed, [that] there can never be any final victories” (Hall, 1997:274) and as the Earth goes global, there is no other alternatives than to embrace a future where one’s identity does not rely on the hegemonic identity to be given a voice. It is always so striking that a majority of ‘non-whites’ experience a tranquil life and that a few because of their ‘different’ ‘colour’ will mark an entire nation’s consciousness for their accomplishments or their crime, their success or their poverty, their glory or their violence.

Looking ahead in this global interconnected momentum, we will have to explore the effect of that other media platform on television. As Gray argues “the acculturation an ethnicity more conscious of its hybridity and cosmopolitanism will come less from ‘mainstream’ television but rather from multiple musical, frictional, expressive and graphical forms that are populating the Internet and artistic and intellectual scenes... and which will perhaps fuel a more important television reflexivity” (cited in Terzian, 2007:264). New ICTs will certainly free ‘non-whites’ from the representation prison

CONCLUSION

Without doubt, the discussion on this small sample of content focused on one ‘colour’ of the French diversity and one specific format of representation of the wider construction or non-construction of a multi-coloured France can be endless. In order to be more rigorous, the field of observation should be open to all ‘colours’ examined one by one and put them in context together. Nevertheless, the present research have allowed us to make the following conclusions:

- Race is still relevant in the hierarchisation and representation of the French civil society, it constitutes one ‘imagined’ aspect of the concept of Frenchness.
- The ‘Yellows’ are still not part of the ‘*Black, Blanc Beur*’ equation. They either become ‘white’ through economical, academic or other merit-based means and go through a denial of their ethnicity or are imprisoned in their Otherness. In both case the ‘yellow’ is either locked inside or outside the ‘white’ community.
- Despite the purposeful ‘yellow-centrism’ adopted for this research, their voice is still not expressed and the community experience strong processes of Othering and Stereotyping.
- Their representation of ‘Asians’ is mainly communitarian. It locates them in urban settings especially in and around Paris, place of all societal tensions. They

don't live in *Banlieue* but in Chinatowns. It also seems that places are not designed to be multi-ethnic and that one community chases another. It's either *Yellow* or *Black*.

After having reinstated the significance of 'Yellows' in the French demographic landscape, we can open up to further conclusions. France is full of contradictions. The government recent push for the right of minorities is met with a deep patriotism, scepticism and even violence coming from the *français de souche*. For more than 20 years, the extreme-right have scored highly in France, a French ministry of National Identity and Immigration was created for 2 years in 2007 before being closed down because of the controversies surrounding its existence. If race is so relevant in the supposedly equal France, what prevents us from thinking that religion, sexuality or gender are also strong components of how France imagines itself and construct its Frenchness. The gay marriage bill caused a shock in a vision of a traditional, untouched, formerly religious institution. However, one can be left optimistic on the pace of changes in France. It has no choice but to adapt to Bauman's age of 'liquid modernity'. Unfortunately, the journey is going to be a long one until the inclusion of new 'non-white' colours in the idea of Frenchness. 'Minorities' should free themselves from their hyper-real representation and be proud of their difference and fight for the idea of a tolerant, open and multi-coloured France. The question "Where are you from?" presupposes that the interrogator will tell who you 'are' based on that 'from'. It is thus highly judgemental, yet institutionalised, naturalised and common. However, I hope that one day, one will accept that the Other deserves to express its full set of identities by asking the simple, tolerant and open question "Who are you?".

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APPENDIX

The Codebook

MC499 Bossoro Ngo		CONTENT ANALYSIS		May/June 2013			
CODE BOOK		Yellow Skin - Republican Prison					
0	IDNO	Unique Sample number					
SECTION A.1 GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT SAMPLE							
1	SampleTitle	TITLE Write down the title of the sample as written on the INA "notice"					
2	Media Channel	1	1	Canal +	5	M6	8
		2	2	France 2	6	TF1	9
		3	3	France 3	7	Itele	10
		ARTE		4			
3	SampleDate	DD.MM.AAAA					
4	SampleBroadcastHour	HH:MM:SS					
5	SampleDuration	HH:MM:SS					
6	SampleProminence	High	1	Middle	2	Low	3
* Define the prominence of sample with regards of its location within the news bulletin sequence High = 3 main stories; Middle = Secondary stories; Low = 'infotainment' stories at the end of the broadcast							
SECTION A.2 FILMING LOCATION							
7	FilmingLocation	Urban	1	Rural	2	n/a	0
* Urban (INT or EXT) Environment with a high concentration of human population/buildings Rural (INT or EXT) Environment located more in the countryside (green space, fragmented houses...)							
8	FilmingLocation2	Ile de France	1	Province	2	n/a	0
		IDF+Province	3				
* Ile de France = Paris + Banlieue; Province = Rest of France; IDF+ Province = Both case 1 and 2							
9	AsianSpaceConcentration	Yes	1	No	2	n/a	0
Is there a specific neighbourhood attributed to the Asian Population? eg: Chinatown							
10	AsianSpaceName	SPACE NAME					
If V9= 1, specify							
SECTION A.3 REPRESENTATION OF PERCEIVED AS 'YELLOW'							
11	Otheringperception	Yes	1	No	2	n/a	0
12	LevelofIntegration	Absolute Equality/French		1	Differentiated Citizenship		2
		Assimilated		3	Integrated		4
		Foreigner		5	Tourist, Temporary immig		6
		*1 Absolute equality: When there is absolutely no mentionning of difference between White vs Minorities *2 Differentiated Citizenship: The 'Other' is recognised as French and retains its particular cultural ID. Hybrid *3 Assimilated:The 'Other' is recognised as French and abandons its former/particular cultural ID. *4 Successful Integration: Accepted but not recognised as French and retains its particular cultural ID. *5 Unsuccessful Integration: Not accepted, nor recognised as French. Retains its particular cultural ID *6 Temporary Immigrant: Foreigner who is temporarily on French soil. Eg: student, tourist...					
13	ReasonPresence	Illegal Immigration		1	Adoption		4
		Economic Immigrant		2	Ex colonised/Boat People		5
		Political Refugee		3	2nd Generation		6
		Temporary Immigrant		7			
14	Perpetrators?	n/a		0	Illegal Workers		6
		Black Market		1	Money Traficcking		7
		Drugs use, drug dealing		2	Human trafficking		8
		Anti-Social Behaviour		3	Terrorism		9
		Civil Demonstration		4	Other		10
		Prostitution		5	If Other Precise		

15	Victims?	n/a	0	Verbal/Physical violence	5
		Human Trafficking	1	Racism	6
		Human Exploitation	2	Poverty	7
		Discrimination	3	Other	8
		French State Repression	4	If Other Precise	
16	ExpositoryRepresenta.	n/a	0	Asian Arts and Crafts	4
		Religious Practises	1	Asian New Year	5
		Asian Food Culture	2	Integration in France	6
		Day to day life/CulturalPra	3	Other	7

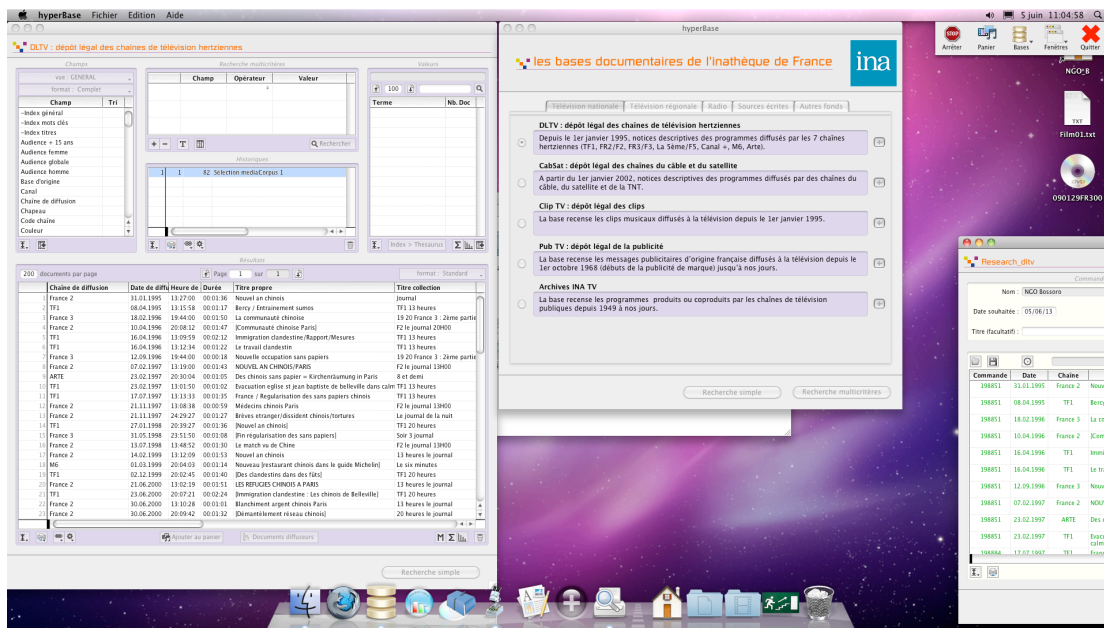
SECTION B VOICES

17	Voice ID	VoiceID	IDNO+01, 02, 03		
18	IndividualName	NAME	Give name + surname name or n/a		
19	IndividualTitle	TITLE	Give Title if given or n/a		
20	IndividualGender	Male	1	Female	2
21	IndividualRole	Presentator	1	Journalist	2
22	IndividualAge	<16	1	25<55	3
		16<25	2	55+	4
23	IndividualEthnic	White	1	Beur	3
		Black	2	Yellow	4
24	IndividualSpeechTime	HH:MM:SS	Calculate using MediaScope		
25	InterviewedPosition	Interviewer, Journalist, Moderator			1
	Do not answer for	Specialist, Academic, Philosopher			2
	Journalist and Presentator	Politician (Mayor, Deputy, Senator...)			3
		Representant of the republic (Prefect, Ambassador, Minister, Prez			4
		NGO/charities representant			5
		Witness/Perpetrator or active bystander/Citizen			6
		Justice/Judge			7
		Coercive force (police, army, PAF)			8
		Perpetrator			9
		Victim			10
26	Commandoffrench	Standard	1	Good	2
		None	0	Weak	3
27	"Foreign"accent	Strong	1	Weak	2
28	LiveTranslation	Yes	1	No	2
29	IndividualSpeechTime	HH:MM:SS			
30	LevelofIntegration	Hegemonic majority	1	Differentiated Citizenship	2
		Assimilated	3	Integrated	4
		Foreigner	5	Tourist, Temporary immig	6

- *1 Hegemonic Majority: White or a state where minorities are considered as French without any prejudices
- *2 Differentiated Citizenship: The 'Other' is recognised as French and retains its particular cultural ID. Hybrid
- *3 Assimilated:The 'Other' is recognised as French and abandons its former/particular cultural ID.
- *4 Successful Integration: Accepted but not recognised as French and retains its particular cultural ID.
- *5 Unsuccessful Integration: Not accepted, nor recognised as French. Retains its particular cultural ID
- *6 Temporary Immigrant: Foreigner who is temporarily on French soil. Eg: student, tourist...

Hyperbase

Screenshot 1: HyperBase on the INA workspace



(2) Database Browser

(1) Database Selection

(3) Data cart

Accessing content with HyperBase is easy.

1. HyperBase indexes 5 different database

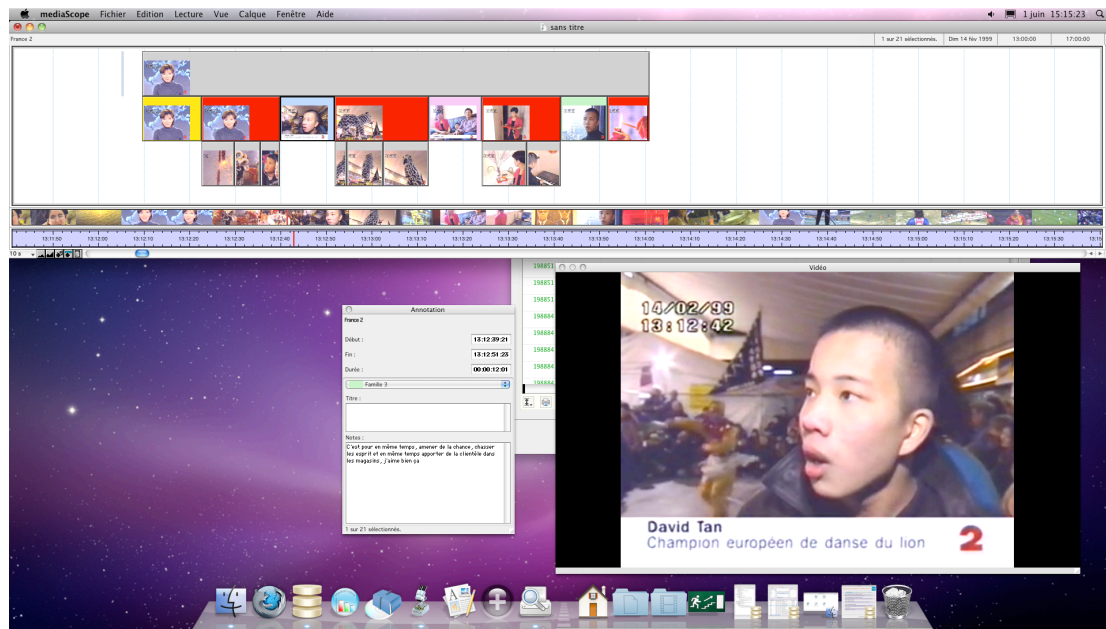
- **DLTV:** Since 01/01/1995, all 7 French terrestrial channels are indexed
- **CabSat:** Since 01/01/2002, all channels broadcasted on French soil via satellite and digital television are indexed
- **Clip TV:** Since 01/01/1995, all video music clips are indexed
- **Pub TV:** Since 01/10/1968, all television advertisements are indexed
- **Archive INATV:** French State Television programmes from 1949.

2. The Database Browser allow the researcher to retrieve data according to pre-specified criteria (Date of Broadcast, Channel, Keyword Title, Keyword Content). Each content comes with an INA Information Sheet (filled by the INA archivists and technicians)

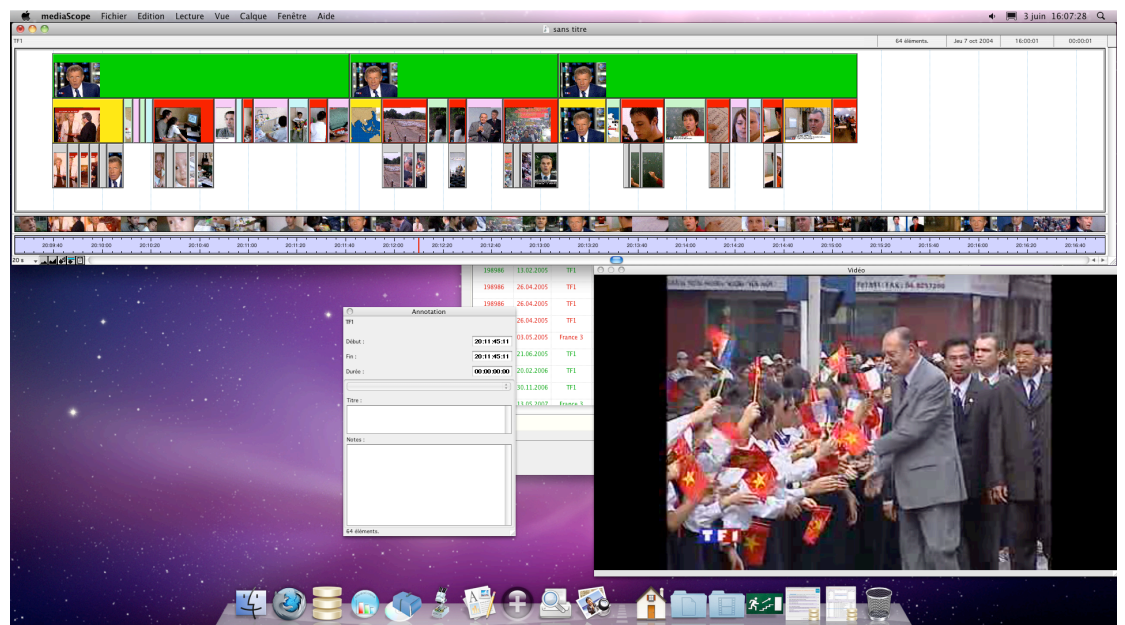
3. Selected Content can be saved under a cart from which content can be ordered for watching. They are either on DVD or accessible from an online server. A maximum of 10 DVDs can be taken out at one time and there is no maximum for loading online content.

MediaScope

Screenshot 2: Simple Segmentation of Sample IDNO_052, Chinese New Year 14/02/1999 in MediaScope



Screenshot 3: Complex Segmentation of Sample IDNO_081, Teaching Chinese in Normandie; IDNO_0811, Adoption of Vietnamese Child; and IDNO_0812, Jacques Chirac in Vietnam. 07/10/2004 in MediaScope



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