Mapping minorities and their Media: The National Context – The UK

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Introduction

The national remains a context of great importance. British history of migration and ethnicity, multiculturalism and media policies have commonalities and differences compared to other European countries. Considering what is unique in the case of the UK can help us understand why minority media cultures develop in this country the ways they do; it allows us to examine how important legislation, history and national particularity are; it assists us in drawing conclusion about processes of exclusion and inclusion and the significance of policies and politics of and for minorities and the media. Furthermore, in comparing the national reports across the EU we can see more clearly how settings, agendas and trends are shaped within and across Europe.

Migration, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism in the UK

Britain is considered to be one of the European countries with the highest levels of sensitivity to multiculturalism and integration (Parekh, 1997; Blommesteijn and Entzinger, 1999; Husband, Beattie and Markelin, op. cit.), though it has been argued that this does not imply that there is no discrimination, racism and exclusion of minorities. As Parekh (op. cit.) argues we should not assume that ethnic minorities enjoy greater overall equality, but rather we should think of the different dimensions of equality.

In order to understand the complexity of minorities' experience of exclusion and the media in the UK, we briefly examine the historical, cultural and legislative context of British multiculturalism and we try to understand how minorities' ethnic and diasporic identification and status relates to the socio-economic realities of their everyday life. This discussion offers the necessary background that makes the minority media mapping useful. In unfolding this discussion we summarise policies and politics of ethnicity and racial relations and we highlight with an arrow (➢) key points of policy proposals.

I. The Context: A Brief Discussion about Multicultural Britain

…citizens are not only individuals but also members of particular religious, ethnic, cultural and regional communities, which are comparatively stable as well as open and fluid. Britain is both a community of citizens and a community of communities, both a liberal and a multicultural society, and needs to reconcile their sometimes conflicting requirements (The Runnymede Trust, 2000).

The British society, like most western European societies is de facto multiethnic. Multiethnic Britain has specific characteristics. Britain's multiethnicity was primarily shaped when populations from the former colonies moved to the metropolis to seek employment and to meet the British needs in times of intense industrial development. The history of colonialism and violence brought most of the present British ethnic minorities in the territory of the UK and as Hall argues (1992), this experience unified the different minorities – it has brought them together in relation to exclusion but also in their becoming part of the British society. Husband, Beattie and Markelin (op. cit.) argue that the colonial past of Britain and the dark moments of violence and domination over the 'colonial' subjects have created conditions of sensitivity in shaping politics of migration and integration. Though it has been argued that the English culture remains dominant over minority cultures (Hall, op. cit.), partly explaining social and cultural exclusion, there have been organised attempts to include minorities in the national British project. The official ideologies of inclusion and integration are reflected in the legislation that, not only, permits but also protects religious and linguistic diversity. The British model of tolerance and inclusion is different to the French Jacobin tradition of 'laicite' (Husband, Beattie and Markelin, op. cit.) and the German overemphasising of ius sanguinis (the system that privileges blood relations in the right to citizenship) (Blommesteijn and Entzinger, 1999).

The 1991 Census has counted about 3 million members of ethnic minority groups within a population of 58 million (Modood, Berthoud and Smith, 1997). This number represents less than five per cent of the British population – a percentage that is actually quite low, compared to the intensity of the popular debates about the 'flooding of foreigners' in the country[1]. Because much of the migration has occurred in the 1950's and 1960's, the minority populations contain proportionately more children and fewer elderly people than the white majority. At the same time, there is a disproportionate representation of minorities in the large urban centres compared to the rest of the population. The metropolitan areas became the first areas of

[1] One only has to see the daily editions of the tabloid press to get an idea about how this discourse is shaped.

migrant settlement and the areas where most minority populations looked for employment; the patterns however vary between ethnic groups (ibid.). The concentration of minorities in urban centres – and in certain areas within urban centres – has created certain problems of ghettoization, poverty, racism and has had long-term consequences for social exclusion and segregation of the city (Robins, 2001). The discussion of minorities' social exclusion relates directly to issues of urbanisation and broader questions of social exclusion in the city.

London is the most characteristic example of a multicultural city with all the pros and cons that this over-concentration implies. A study of the London Research Centre cited in Smith and Blanc (1995) shows that London is the most cosmopolitan capital in the world with nearly 1,500,000 Londoners out of the total population of 6 million identifying themselves as belonging to an ethnic minority. On one hand, London's multiethnic character has led to the development of a rich multicultural environment and an overall tolerance of its population(s) to difference. On the other hand, and as events of racism and racial tension have indicated (e.g. Brixton riots, Stephen Lawrence murder), inequality, everyday and institutional racism and exclusion still stigmatise the everyday life of many inhabitants of the city.

The recognition of the insistence of racism and of disproportionate social exclusion for ethnic minorities has led to academic, political and policy debates about the future of multicultural Britain. The Parekh report (Runnymede Trust, op. cit.), which followed the public debates around the Stephen Lawrence racial murder, has highlighted the need to rethink inclusion and made direct policy proposals aiming to tackle different dimensions of racism, discrimination and exclusion. This report, which has had an enormous symbolic significance[2] for the official and everyday politics of multiculturalism in contemporary Britain, highlights that racism and exclusion can be sustained in social, economic and educational practices, in institutions, but also in practices and politics of everyday life. To this direction, the report emphasised the role of culture and the media in particular: 'The cultural fabric of a society expresses ideas of who "we" are. To the extent that it is inclusive, it gives all people a sense of belonging and makes a strong stand against racism (ibid.: xviii). In this way, the Parekh report has reconfirmed the complexity of

[2] It is still early to say whether the Parekh report's significance is more than symbolic.

minorities' social exclusion and emphasised the need to study politics, institutions and the everyday.

The demography of multicultural Britain

The diasporic minorities of the UK are primarily dispersed across three main groups: Indians: 840,800 (1.5 %), Afro-Caribbean: 499,100 (0.9 %) and Pakistanis: 475,800 (0.8 %) (Minority Rights Group, 1997), followed by a few other groups of significant numbers: Jews 300,000: (0.5 %); Black Africans: 207,500 (0.4 %); Bangladeshis: 160,300 (0.3 %); Chinese: 157,500 (0.3 %); Roma/Gypsies: 90,000 – 120,000 (0.16 – 0.2 %) (ibid.); Cypriots (200,000 – 250,000); (Oakley, 1979; Anthias, 1991); Irish and Vietnamese and a couple of dozens of other smaller groups than number between a couple of thousands to a couple of hundred thousands. According to a Council of Europe report (2000), the most significant numbers of population with citizenship from countries with large emigration, who were living in the UK in 1999[3], are dispersed between the Irish (407,000), people from African countries, (291,000, with Ghana at 30,000 and Algeria at 14,000), Italians (94,000), Spanish (47,000) Turkish (42,000), people from the former USSR (38,000) Portuguese (32,000) and the Polish (28,000). Other groups that follow include Czechs, Hungarians and people from Former Yugoslavia. These statistics show that the vast majority of immigrants come from countries of the EU[4]. Needless to say that older ethnic communities are not represented in these statistics (e.g. Indians and Pakistani) as they now have the British citizenship, but it is the older immigrants and their children and grandchildren who actually form the most significant diasporic communities[5]. These communities are presented in the diasporic mapping that follows. For these older communities in the UK, like in most European countries, recognition is problematic. The system of official recognition of minorities excludes many people who are in mixed marriages, others who have lost the citizenship of the original *homeland*, and a large number of people born and brought up in the new country, even if they still identify with a specific ethnicity.

[3] These numbers are only indicative, as they exclude minority members who have the British citizenship.
[4] The COE statistics are presented in Appendix I.
[5] For a definition of diaspora that explains this argument see the Framework paper of the project.

For many years ethnic minorities were identified in the Census by questions of the country of birth. In the 1991 Census, and the last 2001 Census, people had to tick one of the 'ethnic group' categories where they feel they belong. In these categories though *ethnic* seems to be considered as a synonym to *colour* or *race* – thus the dominant perceptions seem to privilege a biological-based understanding. The categories are: *White; Black Caribbean; Black African, Black other; Indian; Pakistani; Bangladeshi; Chinese; Any other ethnic group* – with the addition of the clause 'please describe'. Though the most recent method of recording minorities is more sensitive to issues of identity and new generations' identification, it still groups people in large biology-based categories that undermine difference and complex identifications – for example being White and a member of a minority. Groups like the Cypriots and the Italians usually identify as White (Georgiou, op. cit.; Fortier, 1999) but such identification makes them 'invisible' in the Census[6]. Similarly, significant ethnic groups (e.g. the Arabs) are left between the *White*, the *Black* and the *others*. Non-recognition and non-visibility in official statistics is twofold in its consequences – it increases the sense of symbolic exclusion and it decreases social and cultural service provision towards *invisible* groups. As the debate for more sensitive politics of minority recognition, Modood, Berthoud and Smith (op. cit. 14) suggest: 'Our own view is that family origin is the better basis for demographic analysis than self-assigned group membership. Family origin is in most cases a matter of fact which will remain the same for an individual throughout his or her life, and which can be handled down from parents to children. Group membership is a matter of opinion, which may change over a lifetime, and from generation to generation'. Though this suggestion has its own value, the importance of self-identification should not be undermined. The most important dimension of ethnicity is that it is not necessarily dependent on relations of blood and ancestry (Fanon, 1986; Hall, 1992, 1996; Chambers, 1994; Gilroy, op. cit.); even so, identification with a group can have crucial social, cultural and psychological consequences.

- For all these reasons, there is a need to continue thinking about the mechanisms that will enable a more realistic and sensitive to ethnic complexity and particularity official and numerical representation of minorities.

[6] This can have very important implications. For example, if a group appears in the Census as being very small, the provisions for its social and cultural inclusion (e.g. language teaching, media lincencing, social services) are decreased.

II. British Immigration and Multicultural Policies

As already highlighted, the colonial past of Britain has been very central in the ways multiethnicity and multiculturalism have been shaped. On one hand, the vast majority of the minority people come from former British colonies. On the other, colonial and postcolonial politics and ideologies have influenced legislation and government approaches towards the minorities.

Freemam (quoted in Janoski and Glennie, 1995) for example, argues that in post-war Britain, immigration policy reflects the attempt to remove rights of citizenship too generously extended during the colonial period to the empire's subjects. From a different perspective, Husband, Beattie and Markelin (op. cit.) argue that, because of its history of colonialism and empire, Britain (like the Netherlands) has been sensitive to accusations of racism. One can see that explanation sustained in the long history of 'race talk' in the UK; in the recognition of 'race relations' as an issue of importance for public policy since the 1960's and the reflexive consideration by governments and policy makers of 'a black perspective'[7] (ibid.). The concerns of the British state about issues of race and ethnicity are expressed in the development of bodies that deal with such duties. The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) is the major agency dealing with migrants and ethnic minorities, while most local governments also have their own, more grounded to local politics and demographics, bodies that deal with migrants and ethnic issues. CRE, founded in 1976, advises the government but does not represent any particular group, while its advice is not binding. At the same time, it finances organisations that promote equality – organisations that usually function in local level. Within the British government, there is also a 'Race Relations Consultant to the Home Office' and advisory boards in the Department of Education and Employment. Furthermore, the National Advisory Council for Ethnic Minorities advises the Home Secretary.

The agenda in race and ethnic relations primarily evolves around issues of exclusion from employment, education and housing[8] and only exceptionally issues of

[7] The discussion of governement and policy sensitivity to issues of race, and later of ethnicity, does not aim at simplifying the complex history of British policies and politics on minorities. Even if in general mainstream politics and legislation have been sensitive to such issues, it does not mean that over periods of the country's recent history these issues have not been undermined.

[8] The Government's Social Exclusion Unit has also got involved in relevant research (see Social Exclusion Unit,

popular and everyday culture have become central[9] – e.g. media, entertainment and local cultural development. Furthermore, advice from bodies that deal with such issues is not binding, while the grassroots' organisations are usually not represented in them (e.g. in the National Advisory Council for Ethnic Minorities). Official central government bodies partly reflect and reproduce the inequalities and the exclusion that exists within minorities themselves. Thus, often the *representatives* of the groups only express the interests of an ethnic elite, an elite that is well networked within the ethnic group and with the government, but which has not necessarily been chosen or elected by the group it supposedly represents. This kind of politics alienate the majority of the minority groups' members from the politics within their group and from the mainstream politics; at the same time, their interests never reach the ears of the government officials.

- Recognising the restrictions in the representation of different subgroups within ethnic communities and in the relations of these communities with the government, highlights the need to promote and establish the participation of grassroots' organisations in the bodies of racial and ethnic relations.

III. The Complexities of Ethnic Relations and Identity

Ethnicity is a multi-faceted phenomenon based on physical appearance, subjective identification, cultural and religious affiliation, stereotyping and social exclusion (Modood, Berthoud and Smith, op. cit.: 13).

The Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities in 1996 revealed that ethnic minorities increasingly define themselves as British, see Britain as their home (Parekh, 1997), while at the same time they continue to identify with a specific minority ethnicity. This complexity seems to increasingly reflect cultures and identities in the multiethnic European societies. Understanding this complexity is the only way to deal with issues of identity, identification and exclusion. Parekh (op. cit.: 9) emphasises this point when he talks about integration against assimilation:

> Unlike assimilation, a primarily cultural concept, integration is a social concept. Although it is defined differently in different societies, and by different groups in Britain, it minimally implies that immigrants should not live in isolated and self-contained communities and cut themselves off from the common life of the wider society, as also that they should acquire the required

2000 and 2001)

[9] The Parekh Report also emphasises cultural racism and exclusion and argues for the centrality of the media in representing the British society.

> degree of conceptual competence to find their way around the society at large. However, the demand for integration can be taken too far. Every society is articulated at several levels, and immigrants *may choose to integrate into some of these but not others* (my emphasis).

Parekh's definition of integration reflects the complexities of multicultural societies. As he has suggested elsewhere: 'People must be treated equally but also with regard to *real* differences of experience, background and perception' (Runnymede Trust, op. cit.: 296; my emphasis). Even if statistics and social research reconfirm that the vast majority of the members of minorities (ibid.; Modood, Berthoud *et. al*., 1997.) feel that they belong to the British society, their relation with the mainstream, the majority population and the dominant culture is often tense and can occasionally be expressed in direct opposition and even violent conflict. Tension and conflict can relate to extremist white racism (e.g. recent British National Party's campaign against minorities), institutional racism (e.g. in the police, as argued in the Macpherson Report (1999) and conditions of deprivation and exclusion (e.g. Brixton riots). Such cases relate to politics and policies of racism, anti-discrimination and inclusion. But conflict between minorities and the dominant population or culture is not only the direct outcome of social conflict; it also relates to the complexity of ethnic identity and culture.

A very recent example is that of many British Muslims' reaction to the bombing of Afghanistan. A large percentage of them and the majority of their leaders openly condemned and opposed the British participation in the bombing of Afghanistan. In most cases, this opposition was expressed with lobbying in the parliament and the government, in Muslims' participation in anti-war demonstration and in Muslim citizens' variously expressed dissatisfaction with the British government. Though this dissatisfaction, which relates directly to religion and ethnicity, was openly expressed, it rarely conflicted with Muslims' Britishness and their belonging to the British society. Apart from the very rare cases of extremists who either joined the Taliban or threatened with terrorist action against the UK (actions and threats that involve no more than a few dozen people)[10], the majority of British Muslims expressed their opposition to a political decision of the government in ways that British citizens, no matter their religious and ethnic affiliation, could have used.

[10] A pro-Taliban demostration of British Muslims in Blackburn in earl y November managed was attended by no more than 200 people (Cohen, 2001).

I use this example to emphasise the insistence of affiliation of minority populations with countries, *homelands* and religious communities beyond the UK. At the same time, this example shows that diasporic identities and belonging are shaped in the meeting of the ethnic – local, the British – national and the transnational – diasporic context where people's lives evolve. And this meeting reveals the cultural hybridity of ethnicity that rarely allows nationalist (within national or transnational contexts) extremism to ground itself within ethnic diasporic communities.

- For the vast majority of minorities' members, everyday life is grounded in the British cultural and physical space. Though their ethnic identities inform their political and cultural choices to certain extent, there is no empirical evidence (apart from exceptions of extremism) to connect ethnic particularity to choices of self-exclusion. Thus, multicultural policies should not consider cultural particularity as a threat for segregation; rather they should recognise its complexities towards the direction of more meaningful integration.

Suggested Categories for Mapping

The complexity that characterises minorities' everyday cultural experience and their insisting sense of belonging in a particular community, while feeling part (or desiring to be part) of the broader society reflects diasporic condition. The discussion of how diasporic people shape their identities and how they construct their tense and multiple sense of belonging in local, national and transnational communities is discussed in the Framework paper for this research. The theoretical discussion that unfolds there informs our attempt to map diasporic minorities living in the UK; in the following stage of the research the theoretical issues that unfold in the Framework paper will become the interpretative material for the minority and media mapping. The mapping, as presented in the national reports is suggested and the categories for the diasporic populations are not fixed and unquestionable. Yet, and as we will show in the analysis of the collected data, suggested categories can be helpful in making sense of descriptive data; for discussing the continuities, the settings and the meanings of diasporic communication developments in space, time, social context and in relation to the key questions of exclusion and community construction.

I. Temporal Mapping of Migration in Europe

Pre-WWII (19th – early 20th cent.)

Jewish
Irish
Russian
African

Post-WWII (1945 – 1950)

Greeks
Italians
Spanish
Portuguese
Irish
Turkish
Chinese
Korean

Post-colonial (1950 – 1965)

Indian
Pakistani
Thai
Sri-Lankan
Filipino
Vietnamese
Indonesian
Angolan
Egyptian
Ghanaian
Gambian
Berber
Eritrean
Algerian
Sierra Leone
Nigerian
Kenyan
Tanzanian
Jamaican
Dominican Republic
Virgin Islands
Greek Cypriots
Turkish Cypriots

Post-communist (1989 – present)

Albanian
Rumanian
Bulgarian
Macedonian
Hungarian
Croatian
Bosnian
Serbian
Kosovan
Slovak
Slovenian
Czech
Polish
Russian
Georgian
Muslims from ex former USSR

Other Categories

Political Migration

Kurdish
Iraqi Kurdish
Turkish
Serbian
Palestinian
Iraqi
Chilean

Refugees (Violence – Hunger Fleeing Migration)

Kosovan
Lebanese
Palestinian
Iraqi
Afghani
Ethiopian
Angolan
Somali
Rwandan
Greek Cypriots
Turkish Cypriots

II. Diasporic Mapping (based on Cohen's suggested categories (1997))

Victim Diasporas

Jewish

Armenian
Palestinian
Irish(post-famine immigration)
Kurdish
Iranian (exiles)
African (early)
Vietnamese
Somali
Rwandan
Kosovan (diaspora on the making)
Bosnian
Cypriot (post-'74 refugees)
Polish (post-war)
Lebanese
Afghan

Labour Diasporas

Indian
Pakistani
Greeks
Spanish
Italian
Portuguese
Turkish
Korean
Chinese (1950's - present immigration)
Thai
Sri-Lankan
Bangladeshi
Filipino
Indonesian
Egyptian
Ghanaian
Libyan
Algerian
Tanzanian
Latin American
Cypriots
Albanian[11]
Rumanian
Czech
Slovak
Slovenian
Bulgarian

[11] Post-communist diasporas are 'diasporas on the making' (Jordanova, 2001). They are still going through the first period of settlement and still struggle to integrate. Yet, and especially as the media offer them the possibility for self-representation in the new country, in parallel to information about the new country and about their *homeland*, there is an increased possibility for them to feel rooted to the new country quicker than older diasporas, while keeping the links with their country of origin open and running in parallel.

Macedonian
Serbs
Polish
Russians
Georgian
Chinese
Lebanese
Jewish

Cultural Diasporas

Caribbean
Iranian

Educational – Intellectual Migration

Arabs (Syrian, Jordanian)
Iranian
South African
American (US)
Canadian
Kenyan
Latin American

Political Diasporas[12]

Eritrean
Berber
Ethiopian
Sierra Leonean
Nigerian
Latin American
Serbs
Russian (pre-1989)

These categories are suggested and it becomes obvious that they have their limitations. As any form of categorisation, they undermine complexities and assume an abstract understanding of diasporic experience. For example, many member of a 'victim diaspora' might not feel that their experience as diasporic subjects is the outcome of an immediate or a historical experience of violence. Their immediate experience might have a more direct relation with migration for educational reasons. The attempt to study diasporas through the presented (and maybe other useful) categories relates to the historical and social context and to the long-term processes

[12] Not included in Cohen's suggestive framework. We believe it is useful as surpassing the limitations of the 'victim diaspora'

of constructing a sense of diasporic identity and belonging in a diasporic community. In that way, the specific characteristic highlighted in each category is considered to be the central element that has initiated the process of diasporisation; this element remains very strong and is shared in the group's imagination and self-identification. Naming a diaspora 'victim' or 'labour' does not mean that its members' identities and identification with the specific group is singular and uncomplicated.

Minority Media in Context

Homogenous cultures do not exist anymore (Hall, 1996; Bhabha, 1996) – if they ever did. In that way, any holistic and singular attachment of people to one independent particularity that fully defines their being and everyday life, cannot but to be rejected. Thus, the attachment of people to ethnic diasporic communities and the meanings of identity and ethnic particularity are shaped through the never-ending dialogue between communities and cultures, through the multiplicity of minority members' experience and the interrelation of the multiple identities of their members (Hall, 1992; Gillespie, 1995; Georgiou, op. cit.). Media 'images can connect local experiences with each other and hence provide powerful sources of hermeneutic interpretation to make sense of what would otherwise be disparate and apparently unconnected events and phenomena' (Urry, 2000: 180). Diasporic media can help the development of *imagined presences* (ibid.), of '[nonnational] communities of sentiment and interpretation' (Gilroy, 1995: 17).

The imagination and the mediation of self-representation increasingly take place in media cultures; thus, the media increasingly shape scenaria of identity and diasporic consciousness (Jordanova, op. cit.). If we accept that centrality of self-representation, we have to recognise the media as key elements in constructing identity and community. Diasporic media represent the diasporic self, the community, the *homeland*. Diasporic communication is manifested through community media (Dayan, 1998) of great diversity; diasporic communication is also changing in the case of different ethnic groups, subgroups, at various stages of people's lives, in time and space (Bhabha, op. cit.; Cohen, 1994). It has also changed in comparison to the past, as at present, it depends less on face-to-face interaction. 'Emigration and re-emigration, as well as the general global flow of information via mass media, migrant networks, and so on, lead to the emergence of cultural significations which

resist all but the most syncretic designations. The space once perceived to be occupied by timeless, traditional essence and uniqueness is lost for ever' (Wicker, op. cit.: 37). The physical co-presence and the word of mouth are partly replaced by the media and the boundless and timeless simultaneity and reproduction of information and images across spaces (Riggins, 1992; Wicker, op. cit.).

Diasporic media can be local, national and global; they can use conventional, old technologies, new technologies, or a combination of the two; they can be produced in the country of origin or in the country of settlement; they can address a specific ethnic group or a collection of ethnic groups. More and more, minority media are flexible, mix technologies, broadcast and publish material from different places around the globe and experiment with their own identity as media and as representative cultural institutions of specific communities. As Husband, Beattie and Markelin (op. cit.) argue, the diversity of the minority media field makes it difficult to draw singular and all-inclusive conclusions about their character, their output and their input in processes of identity construction, community building and participation. The only characteristic that all diasporic media share is that they all address an audience imagining itself as a specific community and sharing a specific ethnicity. Apart from that, minority media are characterised by extensive diversity. Diasporic media:

- might address an audience in local, national or transnational spaces
- can be produced in the country of origin or the country of settlement, or in both
- might be commercial, community, public, municipal or other organisations' initiatives
- can adapt a role as the mouthpiece of a community or identify as independent and commercial institutions
- their output can be in the ethnic language(s), in the language(s) of the country of settlement or in a combination of languages
- they might address the migrant generation, the new generations or different generations across the community
- their output can be information-centred or entertainment-centred though usually it is a combination

- their output might relate to the country of origin, the local , the national, the diasporic context or to all
- they might adapt a segregation, ethno-centric perspective or identify as institutions of a multicultural society

These diverse characteristics are of key importance for the role that minority media play in processes of identity and community construction and for participating in increasing or decreasing social exclusion and participation. This list is a starting point in the analysis of the particularity of minority media that follows.

British Media Policy

- In the new broadcasting law of 1996, there is no longer a policy regarding the need for the media to reflect the multicultural nature of the country (Hulshoff, 1999).
- The first major annual report from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), published in 1999, made absolutely no reference in its overview of policy aims to issues of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity (Runnymede Trust, op. cit.).
- At senior decision-making level in the BBC, Channel 4 and ITV there were even fewer Black and Asians in 2000 than there had been in 1990.
- Of the first £2 billion spent on the arts from the National Lottery, no more than about 0.2 per cent was allocated to organisations representing black and Asian artists (ibid.).
- The UK, unlike most European countries lacks a consistent provision for community radio and television; the public sector and the commercial sector are recognised in the country's broadcasting legislation, while the legislation for Open Channels is being presently formed. The few minority radio and television stations are commercial initiatives.

These few key points reflect problems and issues that still need to be tackled for minorities to practically gain equal access and to be more included in the media industry and in media cultures.

The developments relating both to policy and to the media market are complex and they have had their inconsistencies and contradictions. For example, the independent local radio legislation at the beginning of the 1990's became the basis for the establishment of some of the ethnic radio stations (e.g. the London Greek Radio) but most of these stations have been taken over by commercial companies (ibid.). Different ethnic media are bounded by different legislation. Minority press for example is not bounded by the strict regulations that bind broadcasting. Yet, minority press, like all ethnic media, suffer from their financial limitations, the almost non-existence of financial support by the state like in other European countries (e.g. the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden) and the increased pressure by the mainstream, highly commercial and expensive media that marginalize minority media in competitive terms and in distribution.

The British broadcasting terrain reflects very vividly the limitations for minority media. It is strictly regulated and very competitive, making it very hard for minority media first, to claim a space among the mainstream and commercial ones, and secondly, to manage to survive. At the same time, and with a few exceptions (e.g. BBC Asian Network or programmes such as 'Goodness Gracious Me'), mainstream media's content does not address particularly minority audiences and it is almost never in minority languages. Furthermore, and like in many other European countries (d'Haenens, Beentjes and Bink, 2000), minorities do not identify with the mainstream media and they do not see themselves represented in them (Gillespie, op. cit.). Because of these limitations and in their search for self-representation (Siew-Peng, 2000), diasporic minorities often have to turn to media produced in the country of origin – especially satellite television, press and recently web pages – in order to meet their desires and needs for ethnic information and entertainment and outputs in their the minority language. Also, minorities partly depend on short-living media that are published and broadcast for only short periods of time. According to Hulshoff (ibid.), there are about 120 aspirant community radio groups. 'These aspiring community broadcasters can make use of a temporary licence, once a year (Restricted Service Licence). This licence is valid for 28 days and costs £ 4,500 per licence period. It is interesting to mention that many of these licences are applied for and used during the periods of specific religious celebrations, such as the Ramadan and Vaisaiki (a Sikh religious festival)' (ibid.: 46).

This legislation has important implications for minority communication. First of all, the media themselves turn into special media events. Thus, they can neither have a role as long-term initiatives involved in information and entertainment projects, nor can they participate in the continuous, never-ending processes of community building. These minority media initiatives become more important as symbolic initiatives that reflect the existence of ethnic communities (e.g. in order to collect the required £ 4,500 there is often a community campaign) rather than as long-term communication projects. At the same time, their short life can become a symbolic reconfirmation of exclusion and marginalisation of minorities from the mainstream cultures of mediation.

Minority Media and their Political Economy

'Diasporic connectedness is also reflected in the political economy of minority ethnic media as transcontinental corporate links facilitate the production, and economic viability, of minority ethnic newspapers' (Husband, Beattie and Markelin, op. cit.: 5). Husband *et. al.* argue in their report that the possibilities for viability and competitiveness in the minority media field should not be underestimated. On one hand, most minority media are bound by policies and regulation. On the other, they are bound by market rules – a market that is increasingly transnational and relates to the context of media production within and across countries. Minority media target distinct audiences that can make them viable either as community projects and/or as commercial institutions (especially in terms of advertising).

The extensive diversity of ethnic media in the UK (i.) reflects audiences' interests and communication needs, (ii.) the failure of mainstream media to address them (ibid.), as well as (iii.) the diversity of minority media as commercial projects. Sometimes minority media are small and short-lived projects produced by families, groups and associations. Yet, the minority media that manage to survive in the long run are relatively more professional and corporate in their character (though professionalism and corporate spirit in the case of minority media does not usually compare to that of the mainstream, large media corporations). Long-lived commercial minority media can attract advertising more easily and can establish a more or less loyal audience. The media that function on a local level remain small

scale in their ambitions, in their potentials for production and in their profit. Thus, they are often affiliated with media in the country of origin (e.g. the London Greek Cypriot *Parikiaki* newspaper is affiliated with the *Haravgi* newspaper of Cyprus), drawing material from these larger media. Or, they depend on a series of mainstream, ethnic, diasporic media for their output (e.g. London Greek Radio occasionally rebroadcasts programmes of the Greek Section BBC World Service, regularly broadcasts the news of the public television in Greece and Cyprus and receives and airs programmes produced by other diasporic radio stations across the globe). 'Diasporic identities are in many instances benefiting from the transnational corporate arrangements that in the globalised world represent an economic expression of the dispersal of people over the globe' (ibid.: 11).

Flexibility in the output of minority media, in the relation of their output to place, and in the use of new technologies, is directly related to the survival of minority media as corporations. At the same time, the flexibility and the viability of the media relate to the expectations of the audiences and the increased hybridity and diversity that characterises ethnicity. Some media primarily address the migrant generation, while most media seem to try to address as much the older generations as well as the younger. This attempt has to do with their struggle to survive in the long run. Media's reflexivity is revealed in their own hybridity – a hybridity that is homologous to their audiences. To that direction, minority media become increasingly bilingual, like their audience. Community newspapers often have a section in the original ethnic language and another in English. In the Greek pages of the London-based Greek Cypriot *Parikiaki,* news from Cyprus and from the local community that primarily interest the migrant generation is presented. In the English pages, news and opinions[13] that reflect the interests and the opinions of the younger generations dominate.

The fragmentation of ethnic audiences also means that the mechanisms for attracting specific audiences often contradict the western European perceptions of objectivity, professionalism and media disengagement. Very often minority media are

[13] When in 1998 the British Greek Cypriot singer George Michael was arrested in an LA public toilet, and his homosexuality was thus revealed, the presentation of the news in the Greek and the English sections of the paper varied extensively. In the Greek section, the coverage remained neutral, while in the English section for weeks there were debates supporting George Michael as a Greek Cypriot and as an artist. The young generation's support of George Michael reveals their concern of seeing their hybrid identities represented and respected within the ethnic community.

affiliated with political parties, religious groups, or they might adapt a segregationary, partisan position, either within a specific community or vis-à-vis the mainstream.

The professional ethics, particular agendas and cultural distinctiveness reflected in many minority media, when compared to the mainstream media, their culture and their ethics are of vast importance.

- Firstly, in discussing a more diverse, equalitarian and inclusionary media culture, one should go beyond a western European perception about the media. Tolerance of alternative media should surpass the culture of the objective and disengaged press. These represent western journalistic values, not universal values of democratic and free press around the world – or even around Europe. Media cultures are become increasingly diverse; multiculturalism implies openness to different media cultures as well.

Furthermore, the persistence of minority media of poor quality and questionable information and communication value for communities partly reflects the failure of mainstream media to address and include minorities into a mainstream multiethnic media culture. Most minorities still turn to ethnic media to see themselves and their cultures represented and to read and hear their own language. Extremist and segregationary media in particular, primarily address members of minorities who feel that mainstream media and culture exclude them and have no understanding or respect to their particularity and identity (*Journalist*, Nov/Dec 2001).

Thirdly, and as already discussed, the majority of minority media audiences consume them, while also consuming mainstream media. The multiplicity of media consumption and the involvement in diverse media cultures reflects the increasing fragmentation of audiences and the multiplicity of cultural engagement within minorities and within the broader society. The most devoted minority media audiences can also be devoted funs of mainstream media products[14].

What's in diasporic media for minorities?

[14] An example from my ethnographic research with the British Greek Cypriots: A female fun of a satellite Cypriot television soap was also a fun of the BBC soap *Eastenders*. When the two programmes where broadcast at the same time, she videotaped one while watching the other. The viewing of the second soap would follow. Interestingly, media technologies (the VCR in this case) allowed her to be an ethnic media and a mainstream media audience member, almost simultaneously.

Husband, Beattie and Markelin (op. cit.) research on minority media on the UK has emphasised that migrant, ethnic minorities and refugees continue to have an interest in their country of origin, even after years of their settlement in the new country. The migrant generation especially has strong and continuous links with the *homeland* and the importance of information from the country of origin defines their choice of newspaper (ibid.).

Secondly, for all generations, the politics in the country of origin remains a matter of concern that reflects their choices of broadcasting and print media (ibid.; Georgiou, op. cit.; Demetriou, 2001). Of course, the debate about diasporic media consumption priorities and choices does not imply holistic, singular and homogenous patterns within and across different groups. It should be emphasised that it is a rare exception for diasporas' members to consume only minority media (Gillespie, op. cit.; Georgiou, op. cit.). The role of mainstream media for informing and including minority members into a British public should not be underestimated. For some minority populations, mainstream media can become English teachers and teachers of the British dominant culture (Gillespie, op, cit.). At the same time, the way diasporic audiences consume their media varies and multiple audiences exist *within* ethnic communities (Husband, Beattie and Markelin, op. cit.; emphasis on original). As already emphasised, generation, age class, religion, sexuality, location are only some of the dimensions that define the way people experience their ethnicity and particularly their involvement in media cultures.

A third key dimension, emphasised in relevant research, is how diasporic communities generate information for transmission back into their *homeland*. The case of the Kurdish satellite MedTV (recently renamed Medya TV, broadcast in the past from Britain and now from France) is the most characteristic example. The way minorities shape information and communication, not only for themselves, but also for their country of origin, indicates the possibility for a shift of power. On one hand, local diasporic communities in Europe become more powerful when they produce their own alternative media against the mainstream. On the other, they also become more powerful in their relation to the country of origin and within the broader diaspora. Once receivers of dominant cultural products, diasporic minorities now become increasingly active and involved in the production of their own particular cultural scenaria of ethnicity, multiethnicity and communication. Of key importance in these processes is digitalisation.

Digitalisation

Though it has always been hard for ethnic and other minority initiatives based in the UK to survive, digitalisation has opened up new possibilities for minority media to develop within the country and to be disseminated in local, national and transnational spaces. The development of the multi-channel digital television packages made minority channels an attractive, yet low-cost additional option to the commercial networks. In this context, few new digital minority television channels have emerged. At the same time, new minority initiatives started developing on-line. The Internet gives the option to different groups to develop autonomously, cheaply, and without having to conform to media legislation limitations, on-line media which include text, images, sound and video. These initiatives are often connected to media of the country of origin or other transnational diasporic media.

Digitalisation's impact is extending to the existing minority broadcasting initiatives. For example, increasing number of minority media appear on the Internet, while their web presence usually includes daily-renewed text, images and often audio (e.g. the web site of the Asian Sound Radio of Manchester: http://www.sabrasradio.com).

Internet and Diaspora

As much as the diasporic experience varies, so do diasporic media cultures. Communities such as the Turks for example, enjoy an extensively developed media setting, benefiting from satellite technologies in particular (Aksoy and Robins, op. cit.; Ogan and Milikowski, 1998). Other communities, such as the Kurds, increasingly balance their limited access to conventional media with an increasing communicative presence on the web. Dozens of new Kurdish web sites make their appearance on the Internet every month and, apart from the fact that are all (self) identified as Kurdish, the variety in their style, content and the fraction of the transnational Kurdish audience they address, vary significantly.

The Kurdish example is one that reflects very vividly the complexity and diversity of mediated communication, especially communication on-line, with

consequences for identity. Kurdish, belonging in one of the most tightly linked and politicised diasporas, have been using the Internet to make their political cause known, their own voice against Turkish and other opposing voices heard and for renewing a sense of belonging in a transnational community. Political web pages and discussion groups and sites of Kurdish culture and language have a prominent presence within Kurdish on-line production. It is worth noting though that, even for a community whose transnational communication is characterised by a lively and transnational political and politicised discourse, this is not the only kind of communication developed on-line. Kurds still produce and consume a variety of web sites and use emails for communicating not only political concerns, but also personal, professional and other news. No matter how tightly linked and political this group is, it still includes various subgroups – people of different generations, ages, classes, locations and interests. This internal identity diversity cannot but to be reflected in their communication and their communication cannot but inform their identities. For example, new generations choose English as a shared language; for them this choice does not conflict with their Kurdishness, rather it allows them to communicate with other Kurds all over the world. For the older generations of Kurds though, the predomination of English in on-line communication is often considered to be a threat to their ethnic identity.

As the examples presented already highlight, the Internet alters the conditions of diasporic communication. As the Internet surpasses the nation-state limitations and usually the legislative limitations that bind other media, it opens up new possibilities for sustaining diasporic community relations and even for reinventing diasporic relations and communication that were either weak or non-existent in the past.

In discussing the condition of diasporic on-line communication, it is important to set up two main starting points. On one hand, on-line communication for the members of diasporas has similar characteristics with other groups – with all the qualities, inequalities and rapid changes that characterise on-line communication overall. For example, the numbers of members of diasporas using the Internet increase rapidly. Also, as a rule, people with higher education and income enjoy higher levels of access than those of lower educational and economic capital. In most cases, diasporic on-line communication is diverse and it combines the use of email with a more limited use of the web for information, entertainment and

education. Like for the vast majority of Internet users, for the diasporas as well, on-line communication is increasingly instrumental (Castells, 2001). At present, it is estimated that over 85 % of general Internet usage represents email communication, primarily with friends, colleagues and family – relations that are initiated in 'real' 'off-line' conditions as much as on-line (Castells, ibid.). My own research with the British Greek Cypriots (op. cit.), as well as other research on diasporic communities and on-line communication (Miller and Slater, op. cit.), has similar findings.

The Internet increasingly saturates everyday life but it also becomes compatible with it. Most people use email as a cheaper, faster and more direct way to communicate with family and friends living in the locale (especially those who have continuous access to email – e.g. students and professionals) and others living in the country of origin or in other parts of the world. One of the participants in my research in London told me how he managed to trace a friend from his high school years in Cyprus through the Internet and almost twenty years later he actually re-establish a long-lost relationship with him. The difference is that this relation is now on-line, without excluding the possibility of a meeting in off-line life. 'It was so easy to find him on the Internet. I did a search under his name and I found him. It was so great…He is a solicitor in Florida now', he says.

On the other hand, there are certain distinct characteristics of diasporic on-line communication. The fact that diasporas are transnational communities means that their communication is very often mediated – until now mainly the telephone and snail mail served that role – and more recently email has developed as a powerful competitor of the telephone and post. Family photos travelling from Cyprus to the UK and the other way around are among the most popular attachments in communication between dispersed Greek Cypriot families and friends. With on-line communication, the exchange of everyday, banal news has also increased. Sharing the banality, the routines and the common activities of everyday life (de Certeau, 1984) increases the sense of belonging to a community and furthers the limits of the imagination of sharing (Georgiou, op. cit.).

Al Jazeera and Al-Ansaar – New technologies Altering Communication and Culture

I have already mentioned the example of the tension that the post-11th of September 2001 events and the recent war in Afghanistan for highlighting the

complexity of ethnic relations in Britain. These events have also brought minority media in the foreground; *Al Jazeera*, an Arabic satellite television station extensively consumed by transnational Arabic audiences, but unknown until recently to the West, has entered the mainstream media and everyday political discourse as a powerful player. After the 11th of September events, *Al Jazeera*, which is based in Qatar, broadcasted a series of exclusive monologues of Bin Laden and other exclusive reports from Afghanistan when no other medium had access in the country. Overnight, *Al Jazeera* (means island in Arabic) became one of the most broadly quoted media; even US Secretary of State Colin Powell demanded of the Emir of Qatar that the station stopped the broadcasts of the Bin Laden videos, while the station's European Brussels-based editor Ahmad Kamel found himself detained and deported by the Swiss authorities on October 14 (*Journalist*, op. cit.).

The power of *Al Jazeera* that brought it in the centre of global publicity is directly connected to its ability to cross boundaries and surpass the broadcasting restrictions of nation-states. *Al Jazeera*'s content and access to its content are difficult to be controlled though such attempts have not only been expressed by the US, but also in the Arab world (ibid.). But *Al Jazeera*'s popularity is increasing fast: it now has 50 million viewers around the world. Many of these viewers are in the UK. *Al Jazeera* is a station that addresses an Arabic transnational community, a diaspora that receives information beyond the restrictions that the *homelands*' governments impose and beyond the restrictions of their country of settlement. *Al Jazeera* reflects a changing media setting; it reflects the importance of the ICTs that alter communication patterns and bring minority media in the heart of the mainstream communication and politics agenda.

Al-Ansaar

Al Jazeera has entered the mainstream and became a powerful reminder of the Muslim and Arabic minorities' presence in the West. Another Muslim media initiative – the Birmingham-based news agency *Al Ansaar* that claims to be the only Islamic agency in Europe (*Journalist*, ibid.) – has got into direct conflict with the British state in its attempt to express an alternative Muslim voice in the UK and Europe. Its British-born Pakistani editor, who decided to change his name into the

very common Imran Khan after a series of MI5[15] regular visits and interrogations, insists on broadcasting and distributing Taliban leaders' interviews. The editor of *Al Ansaar* (translates as 'the helpers'), which has seven journalist employees, has been accused of promoting terrorism by a range of mainstream newspapers – notably the Sunday Telegraph (ibid.). In an interview with the *Journalist* though, he refuses to see the point of such accusations:

> I don't know whether it is a case of professional jealousy as time and time again we have exclusives. We have sources in the area and between us we speak all the languages. We get the bin Laden videos, they arrive on CDs from Pakistan and the whole world wants the footage…Is it because we are Pakistani British Muslims that we are not treated seriously and that everybody can lie about us? Why is it that if a white journalist visits Kashmir, Pakistan or Afghanistan and does a story he is a brave and true journalist, while if we do this we are terrorists and open to accusations and abuse? (ibid.: 17)

Though we do not know all the dimensions around the specific case of *Al Ansaar*, Imran Khan's comment raises important questions. Are minorities and their media stigmatised according to certain stereotypes? Are minority media considered biased, unprofessional and militant a priory? Can minority media and their staff become victims of discrimination when they oppose the mainstream culture and politics?

Minority Media in the UK – A Mapping

The two case studies of minority media in times of crisis reveal the side of multiculturalism that is conflicting and which might involve processes of segregation and exclusion. Minority, ethnic diasporic media sometimes are not liked, yet isn't that a consequence of fragmented and diverse media cultures? Doesn't the same question apply to many non-ethnic media (especially in times that digital channels and the Internet can address all the particular interests and peculiar likings?). One thing can be said with certainty: minority media vary so much among themselves that it is simplistic to talk about them in singular and homogenising terms. To go beyond homogenising arguments, we start with their mapping.

[15] MI5 is the British intelligence service

The listing of the minority media in the UK, presented by the Committee for Racial Equality (http://www.cre.gov.uk/media/em_media.html) and the *2000: The Media Guide 2000*, as well as the qualitative and analytical work in this area (Husband, 1996; Husband, Beattie and Markelin, op. cit.; Gillespie, op. cit.; Georgiou, op. cit.) show that the minority media terrain is very lively, diverse and fast-changing. New technologies have a direct impact on minority media's expansion and output, as well as to the fragmentation of audiences with consequences for the society as a whole and for each community separately. The increasingly diverse and fragmented media culture(s) reflect the communication tensions within ethnic groups and across them. Husband, Beattie and Markelin (op. cit.) argue that this diversity cannot only have positive significance for ethnic and interethnic relations but it can actually obstruct interaction across ethnic groups. This is a potential not to be underestimated; it is a possibility that often appears in public debates about the fragmentation of the society and the public sphere into self-sustained micro-communities (Riggins, 1992). As already indicated, such arguments have never been sustained by empirical research on minority media. Though this remains very limited, it does indicate the complexity of media consumption that surpasses singular choices.

Statistics and quantitative research has also shown the insistence of minority media consumption next to the mainstream media. In the statistics on audience shares presented in *2000: The Media Guide*, some of the minority channels – especially those addressing the large ethnic communities – keep a visible even if relatively small part of audiences' choices. The Asian *ZEE TV* had a share of 0.20% of the audience in '98 – '99, a share that doubled from the previous two years, apparently representing the expansion of satellite television installations. Though this might seem small it is not if we consider that Indians represent an estimated 1.5 % of the British population.

The statistics that refer to cable and satellite television audiences in particular show even more of a variation. *Asianet* is on the 56th place among the channel audience share, the Irish satellite *Tara TV* is on the 58th place and the Asian *ZEE TV* and *Namaste* follow in the 63rd and 64th places respectively. These statistics also show that minorities consume ethnic media, but always in parallel to non-ethnic media. As a consequence, minorities raise the percentages of mainstream media, giving an impression that the minority television viewing is even lower. These

percentages though do not represent exclusionary use of specific media (e.g. *Tara TV* audiences also watch other channels such as *Sky 1, BBC News 24* and *MTV* as well). Furthermore, the increasing diversity of minority media (e.g. the South Asian channels on digital, cable and satellite are more than 20) leads to further audience fragmentation – not only vis-à-vis non-ethnic audiences but also within ethnic audiences. Minority audiences are fragmented like mainstream audiences are. This fragmentation is complex: it relates to their multiple identities and to their diverse experiences as audiences.

Mapping Diasporic Media – SUGGESTED CATEGORIES

(1) By Ethnic Group and/or Language and Kind of Medium

(alphabetically and as they appear on the official web site of the Commission of Racial Equality – CRE – http://www.cre.gov.uk/media/em_media.html and *2000: The Media Guide[16])*

Newspapers and periodicals

Arabic

AD-DIPLOMASI NEWS REPORT (weekly)
PO Box 138, LONDON SW3 6BH
editor: Raymond Ataliah
tel. 020 7286 1372
fax 020 7266 1479

AL-ALAAM (weekly)
Banner House, 55-57 Banner Street, LONDON EC1Y 8PX
editor: Dr. Sead Mahamed Shehabi
tel. 020 7608 3454
fax 020 7608 3581

AL-AHRAM INTERNATIONAL (weekly)
Al-Ahram House, 203-209 North Gower Street, LONDON NW1 2NJ
editor: Abdalla Attia
tel. 020 7388 1155
fax 020 7388 3130
www.ahram.org.eg

AL ARAB (daily)
159 Acre Lane, LONDON SW2 5UA

[16] Most certainly the list of the media presented here is not fully inclusive, as many media projects never manage to reach the attention of government and other bodies outside the community. Furthermore, this list cannot fully reflect the rapid changes among minority media, with some of them interruprting their publication and other new ones appearing all the time.

editor: A. S. Elhluni
tel. 020 7274 9381
fax 020 7326 1783
email editor@alarab.co.uk

AL HAYAT (daily)
Kensington Centre, 66 Hammersmith Road, LONDON W14 8YT
editor: Jihad El Khazen
tel. 020 7602 9988
fax 020 7602 4963

AL MUHAJIR (fortnightly)
132 Mill Lane, LONDON NW6 1NE
editor: Mr M Assou
tel. 020 7813 5553
fax 020 7813 6234

ASHARQ AL AWSAT (daily)
Arab Press House, 182- 184 High Holborn, LONDON WC1V 7AP
editor: Abdul Rathman Al-Rashid
tel. 020 7831 8181
fax 020 7831 2310
Other publications: ALMAJALLA, SAYIDATY, HIA, ALJAMILA, ALRAJOUL (phone for availability)

Bengali

ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA (Daily and Sunday weekly magazine, Bengali/English)
48 Beverley Gardens, Wembley, MIDDLESEX HA9 9QZ
Correspondent: Shrabani Basu
Tel. 020 8904 2533
fax 020 8908 2625
email shrabani@abplondon.demon.co.uk

JANOMOT (weekly)
Unit 2, 20B Spelman Street, LONDON E1 5LQ
editor: Mr N. Uddin
News editor: Masuda Bhatti
Tel. 020 7377 6032
fax 020 7247 0141
email janomot@easynet.co.uk

NOTUN DIN (weekly)
Room 5, Brady Centre, 192-196 Hanbury Street, LONDON E1 5HU
editor: M Chowdhury
tel. 020 7247 6280/0578
fax 020 7247 2280
email nohin@din.demon.co.uk

PROBASHI SAMACHAR (quarterly)
20 Orchard Avenue, LONDON N14 4ND
editor: S Mazumdar
tel. 020 8886 4231

SURMA (weekly)
40 Wessex Street, LONDON E2 0LB
editor: Mr M B Ahmed
tel. 020 8980 5544
fax 020 8981 8829

email surmanews@I12.com

WEEKLY POTRIKA
Suite 210, Wickham House, 10 Cleveland Way, LONDON E1 4TR
editor: A U S Chowdhury
tel. 020 7423 9270
fax 020 7423 9122

Chinese

CHINESE BUSINESS IMPACT
(translates existing publications; no new publications at present)
Chinese Information Centre, 4th Floor, 16 Nicholas Street,
MANCHESTER M1 4EJ
Editors: Jamie Kenny/Juliet Zhou
tel. 0161 228 0420
fax 0161 228 3739

SHANG YE XIAN FENG (bi-monthly)
194 Old Brompton Road, LONDON SW5 0AW
editor: Emile Bekheit
tel. 020 7835 2183
fax 020 7370 6245

SING TAO DAILY (European edition, daily)
46 Dean Street, LONDON W1V 5AP
editor: Mr S T Wan
tel. 020 7287 1525
fax 020 7734 0828

English

THE AFRICAN (monthly)
25 Hester Road, Upper Edmonton, LONDON N18 2RF
Managing editor: Zaya Yeebo
tel. 020 8350 0684
fax 020 8351 0516

THE ASIAN AGE (daily)
Media Asia (Europe) Ltd, Dolphin Media House, Spring Villa Park,
Spring Villa Road, EDGWARE HA8 7EB
editor: Abhik Sen
tel. 020 8951 4878
fax 020 8951 4839
email arvind@asianage.com

ASIAN ENTERTAINMENT GUIDE (weekly)
18 Molyneux Street, LONDON W1H 5HU
editor: Mr N Gosai
tel. 020 7723 6797
fax 020 7724 2971

ASIAN EXPRESS (fortnightly)
211 Piccadilly, LONDON W1V 9LD
editor: Vallabh Kaviraj
tel. 020 7439 8985
fax 020 7537 2141

THE ASIAN
Sunrise House, Sunrise Road, Southall, MIDDLESEX UB2 4AU

tel. 020 8574 9292
fax 020 8574 9393
email editor@asianweekly.co.uk

ASIAN HOTEL AND CATERER (currently suspended; no current new publications)
Other publications: ASIAN TRADER, GARAVI GUJARAT, PHARMACY BUSINESS (phone for availability)
Garavi Gujarat House, 1-2 Silex Street, LONDON SE1 0DW
editor: R Solanki
tel. 020 7928 1234
fax 020 7261 0055

THE ASIAN NEWS (English)
192B Stoney Lane, Balsall Heath, BIRMINGHAM B12 8AN
editor: Mr M Shafique
fax 0121 449 1725

ASIAN TELEGRAPH (Telegraph On Line)
21A Park Road, LONDON NW1 6XN
editor: Jafar Raza
tel. 020 7723 5042
fax 020 7607 6705

ASIAN TIMES (weekly national publications)
Unit 2.01, Whitechapel Technology Centre, 65 Whitechapel Road, Whitechapel E1 1DU
tel. 0207 650 2000
fax 0207 650 2001
email easterneye@hotmail.com

ASIAN VOICE/ASIAN CONVENIENCE RETAILER
8-16 Coronet Street, (off Old Street), LONDON N1 6HD
editor: Mr C B Patel
tel. 020 7729 5453
fax 020 7739 0358
email gujarat@gujarat-samachar.com

ASIAN VOICE SCOTLAND (weekly)
51 Forth Street, GLASGOW, G41 2SP
editor: Ian Stewart
tel. 0141 420 6811
fax 0141 420 6833

AWAAZ ASIAN VOICE (daily)
PO Box 15, Batley, West Yorkshire WF17 7YY
editor: N/A
tel. 01924 510 512
fax 01924 510 513

BLACK PERSPECTIVE (quarterly)
PO Box 246, LONDON SE13 7DL
editor: Victor Amokeodo
tel. 020 8692 6986
fax 020 8692 6986
email editor@blackperspective.free-online.co.uk

CARIBBEAN TIMES (weekly)
Unit 2.01, Whitechapel Technology Centre, 65 Whitechapel Road, Whitechapel E1 1DU

Tel. 0207 650 2000
fax 0207 650 2001
email caribbeantimes@hotmail.com

CINEBLITZ (monthly)
Cine-Asia Publications, Dolphin Media House, Spring Villa Park,
Spring Villa Road, Edgware, MIDDLESEX HA8 7EB
Features editor: Dr Arvind Sikand
tel. 020 8381 1166
fax 020 8381 1177

CIPHER (bi-monthly)
184 Bridgewater Road, Alperton, MIDDLESEX HA0 1AR
editor: Joan Smith
tel. 020 8903 6530
fax 020 8795 0502

EASTERN EYE (weekly)
Unit 2.01, Whitechapel Technology Centre, 65 Whitechapel Road,
Whitechapel E1 1DU
tel. 020 7650 2000
fax 020 7650 2001
email easterneye@hotmail.com

THE FILIPINO (bi-monthly)
PO Box 20376, Golders Green, LONDON NW11 8FE
editor: Mr Angel Armando
tel. 020 8731 7195
fax 020 8458 1055
email editor@filipino.co.uk

THE GLEANER (weekly)
Unit 220-223 Elephant & Castle Shopping Centre, LONDON SE1 6TE
editor: Colette Hibbert
tel. 020 7277 1714
fax 020 7277 1734
email editorial@gleaner171.demon.co.uk

IMPACT INTERNATIONAL (monthly)
Suite B, PO Box 2493, 233 Seven Sisters Road, LONDON N4 2BL
editor: Ahmed Irfan
tel. 020 7263 1417
fax 020 7272 8934
email impact@globalnet.co.uk

INDIA ABROAD NEWSPAPER
Flat 1, 2 Kendrick Place, LONDON SW7 3HF
editor: Sanjay Suri
tel. 020 7581 5244

INDIA - HOME AND ABROAD (quarterly)
Park Publications, 1 Park Close, LONDON NW2 6RQ
editor: K Singh
tel./fax: 020 8452 4182

INDIA LINK INTERNATIONAL (monthly)
42 Farm Avenue, North Harrow, MIDDLESEX HA2 7LR
Managing editor: Krishan Ralleigh
tel. 020 8866 8421
fax 020 8723 5250

INDIA MONITOR (monthly)
1B Claverton Street,LONDON SW1V 3AY
London Correspondent: Rakesh K Mathur (0956 568 394)
fax 020 7630 8688

INDIA TIMES
Global House, 90 Ascot Gardens, Southall, MIDDLESEX UB1 2SB
editor: Ram Kumar Virka
tel. 020 8575 0151

INDIA WEEKLY
105 St John's Street, LONDON EC1M 4AS
editor: Dr Premen Addy
Deputy editor: Sanjay Suri
London Correspondent: Richard Varani
tel. 020 7251 3290
fax 020 7251 3289
email newsdesk@indiaweekly.co.uk

INDIAN EXPRESS
117 Fortress Road, LONDON NW5 2HR
editor: Shekar Gupta
London Correspondent: Angeline Moody
tel./fax: 020 7428 9798

IRISH POST (weekly)
Smurfit Media UK, Cambridge House, Cambridge Grove,
Hammersmith, London, W6 OLE
editor: Norah Casey
tel. 020 8741 0649
fax 020 8741 3382

IRISH WORLD (weekly)
934 North Circular Road, LONDON NW2 7RJ
editor: Karen Murray
tel. 020 8453 7800
fax 020 8208 1103
email theeditor@irishworld.com

JEWISH CHRONICLE (weekly)
25 Furnival Street LONDON EC4A 1JT
editor: Ned Temko
tel. 020 7415 1616
fax 020 7405 9040

JEWISH QUARTERLY
Jewish Literary Trust Limited, PO Box 2078 LONDON W1A 1JR
editor: Matthew Reiz
tel. 020 7629 5004
fax 020 7629 5110
email jewish.quarterly@ort.org

JEWISH RECORDER
Jewish Cultural Society, 18 Oak Hill Drive, Edgbaston, Birmingham,
WEST MIDLANDS B15 3UG
editor: K. Drapin
tel. 0121 766 6663
fax 0121 766 8135

JEWISH TELEGRAPH
4 May Terrace, Gittnock, Glasgow, LANARKSHIRE G46 6DL
editor: Paul Harris
tel. 0141 621 4422
fax 0141 621 4333

JEWISH TRIBUNE (weekly)
95-97 Stamford Hill, LONDON N16 5RE
editor: Mr Troskopf
tel. 020 8800 6688
fax 020 8800 5000

LONDON IRISH PRESS
Unit 8, Concord Business Centre, Concord Road, LONDON W3 0TR
editor: Michael Hennessy
tel. 020 8752 1202
fax 020 8896 3654

LONDON JEWISH NEWS (weekly)
50 Colindeep Lane, Colindale, LONDON, NW9 6HB
editor: Stuart Brobkin
tel./fax: 020 8358 6520

LONDON/MIDLAND/NORTHERN ASIAN/BLACK AFRICAN CARIBBEAN (quarterly)
Wild Rose Publishing, 10A Ellingfort Road, Hackney, LONDON E8 3PA
editor: Peter Patel
tel. 020 8985 4070
fax 020 8525 1171

MAURITIAN INTERNATIONAL (quarterly)
Nautilus Publishing Co, PO Box 4100, LONDON SW20 0XN
editor: Jacques K Lee
tel./fax: 020 8947 1912

MAURITIUS NEWS (monthly)
583 Wandsworth Road, LONDON SW8 3JD
editor: Peter Chellen
tel. 020 7498 3066
fax 020 7627 8939
email editor@mauritius-news.co.uk

MIDDLE EAST EXPATRIATE
Crescent Court, 102 Victor Road, Teddington, MIDDLESEX TW11 8SS
editor: Nick Horne
tel. 020 8943 3630
fax 020 8943 3701

ONE ASIA (Internet Magazine)
64 New Cavendish Street, London, W1 M7LD
Contact: Anisha Jhina,
tel. 020 7612 9318
fax 020 7323 0756

THE MUSLIM NEWS (monthly)
PO Box 380, Harrow, MIDDLESEX HA2 6LL
editor: Ahmed Versi
tel. 020 7608 2822
fax 020 7608 1232

email editor@muslimnews.co.uk

THE NATION (English/Urdu)
Links Media, 96C Ilford Lane, Ilford, ESSEX IG1 2LD
Managing editor: Mr M Sarwar
tel. 020 8478 3200
fax 020 8478 6200
email msarwar@thenation.demon.co.uk

NEW NATION (weekly)
Unit 2.01, Whitechapel Technology Centre, 65 Whitechapel Road,
Whitechapel E1 1DU
tel. 020 7650 2000
fax 020 7650 2001
email newnation@hotmail.com

NEW HORIZON (monthly)
Icis House, 144-146 King's Cross Road, LONDON WC1X 9DH
Executive editor: Mr Ghazanfar Ali
tel. 020 7833 8275
fax 020 7278 4797

NEW IMPACT JOURNAL (bi-monthly)
Anser House, Courtyard Offices, Marlow,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE SL7 1AX
Managing Director: Elaine Sihera
tel. 01628 481 581
fax 01628 475 570

NEW WORLD (weekly)
234 Holloway Road, LONDON N7 8DA
Chief editor: Dhiren Basu
tel. 020 7700 2673
fax 020 7607 6706

THE NEWS
Jang Publications Ltd, 1 Sanctuary Street, LONDON SE1 1ED
editor: Mr Zahoor Niazi/Mr Shahid Ullah
tel. 020 7403 5833/4122
fax 020 7378 1653
email thenewssell@yahoo.com

NIGERIAN NEWS (fortnightly)
23 Aberdeen Court, LONDON W9 1AF
Executive editor: Olubiyi Ayodeji
tel. 020 7266 4564
fax 020 7266 4057

NORTH WEST ASIAN NEWS (monthly)
Observer Buildings, Drake Street, ROCHDALE OL16 1PH
editor: Steve Hammond
tel. 0170 635 7086
fax 0170 634 1595

PAHAYAGAN (Filipino bi-monthly)
49 Connaught Street, LONDON W2 2BB
editor: Mrs C Pedrosa
tel. 020 7402 6917

PRIDE MAGAZINE (monthly)

Hamilton House, Battersea Bridge Road, LONDON SW11 3AX
Senior editor: Dionne Aminat
Deputy editor: Richard Liston
tel. 020 7228 3110
fax 020 7228 3130
email aminat@pridemagazine.com

Q NEWS INTERNATIONAL
3rd Floor, Dexion House, 2-4 Empire Way, Wembley,
MIDDLESEX HA9 0XA
editor: Mr Fuad Nahdi
tel. 020 8903 0819
fax 020 8903 0820

RIRA MAGAZINE (Irish youth magazine)
39-41 North Road, Islington, LONDON N7 SDP
editor: Sean Scally/Michael Coughlan
tel. 020 7609 9010
fax 020 7609 6716

SALAAM! (monthly)
Intermedia Exchange Ltd, Unit 6, 5 Rockware Avenue, Greenford,
MIDDLESEX UB6 0AA
Publisher: Khan Iqbal Khan
tel. 020 8357 0056
fax 020 8930 2066

SCOTLAND'S ORACLE
575 Pollockshaws Road, Glasgow, G41 2QQ
editor: Ahsan ul haq
tel. 0141 423 9166
fax 0141 423 9166

2ND GENERATION (bi-monthly)
Unit 401A, Bon Marché Centre, 444 Brixton Road, LONDON SW9 8EJ
editor: Imran Kahn
tel. 020 7924 9966
fax 020 7924 9988

SHANTI COMMUNICATIONS (news agency)
1 Stuart Road, Thornton Heath, SURREY CR7 8RA
editor: Parveez Syed
tel. 0831 196 693
fax 020 8665 0384

THE SIKH COURIER INTERNATIONAL (quarterly)
33 Wargrave Road, South Harrow, MIDDLESEX, HA2 8LL
editor: A S Chatwal
tel./fax: 020 8257 0359

THE SIKH MESSENGER (quarterly)
43 Dorset Road, Merton Park, LONDON SW19 3EZ
editor: Indarjit Singh
tel./fax: 020 8540 4148

SPICE MAGAZINE (monthly)
Tees Court, Moseley Street, BIRMINGHAM B12 0RT
editor: Mr. Parminder Singh
tel. 0121 245 2424
fax 0121 245 2434

TEAMWORK (bi-monthly)
WISC, 5 Westminster Bridge Rd, LONDON SE1 7XW
editor: Mr. William Trant
tel. 020 7928 7861/2
fax 020 7928 0343
email wiscorg@aol.com

TOUCH MAGAZINE (monthly)
1st Floor, 51 Hoxton Square, LONDON N1 6PB
editor: Vincent Jackson
tel. 020 7739 5727
fax 020 7739 0138
email touchzine@aol.com

UNTOLD MAGAZINE (bi-monthly)
Stratford Workshops, Unit 328 Burford Road, LONDON E15 2SP
editor: Peter Akinti
tel. 020 8519 1920

THE VOICE (weekly)
370 Coldharbour Lane, Brixton, LONDON SW9 8PL
editor: Matthew Griffiths
tel. 020 7737 7377
fax 020 7274 8994

THE WEEKLY EAST
65 North Acton Road, Park Royal, LONDON NW10 6PJ
tel. 020 8838 6300
fax 020 8838 2112

THE WEEKLY PAKISTAN
65 North Acton Road, Park Royal, LONDON NW10 6PJ
tel. 020 8838 6300
fax 020 8838 2112

Greek

ELEFTHERIA
Editor: Michalis Ellinas

PARIKIAKI (weekly)
534A Holloway Road, LONDON N7 6JP
editor: Ch.Hambis
tel. 020 7272 6777
editorial fax 020 7281 0127
advertising fax 020 7263 2003

TA NEA (weekly)
8-10 Stamford Hill, LONDON N16 6XS
editor: Louis Vrakas
tel. 020 8806 0169/8659
fax 020 8806 0160

Gujarati

ASIAN TRADER (fortnightly, English/Gujarati/Urdu)
1-2 Silex Street, off Webber Street, Southwark, LONDON SE1 0DW
editor: Mr Ranniklal C Solanki
tel. 020 7928 1234

fax 020 7261 0055
email amg@gujarat.co.uk

GARAVI GUJARAT (weekly, English/Gujarati)
1-2 Silex Street, off Webber Street, Southwark, LONDON SE1 0DW
editor: R C Solanki
tel. 020 7928 1234
fax 020 7261 0055

GUJARAT SAMACHAR (weekly, Gujarati/English)
8-16 Coronet Street, off Old Street, LONDON N1 6HD
tel. 020 7729 5453
fax 020 7739 0358
email gujarat@gujarat-samachar.com

Hindi

AMAR DEEP HINDI (weekly)
36 Trent Avenue, LONDON W5 4TL
editor: J M Kaushal
tel. 020 8840 3534
fax 020 8579 3180

NAVIN WEEKLY
Masbro Centre, 87 Masbro Road, LONDON W14 0LR
editor: Ramesh Kumar
tel. 020 7385 8966

Italian

LA VOCE DEGLI ITALIANI (weekly)
20 Brixton Road, LONDON SW9 6BU
editor: Ziliotto Giandomenico
tel. 020 7735 5164
fax 020 7793 0385

Punjabi

AWAZE QUAM INTERNATIONAL (weekly)
Gate 2, Unit 5B, Booth Street, Smethwick, BIRMINGHAM B66 2PF
editor: Raghbir Singh
tel. 0121 555 5921
fax 0121 555 6899

PARDESI PUNJAB
6 Emerald Square, Southall, MIDDLESEX UB2 5JS
editor: Pritam Singh Rahi
tel. 0961 196 034
fax 020 8737 4513

PERDESAN MONTHLY
478 Lady Margaret Road, Southall, MIDDLESEX UB1 2NW
editor: Mrs G K Bedi
tel. 020 8575 8694
fax 020 8575 8659

THE PUNJABI GUARDIAN (fortnightly)
129 Soho Road, Handsworth, BIRMINGHAM B21 9ST
editor: Inder Jit Singh Sandhu
tel. 0121 554 3995

fax 0121 507 1065

PUNJAB MAIL INTERNATIONAL (monthly)
66 Dames Road, Forest Gate, LONDON E7 0DR
editor: Gurdip Singh Sandhu
fax 020 8522 0901

PUNJAB TIMES INTERNATIONAL (weekly)
24 Cotton Brook Road, Sir Francis Ley Industrial Park,
DERBY DE23 8YJ
editor: Harjinder Singh Mandair
tel. 01332 372 851
fax 01332 372 833
email punjabtimes@aol.com

WEEKLY DES PARDES
8 The Crescent, Southall, MIDDLESEX UB1 1BE
editor: Mr. Virk
tel. 020 8571 1127
fax020 8571 2604

Russian

LONDON COURIER
Bi-weekly Russian newspaper
PO BOX 16099
London N3 1WG
Tel. 020 8371 8288
Fax 020 8349 2769
lc@russianuk.com
www.russianuk.com

UKRAINIAN BRITAIN
Weekly Ukrainian newspaper
Tel. 0870 240 3752
Fax 0870 240 3753
www.ukrainiannewspaper.co.uk

Turkish

HURRIYET (daily)
1st Floor, 35 D'Arblay Street, LONDON W1V 3FE
editor: Mrs Aysegul Richardson
tel. 020 7734 1211
fax 020 7287 3101
email betul@hotmail.com

TOPLUM POSTASI (weekly, English/Turkish)
177 Green Lanes, Palmers Green, LONDON N13 4UR
Editor English pages: Suzanne Nuri
Editor in Chief: Artun Goksan
tel. 020 8889 5025
fax 020 8889 5101
email Toplum@aol.com

Urdu

THE DAILY JANG

Jang Publications Ltd, 1 Sanctuary Street, LONDON SE1 1ED
editor: Mr Zahoor Niazi
tel. 020 7403 5833
fax 020 7378 1653

MILAP WEEKLY
Masbro Centre, 87 Masbro Road, LONDON W14 0LR
editor: R Soni
tel. 020 7385 8966

RAVI NEWS WEEKLY
Ravi House, 900 Leeds Road, BRADFORD, BD3 8EZ
editor: Mr Shappir Moughal
tel./fax: 01274 666 900

SADA URDU MONTHLY
PO Box 630, CROYDON CR0 2WN
editor: Athar Raz
Managing editor: Iqbal Mirza
tel. 020 8684 9429
fax 020 8251 8689

Radio stations

ASIAN SOUND RADIO (also on satellite)
Globe House, Southall Street, MANCHESTER M3 1LG
Head of Programmes: Paul Shah
tel 0161 288 1000
fax 0161 288 9000

CHOICE FM (South London Radio)
291-299 Borough High Street, LONDON SE1 1JG
Programme Director: Patrick Berry
tel 020 7378 3969
fax 020 7378 3936

GALAXY 102.2
1 The Square, 111 Broad Street, BIRMINGHAM, B15 1AS
Programme Director: Alex Carruthers
tel 0121 616 1000
fax 0121 616 1011

GALAXY 105
Joseph's Well, Hanover Walk, LEEDS, LS3 1AB
Director General: Jean Branch
News editor: Pete Wilson
tel 0113 213 1053
fax 0113 213 1054

KISS 100 FM
Kiss House, 80 Holloway Road, LONDON N7 8JG
Programme Controller: Andy Roberts
tel 020 7700 6100
fax 020 7700 3979
email andy.roberts@kiss100.com

LONDON GREEK RADIO
Florentia Village, Vale Road, LONDON N4 1TD
Programme Controller: G Gregoriou
tel 020 8880 8001

fax 020 8800 8005

LONDON TURKISH RADIO
185B High Road, LONDON N22 6BA
Programme Controller: Erkan Pastirmacioglu
tel 020 8881 0606
fax 020 8881 5151

RADIO CEREDIGION
Yr Hen Ysgol Gymraeg, Ffordd Alexandra,
Aberystwyth, DYFED SY23 1LF
Head of Programmes: Sharar Shahwan
tel 01970 627 999
fax 01970 627 206

RADIO ASIA
Spectrum 558, 65 North Acton Road, Park Royal,
LONDON, NW10 6RJ
Contact: Shanta Saluja
tel 020 8838 6300

RADIO XL
KMS House, Bradford St, BIRMINGHAM B12 0JD
Prog Director: Barry Curtis
tel 0121 753 5353
fax 0121 753 3111

SABRAS SOUND LTD (Asian and English language)
Radio House, 63 Melton Road, LEICESTER LE4 6PN
Contact: Don Kotak
tel 0116 261 0666
fax 0116 268 7776

SPECTRUM RADIO
204/206 Queenstown Road, LONDON SW8 3NR
Head of Programmes: Winsome Cornish
tel 020 7627 4433
fax 020 7627 3409
email spectrum@spectrum558am.co.uk

SPECTRUM CHINESE PROGRAMMES
PO Box 2288, LONDON W1A 1YY
Head of Programmes: Joseph Wu
tel 020 7434 2835
fax 020 7434 2836
email dj@558.net

SUNRISE RADIO
Sunrise House, Merrick Road, Southall, MIDDLESEX UB2 7AU
Chief Executive: Dr. Avtar Lit
Head of Programmes: Paul Davies
tel 020 8893 5900
fax 020 8893 5090

SUNRISE RADIO (also on satellite)
Sunrise House, 30 Chapel Street, Little Germany,
BRADFORD BD1 5DN
Programme Controller: Usha Parmar
tel 01274 375 043
fax 01274 728 534

TAMIL RADIO AND TELEVISION (satellite)
727 London Road, Thornton Heath
Surrey CR7 6AU
Tel. 020 8689 7503
Fax 020 8683 4445

TV stations

AFRO-CARIBBEAN CHANNEL (cable)
020 88024576

AMC Asian Music (satellite)
0116-233 5599

AFRICA Independent TV (news, drama, soaps, sport) (satellite)
020 7233 7965

AL-RASHAD (Oriental and western cultures) (satellite)
020 7233 7965

APNA TV (Asian entertainment and radio) (satellite)
42 Theobalds Road, LONDON WC1X 8NW
editor: Daxa Joshi
tel 020 7831 2525
fax 020 7242 2860
email data@apnatv.freeserve.co.uk

ARAB NEWS NETWORK (satellite)
020 7323 9920

ASIA 1 TV
Asia House, Soho Road, Birmingham, B21 9LZ
Contact: Sam Thaper
tel 0121 507 1666
fax 0121 507 1669

ASIANET LTD (satellite)
Elliott House, Victoria Road, Park Royal, LONDON NW10 6NY
Chief Executive: Dr Barnard Viswanath
tel 020 8930 0930
fax 020 8930 0546

ASIAN NET TV
PO Box 38, Greenford, MIDDLESEX UB6 7SP
tel 020 8566 9000
fax 020 8810 5555

ASIAN TELEVISION
PO Box 113, Oldham, LANCASHIRE, OL1 1LS
Station Controller: Mr. Shafaat Choudhry
tel 0161 627 1207
fax 0161 665 2361
email atml138@aol.com

BANGLA TV (Bengali speaking service) (satellite)
020 8514 8693

BLACK MUSIC TELEVISION (cable)
020 87405505

CARIBBEAN ONE TV (Afro-Caribbean entertainment) (satellite)
020 8653 3512

CHAND Television (Asian programming) (satellite)
01384 291854

CHINESE NEWS & ENTERTAINMENT (satellite)
Marvic House, Bishops Road, Fulham, LONDON SW6 7AD
Managing Director: Betty Yau
Senior editor: Poon Sui Mui
tel 020 7610 3880
fax 020 7610 3118
email pcne@pcnetv.demon.co.uk

DRAGON (Chinese family entertainment) (satellite)
0161 2363557

EAST – WEST (South Asian news and entertainment) (satellite)
020 89055355

HELENIC TV (cable)
50 Clarendon Road, LONDON N8 0DJ
General Manager: Takis Fellas
tel 020 8292 7037
fax 020 8292 7042
email helenictv@btinternet.com

HBO (entertainment Polish channel) (satellite)
020 79727310

INDUS TELEVISION (multiracial entertainment) (satellite)
020 77222922

KHALSA WORLD TELEVISION (Punjabi, Hindu and Urdu) (satellite)
020 74991511

LE CINEMA (Polish, Hungarian and Rumanian films) (satellite)
020 74358450

MATV (Asian local terrestrial channel in Leicestershire)
MPK House, 233 Belgrave Gate
Leicester LE1 3HT
Tel. 01865 433775
Fax 01865 433885
Mbc.matv@technocom.com
www.matv.co.uk

MEDYA TV (Kurdish television) (satellite)
020 74942523

MIDDLE EAST BROADCASTING (Arabic entertainment) (satellite)
80 Silverthorne Road, LONDON SW8 3XA
Chief Executive: Ali Al-Hadaithi
News/Programmes Director: Steve Clarke
tel 020 7501 1253
fax 020 7501 1231
email issa@uk.mbcctv.com

MINAY BROADCAST INTERNATIONAL (Afro-centric entertainment) (satellite)

020 74912393

MINE CHANNEL (Afro-Caribbean) (satellite)
020 7281 6996

MUSLIM TV AHMADIYYA (satellite)
020 88708517

NAMASTE ASIAN TELEVISION (satellite)
7 Trafalgar Business Centre, 77/87 River Road,
Barking, Essex IG11 OJU
tel. 020 8507 8292
fax 020 8507 0809

NETWORK EAST
Room 714, BBC Pebble Mill, Pebble Mill Road,
BIRMINGHAM, West Midlands, B5 7QQ
Head of Asian Programming: Paresh Solanki
tel 0121 432 8888
fax 0121 432 8241

PUNJABI UK TV (Punjabi programmes0 (satellite)
0121 5586600

ROMANTICA (Polish soap opera) (satellite)
020 74358450

SONY ENTERTAINMENT T.V. ASIA
34 Fouberts Place, Soho, London W1V 2BH
Contact: Rajan Singh
tel 020 7534 7575
fax 020 7534 7585

THE PAKISTANI CHANNEL (Interactive)
65 North Acton Road, Park Royal, LONDON, NW10 6PJ
tel. 020 8838 6300
fax 020 8838 2122
email info.pak@btinternet.com

PANJABI TV (local Asian channel covering the Slough area)
174 Kensington Park Road, London W11 2ER
tel. and fax 020 77922820
Owner: The Panjabi Centre

THE PERSIAN CHANNEL
10 Pennine Parade, Pennine Drive, LONDON NW2 1NT
News editor: Mahmood Taghi Sarabi
tel 020 8731 9333
fax 020 8731 6971

TV LAND (Middle-Eastern entertainment) (satellite)
020 7478 6800

TVBS EUROPE (Chinese programmes) (satellite)
020 76366818

TRAVEL – POLISH (satellite)
020 76365401

PERSIAN TV (cable)

020 83281084

WIZJA CHANNELS (Polish channels) (satellite)
01622 684516

ZEE TV (Asian programmes) (satellite)
Zee News, 64 Newman Street, London, W1P 3HB
News editor: Anita Anand
tel 020 7436 0543 or 020 7637 4502
fax 020 7436 0549
email anita.anand@zeetv.co.uk

NOTE: There are a few dozen television and radio channels, which become available to minorities via satellite. The vast majority of these channels are available all over Western Europe and can be received once an appropriate dish is installed. As these channels are ultimately transnational they are not included in the national reports, but they will be presented in a separate database. Few satellite channels are included here as they have either their headquarters or representatives in the UK. We include them here (as well as in the satellite channels listing) as British regulations and policies might affect them.

(2) By Technology, Language and Group

Analogue Radio

Asian
ASIAN SOUND RADIO (also on satellite)
SABRAS

Black/Afro-Caribbean
CHOICE FM
GALAXY 105 (LEEDS)

Greek
LONDON GREEK RADIO

Turkish
LONDON TURKISH RADIO

Digital Radio

Asian
RADIO ASIA (ON SPECTRUM)
TAMIL RADIO AND TELEVISION (satellite)

Black/Afro-Caribbean
GALAXY 102.2
GALAXY 105 (LEEDS)
KISS 100 FM

SUNRISE (also on satellite)

Chinese
SPECTRUM CHINESE PROGRAMMES

Multiethnic
SPECTRUM

Analogue Television

Black/Afro-Caribbean
AFRO-CARIBBEAN CHANNEL (cable)
AFRICA Independent TV (satellite)
BLACK MUSIC TELEVISION (cable)
CARIBBEAN ONE TV (satellite)
MINAY BROADCAST INTERNATIONAL (satellite)
MINE CHANNEL (satellite)

Asian
ASIAN 1 TV
ASIAN TELEVISION
BANGLA TV (satellite)
CHAND TELEVISION
MATV (local in Leicestershire)
NETWORK EAST
PUNJAB UK TV (satellite)
PANJABI TV (local in Slough)

Arabic
AL-RASHAD (satellite)
MUSLIM TV AHMADIYYA
TV LAND (satellite)

Iranian
THE PERSIAN CHANNEL
PERSIAN TV (cable)

Greek
HELENIC TV
ERT-SAT
CBC-SAT

Kurdish
MEDYA TV (satellite)

Polish
HBO
LE CINEMA (Polish, Hungarian and Rumania films)
ROMANTICA (satellite)
TRAVEL-POLISH (satellite)
WIZJA CHANNELS (satellite)

Digital Television

Asian
AMC ASIAN MUSIC (satellite)
ASIANET
ASIAN NET TV
EAST – WEST (satellite)

INDUS TELEVISION
KHALSA WORLD TELEVISION
NAMASTE TV (satellite)
SONY ENTERTAINMENT TV ASIA
THE PAKISTANI CHANNEL (interactive)
ZEE TV (satellite)

Arabic
ARAB NEWS NETWORK
MIDDLE EAST BROADCASTING (satellite)

Chinese
CHINESE NEWS AND ENTERTAINMENT (satellite)
DRAGON TELEVISION (satellite)
TVBS EUROPE (satellite)

Print

Arabic
AL-DIPLOMASI NEWS REPORT
AL-ALAAM
AL-AHRAM INTERNATIONAL
AL ARAB
AL HAYAT
AL MUHAJIR
ASHARQ AL AWSAT

Bengali
ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
JANOMOT
NOTUN DIN
PROBASHI SAMACHAR
SURMA
WEEKLY POTRIKA

Chinese
CHINESE BUSINESS IMPACT
SHANG YE XIAN FENG
SING TAO DAILY

English language Asian editions
THE ASIAN AGE
ASIAN ENTERTAINMENT GUIDE
ASIAN EXPRESS
THE ASIAN
ASIAN HOTEL AND CATERER
THE ASIAN NEWS
ASIAN TELEGRAPH
ASIAN TIMES
ASIAN VOICE
ASIAN CONVENIENCE RETAILER
ASIAN VOICE SCOTLAND
AWAAZ ASIAN VOICE
CINEBLITZ
EASTERN EYE
IMPACT INTERNATIONAL
INDIAN ABROAD NEWSPAPER
INDIA – HOME AND ABROAD
INDIA LINK INTERNATIONAL
INDIA MONITOR

INDIA TIMES
INDIA WEEKLY
INDIAN EXPRESS
LONDON
NORTHERN ASIAN
ONE ASIA
THE NATION (English/Urdu)
NEW HORIZON
NEW WORLD
THE NEWS
NORTH WEST ASIAN NEWS
Q NEWS INTERNATIONAL
SALAAM!
SCOTLAND ORACLE
2ND GENERATION
SHANTI COMMUNICATIONS
THE SIKH COURIER INTERNATIONAL
THE SIKH MESSENGER
SPICE MAGAZINE
THE WEEKLY NEWS
THE WEEKLY EAST
THE WEEKLY PAKISTAN

English language Afro-Caribbean editions
BLACK AFRICAN CARIBBEAN
CARIBBEAN TIMES
CIPHER
THE GLEANER
NEW IMPACT JOURNAL
PRIDE MAGAZINE
TEAMWORK
TOUCH MAGAZINE
UNTOLD MAGAZINE
THE VOICE
NEW NATION

Other African – Black editions
THE AFRICAN
BACK PERSPECTIVE
NIGERIAN NEWS

English language Filipino editions
THE FILIPINO
PAHAYAGAN

Irish editions
IRISH POST
IRISH WORLD
LONDON IRISH PRESS
RIRA MAGAZINE

English language Jewish Editions
JEWISH CHRONICLE
JEWISH QUARTERLY
JEWISH RECORDER
JEWISH TELEGRAPH
JEWISH TRIBUNE
LONDON JEWISH NEWS

English language Mauritian editions

MAURITIAN INTERNATIONAL
MAURITIUS NEWS

English language Middle Eastern editions
MIDDLE EAST EXPATRIATE
THE MUSLIM NEWS

Greek
ELEFTHERIA
PARIKIAKI
TA NEA

Gujarati
ASIAN TRADER
GARATI GUJARAT
GUJARAT SAMACHAR

Hindi
AMAR DEEP HINDI
NAVIN WEEKLY

Italian
LA VOCE DEGLI ITALIANI

Punjabi
AWAZE QUAM INTERNATIONAL
PARDESI PUNJAB
PERDESAN MONTHLY
THE PUNJABI GUARDIAN
PUNJAB MAIL INTERNATIONAL
PUNJAB TIMES INTERNATIONAL
WEEKLY DES PARDES

Turkish
HURRIYET
TOPLUM POSTASI

Urdu
THE DAILY JANG
MILAP WEEKLY
RAVI NEWS WEEKLY
SADA URDU MONTHLY

On-line

NOTE: A separate database of web sites and discussion groups will be formed with contributions from the different EU countries. As the on-line diasporic presence is immense, the database will present examples of the different kinds of this presence.

(3) In Relation to Space

Transnational

Asian

ASIAN SOUND RADIO
TAMIL RADIO AND TELEVISION
BANGLA TV
PUNJAB UK TV
AMC ASIAN MUSIC
EAST – WEST
INDUS TELEVISION
KHALSA WORLD TELEVISION
NAMASTE TV
SONY ENTERTAINMENT TV ASIA
THE PAKISTANI CHANNEL
ZEE TV
IMPACT INTERNATIONAL
INDIAN ABROAD NEWSPAPER
INDIA – HOME AND ABROAD
INDIA LINK INTERNATIONAL
INDIA MONITOR
INDIA TIMES
INDIA WEEKLY
THE SIKH COURIER INTERNATIONAL
THE SIKH MESSENGER
SPICE MAGAZINE
THE WEEKLY NEWS
THE WEEKLY EAST
THE WEEKLY PAKISTAN
AWAZE QUAM INTERNATIONAL
PARDESI PUNJAB
THE PUNJABI GUARDIAN
PUNJAB MAIL INTERNATIONAL
PUNJAB TIMES INTERNATIONAL
WEEKLY DES PARDES

Black/Afro-Caribbean
AFRICA Independent TV
CARIBBEAN ONE TV
MINAY BROADCAST INTERNATIONAL
MINE CHANNEL

Greek
ERT-SAT
CBC-SAT

Turkish
TRT-SAT
(many Turkish satellite TV channels on separate database)
HURRIYET

Iranian
THE PERSIAN CHANNEL

Kurdish
MEDYA TV (satellite)

Polish
HBO
LE CINEMA (Polish, Hungarian and Rumania films)
ROMANTICA (satellite)
TRAVEL-POLISH (satellite)
WIZJA CHANNELS (satellite)

Arabic
ARAB NEWS NETWORK
MIDDLE EAST BROADCASTING
AL-RASHAD
TV LAND
AL-DIPLOMASI NEWS REPORT
AL-ALAAM
AL-AHRAM INTERNATIONAL
AL ARAB
AL HAYAT
AL MUHAJIR
ASHARQ AL AWSAT
MIDDLE EAST EXPATRIATE
THE MUSLIM NEWS

Chinese
CHINESE NEWS AND ENTERTAINMENT
DRAGON TELEVISION
TVBS EUROPE
SHANG YE XIAN FENG

Mauritian
MAURITIAN INTERNATIONAL
MAURITIUS NEWS

National

Asian
ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
JANOMOT
NOTUN DIN
PROBASHI SAMACHAR
SURMA
WEEKLY POTRIKA
THE ASIAN AGE
ASIAN ENTERTAINMENT GUIDE
ASIAN EXPRESS
THE ASIAN
ASIAN HOTEL AND CATERER
THE ASIAN NEWS
ASIAN TELEGRAPH
ASIAN TIMES
ASIAN VOICE
ASIAN CONVENIENCE RETAILER
ASIAN VOICE SCOTLAND
AWAAZ ASIAN VOICE
CINEBLITZ
EASTERN EYE
INDIAN EXPRESS
NORTHERN ASIAN
ONE ASIA
THE NATION (English/Urdu)
NEW HORIZON
NEW WORLD
THE NEWS
NORTH WEST ASIAN NEWS
Q NEWS INTERNATIONAL
SALAAM!
SCOTLAND ORACLE

2ND GENERATION
SHANTI COMMUNICATIONS
THE DAILY JANG
MILAP WEEKLY
RAVI NEWS WEEKLY
SADA URDU MONTHLY
RADIO ASIA (ON SPECTRUM)
SUNRISE
ASIAN TRADER
GARATI GUJARAT
GUJARAT SAMACHAR
AMAR DEEP HINDI
NAVIN WEEKLY
PERDESAN MONTHLY
RADIO ASIA (ON SPECTRUM)

Chinese
SPECTRUM CHINESE PROGRAMMES
CHINESE BUSINESS IMPACT
SING TAO DAILY

Multiethnic
SPECTRUM

Afro-Caribbean
BLACK AFRICAN CARIBBEAN
CARIBBEAN TIMES
CIPHER
THE GLEANER
NEW IMPACT JOURNAL
PRIDE MAGAZINE
TEAMWORK
TOUCH MAGAZINE
UNTOLD MAGAZINE
THE VOICE
KISS 100 FM
NEW NATION
BLACK MUSIC TELEVISION (cable)

Other African – Black
THE AFRICAN
BACK PERSPECTIVE
NIGERIAN NEWS

Filipino
THE FILIPINO
PAHAYAGAN

Irish
IRISH POST
IRISH WORLD
RIRA MAGAZINE

Jewish
JEWISH CHRONICLE
JEWISH QUARTERLY
JEWISH RECORDER
JEWISH TELEGRAPH
JEWISH TRIBUNE
LONDON JEWISH NEWS

Greek
ELEFTHERIA
PARIKIAKI
TA NEA

Italian
LA VOCE DEGLI ITALIANI

Turkish
TOPLUM POSTASI

Local

Asian
SABRAS
LONDON
ASIAN 1 TV
ASIAN TELEVISION
MATV (local in Leicestershire)
NETWORK EAST
PANJABI TV (local in Slough)
ASIANET
ASIAN NET TV

Iranian
PERSIAN TV (cable)

Black/Afro-Caribbean
CHOICE FM
GALAXY 105 (LEEDS)
AFRO-CARIBBEAN CHANNEL (cable)
BLACK MUSIC TELEVISION (cable)

Greek
LONDON GREEK RADIO
HELLENIC TV

Turkish
LONDON TURKISH RADIO

Arabic
MUSLIM TV AHMADIYYA

Jewish
LONDON JEWISH NEWS

Irish
LONDON IRISH PRESS

Some preliminary conclusions from the mapping

- It becomes immediately apparent that an extensive media presence primarily relates to (i.) a long history in the diaspora and (ii.) the numerical significant of diasporic groups.
- Groups that have had a long diasporic experience (e.g. Jewish and Irish) have a significant and long history of press publications. This indicates that, even before the era of new technologies, minorities used the media to establish communication in diasporic spaces.
- In the diaspora, the boundaries between different ethnic groups are partly shifted and become more flexible. In that way, groups that have different experience in their homeland, come closer in the diaspora, as their sharing of certain media indicates (e.g. Indians of different religions, Indians and Pakistani, Africans and Afro-Caribbean, Arabs coming from different Middle Eastern counties but sharing same media).
- English becomes a language that is increasingly used, either as the main language of ethnic media, or as an additional, second language. This reflects the attempt of the media (i.) to attract younger audiences and (ii.) to attract audiences beyond linguistic and other ethnic boundaries (e.g. different Indian groups).
- Satellite technologies have opened up new opportunities for communication for many diasporic communities. A very interesting example is the Polish. Polish satellite channels probably fill in the gap created by the lack of other ethnic Polish media in the UK. At the same time, it indicates that Polish communities depend primarily on broadcasts from Poland. This *diaspora on the making* has not established its own grounded in Britain media culture.
- The older and more established ethnic communities in the UK do not have access to a large range of broadcasting ethnic media, though they have a large and permanent collection of publications. Hypothesis: after generations in the diaspora, ethnic media become complementary and not central in communities' everyday life. Thus, the expensive and demanding broadcasting media cannot be sustained.
- The minority media that are produced and distributed primarily within the national British space (though this does not mean that they are strictly bounded within the national boundaries) are print media. Hypothesis: press is still defined by the national context more than electronic media.

- Broadcasting media are in their majority local and transnational, increasingly undermining the national context and boundaries.
- The commercial minority media projects significantly outnumber community and non-profit projects. That is partly the outcome of the legislative and policy framework.
- The over-concentration of minorities in London is also reflected in the minority media production. The vast majority of media produced in the UK are based in London. This is not only the outcome of the numerical concentration of minorities in the capital; it also reflects the multicultural character of London and the visible presence of minorities in the society and the politics of the city.

Do minority media matter?

Overall, the media open up possibilities for communication among populations in local, national and transnational spaces, they create new possibilities for cheaper and quicker communication and shape community spaces that are not restricted by geography. The vivid diasporic media space, the development of diasporic networks and the increasing, yet diverse use of the diasporic media by different communities indicate that information and communication technologies have not only eased diasporic local and global communication, but they have actually changed it. When people living in Trinidad learn how to use the Internet in order to send emails to their relatives in the diaspora (Miller and Slater, 2000) their understanding of communication, as well as the intensity of family relations change. When every third Cypriot household in London invests on a huge satellite dish in order to watch the news from their country of origin every evening, the distance between Britain and Cyprus diminishes; everyday Cyprus news become common references in London and the sense of being Cypriot is being reinvented every evening (Georgiou, op. cit.).

Conclusions – What's to learn from the British experience?

The national social, historical and policy context has a major role for the way people experience identity, ethnicity and diasporic belonging in everyday life. As the British mainstream politics of multiethnicity spoke of racial respect since the 1960's,

and today celebrates multiculturalism, it opened up possibilities for minorities to feel aware that they are inseparable part of the British society. As the British mainstream has for decades been sensitive (at least in declarations) to issues of racism and minority exclusion, it is probably easier to introduce measures for minorities' further inclusion and participation in this country, compared to other countries. In Britain, debates about the conflicts and the complexity that are inherent in multiculturalism have entered mainstream political and policy debates (cf. Modood, Berthoud, *et. al*., op. cit.; Runnymede Trust, op. cit.; Macpherson, op. cit.), creating opportunities for more sensitive politics of difference. As emphasised in the Parekh report (op. cit.), equality is achieved only through culturally sensitive measures that take into consideration relevant difference. Politics of inclusion cannot undermine or aim at diminishing the value of cultural differences; it has to promote dialogue within a society characterised by cultural diversity.

The new generation of politics of inclusion and multiculturalism takes into more serious consideration the cultural dimensions of discrimination and exclusion. Indirect discrimination, which is not necessarily the outcome of racism, but of the reproduction of ideologies of Eurocentrism and cultural homogeneity in education, everyday culture and the media, is one of the most difficult to tackle. Other homogenising ideologies of the *correctness* of a western, capitalist model of economy and culture in the UK meant that communities which have not adapted compatible models for their own economic and cultural development have become increasingly marginalized.

These processes of cultural exclusion affect minority media directly. At the same time, minority media can challenge them:

- The ethnic media that are viable on the long run are those which follow the commercial competitive rules of the market; the media that can renew their licences are those that conform with the western values of journalism and broadcasting. Yet, the national legislation and the British model of culture and economy are losing a proportion of their power in defining the limits and the limitations of alternative and minority cultures. New technologies have decentralised production, have deterritorialised it and have lessened its cost. Thus, the opportunities to shape alternative scenaria of self-representation, of identity and community, even of militant resistance to the nation-state have found new mediators in digitalised media.

- Minority media suggest alternative scenaria of multiethnicity, represent minorities in different ways than the mainstream media and give the opportunity to minorities to actively construct their own representations.

Learning about Diasporas and the Media in the UK

The debates and the policy proposals around exclusion and discrimination emphasise the need for changes in education, the media and the overall perceptions of British national and ethnic identities (Runnymede Trust, op. cit.). The importance of the more recent debates, compared to previous ones, is not restricted in the fact that they take into consideration the diversity and the cultural richness of the British society as a whole; they also emphasise the difference and the inequalities within the minority groups as well. 'Importance changes are also needed within Asian and black communities themselves if they are to overcome the obstacles which they face and take full advantage of the opportunities offered by wider society' (ibid.: x). The multicultural politics that deal with the dynamics within the ethnic groups though need to be sensitive, reflexive and should not justify broader issues of exclusion and discrimination based on the internal politics of each group. The Parekh report emphasises that internal politics and changes take place in different ways and with different rhythms.

- What multicultural policies can do is to create spaces of dialogue from which members of different ethnic groups can benefit. There should be guaranteed access to funds, advice, education and the media for alternative organisations and subgroups so that they will have the chance to benefit from changes in the broader society and become more empowered in internal ethnic community politics[17].

The Media

The empirical data indicates that there is an extreme richness in the availability of minority media in the UK and this richness has expanded rapidly since digital technologies, satellite and of course the Internet have become increasingly

[17] See next section for particular suggestions for the media.

available and cheaper to use. At the same time, qualitative research in both the UK and other European countries shows that diasporas use minority media next to the mainstream media. Sharing mainstream media allows them to construct the sense of belonging in the community of the nation-state and even to a global community of audiences that surpasses ethnic particularity (Gillespie, op. cit.). At the same time, minority media allow them to construct and reconstruct a sense of diasporic particularity.

Ethnic media are often considered to be crucial for minorities' empowerment and for the sustaining of cultural particularity, while it has been argued that they challenge the domination of mainstream culture (Wilson and Gutierrez, 1985; Riggins, 1992; Husband, 1994). As minorities consume different media – media that represent alternative media cultures and different ethnic cultures and subcultures – they become more critical audiences. Mainstream and ethnic media are in a continuous co-existence and competition for diasporic audiences. These audiences know that the range of media extends beyond their ethnic group but also extends beyond the national production. Both the possibility of broad media availability and the actual access to them can shape sophisticated and critical audiences. In that way, diasporic audiences become more demanding towards minority media (relevant research shows that they are often critical of them, cf. Georgiou, op. cit.; Gillespie, op. cit.; d'Haenens, Beentjes and Bink, op. cit.), but also more critical of the mainstream media and more demanding in their efforts for self-representation in them (Quraishi, 2001).

People consume non-ethnic as well as ethnic media. But ethnic media is something nobody else beyond the ethnic group has. And this makes a difference. When young Greek Cypriots can joke about the Greek sitcom they saw the previous night on the Greek channel with their Greek Cypriot schoolmates, it makes a difference; they cannot joke about it with their non-Greek friends[18]. In that sense, in everyday life, ethnic media enhance people's symbolic sense of belonging in an ethnic community (Morley, 1999).

All these lead us to some policy suggestions that can recognise and construct a richer media environment with increased possibilities for inclusion of difference.

[18] This comment was made by a young Greek Cypriot female participant in my research in London.

Drawing from the suggestions of Husband, Beattie and Markelin (op. cit.) two key points are:

- The development of autonomous diasporic media which are capable of enabling a dialogue within the ethnic communities and of reflecting the diversity within them. This means further availability to resources and media education for minorities.
- The development of multiethnic and multicultural media that actively promote dialogue across ethnic communities – either these are minorities or majorities. This means an active plan of policy, education and investment from the state and cultural institutions on such projects that promote the multicultural character of the society.

Some further suggestions made in the Parekh report (op. cit.) include:

- The development of a national policy through widespread participation and consultation – a policy paying particular attention to issues of cultural inclusion and identity
- Measures and fines for organisations that, though funded by public bodies, do not make changes in their staff and governance and do not make programmes more inclusive
- Larger media companies should occasionally be required to work with smaller (ethnic) companies; companies that develop expertise on programmes about race and identity
- The regulatory framework for digital TV should – at least in the short-term – protect programme suppliers targeting specific interests and groups

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