

# Mass Media and a Moslem Immigrant Community in Canada \*

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## RÉSUMÉ

Le principal but de cet article est de développer un ensemble d'hypothèses, plus ou moins rigoureusement reliées entre elles et fondées sur une analyse fonctionnelle, au sujet du type d'utilisation des *mass media* par un groupe ethnique immigrant doté d'un système culturel et linguistique très différent de celui du pays industriel où ils sont établis.

Les résultats de cette recherche exploratoire semblent indiquer une dépendance très limitée des *mass media* du pays où ce groupe réside, mais un contact persistant avec les programmes sur ondes courtes diffusés de leur lieu d'origine.

On analyse les conséquences de cette situation sur l'immigrant, la communauté ethnique et le pays de résidence. Finalement, on présente les implications de cette situation pour la survivance de communautés ethniques dans leur pays d'adoption.

This paper is about the pattern of mass media use and its consequences by Moslem Arab immigrants in a Canadian city.

The paper consists of two parts. The first part deals with empirical findings based on standardized interviews with 51 Moslem and 22 Christian Arab male immigrant residents of the Prairie City regarding their use of shortwave radio broadcasts from abroad and the Canadian mass media.

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In the second part an attempt is made to organize a framework, based on functional analysis, into which can be fitted a variety of hypotheses about the consequences of mass media use by an ethnic group such as the Moslem Arabs in a modern industrial society. But before mass media use by Moslem Arabs is examined, some background information is necessary.

### *The Moslem Arab Community*

There were approximately sixty Moslem Arab families in the Canadian Prairie City at the time of the study. Of the 51 household heads interviewed, 92% had come from Lebanon. Seventy-eight percent had been in Canada for 2-14 years, and 12% had been residents longer. Fifty-one percent were under 30 years of age and 76% were married. Most of these Moslem Arabs were manual workers (41% unskilled, 41% skilled, 4% white collar, 4% unemployed, 6% attending schools, and 4% retired). With respect to education, only 12% of the respondents had finished high school.

The center of community life for Moslem Arabs in the Prairie City was a mosque established a few years prior to the study in a small, old building (previously used as a church). The Moslem Association ran the business affairs of the mosque through an elected council. Religious services were conducted on Sundays by a trained religious leader, or imam sent by the Egyptian government. He also conducted a combination "Sunday school" and Arabic language class for children before services. On special religious holidays the people would gather in the mosque hall after the service to eat Arabic food while listening to Arabic music.

The imam appeared to be the leader of the community, not only because of his religious training, but also for his superior education and good command of the English language.

The Moslem Arab immigrants in the Prairie City were part of a larger group — Arab immigrants. The non-Moslem or Christian Arabs, while in contact with Moslem Arabs, were largely considered outsiders. Of the 22 household heads contacted, 82% were Lebanese, 64% had been in Canada between 2-14 years, and 10% had been residents longer. They were more educated and

had a higher socioeconomic status (41% had a high school education or higher, and 23% had white collar occupations). In general, Christian Arab immigrants appeared to be more assimilated in Canada than Moslem Arabs. The data on Christian Arabs are reported in this paper to help produce a sharper picture by providing a basis for comparison.

## I. THE PATTERN OF MASS MEDIA USE BY MOSLEM ARAB IMMIGRANTS

Examination of the pattern of Moslem Arab immigrant use of mass media indicates heavy exposure to Arabic radio broadcasts from abroad and limited exposure to Canadian mass media. In the present section these two points will be considered.

### *Exposure to the Arabic Radio Broadcasts from Abroad*

Table I shows that almost all Arab immigrants in the Prairie City listen to Arabic programs from shortwave radio, and Moslem Arabs listen to these programs even more frequently.<sup>1</sup>

In response to the question, "Why did you start listening to Arabic radio programs from abroad?" Table II reveals some interesting reasons such as attachment to the mother tongue and

<sup>1</sup> Fifty percent of Christian Arabs (N=20) and 37% of Moslem Arabs (N=49) had shortwave radio sets. Discrepancies in N for different items of information are due to the fact that some respondents did not answer all the questions.

Arab Stations Which can be Picked up on the Prairies by Shortwave Radios:

- I. Cairo (Egypt)
  1. Special North American program in Arabic everyday 6:45 - 7:45 P.M. (MST)
  2. Local daily programs for Egypt which can be picked up about eight months during the year (especially in the springtime). The reception in this case is not always clear.
- II. Beirut (Lebanon)  
Only local daily programs for Lebanon which can be picked up with difficulty.
- III. Algiers (Algeria)  
Same as in II.
- IV. Baghdad (Iraq)  
Same as in II and III.
- V. B.B.C. (London), Voice of America (Washington, D.C.) and Moscow (U.S.S.R.) also have regular Arabic programs (news, music, etc.) that can be picked up on the Prairies.

home country, hearing the news because the subject understood only Arabic, and because the subject thought the Arabic stations to be more reliable. On this last point Table III very clearly shows that among Moslems foreign Arabic stations are more credible than Canadian ones.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE I. TIME SPENT WITH ARABIC  
RADIO STATIONS

<i>Amount of time</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Every night if possible	35%	14%
3 - 4 times a week	17	—
Less than 3 times a week	46	86
Does not listen	2	—
N	48	21

TABLE II. REASONS FOR STARTING TO LISTEN  
TO ARABIC RADIO STATIONS

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
To hear home news, attachment to language and home	53%	76%
To hear news because only understands Arabic	18	5
To hear news and music	5	5
News from Arabic station more reliable	5	—
Liked programs	11	14
Ambiguous response	8	—
N	38	21

TABLE III. CREDIBILITY OF CANADIAN  
VS. ARABIC RADIO STATIONS

<i>Believes more</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Egyptian Cairo radio	55%	11%
Canadian radios	28	44
Would not believe either	12	39
Compares and makes own inference	5	6
N	42	18

<sup>2</sup> For a correct interpretation of the data in Table III it should be noted that the question asked was about the news of the Arab-Israeli war in the Middle East. The position of the Moslem Arabs is very clear on this issue, and it probably influenced their responses to the question.

When asked about favorite shortwave radio programs, the responses in Table IV show that Moslems are more evenly divided among the different programs than are Christians who seem to be primarily interested in news and in the Arabic music. Religious Moslem programs (i.e., recitation from the Koran) naturally appeal only to Moslems.

Table V reveals the occasions which Arab immigrants are most interested in listening on shortwave Arabic radio. These are national and religious holidays, and when an Arab leader speaks.

Table VI shows that both Moslem and Christian Arab immigrants in Canada rely mainly on Arabic shortwave radio programs in learning about new Arabic songs.

Listening to Arabic radio programs is definitely a social activity which brings Arab immigrants together as indicated in Table VII. To a lesser degree it provides subjects for discussion among Arabs, and even between Arabs and non-Arab Canadians according to Table VIII.

TABLE IV. FAVORITE ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS

<i>Type of Program</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Like all same	8%	7%
News	35	40
Music	4	13
News and music	21	40
News and religious	25	—
Religious, news, and music	7	—
N	48	15

TABLE V. WHEN MOST INTERESTED IN LISTENING TO ARABIC RADIO STATIONS

<i>Occasion</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Moslem religious holidays	24%	—%
National holidays of country of origin	18	48
When an Arab leader speaks	49	52
Both Moslem religious holidays and national holidays	9	—
N	45	21

TABLE VI. SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE  
ABOUT NEW ARABIC SONGS

<i>Learned from</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Friends in Canada	22%	14%
Friends or relatives back home	11	33
Shortwave Arabic radio stations	50	38
Tapes, records sent from home	4	5
Arabic newspapers	2	—
Not interested in songs	4	5
Do not hear new songs	7	5
N	45	21

TABLE VII. WITH WHOM ARABIC RADIO  
STATIONS LISTENED

<i>Persons listen with</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Alone	13%	14%
Arab Moslems	30	5
Arab Christians	—	33
Both Arab Moslems and Christians	53	48
Non-Arabs	2	—
Do not listen	2	—
N	47	21

TABLE VIII. ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS DISCUSSED

<i>Discussed with</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
No one	47%	57%
Arab Moslems	14	5
Arab Christians	—	—
Arab Moslems and Arab Christians	19	33
Canadians	8	5
Canadians and Arabs	12	—
N	49	21

The subjects were asked if their children should listen to Arabic programs from shortwave radios and why. Table IX clearly indicates that nearly 90% of both Moslem and Christian Arab immigrants want their children to learn the language and culture of their parents.

The tape recorder provides another link with "home" among Arab immigrants. According to Table X, 53% of Moslems and 48% of Christian Arab immigrants own tape recorders; and Arabic music and Koran recitals are among the most favored tapes. But tape listening is not restricted to those who own a tape recorder. Whether an owner or not, 77% (N=49) of Moslems and 81% (N=21) of Christian Arabs listen to other people's Arabic tapes.

In response to the question, "How often do you listen to Arabic tapes?" Table XI shows that tape listening is quite popular especially among Moslem Arabs, and Table XII reveals that listening to Arabic tapes creates occasion for interaction with other Arabs. Finally, when asked should their children be exposed to

TABLE IX. SHOULD CHILDREN LISTEN  
TO ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS?

<i>Should Children listen</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
No	—%	—%
Not unless they want to	5	—
Yes, to learn and/or retain the Arabic language	49	63
Yes, to learn about their parents' country	31	19
Yes, to learn about the language and country of their parents	8	6
Don't understand	5	6
Up to the children	—	6
Yes, they would enjoy it	2	—
N	39	16

TABLE X. CONTENT OF TAPES OWNED

<i>Content</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Do not own a tape recorder	47%	52%
Arabic music	6	19
Arabic and Canadian music	8	14
Koran	6	—
Arabic music and Koran	16	—
Baby's voice and/or family parties	10	10
Baby's voice, Arabic music	4	5
Others	2	—
N	49	21

TABLE XI. HOW OFTEN ARE ARABIC TAPES LISTENED TO

<i>Amount of time</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Three to four times a week	65%	45%
Once a week	22	20
Once a month	9	10
Less than once a month	4	25
N	45	20

TABLE XII. WITH WHOM ARE ARABIC TAPES LISTENED

<i>Persons listened with</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Alone	7%	—%
Other Arab Moslems	25	—
Other Arab Christians	—	15
Both Arab Moslems and Christians	59	75
Non-Arabs	2	5
Arabs and Canadians	7	—
Arabs, Pakistanis and Canadians	—	5
N	44	20

Arabic tapes 94% (N=49) of Moslems and 95% (N=20) of Christians answered in the affirmative.

The evidence presented so far shows that Arabic programs from abroad, either directly, or indirectly with the aid of the tape recorder, play an important role in the lives of Arab immigrants, particularly Arab Moslems.

### *Exposure to the Canadian Mass Media*

With respect to the radio in Canadian mass media, 92.2% (N=51) of Moslems and 91% (N=22) of Christian Arab immigrants listen to local Canadian radio programs. When asked how much time is spent listening to local stations Table XIII reveals that Moslems spend less time than Christian Arab immigrants.<sup>3</sup> Table XIV shows that the major attraction of Can-

<sup>3</sup> In research studies for the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media it is reported that in Canada 83% of those over fifteen years of age listen to radio daily. The number of hours is not reported. (Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 1970:III, 11).

adian radio for Moslem immigrants is the news, while Christian Arabs appear to divide their attention among a variety of programs. When asked with whom subjects discussed local radio programs, Table XV gives evidence that the majority of Moslems do not engage in any discussion. The data show that more Chris-

TABLE XIII. TIME SPENT WITH  
CANADIAN RADIO STATIONS

<i>Amount of Time</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
3 hours a day or more	15%	25%
Between 1-2 hours a day	30	25
Less than 1 hour a day	55	50
N	47	20

TABLE XIV. PROGRAMS LISTENED TO  
ON CANADIAN RADIO STATIONS

<i>Type of program</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Music	2%	10%
News	49	15
Talks	2	5
Music and news	30	25
News and talks	6	10
Music, news, talks and commercials	7	35
Others	4	—
N	47	20

TABLE XV. CANADIAN RADIO PROGRAMS  
DISCUSSED

<i>Discussed with</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Nobody	57%	30%
Arab Moslems	2	—
Arab Christians	—	—
Arab Moslems and Arab Christians	4	10
Canadians	29	50
Canadians and Arabs	8	10
N	48	20

tian (55%, N=20) than Moslem (33.3%, N=48) Arab immigrants buy products advertised on local radios. Moslems seem to rely more on non-mass media channels such as other people or ads in the store windows to find out about sales according to Table XVI.

With respect to T.V., 90% (N=49) of Moslems and 86% (N=21) of Christians have a set at home.<sup>4</sup> But according to Table XVII we see Moslems, more than Christians, prefer "escape" programs. When asked if subjects buy products advertised on T.V., 35% (N=49) of Moslems and 65% (N=20) of Christians answered affirmatively.

TABLE XVI. SOURCE OF INFORMATION  
OF SALES

<i>Source of Information</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Other people	4%	—%
Newspaper	27	35
Radio	2	—
T.V.	6	—
Newspaper, radio, or T.V.	40	45
Flyers in the mail	2	—
Children	2	—
Ads in store windows	4	10
Mass Media and other people	9	5
Do not hear of sales	4	5
N	48	20

TABLE XVII. FAVORITE T.V. PROGRAMS

<i>Type of Program</i>	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Christians</i>
Do not remember the name	19%	21%
Escape shows (e.g., Lucy, Untouchables)	56	37
Non-escape shows (e.g., news, sports, and/or documentaries)	15	5
Combination of escape and non-escape	10	37
N	48	19

<sup>4</sup> In the research studies for the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media it is reported that 96% of Canadians have at least one T.V. set in their homes. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Only three persons regularly received a daily local paper among Moslem Arabs.<sup>5</sup>

Comparing foreign and Canadian mass media, it appears that Moslem Arab immigrants are less dependent on Canadian mass media than are Christian Arab immigrants. For example, Moslems seem more to trust Arabic broadcasts from abroad for world news, they do not appear to enjoy western music as much as Christian Arabs, and shop with less guidance from advertisements.<sup>6</sup>

## II. PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR MASS MEDIA USE BY MOSLEM ARAB IMMIGRANTS

The limited data in the first part of this paper seem to suggest that the pattern of mass media use among Moslem Arab immigrants is worthy of special attention. Now it is time the consequences of such behavior be looked at to provide a framework for a systematic approach to the study of mass media use by an ethnic group such as Moslem Arabs. The emerging framework also helps organize the findings reported in the first part of the paper.

In the attempt to organize a framework about the consequences of mass media use by the Arab Moslems C.R. Wright's scheme (Wright, 1960) is followed. Following Lasswell, C.R. Wright distinguishes four areas of mass communicated activities (Lasswell, 1948). *Surveillance*, the collection and distribution of information concerning events in the environment, "Thus corresponding approximately to what is popularly conceived as the handling of news." *Correlation* includes the interpretation of information about the environment and prescriptions for conduct,

<sup>5</sup> Comparable data for Christians were not obtained. In the research studies for the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media it is reported that in Canada 87% of homes receive daily newspapers. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> It may be reasonably argued that the differences between Moslem Arab and Christian Arab immigrants is due to the differences in their socioeconomic standings. This may be true. However, the intention of the study is exploratory. Its aim is to identify the possible consequences of access to foreign broadcasts from abroad by an ethnic immigrant community. The small community of Moslem Arab immigrants in the Canadian Prairie City seems to serve this purpose very well.

commonly called editorials. *Transmission of culture* refers to the communication of a group's store of social norms, information, values and the like from one generation to another, or from members of a group to newcomers. Finally, *entertainment* refers to a communication intended to amuse people.<sup>7</sup>

In his scheme Wright following Merton makes a distinction between manifest and latent functions: the intended and unintended consequences for an activity. He also separates function from dysfunction: helpful consequences from harmful ones (Merton, 1957).<sup>8</sup> Considering these factors, Wright then examines the way mass communicated activities affect the normal operation, adaptation, or adjustment of four systems: individuals, sub-groups, social, and cultural systems (1960).

In this paper Wright's scheme will be followed except that the systems under examination are the individual Moslem Arabs, the Moslem Arab Community, and the Canadian Society. The scheme is used to answer two questions. The first question concerning the exposure to Arabic programs by shortwave radio can be formulated in the following manner:

- |                 |  |                 |               |
|-----------------|--|-----------------|---------------|
|                 | 1. manifest                              | 3. functions    |               |
| What are the    | and                                      | and             | of the Arabic |
|                 | 2. latent                                | 4. dysfunctions |               |
| shortwave radio | 5. surveillance (news)                   |                 |               |
|                 | 6. correlation (editorial activity)      |                 |               |
|                 | 7. cultural transmission                 |                 |               |
|                 | 8. entertainment, from abroad            |                 |               |
| for             | 9. the individual Moslem Arab immigrants |                 |               |
|                 | 10. the Moslem Arab Community            |                 |               |
|                 | 11. and the Canadian Society?            |                 |               |

<sup>7</sup> Lasswell does not include entertainment in his structural functional scheme of communication (Lasswell, 1948).

<sup>8</sup> Although the organizing framework of Wright's and consequently this paper's is based on functional analysis, limitation of space does not allow any discussion of this subject. For a discussion on functional analysis in sociology see Merton, 1957:19-84.

The second question that deals with the consequences of limited exposure to Canadian mass communicated activities by Moslem Arab immigrants can be presented according to the same pattern with a minor modification (i.e., replacing the phrase "Arabic broadcast" by "the Canadian mass media"). The accompanying charts in which the elements of the above formula are transformed into categories present some of the proposed consequences of mass media use by Moslem Arab immigrant.\*

These charts can only be of demonstrative value. A complete list of functions and dysfunctions of exposure by Moslem Arab immigrants to shortwave radio programs or limited exposure to Canadian mass media can not be undertaken at this stage. However, a discussion of the limited content of these charts probably helps demonstrate the utility of the approach.

*Functional Analysis of Exposure  
to Arabic Broadcasts from Abroad*

Beginning with Chart I, let us consider what it means to the individual Moslem Arab immigrant, Arab Moslem community, and the Canadian society to have available news in Arabic via shortwave radio. The positive consequences or functions for the individual immigrant are several. Firstly, he becomes aware of the major events in the Arab world or at "home".<sup>9</sup> These news items of much interest are not often accessible to him by any other means. Secondly, even with respect to world news, shortwave programs are often superior to Canadian radio because the immigrant understands his own native tongue better than English and probably trusts Arabic sources more.<sup>10</sup> A third function of exposure to the Arabic news via shortwave radio is to bestow prestige upon those who make an effort to keep themselves informed about events at "home". In the language of sociology of mass communication they often become "opinion leaders" in matters of the "home" country (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955; and Merton, 1957: 387-420). The fourth function of exposure to Arabic news for

\* Chart I starts on page 214.

<sup>9</sup> For the support of this point see Table II. (First row of the Table).  
Page 204.

<sup>10</sup> See Table II (Second and fourth row of the Table), and Table III.

CHART I.  
PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR EXPOSURE TO SHORTWAVE ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS  
BY MOSLEM ARABS IN CANADA

System Under Consideration			
	<i>Individual Moslem Arabs</i>	<i>Moslem Arab Community</i>	<i>Canadian Society</i>
<i>Functions (manifest &amp; latent)</i>	<p>I MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: SURVEILLANCE (NEWS)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Learns about major events in the Arab World</li> <li>2. Learns about world news (understands native tongue better than English and trusts Arabic stations more than Canadian)</li> <li>3. Gains prestige (opinion leadership for regular listeners)</li> <li>4. Psychological satisfaction because of contact with the home culture.</li> <li>5. A more objective world view when comparing world news from different sources.</li> </ol>		
		<p>1. Legitimizes ethnic culture in the eyes of its members (i.e. "There are also broadcasts in Arabic." "The causes of Arabs and Islam are also aired."</p>	<p>1. If also exposed to Canadian news, immigrant citizens will be more informed and have a more objective world view. 2. Aids cultural growth.</p>

CHART I. (Cont'd.)  
PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR EXPOSURE TO SHORTWAVE ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS  
BY MOSLEM ARABS IN CANADA

System Under Consideration			
	<i>Individual Moslem Arabs</i>	<i>Moslem Arab Community</i>	<i>Canadian Society</i>
<i>Dysfunctions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	1. To the extent that needs are satisfied by S.W.R. (e.g. world news), becomes less dependent on local mass media & (1) may not try to learn the language of adopted country & (2) may not learn the ways of country of adoption.		1. Impedes efficient acculturation of immigrants.
II MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: CORRELATION (EDITORIAL SELECTION, INTERPRETATION, AND PRESCRIPTION)			
<i>Functions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	1. Provides efficiency in assimilating news about the old country. 2. Impedes anxiety about the fate of relatives and the country of origin.	1. Produces solidarity within the ethnic community (by reminding members of the social bonds that unify them)	1. Decreases social conformism.

CHART I. (Cont'd.)  
 PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR EXPOSURE TO SHORTWAVE ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS  
 BY MOSLEM ARABS IN CANADA

System Under Consideration			
	<i>Individual Moslem Arabs</i>	<i>Moslem Arab Community</i>	<i>Canadian Society</i>
<i>Dysfunctions</i>	1. By stimulating allegiance to the old country, marginality in the Canadian society would be reinforced.		1. Hinders social cohesion.
III MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: CULTURAL TRANSMISSION			
<i>Functions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	1. Reinforces already internalized norms and continues socialization according to the norms of the country of origin even after the emigration (psychic support)	1. Aids socialization according to ethnic culture.	1. Impedes mass society and fosters pluralistic society (variety of sub-cultures). 2. Fosters cultural growth through contact with a different culture.
<i>Dysfunctions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	1. Contributes to the idiosyncratic behavior of the immigrant in the adopted country and hence hinders integration into the adopted society.	1. Fosters prejudice against the ethnic community by maintaining the gap between ethnic and dominant cultures.	1. Hinders cultural consensus.

CHART I. (Cont'd.)  
PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR EXPOSURE TO SHORTWAVE ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS  
BY MOSLEM ARABS IN CANADA

System Under Consideration			
	<i>Individual Moslem Arabs</i>	<i>Moslem Arab Community</i>	<i>Canadian Society</i>
	IV MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: ENTERTAINMENT		
<i>Functions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	1. Respite (not adequately provided by Canadian mass media).	1. Provides another factor for cohesion within the community. 2. Fosters solidarity by bringing community members together.	1. Develops aesthetics (by preventing the emergence of "mass culture")
<i>Dysfunctions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	1. Another factor hindering integration into the adopted society.		1. Another factor hindering social cohesion.

the individual immigrant, according to Chart I, is the feeling of security and psychological satisfaction which results from being in touch with the "home" culture.<sup>11</sup> Finally, exposure to the same news from different sources (i.e., world news by shortwave radio and Canadian mass media) may enable the individual to see events from several perspectives and thus develop a more objective point of view.<sup>12</sup>

A significant function of exposure to Arabic news via short-wave radio by Moslem Arab immigrants for the Moslem Arab community is the legitimization of the ethnic culture in the eyes of its members. For example, Arabic language can maintain its prestige because English is not the only language used by the mass media. Again, the Moslem Arab listener is able to develop a sense of pride because the interests of the English speaking Christian Westerners are not the only ones expounded and propagated to the world. The cause of the Arabs and Islam can be aired too.

What are the positive consequences of exposure of Moslem Arab immigrants to Arabic news from abroad for Canadian society? If these immigrants are also exposed to news broadcasted by local mass media, the result would be more sophisticated citizens for Canada. Firstly, knowledge about the events of another country as well as Canada would produce better informed citizens. Secondly, as indicated previously, exposure to the same news from different sources can produce a more objective world view.<sup>13</sup> Further, Canadian society would be enriched through the information about other cultures, as well as the possible growth and adaptability of the Canadian culture as a result of such contacts.<sup>14</sup>

The availability of Arabic news from abroad also presents negative consequences or dysfunctions. The individual Moslem Arab immigrant in Canada, to the extent that he is less dependent on Canadian mass media would be less available for assimilation into the society of his adoption.<sup>15</sup> He may not learn the language

<sup>11</sup> See Table II (First row of the Table).

<sup>12</sup> See Table III (Last row of the Table).

<sup>13</sup> See Table III (Last row of the Table).

<sup>14</sup> See Table VIII (Last two rows of the Table).

<sup>15</sup> See Table II (Second row of the Table).

as quickly, and consequently may take longer to acquire a knowledge of the Canadian way of life. For the Canadian society news from a foreign source in such a situation would interfere with successful acculturation of its new citizens.

The second mass communicated activity under consideration in Chart I is correlation. According to C.R. Wright, raw news may overwhelm the individual and lead to anxiety. Editorial selection, interpretation, and prescription help prevent this. Again, correlation through organization and interrelating different news items helps the audience digest the news (Wright 1960). What are the functions and dysfunctions of correlation provided by Arabic shortwave radio programs? For the individual Moslem Arab immigrant it has the helpful consequence of enabling him to digest news about the "home" country. It also impedes possible anxiety about the fate of relatives and the home country.

For the Moslem Arab community in Canada the editorial activity of the Arabic shortwave radio programs produces and reinforces solidarity within the ethnic community by reminding its members of the social and cultural bonds that tie them together.<sup>16</sup> For the Canadian society, these editorials result in decreasing the extent of homogeneity and conformity in the society by attracting the attention of Arab Moslem immigrants to non-Canadian issues and by giving different interpretations or prescriptions.<sup>17</sup> If "mass society," being characterized by herd-like behavior where the masses uncritically conform to directions and prescriptions is undesirable (Mills, 1959; Josephson and Josephson, 1962:9-53), then the existence of segments of the society which are not influenced in the same way can be considered an advantage (Porter, 1967:72).

With respect to the dysfunctions of correlation, or the editorial activity of Arabic shortwave radio stations, since the individual Moslem Arab immigrant would stimulate his allegiance to the old country and the Arabic radio editorials would thus reinforce his marginality in the Canadian society,<sup>18</sup> therefore, his

<sup>16</sup> See Table V.

<sup>17</sup> See Table V (Third row of the Table).

<sup>18</sup> See Table V.

integration into the Canadian society becomes problematic. For the Canadian society such a situation has the undesirable consequence of hindering social cohesion, i.e. the society would be handicapped in promoting concern about public issues, or in developing solidarity in response to national emergencies.

The third mass communicated activity in Chart I is cultural transmission or the communication of a group's store of social norms, information, and values from one generation to another, or from members of one group to newcomers. For the individual Moslem Arab immigrant this activity by shortwave radio has the advantage of reinforcing the already internalized values and norms, and giving him additional psychic support by continuing socialization according to these values and norms even after his emigration from the fatherland.<sup>19</sup> The Moslem Arab community also would benefit from cultural transmission by Arabic radio programs because they aid socialization of the young and continue socialization of the adult members according to the ethnic culture of the community.<sup>20</sup> For the Canadian society such a situation would produce and reinforce the existing variety of cultures. Thus, Canada would be able to maintain its pluralistic character (Porter, 1967:68-73) and would less suffer from the problems that afflict a mass society (Vidich and Bensman, 1958; Josephson and Josephson, 1962; and Klapp, 1969). Again, cultural transmission via foreign radio programs for the Canadian immigrant has another advantage for Canada. The immigrant in his contact with other Canadians may relay to them new ideas, practices, or information thus helping cultural growth in terms of diffusion of cultural elements into the society.<sup>21</sup>

The transmission of Arabic norms and values by shortwave radio programs, like any social phenomena, often has dysfunctions as well. For the individual Moslem Arab immigrant it is dysfunctional because it contributes to idiosyncratic behavior in his adopted country by reinforcing and implanting in him norms and values which are incongruent with those of Canada.<sup>22</sup> This situa-

<sup>19</sup> See Table II (First row of the Table) and Table V.

<sup>20</sup> See Tables IX and II (First and fifth rows of the Table).

<sup>21</sup> See Table VIII (Last two rows of the Table).

<sup>22</sup> See Tables II and V.

tion, of course, hinders the integration of the immigrant into Canadian society.

Although the transmission of Moslem Arabic culture, as indicated, has the function of supporting the ethnic Moslem Arab way of life in the Moslem Arab community, it also has the dysfunction of fostering prejudice against the community by other Canadians. This is because cultural transmission via shortwave radio tends to maintain the gap between the Moslem Arab way of life and the North American Christian norms and values. As far as the Canadian society is concerned, all this impedes cultural consensus. By cultural consensus we mean similarity of norms and values which unify a nation.

The final mass communicated activity is entertainment. The obvious functions of such an activity by Arabic shortwave radio for the individual Moslem Arab immigrant in Canada is to provide respite.<sup>23</sup> Although the T.V. is very popular among the Moslem Arab immigrants as an entertainment medium, it can not provide the range and types of respite they are used to (e.g., Arabic music). Canadian radio is even less helpful than T.V. in this respect.<sup>24</sup> Thus for music, "meaningful" dramas, and religious programs, Moslem Arab immigrants turn to foreign Arabic radio programs.<sup>25</sup> In this way the inadequate supply of entertainment by the Canadian mass media is supplemented directly by heavy reliance on the shortwave radio or indirectly by taping the desired broadcasts, such as recitation of the Koran or new Arabic songs.<sup>26</sup>

This heavy exposure to Arabic entertainment provides the Moslem Arab community in Canada with an additional factor for cohesion by bringing to the attention of its members another bond that ties them together. When one considers the fact that entertainment via mass media is often a group activity and seldom an individual one, the community spirit and group affiliations which are fostered on these occasions seem to provide still another element in support of social cohesion among the Arabs and within the Moslem Arab community in Canada.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See Tables I, IV and VI (Third row of the Table).

<sup>24</sup> See Tables XIII and XIV.

<sup>25</sup> See Tables I, IV, V, and VI.

<sup>26</sup> See Tables X and XI.

<sup>27</sup> See Tables VII and XII.

For Canadian society the Arabic entertainment provided by shortwave radio programs for Moslem Arab immigrants produces a situation where "mass culture" would not be as likely to develop. Mass culture is defined here as standardized mass production of mediocre cultural products with an emphasis on marketability of these products. One particular area of concern affecting mass society is the consequence accompanying mass culture on the general level of taste (Lowenthal, 1950; Coser, 1960; and Kaplan, 1967).

As for the dysfunctions of entertainment provided by short-wave Arabic programs for the Moslem Arab individual, one can state that it is another factor hindering his integration into Canadian society. The more a Moslem Arab immigrant is exposed to the non-Canadian content of Arabic radio programs (and as a consequence the less time he has for Canadian mass media),<sup>28</sup> the more he remains alien to the Canadian way of life, be it music, language, or politics.

Again, with respect to Canadian society, exposure to non-Canadian entertainment by its immigrant citizens is another area of activity which is incongruent with the Canadian way of life and consequently another wedge in the unity and solidarity among Canada's citizens.

In discussing some of the functions and dysfunctions of exposure to foreign Arabic radio programs for Moslem Arab immigrants in Canada, it should be noted that although for analytical purposes one can separate surveillance, correlation, cultural transmission, and entertainment activities, or the individual, the community, and the society, but in actual life situations these separations are unrealistic. For instance, news, editorials, cultural transmission, and entertainment by Arabic shortwave radio all tend to buttress the social organization of the Moslem Arab community, and such a reinforcement also tends to foster the prejudice against the Moslem Arab community by the rest of the Canadians. Again, from another point of view, although the surveillance activity of mass media is concerned primarily with dissemination of the news and information, a certain amount of cultural transmission

<sup>28</sup> Compare Table I with Table XIII, and Table IV with Table XIV.

also takes place in the process. The same is also true of editorial activity and entertainment.

### *Functional Analysis of Limited Exposure to Canadian Mass Media*

The previous discussion of Chart I has outlined the consequences of exposure to foreign Arabic radio programs for the Moslem Arab immigrant. Chart II deals with the consequences of limited or lack of exposure of these immigrants to the Canadian mass media.\* It can be argued that the consequences in both cases are more or less the same in the sense that exposure to non-Canadian mass media would have the same results as lack of exposure to the Canadian media. For instance, listening to foreign Arabic shortwave radio and lack of exposure to the Canadian mass media both have similar consequences in terms of hindering the assimilation of immigrants and impeding cultural consensus in Canadian society. This assertion is basically true, but there are notable exceptions. These exceptions warrant the presentation and discussion of Chart II. The entries in Chart II that are similar to those in Chart I will not be considered. The special consequences that emanate from limited exposure to the Canadian mass media are concentrated upon.

In the area of surveillance or news activity, one of the possible functions of limited exposure to local news for the individual Moslem Arab immigrant in Canada<sup>29</sup> would be his immunity to narcotization. Lazarsfeld and Merton hypothesize that access to mass-communicated news might lead to the unhealthy belief that the individual may think an informed citizen is equivalent to an active one (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1948). Because of limited exposure to the news from Canadian mass media, Moslem Arab immigrants would not develop such a belief. In other words, they assess their own situation realistically as one of inactive Canadian citizenship.

\* Chart II starts on page 224.

<sup>29</sup> Although news appear to be the most popular Canadian radio program among Moslem Arab immigrants (Table XIV), from Tables XIII, XV, and XVI one can make the logical inference that their exposure to the Canadian electronic media, except for T.V., is very limited and consequently their exposure to the news from these media subnormal. Note that there are only three persons among Moslem Arabs who receive daily newspapers regularly.

CHART II.  
 PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR SUB-NORMAL EXPOSURE TO THE CANADIAN MASS MEDIA  
 BY MOSLEM ARABS IN CANADA

	System Under Consideration		
	<i>Individual Moslem Arabs</i>	<i>Moslem Arab Community</i>	<i>Canadian Society</i>
	<b>I MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: SURVEILLANCE (NEWS)</b>		
<i>Functions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	1. Narcotization less effective.	1. Protects the ethnic community against cultural invasion by the larger society.	
<i>Dysfunctions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	1. Warning against danger problematic. 2. Instrumental function problematic. (Must rely on pre-mass media mechanisms).		1. The problem of warning against danger. 2. Instrumental function problematic (e.g. a business cannot reach a certain segment of society to make a sale).
	<b>II MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: CORRELATION (EDITORIAL SELECTION, INTERPRETATION, AND PRESCRIPTION)</b>		
<i>Functions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	1. Critical faculty less affected (does own thinking).		1. Decreases social conformism.

CHART II. (Cont'd.)  
PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR SUB-NORMAL EXPOSURE TO THE CANADIAN MASS MEDIA  
BY MOSLEM ARABS IN CANADA

	System Under Consideration		
	<i>Individual Moslem Arabs</i>	<i>Moslem Arab Community</i>	<i>Canadian Society</i>
<i>Dysfunctions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lack of timely preparation or mobilization in times of danger (except through pre-mass media mechanisms).</li> <li>2. Fosters anxiety.</li> </ol>		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Problems of mobilization.</li> <li>2. Decreases social cohesion.</li> </ol>
	III MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: CULTURAL TRANSMISSION		
<i>Functions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Decreases role conflict (does not learn alternative ways of doing things).</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Protects the ethnic community against cultural invasion by the Canadian society.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fosters variety of sub-cultures.</li> </ol>
<i>Dysfunctions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Hinders integration to the adopted society.</li> </ol>		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Impedes cultural consensus.</li> </ol>
	IV MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: ENTERTAINMENT		
<i>Functions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Protects the ethnic community against cultural invasion by the Canadian society.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fosters diversity of tastes (weakens "popular culture").</li> </ol>
<i>Dysfunctions</i> ( <i>manifest &amp; latent</i> )	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Hinders integration.</li> </ol>		

With respect to the dysfunction of not being adequately exposed to the surveillance activity of Canadian mass media, one can think of the problem that the Moslem Arab immigrant faces by not being as quickly alerted against danger in times of emergency as other Canadians. Again, if one agrees with writers who consider mass media a tool for daily living in urban industrial societies, or the instrumental function of the media, the Moslem Arab immigrant is also handicapped due to the lack of information about weather, road conditions, sales, etc. In all these occasions immigrants have to rely on inefficient pre-mass media devices such as friends, flyers and signs in stores.<sup>30</sup>

For the Canadian society, lack of, or limited exposure to the surveillance activity of local media by Moslem Arab immigrants would create problems in warning the citizens about imminent threats and dangers such as epidemics or natural disasters, because certain segments of the population can not be reached quickly. Regarding the instrumental function, there would also be difficulty in reaching everybody in the target population regarding situations such as traffic control by the police or in sales by department stores.<sup>31</sup>

In the area of correlation or editorial activity, one of the functions of lack of exposure to Canadian mass media by Moslem Arab immigrants is that they would not be influenced by the interpretations or prescriptions coached in terms of possible interests of a power elite (Mills, 1959). By not developing the habit of someone else evaluating the situation and charting a course of action for the rest (Mills, 1959), the Moslem Arab immigrant would be in a better position of maintaining his critical faculty.<sup>32</sup>

However, limited exposure to the editorial activities from local mass media would put the Moslem Arab immigrants in a problematic situation because they could not be guided and helped in times of emergency. In such situations they would have no choice but to fall back on pre-mass media devices such as advice

<sup>30</sup> See Table XVI.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> See Tables XIII, XIV, and XVII, and note also that there are only three persons who receive daily newspaper regularly among Moslem Arab immigrants.

and assistance of neighbours and acquaintances. Again, lack of exposure to interpretation and prescription of local media by the immigrants may create undue anxiety in the latter who may misinterpret a rumor or simply panic when somehow forewarned of an emergency without any evaluation or guidance available. For the Canadian society this state of affairs produces problems of coordination and mobilization in times of crisis.

With respect to cultural transmission activity of Canadian mass media, lack of exposure by the Moslem Arab immigrant to nominally Christian North American norms and values would have the function of reducing the probability of his experiencing role conflict. The Moslem Arab immigrant, knowing only one set of behavior standards, would not be under as much cross pressure as when dealing with two sets of conflicting standards (i.e., the Moslem Arab and Christian North American) equally applicable to the situation.

As indicated earlier, the rest of the entries in Chart II are more or less similar to those of Chart I, and do not need further discussion.<sup>33</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The primary aim of this paper has been to develop a set of approximately interrelated hypotheses based on functional analysis about the pattern of mass media use by an ethnic immigrant group with a cultural and linguistic background very different from that of the industrial host country.

A complete list of functions and dysfunctions of exposure by Moslem Arab immigrants to foreign Arabic radio broadcasts and their limited exposure to Canadian mass media is not possible at the present stage. Also, the small number of subjects does not

<sup>33</sup> Some of the functions and dysfunctions presented in Charts I and II have also been discussed by Wright in his scheme (i.e., opinion leadership, warning and instrumental functions, cultural growth, and continuation of socialization among adults). Giving reference for each item separately would have been rather cumbersome. Thus the present paper is indebted to Wright not only for its organizing scheme, but also for some of its contents (Wright, 1960).

provide adequate information for generalization. However, there seems to be some support for the proposed hypotheses which encourages and warrants further investigation.

In addition to the above objective, this paper also tends to question the notion of future society possessing a high degree of conformity and homogeneity.

In sociological literature of thirty years ago the industrial urban societies were considered as consisting of atomized, unrelated individuals uprooted from their social moorings and at the mercy of mass media. The impact of the media was assumed to be direct and effective — hypodermic needle model (Blumer, 1946). Sociological researchers of later years have demonstrated that even in urban industrial areas most people are well anchored to groups, and group affiliation plays an important role in the behavior of the audience of mass media (Friedson, 1953; and Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955).

However, concepts such as "mass society," "mass behavior," and "mass culture" still persist in literature (Bell, 1961; and Josephson and Josephson, 1962:151-199). Often writers who "predict" future society to be a "mass society" characterized by a high degree of conformity, decrease in originality, loss of critical faculty, and low level of taste, refer to mass media as one of the significant "causes," (Rosenberg, 1957; and Macdonald, 1962).

This paper takes a different point of view. According to the study, it seems that with the increase in cross-national and cross-cultural contacts due to advances in communication technology (i.e., the communication satellite), at least in a pluralistic society such as Canada the fear of "massification" is not well founded. The study seems to suggest the hypothesis that unlike the situation of minority ethnic groups and immigrants of fifty years ago and previous, the language and culture of the ethnic communities of today and tomorrow are less in danger of extinction. If it is true that every group desires to maintain and perpetuate its social heritage, and the advance of communication technology greatly facilitates contact between people of similar cultures, separated by distance, it reasonably follows that the chance for the survival

of distinct ethnic communities is better today and in the future than in the past.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> The exploitation of modern technology for the purpose of preservation of traditional values has a wide range of applications. For instance, Srinivas reports that the introduction of the printing press in India made possible the transmission of not only modern knowledge, but also knowledge of traditional epics, mythology, lives of saints, and other religious literature (Srinivas, 1969: 55). Plotnicov also reports a similar situation in Nigeria where the traditional social institutions have been preserved in urban settings with the assistance of modern technology (Plotnicov, 1970).

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