

**Telling Stories:  
Nationalism(s) in Canadian Television News**

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis explores Canadian television newscasts as key sites for the (re)production of competing discourses of nation. It begins with a historical overview of the federal government's attempts to harness mass media to further a unitary nation against French-Canadian and Québécois concepts of a bi-national Canada. It follows with a content analysis of national television newscasts in French and English and comparisons to similar analyses spanning five decades to reveal a continuing polarizing trend in Quebec/Rest-of-Canada coverage based on broadcast language. Discourse analyses of 2007 same-day news stories of low to high resonance with the national question further reveal that unitary-national discourse underlies English-language news production while French-language news is steeped in a bi-national discourse. The thesis concludes that the systematic silencing of the other discourse of nation on French and English newscasts contributes to popular misunderstandings of the aspirations of both national communities.

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## CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

### National News and the Canadian Nation(s)

In December 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper introduced a motion in the House of Commons to recognize “that the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada” (Hansard 2006, no89). While pundits and academics praised or panned the gesture, all parties in the House of Commons, federalist and separatist, backed the motion. Yet the idea was not well received by many Canadians. Dozens of individual MP’s and cabinet ministers variously broke rank with their parties by voting against the motion, abstaining, or refusing to attend the vote. One cabinet minister resigned in protest over the “ethnic” nature of the resolution (Woods and De Souza 2006). More significantly, a Léger Marketing poll taken a few days before the vote showed that while 65 percent of English Canadians would be willing to recognize the Acadians as a nation, only 38 percent were willing to do the same for the Québécois.<sup>1</sup>

The cleavage on the “Québécois nation” resolution reveals an enduring dichotomy at the heart of Canadian nationhood. At Confederation in 1867, Canada was comprised of three distinct groups: Indigenous people, English and French. For the next century, while French and English together and separately defined Canadian identities, disenfranchised Aboriginal people were kept out of the Canadian national project. For French and English, identity making would revolve around two concepts of Canada: unitary nationalism and bi-nationalism.

The 1867 Confederation project itself is an ambiguous melding of unitary nationalism and bi-nationalism. For Breton (1988), “the *British North America Act*” (his emphasis) embodies English Canadians’ ethnic nationalist hope that “the conquered French would eventually accept and internalize the values and ways of life of the British civilization” (88). Donald Creighton (1966: 35-40) demonstrates that the English Fathers of Confederation did *not* intend to establish a bicultural nation. Prime Minister John A Macdonald in particular wanted a strong unitary state and “confidently predicted that within a lifetime the province (Quebec) would be absorbed into the federal domain” (McRoberts 1997: 11). This was not the contemporary view in Lower Canada, where the new confederative regime was described as “a decidedly federal one that would give Quebec a strong government of its own” (12). Acceptance of the Confederation pact by Lower Canadian elites was only achieved when they became convinced that the new province of Quebec “would in no way be inferior or subordinate to the federal government” (Silver 1997: 43). Thus, unitary nationalism and bi-nationalism *co-exist* in the very founding document of Canada. If the operational goal of nationalism is “primarily that the political and national unit should be congruent” (Gellner 1983: 9), then Canada’s Confederative solution sowed the seeds of both French Canada’s sovereign struggles, and English Canada’s vigorous attempts to extend its “national” sphere over the entire territory.<sup>2</sup>

From its inception in 1867, “Canada” has thus carried two competing stories about itself: 1- a unifying project between French and English to create one nation 2- a functional partnership between two nations, English and French (McRoberts 1997).

Through the years, these discourses, though transformed, have endured. They have also played key roles in some of the most dramatic episodes in the history of Canada: the Riel rebellion, the conscription debates, the October crisis, the failed Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords and two referenda on Quebec separation.

### **Television Newscasts as a Locus for Discourses of Nation**

Today, both stories of Canada endure. But how do Canadians maintain such divergent notions of the country? Where and how are these ideas of nation (re)produced? This study proposes that national television newscasts have been and continue to be a key site for the (re)production of competing discourses of nation in Canada.

Theorists of nationalism recognize the power of communication and media messages to unite people and shape the “imagined communities” that precede, define and continually reproduce the nation (Anderson 2007, Deutsch 1966, Hobsbawm 1992). Throughout Canada’s history, federal governments have attempted to harness the mass media towards the creation of a distinct pan-Canadian identity. The introduction of the new communication technologies of telegraph, radio and television gave rise to attempts to shape and direct the news, information and entertainment received by Canadians towards this national goal. Each attempt was in turn partially thwarted by the persistence of counter messages of the bi-national character of the federation carried in French-language (Quebec) mass media (Raboy 1990, Canuel 1998, Silver 1997).

Today, though Canadians are avid pop-culture consumers, network news programs are the only programs with pan-Canadian mandates that are regularly watched by large numbers of citizens in both English and French Canada. Together, the five most-watched Canadian national newscasts<sup>3</sup> have a daily viewership oscillating around four and a half million, and are by far the mass media with the greatest reach. In addition, television has become Canadians' primary (very often exclusive) source of news (Keown 2007). Television news thus serves as a privileged vehicle for Canadians' understanding of their place in the country, but more crucially, for their understanding of Canadians from other regions.

### **A New Analysis for a New Broadcast Landscape**

The recognition of the power of television news to shape national identity has led Canadian researchers to conduct comparative content analyses of national newscasts since the mid-sixties (De Bonville and Vermette 1994, Monière and Fortier 2000, Mousseau 1970, Siegel 1977). Most concerned themselves primarily with differences in regional coverage between the French and English national newscasts of the public broadcaster. While the findings from previous content analyses are useful to orient the present study, a number of reasons warrant a new study on the geographical distribution of news on national television networks in Canada.

This study is the first to concurrently collect and analyse data from five national broadcasters. None of the aforementioned studies has analysed Global Television's national newscast. Launched in 2001, *Global National* has consistently attained top

viewership numbers in English Canada. Today, *CTV National News* and *Global National* are by a large margin Canadians' preferred source of English-language national news.<sup>4</sup> Yet the last content analysis of private English language news dates back to 1987, when CBC' *The National* was still the undisputed national news leader.

Until 1999, Radio-Canada was the only coast to coast French-language broadcaster. TVA became Canada's second French national broadcaster when the CRTC (1998) approved the national distribution of TVA's main television service by mandating basic cable carriage across Canada. This study helps determine whether Radio-Canada's or TVA's coverage has changed in the ensuing years of coast to coast competition.

In addition, after years of growth, network television news viewership has peaked. There are now signs that the easy availability of information on the internet will have dramatic impacts on viewership. If this prediction plays out, this study may well be the capstone study of 50 years of content analysis studies of Canadian national television news.

Finally, previous content analyses of Canadian television news variously assume that imbalances in the geographic distribution of news are the result of journalistic sympathy/antipathy for specific nationalist ideals (Siegel 1977) or of the operation of economic (competitive) factors (Monière and Fortier 2001). They also assume that differences in geographical coverage or other strictly statistical measures are *proof* of the existence of separate interpretations of nation carried within news stories. This study is

the first to complement the content analysis with a discourse analysis of the ways in which geographic differences in national newscast coverage are accompanied by separate and/or similar interpretations and framings of same-day stories. Taken together, the findings of the content and discourse analyses shed new light on how language, the structures of the Canadian broadcast landscape, audience reception, cultural frames of reference and historical memory interact with economic factors of production to contribute to the (re)production of national discourses by journalists within network newscasts.

Chapters 2 and 3 will provide the historical, sociological and theoretical background to the study. Chapter 2 outlines theories of nationalism and the role played by communication and mass media in creating ideas of nationhood. It aims to give a historical overview of the attempts by the Canadian government to shape the flow and content of mass media messages received by Canadians from the first attempts at creating an identifiably “Canadian” broadcast system in the early part of the 20th century to the Broadcast Act of 1991. It also details current media usage patterns and shows that ordinary Canadians rely on television news as their prime source of discourses on the country in which they participate. Chapter 3 details theories of news selection and uses them as an analytical framework to shed light on the results of previous content analysis studies of Canadian television news dating back to 1965.

The next two chapters present the current study and its findings. Chapter 4 contains the methodology and findings of the new 2007 content analysis produced for

this study. It details the regional distribution of news within Canada and analyses similarities and differences in coverage between the five networks. It also highlights evolving trends in coverage by comparing the 2007 results to similar studies dating back to 1977. Finally, it compares regional coverage by network to benchmark measures of population, GDP and official language knowledge in order to begin to evaluate whether economic factors, public service ideals or cultural-national forces are drivers of news coverage. Chapter 5 begins with a brief overview of critical discourse analysis. It continues with case studies of same day news stories carried on all networks. The analysis itself details variations and similarities between newscasts on themes, language use, frames of reference, metaphors, story structure and the absence or presence of specific narratives in order to bring to light the discourses of nation which inform the specific production of news stories on separate newscasts. These findings are then linked to those from the content analysis to provide a more complete picture of the discourses of nation (re)produced in Canadian national newscasts.

Chapter 6 summarises the findings of the study. It also asks if the present situation is immutable. It explores possible future actions aimed at fostering a better understanding by ordinary viewers of Canadian newscasts of different national concepts of Canada. These regulatory, governmental and journalistic actions are evaluated on their likelihood for implementation and their possible success in creating spaces within national newscasts for the “other” national discourse.

## CHAPTER 2

### **Nationalist Meddling in Canadian Broadcasting**

Canadian nationalists have long laboured to create a distinctive pan-Canadian identity. In this endeavour, they have been hampered by two enduring problems: the overwhelming presence of the United States on Canada's southern border and the existence of a second national culture centered in the province of Quebec. This chapter describes how Canadian governments have attempted to shape the news and information Canadians receive in the hopes of creating a unitary national identity. It also shows how measures aimed strictly at keeping Canada distinct from the United States were unproblematic for national unity, while those aimed at single-identity nation building failed against French-Canadian and Québécois nationalist sentiment.

#### **Nationalism**

There are broadly speaking two concepts of nationalism: civic and ethnic. Ethnic nationalism traces its roots to family-ties and blood-lines (Ignatieff 1993; Gans 2003: 26-28; Monière 2001: 11-12). As such, membership in a purely ethnic nation is predetermined and relatively exclusive. Ethnic nationalism extends the tribal existence to a larger socio-political group, generally comprised of people who share a biological past, a language and a culture (Breton 1988: 86; Monière 2001; Smith 2000).

Civic nationalism traces its roots to the American and French Revolutions. "We the people" and the concepts of "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité" were meant to apply to all

(male) citizens, regardless of ethnic origin, religion or language. In return for citizenship, men were expected to adhere to the common goals and institutions of the nation, and work towards its betterment (Hobsbawm 1992: 19-20). In Ernest Renan's (1869) classic definition, civic nations need but two things to thrive: a sense of a shared past and a constantly reaffirmed "volonté de vivre ensemble" (39). Today, some proponents of civic nationalism, such as Michael Ignatieff (1993), favour a more future-oriented definition of nation based on shared values, rights and duties.

In practice, modern nation-states express nationalisms that combine civic and ethnic elements. Germany, with its restrictive citizenship policies based on ancestry, reflects a primarily ethnic nationalism. Multicultural states with few "innate" barriers to citizenship tend to cluster at the civic end of the spectrum, though laws defining official languages and norms of behaviour generally reflect the ethnic national history of dominant groups within the state (Monière 2001: 28-30; Smith 2000: 19-21). States where membership is open to immigrants regardless of ancestry or religion but that insist on the acquisition of a national language and basic knowledge of the expected rights and responsibilities of the citizen as well as some aspects of the shared history of the nation have also been defined as practicing "cultural nationalism" (Kymlicka 2001: 242-253).

### **Nationalism and Mass Media**

Crucially, no matter its form, nationalism requires a sense of shared values and kinship beyond one's immediate community. (Anderson 2006; Deutsch, 1966; Smith, 2000) This in turn requires methods for the reliable transmission of ideas and stories over

distances, so that individual members of the nation have a sense of participating in the same national conversation. Such “imagined communities” are historically fostered through mass communication, beginning with books and especially newspapers that encourage the standardisation of vernaculars into national languages (Anderson 2006). By bridging distances and uniting vast audiences simultaneously, the mass media become privileged instruments for the creation and maintenance of national identities (Anderson 2006; Deutsch 1966; Siegel 1983). For the citizens of a nation who will never know most of their compatriots, mass media play a crucial role in supplying the symbols, images and histories which create “in the minds of each ... the image of their communion” (Anderson 2006: 6).

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the introduction of newer media of mass communication provided additional means to make “national symbols part of the everyday life of every individual, breaking down the divisions between the private and local spheres... and the public and national one” (Hobsbawm 1990: 141-142). The ubiquity and flexibility of radio and television was such that new nations could now be imagined without “linguistic communality”, since “multilingual broadcasting can conjure up the imagined community to illiterates and populations with different mother-tongues” (Anderson 2006: 135). By controlling, directing or influencing the public and private mass media, states can in turn shape the messages and symbols of nation that discursively construct the “imagined community”.

## **Nationalism in Canada**

At Confederation in 1867, Canada was comprised of distinct groups: Indigenous people, English and French. For the next century, while French and English together and separately defined Canadian identities, disenfranchised Aboriginal people were kept out of the Canadian national project. For French and English, identity making would revolve around two concepts of Canada: unitary nationalism and bi-nationalism.

The tension between these two national concepts would manifest itself time and again over the next century, as distinct forms of unitary nationalism attempted to impose themselves as the only legitimate expressions of Canadian identity. A key locus for this tension would lie in the federal government's attempts to control and shape the mass media messages received by Canadians. These will be explored through the various incarnations of the Canadian Broadcast Acts of 1931, 1936, 1958, 1968 and 1991.

### **Canada's "National" Public Radio**

By the time WWI ended, a different kind of Canadian national feeling was increasingly shouldering aside the old, traditional, imperialist, British oriented type of nationalism. (Vipond 1982: 82)

The 1920s were a time of great confidence in Canada. National purpose was informed by Canada's WWI successes and its emergence as a relatively independent power within the already waning British imperial system. Rapid population growth fuelled by massive immigration of non-British origin also led English-Canadian nationalists to begin to think of Canada as something other than British, though still resolutely non-American. Just as the railway of a previous generation had managed to

unite Canada East and West against American encroachment, so too would radio be called on to keep the country together.

I feel more strongly every day...that our national problem of creating a distinct nation at once different from either Britain or the United States, based upon two races historically antagonistic...can be enormously hastened and facilitated by the new weapon science has given us, the radio. (Graham Spry of the Canadian Radio League, quoted in Vipond 1992: 228)

First of all, this country must be assured of complete Canadian control of broadcasting from Canadian sources, free from foreign interference or influence. (Prime Minister R.B. Bennett, quoted in Bird 1988: 261)

The birth of public radio in Canada was as much a nationalist project as a “public” one (Raboy 1990: 17-47). By 1928, American intransigence on the allocation of scarce radio wavelengths raised the spectre of Canadian stations getting crowded out by American programming streaming in across the border directly to Canadian sets (Vipond 1992: 208). The government mandated a Royal Commission to determine “how radio broadcasting could be most effectively carried on...in the national interests of Canada” (Bird 1988: 42). In 1929, the Aird Commission reported that “broadcasting will undoubtedly become a great force in fostering a national spirit and interpreting national citizenship” (reprinted in Bird: 43) and recommended the creation of a national radio infrastructure, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Company, with programming left under provincial control.

The new Canadian nationalists disagreed with provincial involvement, which they perceived as a primary cause of Canadian national weakness against the United States. Under the leadership of Graham Spry, the Canadian Radio League would work towards

unitary national broadcasting: “The idea is for a voluntary organization to state the extreme case for federal powers as against the provinces. That is the point that interests me, far more than radio itself.” (Spry quoted in Vipond 1992: 234)

But the federal government would first have to assert its right to control the airwaves. Quebec had especially strong interests in making broadcasting a provincial matter. Its reasons were ethnic-nationalist, and it doubted that much time would be devoted to French-language programming on a pan-Canadian network (Vipond 1992: 239). Quebec Premier Louis-Alexandre Taschereau enacted legislation enabling the province to set up its own stations. The government also paid private radio CKAC to produce “*L’Heure provinciale*” for carriage on private stations. Ottawa intervened by calling on the Supreme Court to determine whether broadcasting was a provincial or a federal matter. Both the Supreme Court and the Privy Council ruled in favour of federal jurisdiction. The national unitary radio project received its green light.

### **The Broadcasting Act of 1931**

The Broadcasting Act of 1931 reflected its civic-nationalist founders’ optimism. One true nation would finally be forged of its constituent elements (Raboy: 29). The new Canadian identity would subsume regionalism and provincialism. It would be one and bilingual, and the power of the radio medium would be the agent of this new imagined community.

In 1933, the CRBC began as a nation-wide bilingual programming service, broadcasting shows in French and English across the country. Daily programming consisted of five and a half hours of English and two hours of French. The goal, as expressed to the press by Director of Programming Thomas Maher, was to “unite Canada” and develop a better understanding between “provinces East and West” (Mail and Empire: June 24, 1933).

On the ground, however, the concept met with opposition. In Ontario and the West, bilingualism ran contrary to the hard fought-for image of Canada as an English-speaking country, an image deemed necessary to ensure assimilation to the dominant group of vast numbers of post-war immigrants of non-British origin (Breton 1988: 89; Canuel 1998: 9). From Ontario West, provincial governments had banned public schooling in languages other than English in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, after first stripping the province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories (now Saskatchewan and Alberta) of their officially bilingual (English-French) status. In this context, a bilingual “unitary nation” radio project could scarcely be expected to meet with widespread acceptance.

By 1934, French language programs on the national network had been reduced to 14 percent of total programming (Canuel 1988: 13). Still, ethnic-nationalist pressure from politicians, the press and anti-French/Catholic groups, including the Ku Klux Klan and The Orange Order, continued (Weir 1965: 149-152). Following Thomas Maher’s resignation for health reasons, the CRBC began developing separate French

programming for Quebec-only broadcasts on a French-only network. West of Ontario, French programs were reduced to 3 hours per week.

In 1936, a new Broadcast Act led to the creation of the CBC and signalled the end of the idea of a “unitary” national radio. In a mirror of an ethnic bi-national Canada, the CBC would administer two networks: one national and English, the other provincial and French. But the burgeoning independence of the French network would be short lived.

### **War, Nationalism & News**

...the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible for so many millions of people...not so much to kill, as willingly to die... (Anderson 2006: 7)

Voluntarily dying for one’s nation is often seen as the ultimate expression of nationalism. A.D. Smith strongly associates this act with “ethnosymbolic” nationalism, or the adherence of individuals to the ideas of a shared ethnic and symbolic past (2000: 61). Breton describes ethnic nationalists as “mobilizable for the pursuit of collective goals on the basis of loyalty to the collectivity rather than of personal benefits” (1988: 86). It is this quality that makes ethnic nationalism more desirable in wartime than civic nationalism, with its emphasis on rational-legal rights and duties. In Canada, the WWII conscription debates would bring the issue of national sacrifice to the fore.

The war, its necessities and its responsibilities has obviously changed the conditions that underlie the broadcasting of news... Above all, it is important that the source of the news be free from suspicion of anti-Canadian or anti-British bias. (Walter S. Thompson, Director of

Censorship for Canada to CD Howe, Minister responsible for War Production and the CBC, cited in Albota 1988: 80)

In 1938, gathering storm clouds in Europe prompted the government to enact changes to the Telegraphic Act of 1913, allowing cabinet to “make regulations for the censorship and controlling of radio signals and messages in case of actual or apprehended war, rebellion, riot or other emergency” (Raboy 1990: 66). Forearming the government with censorship powers was but a first step to using the CBC as a propaganda tool for rallying British, Canadian and *French*-Canadian national sentiment to the war effort.

In the background lurked memories of the First World War conscription debacle. In May of 1917, as Canada faced a severe shortage of volunteer soldiers, Prime Minister Borden introduced a conscription bill. It met with fierce opposition from some farm and labour groups in the West, but chiefly from Quebec, where the French press was united in its opposition to a war viewed primarily as a British imperialist concern (Monière 1977: 361). When the draft was finally passed in August 1917 with almost all Quebec MP’s opposed, riots broke out in Montreal and Quebec City. The imposition of conscription would be denounced for years in the French-Canadian press and enter the collective conscience of the people of Quebec. Canadian and British nationalists, on the other hand, were angered that the “French” had not done their share during the war. Many placed the blame squarely on the press (Levi 1996: 148). Twenty years later, the federal government would take steps to ensure that history did not repeat itself.

At the outbreak of WWII, new federal legislation authorised the just-created Department of National War Services to “coordinate the existing public information services of the government,” including the CBC and National Film Board. Ministers gave direction to the CBC, which developed a wartime programming policy that included “promoting the numerous war tasks involving the need for national and individual sacrifice” (reprinted in Albota 1988: 162). More federal money flowed to develop French-language radio infrastructure and programming, though all original content was first vetted by the national program office in Toronto (Raboy 1990: 68). In Quebec, “*radio-feuilleton*” serials would carry the propaganda message that *this* war was also French-Canada’s war (Legris: 1981). In addition, all “controversial broadcasting” was banned from the CBC, prompting some members of parliament to begin questioning this “anti-democratic bias” (Raboy 1990: 67).

Until 1941, the CBC had relied on the Canadian Press wire service for its bulletins. Now, federal money was made available for CBC’s first in-house news service. Among its first reporters were war correspondents. French and English reporters were dispatched to the front and entrusted with “maintaining an effective link between troops and their families at home” and “safeguarding and stimulating civilian morale” (Albota, 1988: 162).

Faced with low levels of voluntary enlistment, the government decided in 1942 to ask Canadians by plebiscite whether it could renege on its “no-conscription” promise. Many in Quebec rallied to the “No” cause under the *Ligue pour la défense du Canada*.

Though all 4 federal parties received free broadcast time to promote the “Yes” side, the “No” side was refused air-time by the CBC under its “controversial broadcasting” regulations (Raboy 1990: 71). The “No” campaign spread its message through the private press and radio. On plebiscite day, while Canada as a whole voted 64 percent in favour of the government’s proposal, in Quebec, 71 percent voted “No”.

The government continued to meddle in the Radio-Canada newsroom. In 1944, fifty thousand cheering Montrealers greeted former Montreal mayor Camillien Houde on his release from four years internment for sedition after calling on Quebeckers to resist war-time registration. Under direct orders from the federal government, the CBC did not cover the event, and made only a bare mention of Houde’s release in its newscast. The Montreal Senior Editor for Radio-Canada resigned in protest. Meanwhile, private newspapers and radio stations played the story prominently (Albota 1988: 183-85).

The government’s use of the CBC as a tool for nationalist coercion in Quebec during wartime would have far-reaching consequences. One core organiser of the campaign against conscription was André Laurendeau, who would later co-chair the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and formulate its recommendations to strengthen the bi-national nature of Canada. Another key “No” campaigner was Maurice Duplessis, a conservative nationalist who would soon become the most powerful premier in Quebec history. Among his first acts in 1945 was the adoption of a law authorizing the creation of a provincial broadcaster. Though he knew that Ottawa would not grant an operating licence, the gesture was a powerful symbol that

the CBC, associated as it was “with the repressive apparatus of the state” (Raboy 1990: 72), did not represent the values and aspirations of Quebec nationalists.

### **Television and the 1958 Broadcast Act**

Because of the greater...costs, the unfortunate tendencies of radio broadcasting will be intensified in television. The pressure on uncontrolled private television operators to become mere channels for American commercial material will be almost irresistible.

(Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1951, reprinted in Bird 1988: 235)

Canada emerged from the Second World War confident and emboldened. Yet the advent of television brought new fears to Canadian cultural nationalists of an American invasion of the hearts and minds of Canadians. Just as radio signals and programs from south of the border in the late 1920s were a threat to Canada’s national identity, so too were the American television signals and programs now filling the airwaves.

The eventual solution was based on the old one: extending the current radio system to television. This time, there would be no attempt at creating a “pan-Canadian” bilingual network. Radio-Canada would have its own French television network headquartered in Montreal, and produce its own programs, including news, free from federal government interference.

Crucially, as a federal institution, Radio-Canada was also beyond the reach of Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis’ repressive compact between business, social conservatives and the Catholic Church. Radio-Canada television became a key architect

of the cultural revolution that would soon radically transform Quebec society (Pelletier 1983: 225-265; Laurendeau 1959: 163-173). “When the dam breaks, the flood will be furious”, correctly predicted unitary nationalist George Grant in *Lament for a Nation* (1965: 90). The 1960s’ “revolution tranquille” and the growth of overt separatist sentiment would soon lead Canadian nationalists to once again impose state control on the messages broadcast in Quebec.

### **The Broadcast Act of 1968 - Policing Television News**

The growing strength of separatist sentiment in Quebec was paralleled by mounting unease among Canadian nationalists. The reality of a transforming Quebec was broadcast daily on Radio-Canada television and radio. Advocates of a stronger role for the French nation in Quebec and Canada were given air-time. If even the national broadcaster was no longer fully “on side”, what exactly was keeping this “second nation” from thinking more and more differently about what it meant to be Canadian?

But English Canadian nationalism was also changing. By the 1960s, the British ethnic nationalism that had characterized English Canada was fast waning. Massive immigration over four decades had produced generations of Canadians who spoke English, but did not identify as British in culture, religion or ethnicity. The “basis for membership in the collectivity could be less and less defined in ethnocultural terms” (Breton 1988: 91) and a civic and cultural conception of Canadian nationalism began to dominate.

Meanwhile, Canadian nationalists' concern over the growing rift between Canada and Quebec was confirmed by the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission's preliminary report of 1965. Both its terms of reference and conclusions reaffirmed the dual nature of Confederation and Quebec as the special home of the French-Canadian people. While recommending the federal civil service become bilingual, it also documented at length how the French and English news services of the CBC broadcast radically different news to their audiences (Mousseau: 1970).

Under the leadership of the staunchly unitary nationalist Pierre Trudeau, a concerned federal government adopted a new Broadcasting Act. It imposed a duty on the CBC to promote national unity in all its programs:

...the national broadcasting service should...contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity. (Broadcasting Act 1968, Sec 2 (g), reprinted in Bird 1988: 375)

Judy LaMarsh, Minister responsible for the CBC, outlined the government's position:

Parliament is now, in this bill, saying to (the CBC) that this is one of its purposes, and as long as that purpose is there, to help weld the country together, Parliament is prepared to raise taxes from the people to keep it going. (cited in Raboy 1990: 177)

In Quebec, reaction was swift. Premier Daniel Johnson announced the creation of Radio-Québec (television) based on an updated version of Duplessis' 1945 law. Framing its mandate within the provincial jurisdictions of education and culture, Johnson told the

National Assembly that Radio-Québec would be “pour tout le public québécois, francophone et anglophone” (cited in Raboy 1990: 189).

Meanwhile, in Radio-Canada’s Montreal newsroom, the application of the new Act led to censorship before, during and after the October crisis of 1970. Both the federal government and CBC management continued to worry about separatist influences within the Montreal newsroom. Citing the need to “evaluate the orientation and quality of the news” (Raboy 1990: 207), Radio-Canada hired ten special “supervisors” for a newsroom of forty journalists. All ten reported directly to management.

But “corrective” measures based on the 1968 Broadcast Act apparently did little to counteract the growing strength of the separatists in Quebec society. In 1976, when the Parti Québécois came to power, Federal ministers blamed part of its success on continued biased reporting on Radio-Canada TV and radio. Prime Minister Trudeau said that there was in Quebec a “loud, continuing and even agonized cry about the CBC destroying the unity of this country” (Raboy 1990: 249) and asked the CRTC to investigate. In 1977, it concluded that little had changed since the B&B Commission’s report 12 years earlier. Both public and private French-language broadcasters provided Quebec-centric news to their viewers, while their English-Canadian counterparts paid scant attention to Quebec news unless it involved the separatist threat (Siegel 1977). Many in English and French Canada were unsurprised by the outcome. In news terms, the concept of “national unity” only existed insofar as there was a separatist threat to unity: reporters could not speak of one without the other (Raboy 1990: 206-208).

A generation of social transformations known as the Quiet Revolution had shaped Quebec society and its sense of identity in its own way. Until the 1960s, nationalist sentiment had been for the “Canadien-français”, built around shared ethnic, Catholic and linguistic pasts. Membership in this ethnic nationalism extended to all those who defined themselves as such, wherever they lived in Canada. The shift to “Québécois” marked a return to the historic inclusion of “territory” as a marker of Quebec nationalism (Breton: 94). Though few realized it at the time, this change marked the beginning of a major shift from ethnic to civic nationalism in Quebec as residents of *all* ethnic origins began to grapple with what it meant to *belong* in such a territory (McRoberts 1997: 54-55). Today, as Carens (1995) and Kymlicka (2000) demonstrate, Quebec’s policies of “interculturalisme” are indistinguishable from Canadian “multiculturalism”, and Quebec nationalism is civic and cultural in orientation, expressed as a separate minority national project mediated through a French-language public sphere.

#### **A “New” Broadcast Act - 1991**

The manifest failure of the Broadcast Act (1968) to contribute to national unity led to the creation of a new Broadcast Act (1991), which is still in effect today. Though less direct in tone on the promotion of “national unity”, the new act continues to define how broadcasters should reflect the nation. Perhaps in response to the growing market share of private broadcasters, *the entire broadcast system* is considered “a public service essential to the maintenance and enhancement of national identity and cultural sovereignty” (art.3.1.b). Through their programming, all broadcasters must “serve to

safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada” (art.3.1.d). More specifically, though the public broadcaster no longer needs to “promote national unity”, CBC/Radio-Canada must still “reflect Canada and its regions to national and regional audiences” and “contribute to shared national consciousness and identity” (art.3.1.m. ii, iv). Finally, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), the regulatory body enabled by the legislation, continues to require Canadian ownership of radio and television broadcasters and enforces broadcast quotas of Canadian programming to Canadian audiences.

### **A Lot of Work, But Does It Work?**

One question that arises from this decades-long project to forge the “imagined community” of Canada through broadcasting is quite simply, does it work? That is, notwithstanding opposition from some quarters to a unitary national project, have broadcasters’ portrayals of Canada generally reflected a common understanding of the symbols and histories that coalesce into shared ideas of the nation?

Cultural historian Richard Collins (1991) argues that Canada has maintained and fostered national unity in spite of a lack of common portrayals in its entertainment mass media. Common myth-making through television entertainment programming is impossible, he asserts, because not only do English Canadians watch very little Canadian drama but also because English and French in Canada watch radically different television programming. For Collins, the fact that Canada has remained distinctly Canadian despite the dominance of American entertainment since the early days of broadcasting illustrates

that popular culture plays a minor role in creating the kind of civic nation that Canada exemplifies. Collins' lengthy analysis of the audience failure of popular "Canadian content" television leads him to conclude that Canadian national unity is based not so much on imagined common histories, stories and symbols, as on common *political identity*. Following Paul Rutherford (1978), Collins postulates that Canadian identity is imagined through its political culture and political communication – in particular its shared civic institutions and its news media: "Canadian audiences watch Canadian rather than American television news...and... it is reasonable to assume that political identity and sense of citizenship are more closely related to consumption of political communications such as television news than to consumption of entertainment" (Collins 1991: 330).

A generation after Collins' analysis, Canadians continue to exhibit very similar patterns of television viewing. In spite of the arrival of the internet, television viewing has actually increased slightly from an average of 24 hours a week in 1986 to 27 hours a week in 2006 (CRTC 2007: 46). English Canadians devote only 38 percent of their major network viewing time watching Canadian programs. Of this number, two-thirds is news and information programming, which is almost exclusively (99%) Canadian. On these same networks, only 13 percent of drama and comedy viewing is Canadian, with the rest devoted to American shows. (CRTC 2007: 50).

Much has been made of the idea that French television in Canada is more "Canadian" because the language barrier makes American popular culture less appealing

to French-speaking audiences. In spite of this, drama and comedy viewing on major French networks is only 33 percent Canadian. In French-Canada as well, “political communication” provides the bulk of Canadian program viewership. News and information on major networks (including Radio-Canada) is over 99 percent Canadian and comprises 60 percent of the total viewing time of Canadian programs (CRTC 2007: 54).

More significantly, neither French nor English television dramas include portrayals of their Canadian other. No television series includes regular characters or situations that represent the other linguistic group or territories to their audiences. The imagined communities portrayed in entertainment television are confined geographically and linguistically. On the surface, this kind of separation is neither desirable nor necessary in news production. First, events that might qualify as “news” occur all across Canada and the world. In a competitive environment, the ability to cover the most interesting and salient of these events wherever they occur is one path to audience success. Second, shared national boundaries and political institutions make socio-economic challenges and realities that are particular to specific cities, provinces or regions relevant to Canadians from coast to coast, even if only as points of comparison. Finally, language is a weak and easily surmountable barrier in television news. Clips are subordinate to pictures, and textual “sense” is provided in the audience’s language by reporters, editors and anchors. Of all television production, Canadian network news has the greatest natural ability to fulfill its national mandate to portray all regions of the country and contribute to the wide dissemination of ideas between them. These

considerations make the socio-political realities mediated through newscasts the most likely source of televised information about Canada widely available to Canadian viewers.

### **Why Television?**

Network newscasts are the only programs with pan-Canadian mandates that are regularly watched by large numbers of citizens in both English and French Canada. 91 percent of Canadians regularly get their news from television (Kweon 2007: 14). With a daily viewership oscillating around four and a half million<sup>5</sup>, Canadian network news programs are by far the mass news medium with the greatest reach. Television news thus serves as a privileged vehicle for Canadians' understanding of their place in the country, but more crucially, for their understanding of Canadians from other regions.

Perhaps in part due to what has been described as the "typically parochial undertakings, serving an urban or local constituency" of most Canadian newspapers (Dornan 2007: 94), national television newscasts have become Canadians' primary source of information on the nation writ large. In a 2005 Ekos survey published in the *Canadian Senate's Final Report on Canadian News Media* (2006), 66 percent of Canadians said they turned to network television as their "main source" of national news. Only 15 percent identified newspapers. Canadians also identified television news as their "most trusted source of news" for national issues (56%). Newspapers again came a distant second at 19 percent.<sup>6</sup>

Television news also commands the largest market share of any mass medium. Findings from the *2004 Report Card on Canadian News Media*<sup>7</sup> show that television news viewership has grown in the past 30 years, while newspaper readership has shrunk. In 1977, 51 percent of Canadians watched television news daily, and the same proportion read newspapers. Today, 67 percent of Canadians watch television news every day (against 42% who read a newspaper), and 90 percent watch several times a week. While only 10 percent of Canadian adults say they read a national newspaper every day, fully 35 percent watch at least one of the major national newscasts. And though internet traffic is growing, only 33 percent of Canadians use it as a regular source of news (most often on sites operated by “traditional” broadcasters including television), while 55 percent never use it for this purpose. Finally, though much has been made of late of the increase in internet usage, television viewership has also been on the rise in Canada, from an average of 22 hours a week in 1997 to 27 hours a week in 2007.<sup>8</sup>

### **Summing Up**

Theorists of nationalism identify the mass media as a powerful tool to create the shared imagined communities of nations. Over the decades, Canadian governments have made numerous attempts to use national radio and television to forge one nation, united. In Quebec, resistance to these attempts and advocacy for a two-nation Canada was given voice in French-language media that was independent of government influence. In parallel to these mass media nation-building efforts, both pan-Canadian nationalism and French Canadian nationalism have moved from essentially ethnic conceptions to civic and cultural ones that continue to exist as separate projects mediated through language. In

a modified version of past efforts towards strengthening a pan-Canadian concept of Canada, today's federal Broadcast Act (1991) continues to call on broadcasters to enhance "national identity and cultural sovereignty". The contribution of television towards this goal must needs be in the "political communication" of news, since television news and information programming constitutes the only common viewing experience of vast numbers of Canadians from coast to coast and across both official linguistic communities. The following chapters will attempt to identify *which* "national identity" (if any) are "enhanced" by national broadcasters through their television newscasts.

The preceding arguments point to the influence of television on Canadians' perceptions of their country. The importance of television as a medium for affecting Canadian attitudes and national attachment was identified long ago, in the wake of similar assessments of the power of radio. Little wonder that much attention has been paid in the past fifty years to analyzing the relative place and importance of news about the other solitude in both French and English national newscasts. Chapter 3 provides an overview of these studies. It begins with some context into the factors affecting the production of news for a national audience.

## CHAPTER 3

### **Mental Maps and National Identity through Television News**

The first published content analysis of Canadian television news was commissioned in 1964 by the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission. The Commission wanted to ascertain how the two main “ethnic” communities in Canada were portrayed to one another in French and English network newscasts. Similar content analyses followed in 1977 (commissioned by the CRTC), then 1987, 1998 and 2001 by independent researchers. In their own ways, all sought to describe Canadians’ “mental maps” of the country: “the perception that people have of places, and the mental images that are formed from filtered information flows” (Gould and White 1974: 49). All were predicated on the idea that these “mental maps” reflect the internalised pictures of society that form the basis of individuals’ sense of belonging to a national community. This chapter explains this theory and describes its application in content analysis studies of television news in Canada spanning nearly four decades.

#### **Pictures in our Heads**

Communication studies extend and develop the theory that modern nationalism relies in part on mass media to help create the shared social realities that form the glue of nations. In *Public Opinion* (1922), Walter Lippmann wrote of “the pictures in their heads” to describe the formation of a “social reality” distinct from “reality”. People rely on mass communications for these pictures of reality, since “most of the world that matters is beyond our direct grasp and must be mediated, thus becoming, as Lippmann

called it, a ‘pseudo-environment’” (Shoemaker and Reese 1996: 33). This “pseudo-environment” in turn forms the social reality on which citizens base their sense of identity and social actions.

While Lippmann argued that mass media had strong effects on citizens, Joseph Klapper (1960) introduced a “limited effects” model. He argued that community and family values as well as education, psychological predispositions and social class exerted more influence than mass media on individuals’ actions within society: “Mass communication ordinarily does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences” (8). Though Klapper’s limited effects model proved resilient, researchers continued to uncover links between the world as mediated through news and audience perceptions and theorised that, “The press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about” (Cohen, 1963:13).

Today, theorists have revived a modified version of the strong media effects hypothesis through the study of mass media “agenda-setting effects” and “framing effects”. Agenda-setting theory, or “the successful transfer of salience from the media agenda to the public agenda” (Soroka 2004) shows how mass media coverage affects what ordinary people consider to be important, pressing or critical issues. Framing effects refines this theory and argues that particularly under circumstances of scarce outside

knowledge, “frames in communication” (messages sent) play an important role in shaping “frames in thought”, or the web of ideas that allow a particular viewer to understand a given situation (Druckman 1993: 230). Empirical studies confirm that both agenda-setting and framing work to create the kind of “pseudo-environments” originally described by Lippmann that shape citizens’ societal attitudes and behaviours (McCombs 2004, Soroka 2004).

Of course, in the case of nationalism and its imagined communities, there is no real “environment” outside the “pseudo-environment”, only real factors (languages, religions, particular histories, etc.) identified implicitly and explicitly as the constituents of a national community. It is this operation that makes the social reality constructed through mass mediated knowledge more likely to be constitutive of a “national” reality *tout court*. Extant a “real” nation “out there” to be grasped, the nation as represented through political institutions and political communication *becomes* the people’s nation.

As Denis Monière explains, one of the chief effects of the socio-political communication of national newscasts is to delineate those aspects of the world that constitute the nation and those that lie outside the nation:

Les nouvelles ont un effet de visualisation de la réalité nationale par le simple fait qu’elle découpe la vision du monde entre l’actualité nationale et internationale, ce qui ancre dans les esprits la distinction entre le “nous” et les autres, cette dichotomie caractérisant toute idéologie nationaliste” (2000: 9-10).

What is chosen for inclusion in this “nous” that forms the national portion of a newscast, points to and helps define what is constitutive of the nation. The choice of stories is

therefore both a strong indicator and a strong predictor of the “imagined community” of a given national newscast’s audience.

### **The Nation in the News**

In his groundbreaking study of national news in the United States, Herbert Gans found that “...one journalistic function is to construct nation and society, to put flesh on these otherwise vague concepts, and thus to help make them real” (1979: 297). Gans discovered that Newsweek, Time and the network newscasts of CBS, NBC and ABC offered much coverage of the US government and national institutions. He also showed that television networks reported on many less obviously national events and concerns, many of them of a sociological nature, and that “they frame it in a national context, and thereby bring the nation into being” (297-98). This fundamental function led Gans to hypothesise: “...when people say they keep up with the news, they may also be saying that they are maintaining contact with nation and society” (298).

Whether Canadians turn to the news to maintain “contact with nation and society” or simply for distraction at the end of the day, network newscasts provide them with a daily constructed picture of Canada and the world. When journalists choose to cover some stories over others, “proximity” values come into play, so that an international story that has political, economic or symbolic links to Canada or Canadians will seem more newsworthy and be more likely to make the national news (Galtung and Ruge 1965). The same values of proximity and “cultural affinity” operate for coverage of Canada’s regions (Kariel and Rosenvall 1995), save that a regional, provincial or local Canadian story

included in a nation-wide newscast *becomes* a national story through the shared knowledge among viewers that they are watching events from their “imagined community” alongside those, down the street or thousands of kilometres away, who are participating in the same “communion” (Anderson 2006: 135). Mapping out the frequency with which various regions in Canada are represented in network news is one way to measure the “mental maps” of the imagined communities of Canada as brought into being by different networks for their audiences.

The content analyses of national television news that will be described in this chapter each looked at these “mental maps” of Canada. Each used geography as a proxy for national identification. As outlined in Chapter 1, the identification of the province of Quebec as the home of the French-Canadian (later Québécois) nation has a long history, as has the identification of the other provinces (sometimes called ROC for “Rest of Canada”) with a British (later English-Canadian) nation. Finally, pan-Canadians view all of Canada’s provinces equally as the home of the citizens of a unified nation. Identifying stories based on provincial provenance helps define the geographical “mental map” of each newscast and thus becomes a way of gauging the relative agreement of various newscasts with different concepts of Canada.

### **The “National” Exercise of News Selection**

In order to understand the appropriateness of measuring geography as a proxy for national identification, it is important to describe how journalists select stories for inclusion in newscasts. McManus (1995) makes a productive distinction of three levels

of choices made within news organisations before social activity becomes news: “discovery”, “selection” and “reporting”.

**Discovering News.** The first level, “discovery”, concerns the ways in which news organisations choose to deploy their resources to gather information about issues, events and people that might become news stories. In his study of news-making at CBS, NBC and ABC, Edward Epstein found that the content of television news is largely determined by structural factors: “while any given news decision, when taken alone, may seem idiosyncratic, it is still possible, paradoxically, for the total news output to be largely determined by rules, routines and practices” (1973: 41). The question, “How will the news be gathered?” helps make sense of his conclusion. The physical location of a given network’s reporters, producers, cameramen and technical facilities such as satellite uplinks will have a clear effect on “discovering” the events, actions and trends that will become news. Access to “outside” sources of news such as subscriptions to Reuters, Canadian Press or CanWest wire services will also affect “discovery”. These network decisions on how to best “discover” the news are informed by the ways in which different broadcasters understand their actual and potential audiences and how they interpret their news interests. The “discovery” process is therefore primarily affected by organisational decisions on the allocation of material and journalistic resources, but can also be affected by “extra-media” forces such as laws and regulation/control mechanisms such as those described in Chapter 2.

**Selecting News.** The second level, “selection”, speaks of the ways in which the potential stories uncovered at the discovery stage are chosen for inclusion in the newscast. This level sheds the most light on the relationship between geography and “national” identity.

Journalists frequently invoke the values of “public interest” and “interest of the public” when describing the kinds of stories that make the news. Another way of framing this continuum is from “societal good” (public sphere) to “individual good” (private sphere). In Canada, public sphere journalism includes stories that fulfill a watchdog role on other sectors of society or that further the goals and ideals of a liberal democracy. Stories that speak to the “private sphere” focus on entertainment/distraction or have a consumerist orientation. Of course, much journalism falls somewhere in the middle of this continuum. Federal budget coverage for example will generally include stories that speak to both societal issues such as debt levels *and* individual issues such as income tax rates, though it could also be argued that both these issues equally combine both societal and individual impacts.

Crucially, regardless of the particular stance of a newscast on the public-private sphere continuum, the most significant factor in “selection” involves the degree of perceived resonance of particular stories with the newscast’s audience. Broadcasters are in the business of delivering audiences to advertisers and Canadian television newscasts do not escape this market logic. Even the public broadcaster sells advertising in its flagship news programs. This does not imply that Canadian newscasts censor the news or

that they deliberately select stories to please advertisers. The argument, following McManus (1995), is that all broadcasters engage in audience-maximizing strategies, which they achieve in large part by choosing stories based on their perceived resonance and relevance to their current and potential audiences.

Story selection in daily news occurs rapidly, often in conditions of incomplete information. In order to select stories with the maximum resonance to their audiences, journalists turn to “news values”, a set of largely unwritten guidelines that help determine the newsworthiness of a story based on patterns that have proved effective over time. Beginning with Galtung and Ruge (1965), theorists and practitioners have developed many such checklists of “news values”, most of which include the following factors:

1-Prominence/importance 2-Human interest 3-Conflict/controversy 4-The Unusual 5-Timeliness 6-Proximity (from Stephens, 1980; but see also Baskette, Sissors & Brooks, 1982; Dennis and Ismach, 1981)” (Shoemaker and Reese 1996: 111).

These news values, entrenched through practice as “media routines”, help determine what “makes” the news. These selection factors are not objective. Though each potential story is evaluated, even unconsciously, according to these and related news values, the same story idea will appear more or less “prominent”, “conflictual” or “unusual” according to the social reality in which the journalist, the newscast and its audience are situated. In this way, the value of “proximity” has particular importance when comparing content choices between different Canadian national newscasts. For though network news audiences are ostensibly the same (all are Canadian citizens), differences in story selection between broadcasters will point to which members and

groups of that audience are seen as “close” to the mental map of the nation portrayed in the newscast.

**Reporting News.** The final level, “reporting”, refers to *how* a chosen event, issue or person gets covered *as a text or story*. This level involves choices of focus, lexicon, framing, sources and narrative construction as mediated by journalistic practices such as “fairness and objectivity”. These elements are all constitutive of specific discourses within the broader framework of journalistic discourse. As such, “reporting” is more closely intertwined with ideology, and will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 5 – Discourse Analysis of National News. For now, the focus is on the stories as “discovered” and “selected”, and how their geographical location points to different ways of conceiving the nation of Canada.

### **Journalistic Discovery and Selection as Markers of Mental Maps**

Two important postulates can be formulated from these overviews of journalistic “discovery” and “selection”. The first is that differences between networks in the geographical choices of news stories will be based primarily on two factors: the location of potential audiences and the locations with *which those particular audiences feel particular affinities*. As Kariel and Rosenvall (1995) demonstrated in their study of international news in Canadian newspapers, countries that are considered important to Canada’s interests or that are culturally significant to Canadian society receive the most coverage. Likewise, in the case of provinces within Canada, the relative coverage of provinces provides a “mental map” of the country’s regions as more or less “important”

and more or less “culturally significant” to the country as a whole, *as portrayed by particular networks in response to the mental maps of the country they perceive to be held by their actual and potential audiences.*

The second postulate is that strong similarities or “agreement” between broadcasters in the geographical distribution of news and individual story selection will point to shared “pictures in their heads” held by audiences of those newscasts. This postulate can serve to gauge, for example, whether language (French or English) or ownership status (public or private) is more strongly aligned to particular “mental maps” of Canada.

Together, those two postulates form the common basis of the 5 content analysis studies of Canadian television news conducted from 1965 to 2000. An overview of these studies and their conclusions follow.

**1964-1965.** Mousseau (1970) analysed national television newscasts from TVA, Radio-Canada, CBC and CTV over 37 randomly selected days from April 1964 to March 1965 for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Though the study primarily aimed to uncover how various broadcasters portrayed French and English Canadians as “ethnic” groups in Canada, one chapter was devoted to the geographical coverage of news and establishes “les parties du territoire canadien qui sert le plus souvent aux activités de l’ensemble des Canadiens” (115).

Mousseau found that 75 percent of TVA's Canadian stories were based in Quebec, while the proportion was 55 percent for Radio-Canada, 16 percent for CBC and 14 percent for CTV. Numbers for "Capitale fédérale" (Ottawa) and "provinces Anglophones" reveal a reversed hierarchy. Ottawa stories reached 8 percent on TVA, 14 percent on Radio-Canada, 28 percent on CBC and 36 percent on CTV, while provinces excluding Quebec accounted for 2 percent (TVA), 11 percent (Radio-Canada), 26 percent (CBC) and 21 percent (CTV) of total Canadian coverage (115).<sup>9</sup> Thus, French language news prioritised first Quebec, then Ottawa and finally Anglophone regions, while the opposite held true in English language newscasts: "la priorité va à la capitale fédérale, puis à l'ensemble des régions Anglophones et enfin à la province francophone" (116).

Based on these findings, Mousseau rejected ownership status as a significant factor in the distribution of news, and affirmed a link between language and geographical selection: "il ressort clairement qu'un lien existe entre la langue de diffusion et les parties du Canada qu'ils présentent comme cadre d'activité de l'ensemble des Canadiens" (117).

**1977.** As detailed in Chapter 2, the election of the separatist Parti Québécois in 1976 led some federal politicians (including Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau) to openly muse about separatist leanings within the central Radio-Canada newsroom in Montreal. The CRTC responded by commissioning a content analysis of national television and radio newscasts on CBC and Radio-Canada. Researcher Arthur Siegel's corpus was confined to ten successive weekdays in May 1977 (N=498).<sup>10</sup>

The geographical analysis revealed that most of the Canadian portion of the CBC television newscast was devoted to “national” stories (54 percent), followed by “anglophone province” stories (28 percent) and Quebec stories (18 percent). Radio-Canada followed a reverse order of priorities: Quebec stories came first (52 percent), followed by “national” stories (39 percent) and “Anglophone province” stories (9 percent). The numbers were similar for radio. Furthermore, only 3.6 percent of stories appeared on all four networks (French and English TV and Radio). Siegel concluded that “the pattern of content tends to reinforce value differences along linguistic lines” and does not contribute “in any significant way to a shared sense of Canadian identity” (1977: 42). He also speculated that one reason for the discrepancies in coverage was that “CBC’s particular mandate (of contributing to national unity) fails to filter down to the working level of news gathering and dissemination” and raised “questions about the influence of managerial direction and responsibility” (41).

Siegel’s findings led the CRTC to charge that “the electronic news media in Canada, English as well as French, are biased to the point of subversiveness” (CRTC 1977, reprinted in Bird 1988: 586), and demanded that CBC/Radio-Canada take measures to follow its Broadcasting Act (1968) mandate of contributing to national unity. Radio-Canada in particular responded by increasing its number of national bureaus in provincial capitals (De Bonville and Vermette 1994: 702).

**1988.** Researchers at Laval University replicated Siegel’s study of CBC and Radio-Canada television news over 10 days in 1988<sup>11</sup>, also adding analysis of private

networks TVA and CTV (De Bonville and Vermette, 1994). Their goal was to see whether the administrative changes brought about at the public broadcaster following the 1977 study had any significant impact on the portrayals of Canada ten years later.

The geographical content analysis revealed no significant change. Quebec stories continued to account for 50 percent of Canadian news on Radio-Canada, against 18 percent at the CBC. Anglophone province stories stood at 10 percent (Radio-Canada) and 31 percent (CBC) of the Canadian portion of the newscast. CTV had yet more Anglophone province stories (35%) and fewer from Quebec (11%) while the reverse was true for TVA (Anglophone provinces 6%, Quebec 62%). Statistical analyses of geographical similarities including private stations TVA and CTV showed that as in Mousseau's 1964-1965 study, ownership status did not seem to play a large role in geographical news selection. The opposite was true of language, identified by the authors as a proxy for national "belonging":

...la distinction linguistique, qui recouvre l'appartenance des journalistes à une communauté nationale, semble prendre le pas sur les critères communs à l'ensemble des journalistes (713-714).

De Bonville and Vermette also looked at the percentage of common stories between broadcasters. They found that the CBC/CTV pair had 57.4 percent common stories, followed by SRC/TVA at 43.7 percent, CBC/SRC at 37.3 percent and CTV/TVA at 35.3 percent (712). They concluded that networks' broadcast language exercises "une influence plus grande que leur statut de propriété dans la selection des nouvelles communes" (712).

De Bonville and Vermette concluded by suggesting that government policy as exemplified by the Broadcasting Act (1968) and CRTC directives, as well as administrative measures taken by CBC/Radio-Canada, nevertheless had some impact in making French public television in particular more pan-Canadian than it would be without these strictures, and that this in turn forced private broadcasters to cover Canada in a less geographically “ethno-centrist” way than expected.

...sans ces directives, la couverture du radio-diffuseur public se rapprocherait sans doute davantage de celle de son concurrent privé. Le cas échéant, les radiodiffuseurs privés présenteraient probablement une couverture encore plus ethnocentriste de l'actualité canadienne. (715)

**1998.** In *Radioscopie de l'information télévisée au Canada*, Monière and Fortier (2000) analysed the geographical distribution of national newscast stories for TVA, SRC and CBC. The study looked at 73 days between March and June 1998 (n=2673). Their findings showed that the Quebec-based content of both TVA (81.6%) and Radio-Canada (61.4%) had increased over previous studies, though the authors refused to more make more of this fact due to unspecified “différences méthodologiques”. CBC’s share of Quebec stories stood at 16.2 percent, a relatively “high” number attributed by the authors to coverage of Jean Charest’s bid for the leadership of the provincial Liberal party, a federalist politician “qui devait sauver le Canada de la menace séparatiste” (53). This coverage accounted for 24 of the 93 Quebec stories broadcast on CBC over the study period.

Monière and Fortier’s analysis of common stories revealed no significant difference in the percentage of common stories between the CBC/R-C and R-C/TVA pairs. Both stood near 40 percent. There were fewer common stories (26%) for the

CBC/TVA pair. The finding that Radio-Canada had many stories in common with both the CBC and TVA led the authors to speculate that audience-seeking behaviours at the selection level *and* the regulatory environment at the level of discovery influenced Radio-Canada's coverage:

Cette distribution pourrait s'expliquer par les deux logiques qui affectent le comportement de la SRC (Radio-Canada), soit la logique de la propriété publique qui lui confère le mandat de refléter la globalité canadienne et la logique du marché qui la met en concurrence avec la chaîne francophone privée (42).

The authors conclude their study with comments on the possible outcome of TVA's future pan-Canadian presence. Following CRTC Decision 98-488 (1998), TVA began broadcasting coast to coast in May 1999. The authors speculated that TVA would increase its coverage of other regions of Canada in order to gain audiences, and that Radio-Canada would follow suit, in a "paradoxical" situation where market logic leads "une chaîne privée à « refléter la globalité canadienne », permettant par ricochet à la SRC (Radio-Canada) de se « canadianiser » un peu plus" (119).

**2000.** Bastien (2004) produced the last known study to include a content analysis of geographical coverage as a marker of national identity. As this study concerned itself with differences between private and public radio and television, only French-language broadcasters were studied. Nevertheless, Bastien's analysis over 8 weeks (February 7 to March 31, 2000) of national network news revealed familiar patterns of Canadian coverage for TVA and Radio-Canada. Coverage of Canada outside Quebec and Ottawa remained low (respectively 3.5% and 12.9% of total Canadian stories) relative to Quebec stories at 81.2 and 61.8 percent.

### **The Rule of Proximity: Proximity Rules**

Four decades of studies on geographical representations of Canada in national newscasts reveal strikingly consistent patterns, particularly for French networks and the CBC. The French private broadcaster TVA devotes an overwhelming proportion of its coverage to Quebec, while private English broadcaster CTV appears to focus coverage on pan-Canadian national stories and ROC stories. The French and English public broadcasters fall somewhere in the middle, though lie quite close to private networks broadcasting in the same language. Thus, language appears to be a much stronger driver of geographical content choices than ownership status.

In addition, when accounting for the geographical provenance of news items, audience-maximizing imperatives mediated through the journalistic selection value of “proximity” appear to consistently outweigh discovery processes mandated by administrative, legal or regulatory frameworks. However, most of the researchers (Siegel, De Bonville and Vermette, Monière and Fortier) also believe that such “extra media” considerations, including political pressure, serve to make Radio-Canada more pan-Canadian than it would otherwise be. Speculation that coverage of Quebec on the CBC is also “enhanced” by these same factors is weakened by the relative lack of comparable numbers from private English language broadcasters.

The end result is that French language broadcasters appear to reflect a two-nation concept of Canada. The heavy concentration of coverage in Quebec defines the “nous” or

the “imagined community” of these newscasts primarily as the residents of that province. The limited coverage of aggregated “Anglophone” provinces (in all cases less than 10 percent of a French language national newscast) suggests that these geographical areas belong to a separate sphere. These two national spheres are mediated through the center (Ottawa politics and institutions), but here again, this national “bridge” appears to be much less important in French newscasts than in English newscasts, though a lack of numbers for private English networks makes this observation tenuous. This lack of data (only De Bonville and Vermette’s study (1988) yields usable figures, and then only for CTV in 1987) renders impossible any conclusion on the “mental maps” of Canada in English-language network news. This is particularly true since the majority of English Canadians who watch network news now turn to either Global or CTV. A new study is required to determine if English Canadian newscasts reflect a unitary-nation perspective of Canada. The next chapter presents this study of Canadian network newscasts in 2007.

## CHAPTER 4

### Network News Content Analysis: 2007

This new content analysis of national network news in Canada has three goals. 1- To establish more complete and valid comparative measures between broadcasters by analysing for the first time all five national network newscasts simultaneously. 2- To determine if previously observed dichotomies in the “mental maps” of Canada are still present and whether they have become more or less divergent over time. 3- To compare these “mental maps” to benchmark statistics to bring to light similarities between coverage and regional economic performance, demography and population knowledge of official languages. These results will help answer the following questions: Has French television news become more or less Quebec-centered? Has CBC television become more or less pan-Canadian? Are the public broadcasters converging or diverging in their coverage of Canada’s regions? Are English-language private networks more or less pan-Canadian than the CBC? Do networks appear to perceive their audiences primarily as economic, political or ethno-cultural actors in society? The answers to these questions will help determine which “mental maps” and national identities of Canada are reproduced by national network newscasts in 2007.

#### **Corpus**

Five Canadian national television networks<sup>12</sup> were chosen for the analysis. Two broadcast in French: TVA and Radio-Canada. Three broadcast in English: CTV, Global and CBC. TVA, Global and CTV are private television networks. Radio-Canada and

CBC are public television networks, though they also depend on advertising and run commercials in their television newscasts.

Each network has an identifiable flagship national newscast which presents a news roundup of the most significant events of the day. Three are one hour in length: *Le Téléjournal* (Radio-Canada), *The National* (CBC) and *Le 22h* (TVA). Two are half-hour broadcasts: *CTV National News* (CTV) and *Global National* (Global). All five newscasts were recorded Monday to Friday during the months of March, April, May, September and October 2007.<sup>13</sup> Human error and machine malfunctions prevented one or more newscasts from being recorded on 11 of the 89 recording days. These days were rejected from the corpus, leaving 78 days in the sample. Following Riffe, Fico and Lacy's (1998) methodological recommendations on random sampling for (American) network newscasts, 4 reconstructed Monday to Friday "weeks" (20 days) were randomly generated from the 78 recording days for use in the content analysis.<sup>14</sup>

### **Unit of Analysis**

Following previous studies, the unit of analysis is the news story. A news story has a natural beginning when the host of the newscast begins speaking of the story. It ends when the newscaster begins speaking about an unrelated story or introduces a new aspect of the same story. In cases where two news reports on a same subject were broadcast in sequence without a new introduction from the newscaster, the news reports were counted as separate stories. Commercials were excluded from the content analysis, as were the following newscast segments: stock market numbers, weather forecasts,

headlines and “coming up” story teases. A total of 1673 stories were coded by network, rank and geographical provenance. Stories were also given subject headings for use in establishing which broadcasters had covered the same news subjects in their newscasts.<sup>15</sup>

## Findings

### Canada and the World: Which Newscast is More “Canadian”?

All networks concentrate their geographical coverage within Canada. As Table 1 shows, the percentage of Canadian stories on English language networks varies within a relatively narrow range (63.1 to 65.7 percent). French networks offer relatively more Canadian coverage. Radio-Canada’s proportion of Canadian stories approaches 70 percent, while TVA’s is near 82 percent.

Table 1  
Canadian and International items in national newscasts, by network in percentages.

	Canada items	International items	Total news items
<b>TVA</b>	81.8%	18.2%	100% (n=422)
<b>R-C</b>	69.6%	30.4%	100% (n=464)
<b>CBC</b>	63.1%	36.9%	100% (n=295)
<b>CTV</b>	64.8%	35.2%	100% (n=250)
<b>GLO</b>	65.7%	34.3%	100% (n=242)

## Discussion

TVA's relatively high number of Canadian stories can partially be explained by the French private broadcaster's decision to not station permanent foreign correspondents outside of North America, thus giving them less access to original news material from abroad. In the study period, Washington and Kandahar province in Afghanistan were the only foreign regions from which a TVA reporter regularly contributed.

Alternatives to costly original foreign reporting exist. Canadian broadcasters will often source and air foreign news stories produced by non-Canadian journalists. The practice is common at Global, which sources mostly American-produced reports. All Canadian broadcasters also subscribe to international satellite "feeds" of foreign news. Images from across the globe arrive daily via satellite. These images can then be scripted by broadcast journalists using information produced by international news wire subscription services such as Associated Press, Reuters and Agence France Presse.

TVA does not lack the resources to cover international news. For example, on April 17, 2007, all broadcasters including TVA offered extensive on-the-ground coverage of a deadly shooting rampage at Virginia Tech University in the United States. TVA devoted the first 23 minutes of its newscast to the tragedy (including one commercial break). Its first four stories (9 minutes of coverage) included one commented excerpt of a memorial service followed by three full stories. All four news items were fronted either live or on tape by TVA reporters sent to the scene of the tragedy. On this day, TVA offered the same relative coverage of the tragedy as other Canadian networks.<sup>16</sup>

In this context, TVA's higher ratio of Canadian to international stories reveals choices based on more than the physical location of its newsgathering resources at the level of "discovery". Its choices of international news selection are also based on the perceived levels of resonance of international and Canadian stories with its audience. News stories happening outside the boundaries of Canada are thus portrayed as less "close" to the interests of TVA's *Le 22h* audience. As a result, stories occurring on Canadian soil gain extra prominence.

### **Coverage of the Canadian Federation and its Regions**

Though all networks devote the majority of their coverage to Canadian stories, it does not necessarily follow that these stories are also stories about the Canadian federation. The following tables analyze the regional distribution of news stories within Canada. These distributions will help define the mental maps of Canada produced by different networks.

Table 2 shows how different national newscasts covered Canada in 2007. The analysis excludes foreign coverage and subdivides Canadian coverage into two categories: "Regional" stories that emanate from a particular city, province or region of the country and "Federal" stories which include those emanating from pan-Canadian national institutions (Parliament, Senate, Supreme Court of Canada, Crown Corporations, "Ottawa" as the capital city, etc.) as well as stories that emanate from more than one region of the country or from Ottawa as political centre and one or more provinces.

Table 2  
**Percentage of Canadian stories of Federal and Regional origin, by network newscast.**

	Canadian Stories		Total news items
	Federal stories	Regional stories	
<b>TVA</b>	16.0%	84.0%	100% (n=343)
<b>R-C</b>	19.5%	80.5%	100% (n=329)
<b>CBC</b>	49.2%	50.8%	100% (n=185)
<b>CTV</b>	47.5%	52.5%	100% (n=160)
<b>GLO</b>	44.4%	55.6%	100% (n=160)

English national newscasts divide their Canadian coverage roughly equally between stories emanating from the institutions of the Canadian state and stories of a more regional nature. Private English networks in 2007 were almost as likely as the CBC to cover stories of Federal interest.

French newscasts devote much less airtime to coverage of the Canadian state and its institutions. Less than 20 percent of French-language national news (TVA-16 percent, Radio-Canada-19.5 percent) emanates from the national capital and national institutions. These levels represent less than half the Federal story coverage of English networks in the case of Radio-Canada and approximately one third in the case of TVA. These numbers primarily reflect editorial choices at the level of story selection and discovery, as all networks have broadcast facilities and permanent reporters stationed in Ottawa. In addition, all five networks or their affiliates produce full local newscasts covering the national capital region which straddles the Quebec-Ontario border.

French networks not only devote a much smaller percentage of their total coverage to federal stories, they also produce fewer federal stories in absolute terms. In the study period, English networks produced 71 (Global), 76 (CTV) and 91 (CBC) stories of pan-Canadian interest. French networks produced 64 (Radio-Canada) and 55 (TVA).

## **Discussion**

Due to their central role in regulating the lives of citizens and their impact on everyday life, national institutions are prime suppliers of the stories that produce the “political communication” identified by Deutsch (1966), Collins (1991), Anderson (2006) and others as constitutive of national identity. The fact that English Canadian newscasts broadcast more than twice as many stories of this kind over French newscasts illustrates their stronger identification with institutional Ottawa as a source of meaningful impacts on the lives of their viewers. Ottawa, the federal government and federal institutions are portrayed as more important, more present, and more real to viewers of *CTV National News*, *CBC’s The National* and *Global National* than to viewers of either Radio-Canada’s *Le Téléjournal* or TVA’s *Le 22h*. It also ensures that Ottawa looms larger as a common symbol of the nation in the minds of English-language viewers than it does for viewers of either TVA’s or Radio-Canada’s national newscast. Just as significantly, through their rates of Federal coverage, the CBC and both private English-language newscasts appear to hold a shared view of the relative importance of stories about the Canadian federation. French-language broadcasters also share similar levels of coverage. Broadcast language therefore appears much stronger than ownership status in determining the rates of coverage of the Canadian federation.

It should also be noted that TVA, Radio-Canada and the CBC have hour-long national newscasts, and therefore twice the news hole of the half-hour *Global National* and *CTV National News* programs. So while TVA and Radio-Canada broadcast more stories from Canadian soil than their English language counterparts, these stories are less about Canada as a nation, and more about its regions. Since Radio-Canada and TVA also broadcast fewer international stories than English newscasts do, their airtime is filled with many more Regional Canadian stories than that of English broadcasters. The following tables detail the geographical provenance of these stories.

### **Where are the Regions?**

The full regional breakdown of Canadian stories (by province, territory, national capital etc.) is reproduced in Table 3 below. For all networks except TVA, this regional breakdown represents choices at the level of news selection. CBC, Radio-Canada, Global and CTV have permanent reporters stationed throughout Canada. In 2007, they also broadcast full local news programs in all regions of the country. As such, they can easily gather news from major centres throughout the country. What gets included in their national newscasts represents the story selections made by national news producers after the “discovery” level of news production.

TVA is a case apart. It has no permanent reporters west of Ottawa, nor does it broadcast local newscasts outside of Quebec, the “Outaouais” national capital region and New Brunswick. Its opportunities for news “discovery” in the ROC are constrained.

Nonetheless, just as with international news, TVA has access to newswires, websites and newspapers from across Canada.

Though factors of discovery and selection help explain choices in coverage, they do not alter the fact that regional distribution of news within Canada varies greatly between broadcasters, as shown in Table 3.<sup>17</sup>

Table 3  
Number of Canadian stories by geographic origin and national network newscast

		Network newscast					Total
		CBC	R-C	TVA	CTV	GLO	
Geographic origin	B-C	15	5	1	15	16	52
	Alberta	7	4	1	9	9	30
	Saskatchewan	5	2	0	0	4	11
	Manitoba	2	1	0	3	4	10
	Ontario	33	18	7	35	42	135
	Quebec	11	226	278	13	5	533
	New Brunswick	1	2	1	1	0	5
	Nova Scotia	5	2	0	3	2	12
	Newfoundland	6	2	0	2	3	13
	Territories	6	1	0	0	1	8
	Mixed West	3	1	0	3	3	10
	Mixed Atlantic	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Canada/capital	64	40	37	54	54	249
	Canada/1 prov.	6	13	9	4	2	34
	Mixed regions	21	11	9	18	15	74
Total		185	329	343	160	160	N=1177

As in previous content analysis studies, in 2007 the greatest regional differences between broadcasters lay in their relative coverage of Quebec and the ROC. Table 4 aggregates Federal stories and divides Regional stories into ROC and Quebec stories.

Table 4  
Canadian stories of Federal and Regional origin, by network newscast.

	Federal stories	Regional stories		Total Canadian stories
		ROC	Quebec	
<b>TVA</b>	16.0%	2.9%	81.1%	100% (n=343)
<b>R-C</b>	19.5%	11.8%	68.7%	100% (n=329)
<b>CBC</b>	49.2%	44.9%	5.9%	100% (n=185)
<b>CTV</b>	47.5%	44.4%	8.1%	100% (n=160)
<b>GLO</b>	44.4%	52.5%	3.1%	100% (n=160)

English networks devote between 44.4 and 52.5 percent of their Regional stories to coverage of ROC provinces, at about the same levels as Federal coverage, while between 3.1 and 8.1 percent of their coverage emanates from Quebec. The opposite holds true for French-language networks. In the case of TVA, less than 3 percent of total Canadian stories emanate from the ROC against 81.1 percent Quebec stories, while Radio-Canada's ROC stories make up less than 12 percent of its Canadian coverage against 68.7 percent for Quebec stories. Put another way, Radio-Canada runs six Quebec stories for every ROC story it airs, while the Quebec-ROC story ratio at TVA sits at twenty-eight to one.

There is also clearly a stronger level of regional coverage “agreement” between broadcasters who have language in common rather than ownership status. The full significance of these findings will be discussed together with the results of the following analysis of the relative rank of ROC, Federal and Quebec stories in national newscasts.

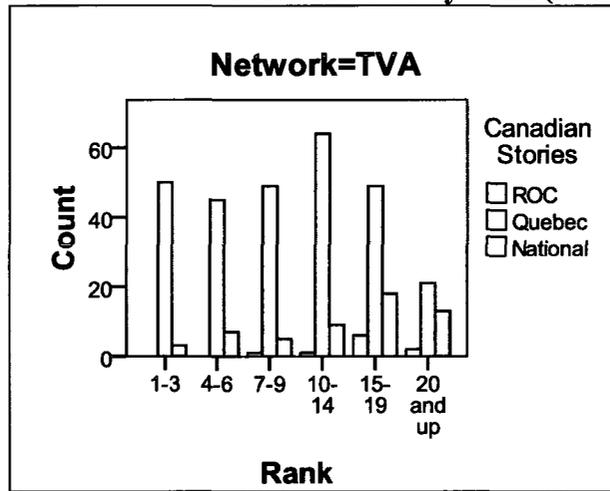
### **Who’s number one? Rank of Quebec, ROC and Federal Stories**

The viewing habits of television news are unlike those for other television programs. In comedies, dramas or reality television, an evolving story prevents viewers from changing channels if they want to “know how it ends”. In contrast, television newscasts are composed of a string of much shorter unrelated stories, with no overarching narrative structure to keep the viewer captivated through its more mundane elements. Audience measurement surveys in Canada (BBM Canada) consistently show that television news viewership drops after the first fifteen minutes of a newscast, followed by a more precipitous drop after the first half-hour. This reality has led television news producers to develop particular strategies to maximize audiences’ viewing time. The most traditional of these consists of presenting stories in order of importance and impact based on the news values described in Chapter 3. In order to hook and keep viewers, the most important or “lead” story traditionally opens the newscast, followed by the second most important story, etc.

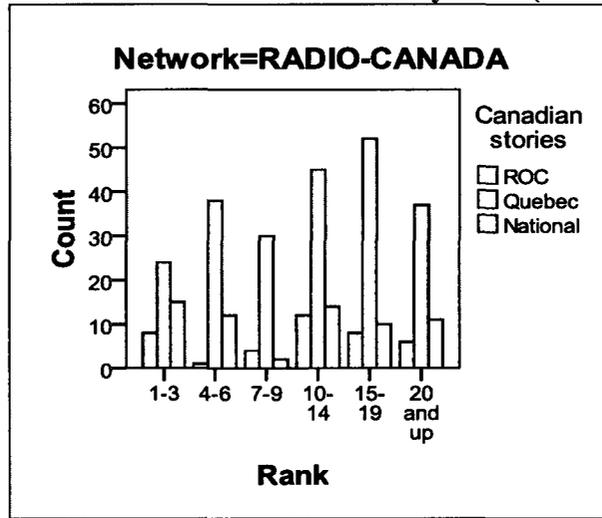
In this context, the order of appearance of geographically-based stories within newscasts is a further indication of the mental maps of Canada reproduced in newscasts. Lead stories are chosen in relation to news values, including the all-important values of

prominence and proximity to the newscast’s audience. The relative importance given to different regions of Canada can thus be explored through the order in which stories from different regions appear in a newscast. Of particular interest will be the relative rank distribution of ROC, Federal and Quebec stories throughout each network newscast. The following bar-charts rank the order of appearance of Canadian stories (Federal, ROC and Quebec) in all five national newscasts.

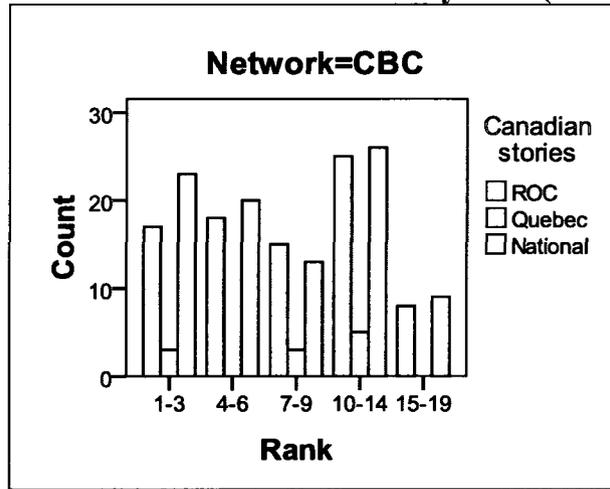
**Chart 1. TVA Canadian stories by rank (n=343)**



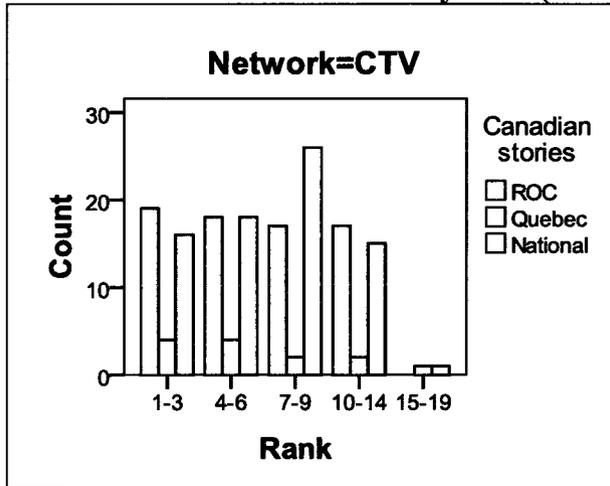
**Chart 2. R-C Canadian stories by rank (n=329)**



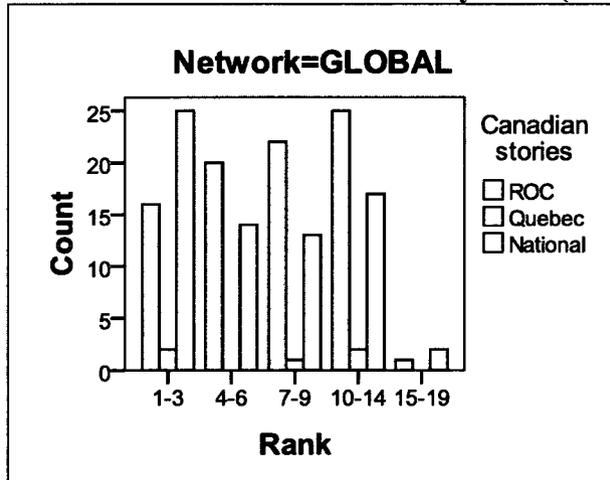
**Chart 3. CBC Canadian stories by rank (n=185)**



**Chart 4. CTV Canadian stories by rank (n=160)**



**Chart 5. Global Canadian stories by rank (n=160)**



All broadcasters typically rank Canadian stories higher than international stories. Two thirds or more of each network's top three stories in the twenty newscast days are geographically located in Canada. Of the 60 possible news spots off the top of each newscast (20 days x3 slots), CTV ran 39 Canadian stories, CBC and Global each ran 43, Radio-Canada ran 47 and TVA ran 53. TVA has the greatest Canadian story presence in the top of its newscasts, English networks the least, with Radio-Canada's Canadian story ranking falling between them.

The three English language networks show similar ranking patterns for each category. Federal and ROC stories are given roughly equal prominence throughout the newscast, with CTV running marginally more ROC stories earlier in their newscast than CBC or Global. A small number of Quebec stories is peppered throughout English newscasts. Each English language broadcaster occasionally runs Quebec stories in its top three ranks, while CTV runs slightly more than half of its Quebec stories its top six spots (8 of 13 stories).

Though French language broadcaster Radio-Canada runs fewer ROC and Federal stories than English language broadcasters, Federal stories regularly appear throughout the broadcast, including in the top three positions. ROC stories are also broadcast throughout the newscast including within the top three, though they are more likely to appear in the second half of the show (13 stories in ranks 1 to 9 vs. 26 stories in ranks 10 and above). Quebec stories are broadcast throughout the newscast in high numbers, though they are slightly less prominent in *Le Téléjournal's* top three positions. These are

shared equally with combined ROC and Federal stories (24 Quebec stories against 23 ROC and Federal stories in ranks 1 to 3).

TVA ranks its stories very differently from both English language broadcasters and Radio-Canada. Quebec stories not only far outnumber ROC and Federal stories, they also dominate the top ranks of its newscast. Of the twenty randomly sampled newscasts, only three had a Federal story within the top three (against 50 Quebec stories and 0 ROC stories). Less than one third of TVA's total Federal stories ran in the top nine ranks (15 of 55 stories), with the rest appearing in the second half of the newscast in ranks ten and above. Of TVA's ten ROC stories, none ran in ranks one to six, and eight of them ran in ranks fifteen and above, well into the second half of the newscast.

### **Ranking Case Study: Network Coverage on May 18, 2007**

Specific network news coverage from the randomly selected study days exemplifies the story choices illustrated in Tables 1 to 4 and Charts 1 to 5. For example, on May 18, 2007, four stories ran on at least four of the five national networks. Two were "Federal" stories: the historic rise of the Canadian dollar to 92 cents US, and large nationwide increases in the price of gas. Two were "Regional" stories: a Greyhound bus strike in Western Canada, and the arrest of a Montreal couple on slavery charges.

The two "federal" stories were broadcast on all networks. The rise in the price of gas was covered in similar ways by the English networks. Global, CTV and CBC offered visuals, clips and specific gas prices from multiple provinces of the ROC. Radio-Canada

covered the story from one city, Montreal, and followed up its full report with a graphic that included gas prices in major cities from all regions of the country. For its part, TVA's story spoke only of gas increases in the province of Quebec.

The second story broadcast on all networks concerned the rise of the Canadian dollar. CBC, Global, TVA and Radio-Canada each ran a full story with analysis within their first three newscast items, while TVA ran the story twentieth with a ten second announcer-read text.

A third federal story on the deadly crash of a Canadian Snowbird at a northern US air-show was broadcast on only three networks. Of the late evening national newscasts, CTV ran the story off the top of its show while both Radio-Canada and CBC ran the story fourth. TVA's *Le 22h* did not cover the story. Neither did *Global National*, though this could be because the crash occurred while its national newscast (broadcast in the early evening) was already airing in Eastern Canada.

The two regional stories on May 18 also vary significantly in coverage. The Greyhound bus strike in Western Canada received full story coverage with reporters within the top 5 items of each of the English language newscasts. Radio-Canada ran the story 16<sup>th</sup> as a twenty-second announcer text with video, while TVA made no mention of the story. The story of the arrest of a Montreal couple on slavery charges received similar (though inverse) treatment. Radio-Canada and TVA both played the story prominently in their headlines and ran full reports at the top of their newscasts. CBC and

CTV made no mention of the story in their headlines and ran pieces midway through their newscasts (7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>). Global made no mention of the story.

From a broader perspective, on May 18, of their top five network newscast stories, CBC and CTV broadcast four Federal and one ROC story while Global broadcast one Federal and four ROC stories. On the French networks, Radio-Canada broadcast two Federal and four ROC stories, while TVA broadcast five Quebec stories.

### **Discussion**

The ROC/Quebec/Federal distributions as well as the ranking analysis and case study for May 18, 2007 demonstrate that English networks rate Federal and ROC stories as equally relevant to their audiences. Both categories figure prominently throughout their newscasts including the top three lead stories. Quebec stories, though less numerous, also appear throughout English language newscasts, including the lead positions. Stories concerning symbols of the Canadian nation – the dollar and the Snowbirds – also rank highly. The mental maps thus produced by English newscast rankings point to an imagined community where the federal state looms large, with the provinces together as equal though lesser partners.

The ranking analysis illustrates a much different mental map of Canada for TVA's newscast. The fact that ROC stories never appear in the top six spots of the newscast suggests that TVA considers these regions outside Quebec to be of little relevance to the imagined community of their current and potential audience. The low

ratio of Federal stories to Quebec stories, particularly in the first half of the newscast (15 Federal vs. 144 Quebec in ranks 1 through 9) further suggests that this newscast considers Federal stories to be much less relevant to its audience than stories emanating from Quebec, a finding tellingly illustrated by the slight presence in its newscast of stories on two pan-Canadian symbols on May 18, 2007. TVA's mental map illustrated through these rankings is one of an ever-present and dominant Quebec reality, with pan-Canadian interests often though not systematically intruding on the public sphere. In TVA's mental map of Canada, the ROC is largely absent, if not irrelevant.

Radio-Canada's ranking analysis presents a mental-map of its own. Here, Quebec is equal to Canada and the ROC in the spots traditionally devoted to the most relevant and impact-laden stories for an audience: the top three lead stories. In fact, ROC and Federal stories are overrepresented in the top three spots relative to the total number of these stories broadcast by Radio-Canada's *Le Téléjournal*, as illustrated on May 18, 2007, where Radio-Canada's stories from national institutions and Parliament rate as highly as those of English broadcasters. In contrast, after rank three, Quebec stories outnumber ROC and Federal stories combined by a wide margin, on average by two and a half to one. The mental map produced by this ranking analysis shows Quebec as equally present and relevant as the federal government and the ROC combined on the issues of greatest impact for Radio-Canada's audience. Elsewhere, in the parts of the newscast devoted to progressively less political matters in favour of more cultural ones, Quebec becomes clearly dominant, with both the Canadian federation and the ROC fading to secondary roles.

### Where Are We Going From There? Trends in Broadcasters' Mental Maps.

These findings are consistent with those from previous content analyses described in Chapter 3. Trends in coverage over four decades can now provide us with a picture of the evolution of these portrayals. Are networks becoming more or less pan-Canadian in their coverage? Are they covering Quebec more or less? What about other regions of the country? The following charts compare the relative coverage of Canadian stories (Federal, ROC and Quebec) as analysed in six content analyses dating back to 1977. For methodological reasons, Mousseau's (1970) content analysis of network news is excluded from this comparison.<sup>18</sup>

Table 5  
Federal, ROC and Quebec stories by newscast as a percentage of total Canadian stories by content analysis study 1977 – 2007.

		1977	1987	1998	2000	2007
<b>TVA</b>	Federal	-----	31.7	12.0	15.3	16.0
	ROC	-----	6.4	6.4	3.5	2.9
	Quebec	-----	61.9	81.6	81.2	81.0
<b>R-C</b>	Federal	39.4	40.0	18.0	25.3	19.5
	ROC	8.5	10.0	17.6	12.9	11.9
	Quebec	52.1	50.0	64.4	61.8	68.7
<b>CBC</b>	Federal	53.7	50.8	28.1	-----	49.2
	ROC	28.8	31.1	55.3	-----	44.9
	Quebec	17.5	18.1	16.2	-----	5.9
<b>CTV</b>	Federal	-----	54.0	-----	-----	47.5
	ROC	-----	35.0	-----	-----	44.4
	Quebec	-----	11.0	-----	-----	8.1
<b>GLO</b>	Federal	-----	-----	-----	-----	44.4
	ROC	-----	-----	-----	-----	52.5
	Quebec	-----	-----	-----	-----	3.1

Over the past four decades, French-language broadcasters and the CBC have been diverging in their relative coverage of the ROC, Quebec and the Federation. French national newscasts have become more Quebec-centred in their coverage, while CBC's *The National* devotes less time than ever to Quebec coverage. It also appears that CTV has decreased its Quebec coverage, though its movement is less marked than the CBC's.

More significantly, and notwithstanding expressions of political and regulatory will from Ottawa and the CRTC<sup>19</sup>, French broadcasters have increased their Quebec coverage over the years to 68.7 percent and 81.0 percent, while simultaneously halving their coverage of Federal stories. Radio-Canada's 2007 ROC coverage stands at less than 12 percent, while TVA's coverage of the ROC has been cut in half, from 6.4 percent in 1987 to 2.9 percent in 2007.

CBC is the only English language broadcaster for which numbers are available once a decade from 1977 to 2007. Its relative geographical coverage has also changed significantly, though in the opposite direction from French broadcasters. While CBC's *The National* has maintained its proportion of Federal stories at close to half its total Canadian stories, its coverage of Quebec has declined dramatically from close to 18 percent in 1977 and 1987 to just under 6 percent in 2007, with a resulting relative increase in ROC stories. The 1987 and 2007 numbers available for *CTV National News* show a slight decline in its coverage of Federal stories (from 54% to 47.5%) and a much sharper decline in its Quebec stories (from 11% to 8.1%) with a resulting increase in ROC stories to nearly half its Canadian stories. The 2007 Federal and ROC numbers for

*Global National* are similar to its English counterparts, and its coverage of Quebec is the lowest of all broadcasters at less than 3 percent of total Canadian stories. The end result is that French and English language viewers are hearing less and less about their others in the ROC and Quebec.

What is driving this continued polarisation of news coverage? The answer to this question could be yet another clue about the forces which lie at the heart of the decades-old divide between French and English language television news coverage in Canada. The following pages attempts such an answer by identifying whether economic, democratic (public sphere) or ethno-cultural models of news production best mirror the actual distribution of news content in Canada.

### **Towards an Explanatory Model: Mental Maps of Canada and its Regions**

As seen in Chapter 3 and in the tables above, content analysis studies from 1964 to 2001 consistently show that French national newscasts concentrate their coverage in Quebec, while CBC, CTV and Global focus on larger provinces in the rest of Canada or ROC. The following table looks more closely at the mental maps of Canada produced by national network newscasts in 2007. It excludes both “International” and “Federal” stories and focuses only on “Regional” stories and their geographical provenance. Each regional Canadian story was coded for its provincial geographical provenance. These were then grouped by region (West, Ontario, Quebec and Atlantic) in order to increase the reliability of the samples.<sup>20</sup>

Table 6  
Regional distribution of Canadian items, by network

	WEST	ONTARIO	QUEBEC	ATLANTIC	Total items
TVA % items	<b>0.7%</b> 2	<b>2.4%</b> 7	<b>96.5%</b> 278	<b>0.3%</b> 1	100% n=288
R-C % items	<b>4.9%</b> 13	<b>6.8%</b> 18	<b>85.6%</b> 226	<b>2.7%</b> 7	100% n=264
CBC % items	<b>36.4%</b> 32	<b>37.5%</b> 33	<b>12.5%</b> 11	<b>13.6%</b> 12	100% n=88
CTV % items	<b>35.7%</b> 30	<b>41.7%</b> 35	<b>15.5%</b> 13	<b>7.1%</b> 6	100% n=84
GLO % items	<b>40.9%</b> 36	<b>47.7%</b> 42	<b>5.7%</b> 5	<b>5.7%</b> 5	100% n=88
					N=812

### Models of News Production

The economic theory of television news puts forth the idea that broadcasters are primarily interested in delivering audiences to advertisers. As wealthier audiences are considered more valuable to advertisers, the theory further advances that broadcasters consciously or unconsciously gear their news coverage to wealthier potential audiences. In contrast, the public sphere theory suggests that that in a democratic society, national news providers should primarily focus on maximizing their reach to all citizens, regardless of their financial wealth. This model lies at the heart of the ideal of public broadcasting but is also widespread among journalists working for private broadcasters.

A further “ethno-cultural” model is advanced by De Bonville and Vermette (1994) in their comparison of Canadian network news coverage in 1977 and 1987. This model, summarized by the phrase “à société distincte, télévision différente” (716), is that the public sphere ideal *and* economic imperatives, as well as political ideals and administrative directives all influence the coverage of Canadian national newscasts, but

only under the umbrella of a “practically irresistible” force: that of the ethno-cultural split in Canada delineated by its two official linguistic communities.

Puisque les réseaux de télévision s’adressent à des auditoires présentant des caractéristiques socioculturelles différentes, le régime démocratique et capitaliste dans lequel se situent les médias électroniques les pousse de manière pratiquement irrésistible à rendre compte de ces caractéristiques dans leurs journaux télévisés. (716)

The following analyses attempt to shed light on which models of news production mirror the ways in which Canadian networks consciously and unconsciously construct the mental maps of Canada within of their national newscasts. This will be done by testing for similarities between the theoretical models of news production and the mental maps of Canada which come into being through regional news selection. In order to establish where similarities exist, statistical proxies are used for each theoretical model.

The proxy for the economic model is regional contribution to GDP. The idea is that newscasts most affected by the economic model of news production will provide more coverage from wealthier regions of Canada in an effort to attract the wealthier viewers most prized by advertisers. Thus, the relative wealth of Canadian regions serves as a benchmark for expected coverage of these regions. It is expected that if the economic model holds true, then the proportion of regional news coverage will closely mirror the relative wealth of Canada’ regions.

The proxy for the public sphere model is regional population statistics. Newscasts operating within the public sphere model should provide coverage relative to

the numbers of citizens in particular regions. Should the public sphere model hold true, it is expected that the proportion of regional news coverage will closely mirror the relative population of these regions.

Finally, there will be two proxies for the ethno-cultural model, both based on official languages, which, as discussed in Chapter 2, is Canadians' primary marker of belonging to a national community. In the first, the relative regional distribution of Canadians with a working knowledge of French will serve as a benchmark for expected coverage of these regions by French-language broadcasters, while the regional distribution of Canadians with a working knowledge of English will serve as the English-language broadcasters' benchmark. In the second, the regional distribution of French or English mother-tongue speakers will serve as the benchmark for expected coverage by French and English language national newscasts. Should some form of the ethno-cultural model hold true, it is expected that the proportion of regional news coverage will be closely aligned with the relative number of French or English speakers/mother-tongue speakers of those same regions.

Figures for each of the theoretical proxies are from Statistics Canada. The GDP, population and official language statistics used are those compiled closest to the dates of the network newscast sampling.<sup>21</sup>

## The Tests

In order to compare Regional coverage statistics of the content analysis against theoretical measures of provincial “importance”, a series of chi-square “Goodness of fit” tests<sup>22</sup> were run to see to what extent the regional coverage of different national newscasts mirrors our variables of theoretical interest: gross domestic product (GDP), population and knowledge of official languages. In interpreting these chi-square test results, it must be noted that a result where  $p < 0.05$  indicates a significant difference between the distribution of regional coverage and the distribution based on the theoretical variable, while a result where  $p > 0.05$  indicates no significant difference between the distribution of regional coverage and the distribution for the theoretical variable.

**Test 1 - Regional coverage and GDP per region.** It is possible to expect that the distribution of regional coverage will be proportional to the contribution of various regions to the gross domestic product of Canada. If this hypothesis of similarity between coverage and GDP holds true, then it should be expected for example that out of TVA’s 288 “Canadian” news items, 94 would come from the West, 119 from Ontario, 59 from Quebec and 16 from the Atlantic region.<sup>23</sup> To test this hypothesis, chi-square “Goodness of fit” analyses were conducted for each network newscast. The results are presented in Tables 7 to 11. The chi-square test results indicate that for TVA, Radio-Canada, CBC and Global, regional distribution of news items is significantly different from the expected distribution based on gross domestic product per region, while for CTV, there is no significant difference between the regional distribution of coverage and the expected coverage based on GDP.

**Table 7: TVA regional coverage relative to GDP**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	2	94.0	-92.0
Ontario	7	119.0	-112.0
Quebec	278	59.0	219.0
Atlantic	1	16.0	-15.0
Total	288		

Chi-Square 1002.415      df 3      p= .000      **significant difference**

**Table 8: Radio-Canada regional coverage relative to GDP**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	13	86.0	-73.0
Ontario	18	109.0	-91.0
Quebec	226	54.0	172.0
Atlantic	7	15.0	-8.0
Total	264		

Chi-Square 690.056      df 3      p= .000      **significant difference**

**Table 9: CBC regional coverage relative to GDP**

CBC	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	32	29.0	3.0
Ontario	33	36.0	-3.0
Quebec	11	18.0	-7.0
Atlantic	12	5.0	7.0
Total	88		

Chi-Square 13.083      df 3      p= .004      **significant difference**

**Table 10: CTV regional coverage relative to GDP**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	30	27.0	3.0
Ontario	35	35.0	.0
Quebec	13	17.0	-4.0
Atlantic	6	5.0	1.0
Total	84		

Chi-Square 1.475      df 3      p= .688      *no significant difference*

**Table 11: Global regional coverage relative to GDP**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	36	29.0	7.0
Ontario	42	36.0	6.0
Quebec	5	18.0	-13.0
Atlantic	5	5.0	.0
Total	88		

Chi-Square 12.079      df 3      p= .007      **significant difference**

**Test 2 - Regional coverage and population.** Another possibility is that regional distribution within newscasts mirrors regional population numbers<sup>24</sup>. Chi-square analyses were conducted. The results are presented in Tables 12 to 16. Here again, regional coverage on TVA, Radio-Canada, CBC and Global is significantly different than the expected coverage based on the population of various regions of the country. The obverse holds true for *CTV National News*, where regional coverage is not significantly different from its expected coverage based on regional population distribution.

**Table 12: TVA regional coverage relative to population**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	2	88.0	-86.0
Ontario	7	113.0	-106.0
Quebec	278	67.0	211.0
Atlantic	1	20.0	-19.0
Total	288		

**Chi-Square 866.022      df 3      p= .000      significant difference**

**Table 13: Radio-Canada regional coverage relative to population**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	13	81.0	-68.0
Ontario	18	102.0	-84.0
Quebec	226	62.0	164.0
Atlantic	7	19.0	-12.0
Total	264		

**Chi-Square 567.648      df 3      p= .000      significant difference**

**Table 14: CBC regional coverage relative to population**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	32	27.0	5.0
Ontario	33	34.0	-1.0
Quebec	11	21.0	-10.0
Atlantic	12	6.0	6.0
Total	88		

**Chi-Square 11.717      df 3      p= .008      significant difference**

**Table 15: CTV regional coverage relative to population**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	30	25.0	5.0
Ontario	35	33.0	2.0
Quebec	13	20.0	-7.0
Atlantic	6	6.0	.0
Total	84		

Chi-Square 3.571      df 3      p= .312

*no significant difference*

**Table 16: Global regional coverage relative to population**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
<b>West</b>	36	27.0	9.0
<b>Ontario</b>	42	34.0	8.0
<b>Quebec</b>	5	21.0	-16.0
<b>Atlantic</b>	5	6.0	-1.0
<b>Total</b>	88		

Chi-Square 17.239      df 3      p= .001

**significant difference**

**Test 3 - Regional coverage and knowledge of official languages.** A further possibility is that regional news coverage mirrors the regional distribution of Canadians with a working knowledge of Canada's official languages<sup>25</sup>. Thus for TVA and Radio-Canada, regional coverage could mirror the regional distribution of Canadians with a working knowledge of French, while the proportion of news from various regions on CBC, CTV and Global could closely align with the distribution of Canadians with a working knowledge of English. The following tables present the results of the chi-square analyses of this hypothesis. Tables 17 and 18 show significant differences between French language broadcasters' regional coverage and French-language knowledge distribution across Canada. Conversely Tables 19, 20 and 21 shows that English language broadcasters' coverage is not significantly different from their expected coverage based on knowledge of English across Canada.

**Table 17: TVA regional coverage relative to French knowledge**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	2	20.0	-18.0
Ontario	7	43.0	-36.0
Quebec	278	211.0	67.0
Atlantic	1	14.0	-13.0
Total	288		

Chi-Square 79.686      df 3      p= .000      *significant difference*

**Table 18: R-C regional coverage relative to French knowledge**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	13	18.0	-5.0
Ontario	18	39.0	-21.0
Quebec	226	194.0	32.0
Atlantic	7	13.0	-6.0
Total	264		

Chi-Square 20.744      df 3      p= .000      *significant difference*

**Table 19: CBC regional coverage relative to English knowledge**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	32	31.0	1.0
Ontario	33	39.0	-6.0
Quebec	11	11.0	.0
Atlantic	12	7.0	5.0
Total	88		

Chi-Square 4.527      df 3      p= .210      *no significant difference*

**Table 20: CTV regional coverage relative to English knowledge**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	30	29.0	1.0
Ontario	35	37.0	-2.0
Quebec	13	11.0	2.0
Atlantic	6	7.0	-1.0
Total	84		

Chi-Square .649      df 3      p= .885      *no significant difference*

**Table 21: GLO regional coverage relative to English knowledge**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	36	31.0	5.0
Ontario	42	39.0	3.0
Quebec	5	11.0	-6.0
Atlantic	5	7.0	-2.0
Total	88		

Chi-Square 4.881      df 3      p= .181      *no significant difference*

**Test 4 - Regional coverage relative to mother-tongue speakers of French and English.** A final postulate is that the distribution of regional coverage will be proportional to the proportion of Canadians whose mother tongue is either English or French<sup>26</sup>. To test this hypothesis, chi-square analyses were conducted for each newscast based on its broadcast language. The results are presented in Tables 22 to 26. The chi-square test results indicate that for CBC and CTV, regional distribution of Canadian news items is significantly different than their expected regional distribution based on the population with English as a mother tongue, while they are not significantly different for *Global National*. The regional distribution of French mother tongue speakers is not significantly different than the distribution of regional news items for *Radio-Canada's Le Téléjournal*, and is significantly different than TVA's distribution of regional newscast items.

**Table 22: TVA regional coverage and French mother tongue**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	2	8.0	-6.0
Ontario	7	21.0	-14.0
Quebec	278	248.0	30.0
Atlantic	1	11.0	-10.0
Total	288		

Chi-Square 26.553

df 3

p= .000

significant difference

**Table 23: R-C regional coverage and French mother tongue**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	13	7.0	6.0
Ontario	18	19.0	-1.0
Quebec	226	228.0	-2.0
Atlantic	7	10.0	-3.0
Total	264		

Chi-Square 6.113

df 3

p= .106

no significant difference

**Table 24: CBC regional coverage and English mother tongue**

CBC	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	32	35.0	-3.0
Ontario	33	41.0	-8.0
Quebec	11	3.0	8.0
Atlantic	12	9.0	3.0
Total	88		

Chi-Square 24.151      df 3      p= .000      **significant difference**

**Table 25: CTV regional coverage and English mother tongue**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	30	33.0	-3.0
Ontario	35	39.0	-4.0
Quebec	13	3.0	10.0
Atlantic	6	9.0	-3.0
Total	84		

Chi-Square 35.016      df 3      p= .000      **significant difference.**

**Table 26: Global regional coverage and English mother tongue**

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
West	36	35.0	1.0
Ontario	42	41.0	1.0
Quebec	5	3.0	2.0
Atlantic	5	9.0	-4.0
Total	88		

Chi-Square 3.164      df 3      p= .367      **no significant difference**

The results of “no significant difference” in the chi-square “Goodness of fit” tests shown in Tables 7 to 26 are now summarised in Table 27. It bears repeating that a finding of “no significant difference” indicates that the actual regional coverage of the network mirrored the expected distribution of coverage based on the theoretical variable (GDP, Population, Language knowledge or Mother tongue).

Table 27  
**Regional news distributions showing no significant difference with expected distributions based on theoretical values, by national network newscast**

	GDP	Population	Language knowledge	Mother Tongue
TVA	--	--	--	--
Radio-Canada	--	--	--	yes
CBC	--	--	yes	--
CTV	yes	yes	yes	--
Global	--	--	yes	yes

### Discussion

The results of these chi-square analyses lend weight to Bonville and Vermette's (1994) ethno-cultural model of news production in Canada, and to their contention that language plays a pivotal role in the relative coverage of Canadian regions within national newscasts. Only in the case of CTV do theoretical variables other than linguistic ones result in a finding of "no significant difference" with the expected distributions, and even here, news distribution is more strongly mirrored with English-language knowledge distribution ( $p=.885$ ), than with GDP distribution ( $p=.688$ ) or population distribution ( $p=.312$ ). CBC also shows an association with English-language knowledge while Global shows distribution similarities with both English-language knowledge and English as a mother tongue. For its part, Radio-Canada's regional coverage shows similarities with French mother-tongue distribution. TVA is the only broadcaster to show no association between its regional news distribution and a language-based theoretical variable, thus lending further support to the idea that for TVA, French speakers outside Quebec are not considered part of its potential audience.

The results of these tests do not mean that language is the only criterion for the regional distribution of news. Factors of news discovery and selection discussed in Chapter 3 have not ceased to operate; they are simply filtered through the prism of audience language. Nor does it preclude the influence of economic and public sphere models of news production. Only now, the public sphere can no longer be defined as “all Canadians”, but as separate sub-spheres of Canadians who speak a specific official language and who are unevenly distributed throughout the country. It also appears that the audiences that could be sold to advertisers are perceived by networks as most interested in hearing about stories occurring within their own linguistically and geographically constrained public spheres. Of the news production models advanced, only the ethno-cultural model accounts for the differences in regional coverage between broadcasters of similar ownership status and the striking similarities in the mental maps of Canada presented by national newscasts that share the same language.

The results of these analyses dovetail well with previously discussed ways of defining nation(s) within Canada. English-language news distributions show “no significant difference” with English-language knowledge distribution within Canada. While all English broadcasters appear to consider all English speakers in Canada as their potential audience, Radio-Canada primarily views its audience as French-language *mother tongue* Canadians, while TVA’s 96.5 percent regional coverage of Quebec shows that it views its audience almost exclusively as Quebec French-speakers. Transposed to the question of national identification discussion in Chapter 2, these results could indicate that English broadcasters consciously and unconsciously reflect the traditional view of

Canada as a unitary nation, while TVA represents an imagined community of a Quebec nation mostly separate and distinct from English Canada. Radio-Canada's coverage illustrates a less categorical picture than TVA, and perhaps partially represents an older version of a French-Canadian nationalism rather than a more strictly geographically bound Québécois nationalism.

### **Searching for Common Identity Amidst Diverging Coverage**

Regardless of the reasons for these choices in coverage, the result is that the “mental maps” of Canada produced in network news differ significantly by broadcaster. These differences are particularly acute between French and English networks. It is reasonable to conclude that the average viewer of a French television newscast will see very little of an “imagined community” outside the province of Quebec, while the average viewer of an English newscast will receive scant images from Quebec relative to its “weight” (as defined by population and GDP) within Confederation.

Canadian television news therefore operates in a way that “distances” Quebec and the ROC for their respective French and English audiences. What these numbers do not tell us, however, is whether this linguistic/geographic division is also accompanied by separate interpretations of the nature of the Canadian federation *within* the stories that run in these newscasts. Do French and English television newscasts produce separate or common discourses on the national question? To answer this question, we must first look at the number of common stories between each pair of newscasts.

Table 28  
**Common Canadian stories run by network newscast (vertical axis) as a percentage of total Canadian stories on other network newscasts (horizontal axis)**

	TVA (n=343)	R-C (n=329)	CBC (n=185)	CTV (n=160)	GLO (n=160)
TVA	100%	43%	23%	31%	24%
R-C	41%	100%	33%	39%	32%
CBC	14%	20%	100%	44%	46%
CTV	16%	21%	39%	100%	45%
GLO	11%	16%	37%	42%	100%

blue French network percentage of other French network's Canadian stories  
red English network percentage of other English network's Canadian stories  
green French network percentage of other English network's Canadian stories  
yellow English network percentage of other French network's Canadian stories

French networks share 41 and 43 percent of their Canadian stories, while English networks share between 37 and 46 percent of theirs. French networks run between 23 and 39 percent of the Canadian stories run on English networks, while English networks run between 11 and 21 percent of the Canadian stories broadcast on French networks. Further comparisons risk running into serious error, as the hour-long newscasts on Radio-Canada and TVA have much larger news holes than the half-hour Global and CTV newscasts, while CBC runs substantially longer pieces than any other broadcaster in its hour-long newscasts. Nonetheless, this analysis shows stronger agreements on what makes the news between newscasts that share the same language rather than those that share ownership status. It also shows a minimum commonality of 11 percent (Global's share of TVA's Canadian stories) and a maximum commonality of 39 percent (Radio-Canada's share of CTV's Canadian stories) *between* French and English broadcasters.

These common Canadian stories are of particular interest in the present study. Further breakdowns for common Canadian stories show that a total of twenty-nine stories of Federal interest were broadcast on at least four of five networks, and were therefore seen across Canada by viewers of both French and English newscasts. Though these Federal stories account for a small proportion of the total stories on all networks (less than 12%), and comprise a much lesser proportion of the whole on French newscasts, they could nonetheless comprise the political communication identified by Anderson (2007), Collins (1991) Deutsch (1966) and Monière (2001) as constitutive of national identity. Together, these stories could form the basis for an imagined community shared by all Canadians. Crucially, to accomplish this function, these stories common to both French and English networks would also have to speak in the same ways about the nation, using similar language, and identifying consciously and unconsciously common symbols, values and histories to represent the nation. These types of determinations are more properly done through discourse analysis. This is the purview of Chapter 5.

## CHAPTER 5

### Discourse Analysis of National News Stories

As seen in Chapter 4, French and English Canadian network news programs present radically different mental maps of Canada to their viewers. These mental maps can contribute to the construction of very different images of the country in the minds of audiences in French and English Canada. Still, a certain number of stories about Canada appear on French and English television newscasts, both private and public. Of the total stories analysed in eighty separate newscasts, twenty-three ran on all five networks and six appeared on at least four networks, for a total of twenty-nine stories that had substantial play across Canada in both official languages. Though not particularly numerous relative to overall numbers, these represent the “common stories” that have the ability -- following Collins (1991), Deutsch (1966), Hobsbaum (1992) and Anderson (2007) -- to help forge common national imagined communities across linguistic barriers. Crucially, this requires that these “common stories” also be told in essentially the same ways.

Early state monopolies in television and radio could readily “function as a public space for a democratic polity” (Katz, 1998: 46) within a national framework. As seen in Chapter 2, this was the principal motivating force behind the creation, maintenance and regulation of national broadcasting in Canada. But in today’s segmented television marketplace with French, English, public and private networks, do common interpretations necessarily follow from common story choices at the “discovery” and “selection” processes of news making? Or do the internal structures of news stories, their

frames of reference and projected realities differ in significant ways between national newscasts? In particular, does the “reporting” process of common Canadian stories (re)produce similar images of nation regardless of the broadcaster, or do different broadcasters project different national pictures of Canada through the choices made at the “reporting” level of news production? This chapter attempts to answer these questions.

### **The Value of Discourse Analysis**

Content analyses since 1964 have revealed much about the ways in which national newscasts in Canada geographically construct the nation(s). But they have hit a wall when attempting to analyse the expression of more complex identities. Monière and Fortier’s analysis attempted to determine whether Canadian or Québécois identity was more favoured on CBC, Radio-Canada and TVA by counting the number of verbal references to “Quebec” and “Canada” and the appearance of various “références identitaires” (Quebec and Canadian flags, maple leafs and fleurs de lys, etc) on each national newscast (2000: 92-95). Unsurprisingly, the networks that broadcast the most news from Quebec (TVA and Radio-Canada) also had the most verbal references to Quebec while CBC’s *The National* broadcast “une représentation équitable de l’identité Québécoise” (93) relative to its number of Quebec stories at 16 percent. Their finding that visual representations of Canadian national symbols were more numerous on CBC and Radio-Canada than TVA is likewise unsurprising, though they offered no explanation of the fact that on the CBC, nearly 26 percent of total “national symbols” were from Quebec, far more than the 16 percent coverage of the province might warrant. What is missing is *how* these symbols are presented within the newscast, a question unanswerable

through simple content analysis. As noted by Monière and Fortier themselves, though the method may be “systématique et objective”, it does not take into account the *context* in which the words and images counted are used (92). Paradoxically, at increasing levels of precision, content analysis becomes less able to illuminate the more complex relationships between stories within a newscast’s structure and the different ways in which newscasts speak of the same objects and stories.

An example from the present content analysis further illustrates the need for discourse analysis. On May 3, 2007, all five national newscasts ran a story on Queen Elizabeth the Second’s trip to Jamestown, Virginia for the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations of the first British colony in the Americas. Further content analysis breakdowns show that some English networks ranked the story highly (Global 4<sup>th</sup>, CBC 5<sup>th</sup>), while CTV ranked it last and Radio-Canada and TVA placed the visit in the middle of their newscasts in 11<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> position respectively. Finally, counts show that CBC, TVA and CTV each broadcast a full two and a half minute account of the visit while Global and Radio-Canada ran thirty second anchor-read texts with images. A strict conclusion might be that French and English public and private newscasts shared both overlapping and diverging interest in this story concerning one of the symbols of the Canadian state.

A closer reading of newscast structures paints a considerably different picture – a picture not measurable through content analysis. Both Radio-Canada and TVA precede their reports on the Queen’s Jamestown visit with full stories that create viewing contexts that are wholly different from those on English networks.

Radio-Canada's lead-in story to the Queen's visit covers the Scottish parliamentary elections in which there is a strong chance that the "Parti Nationaliste pourrait décrocher le pouvoir" and where Scottish National Party leader Alex Salmon "rêve d'une Écosse indépendante." It is further revealed that a very concerned Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has visited Scotland five times during the campaign to try to prevent a Scottish Nationalist Party victory. The viewing frame for the Queen's visit thus created is one in which the "United Kingdom" she represents is perhaps not so united, and where one of its constituent parts is engaged in a struggle very similar to Quebec's. With the Queen's visit thus framed, the message sent consciously or unconsciously by *Le Téléjournal's* journalists is clearly not one of the Queen as an unproblematic symbol for a united Canada.

TVA's lead-in story to the Queen's visit also acts to emphasize distance between the monarch and *Le 22 heures'* audience. Titled "Une fonction à abolir?", the story deals with pressures within Quebec, including from provincial Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Benoît Pelletier, to abolish all ties to the monarchy, beginning with the position of Lieutenant-Governor. "La Russie a eu son dernier tsar, la Chine son dernier empereur, le Québec aura-t-il son dernier lieutenant-gouverneur?" asks the host, framing the position of Lieutenant-Governor as a remnant of a bygone era. Within the story, Benoît Pelletier makes a distinction between many "Canadiens" who still care very deeply about the monarchy and "les Québécois" who have much less interest in the symbol. The story ends with reporter Alexis Deschênes reminding the viewer of the "défi d'allure

impossible...de s'attaquer à la royauté au Canada". The idea of challenging the place of the monarchy in Canada seems impossible, he says, in light of the fact that such a constitutional change would require convincing "toutes les provinces et le fédéral". The host of *Le 22 heures* then returns on camera to introduce the Queen's visit, starting with "Parlant de la royauté justement, la Reine d'Angleterre est en visite officielle aux États-Unis..." Though the frame provided by the previous story is not likely to lead TVA's viewers to unproblematically perceive the Queen as "theirs", the added qualifier of "d'Angleterre" to "la Reine" further contributes to distancing the monarch from the French-speaking Quebecers who form *Le 22 heures*'s target audience.

English networks do not verbally link their reports on the Queen's Jamestown visit to the stories that immediately precede them, though their choices for these stories are a study in contrast with the choices made on French network newscasts. CBC's *The National* runs the Queen's visit immediately following a feel-good story about Canadian soldiers playing a friendly game of hockey against NHL old-timers in the heat of Kandahar province, Afghanistan – a story that includes a ten second excerpt of the Canadian national anthem. *Global National* runs its coverage of the visit following a commercial break, while *CTV National News* chooses the Queen's visit as one of its three headlines and runs its story last in the newscast, in the slot generally reserved for warmer human-interest stories. Anchor Lloyd Robertson introduces CTV's coverage by saying: "Canadians tend to think of the Queen as our own". In these ways, English networks represent the Queen as an unproblematic symbol, a warm and unifying figure for all Canadians.

The kind of close reading illustrated above allows for deeper and more meaningful conclusions than those possible through content analysis alone. In the present case, the content analysis conclusion that all newscasts broadcast similar stories about the Queen's visit to Jamestown must be revisited through the finding that French-language networks also frame their stories in ways that distance their audiences from the Queen as a potential symbol of national belonging.

### **Previous Discourse Analyses of Canadian News**

Scholars have conducted relatively few comparative discourse analyses of Canadian news stories in French and English. These studies found significant differences in content, presentation and/or framing of events. Halford, van den Hoven, Romanow and Soderlund's analysis (1983) of Toronto and Montreal radio, television and newspaper coverage during the 1980 Quebec referendum campaign found that while French media gave a slight edge to the "Non" side, "English language media produced greater percentages of evaluative material...consistently supportive of the Non option while hostile of the Yes option" (25).

In *Constructing the Quebec Referendum*, Robinson (1998) performed a discourse analysis on French and English 1980 referendum coverage in newspapers and on television. Though she found many differences in the content and discursive strategies of French and English television newscasts, she suggested that the use of interpretive rhetorical devices in all newscasts actually favoured the "No" side in both languages.<sup>27</sup>

Robinson also examined the particular history of Quebec-based journalism as well as the historical evolution of nationalist sentiment among French speaking, Anglophone and Allophone groups in Quebec. She showed how particular divergences in French and English language news discourse could be related to the kinds of audiences served by broadcasters with which they shared “common linguistic and cognitive frames” (181). She concluded that the observed differences between French and English coverage could best be explained by the idea that “the public opinion formation process...is both circular and reflexive”, and that in the relationship between audiences and media, “viewers supply the ‘common stocks of knowledge’ about politics in Quebec, and the two media groups act on these in constructing their logics of argumentation” (156). Thus, did she find that television news stories both *shape and are shaped by* the audiences to which they broadcast.

Finally, Gauthier’s (1992) analysis of current affairs stories dealing with the hypothetical consequences of Quebec separation on *The Journal* (CBC) and *Le Point* (Radio-Canada) found that the programs reinforced “two distinct and oppositional mythologies, symbolic cultures and consequently, French and English-Canadian identities” (165) and blamed the result partly on journalism’s tendency towards objectivist discourse.

So it is with the objectivist discourse; the fundamental role of the discourse is the same, but the cultural assumptions about what constitutes a believable tale, what the moral of the story should be and how involved the narrator should be in the story-telling process differ according to English and French-Canada” (179).

The present study varies from previous discourse and content analyses in significant ways. These other studies examined coverage of “hot-button” issues of national import as they were developing or during periods of heightened political tension between Quebec and Canada, such as the 1980 Quebec referendum or the country-wide debates on the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Constitutional Accords. The present discourse analysis aims to look at “background” political communication. It is conducted in a time of relative constitutional peace, nearly ten years after the last major constitutional clash between Quebec and Canada<sup>28</sup>. Its goal is to see whether the day to day coverage of “ordinary” stories contributes to shared or separate images of nation. This will be accomplished through a discourse analysis of “common” news stories broadcast on the same day on multiple networks. This analysis follows an overview of news discourse theory and a description of the tools chosen to conduct the analysis.

### **Discourse and News Production**

As introduced in Chapter 3, one of the most significant ideological markers in news is story “reporting” or *how* a chosen event, issue or person gets covered *as a text or story* (McManus 1996). In “reporting”, journalists select what will be given voice from the vast array of possible events, actions, ideas and practices that animate individuals and societies. Every choice of story involves a process of inclusion and, just as significantly, a process of exclusion. In order to select a story, journalists must first imagine the ways in which it can be told. These choices of story and framing are made because they resonate with deeply embedded ways of thinking. In discussing news production in relation to discourse analysis, Roger Fowler writes:

News values (...) are not simply features of selection, but more importantly, features of representation; and so the distinction between 'selection' and 'transformation' ceases to be absolute; an item can only be selected if it is seen in a certain light of representation, and so selection involves an ideological act of interpretation. (1991: 19)

This "ideological act of interpretation" is not (necessarily) a deliberate one. Journalists produce news within the institutional and social confines of what is acceptable as journalism, or *within the discourse of journalism*. Following Foucault's theory that discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (cited in Mills 2004: 15), so too is the discourse of journalism a practice that is both shaped by and a shaper of journalistic work. In this sense, "one can believe that news is a practice without also believing that news is a conspiracy" (Fowler: 2). In addition, since journalism concerns itself broadly with telling the world the "truth" about itself<sup>29</sup>, its practice is constitutive of other social and institutional discourses, including discourses of nationalism. Through acts of commentary, journalistic practice keeps certain historical, cultural and political narratives in existence, lending them legitimacy and a sense of continued permanence in the *now* of their retelling.

### **Discourse Analysis of News: Macro Level**

As a first step to identifying the ways in which the news stories under analysis participate in the shaping of discourses of nationalism, I searched for similarities and differences in story choice and story frames. This search was facilitated by the using the analytical tools of *lexical structure* and *silencing*.

**Lexical structure.** Lexical structure refers to the use of words and phrase lists to uncover the frames and discourses underlying a text. By identifying patterns of sense around recurring key words and concepts in a text, a mental “map” is created of the imagined system of representation in which the text is embedded. Since “vocabulary can be regarded...as a representation of the world *for* a culture; the world as perceived according to the ideological needs of a culture” (Fowler: 82), the analysis of lexical structure serves to uncover the web of accepted meanings that underlie the creation of a text.

### **Silencing.**

“The worlds that shape and are shaped in discourse involve absences as well as presences. Noticing silences, things that are not present, is more difficult than noticing things that are present, but it is equally important” (Johnstone 2002: 58).

One important way in which news practices give voice to some stories and silence others is through the objectivist discourse which constructs and is constructed by journalistic practice. Journalism positions itself as an “empirical information-gathering activity” in which practitioners “are presumed to be dispassionate observers of the world, guided primarily by their observations” (Shoemaker 1996: 243). Journalism practice may no longer always purport to practice strict “objectivity”, but it does claim to seek “balance” and “fairness”<sup>30</sup>. These formulations all obscure the fact that reporting a story still involves selecting *one* story among many, deciding which elements of that story are worth telling and in what order, choosing which spokespeople will be given legitimacy within the story, arranging the order in which they will be allowed to speak and in what relation to one another. Against this background, “fairness” and “balance” is likely to be

what *appears to be so* in reference to a particular social and institutional context. A “fair and balanced” story will most likely reflect the discursive position that most closely agrees with the hegemonic social and institutional discourse (along with its minority “oppositional” stance) within which the journalist, the newscast and its audience are situated. In this way, the “objectivist discourse” of journalism silences *alternative* renderings of a story, and when it does give them voice, often marginalizes them to barely a whisper.

### **Discourse Analysis of News: Micro Level**

In *Discourse Analysis*, Johnstone writes of more subtle habits of texts and talk that contribute to the reproduction of discourses: “Ways of talking produce and reproduce ways of thinking, and ways of thinking can be manipulated via choices about grammar, style, wording, and every other aspect of language” (2002: 45). To uncover these more subtle markers of discourse, Roger Fowler champions productive contextual and intuitive approaches based on multiple analytical resources (1991). For this discourse analysis, I chose to apply the following tools: *changes in footing, forms of address, visual embedding*.

**Changes in footing.** A change in footing occurs when a speaker “alter(s) the social role in which he is active, even though his capacity as animator and author remains constant” (Goffman 1981: 145). The use of “I” or “we” and switches between these footings occurs frequently in everyday interactions, but is uncommon in journalists’ reports, since their ideological stance as impartial observers of events is marked linguistically by the detachment of third person address. Since changes in footing are rare

in journalistic practice, they will have strong analytical value by helping to identify the particular contexts in which reporters or anchors feel that personal identification with their audiences (through the use of “we” or “our” for example) is natural and unproblematic.

**Forms of address.** Closely related to the concept of changes in footing is the idea that the ways chosen to name or address people are markers of relationship. The use of more or less formal modes of address “is always in some ways a rhetorical move” that “helps create, change or reaffirm a social relationship, in addition to indexing a set of conventional expectations” (Johnstone: 120). In this analysis, I will look at the forms of address used to introduce socio-political actors to determine the ways in which journalists from different networks perceive and construct their audience’s relationships with the characters in their stories.

**Visual embedding.** “The advantage of visual arguments over print or spoken arguments lies in their evocative power.” (Blair 2002: 51) Visual “texts” can be used to embed underlying messages and emotional appeals. This process, accomplished through repetition in mass media, is often evoked by theorists of nationalism as the mechanism through which certain national images and symbols are “created and purveyed, so that the nation becomes the immemorial imagined community of all those designated as its members and citizens” (Smith 2000: 73). In this analysis, attention will be paid to the ways in which repetition of images and messages serves to create specific identifications to “iconic” images of nation.

### **Selection Methodology (Corpus)**

This discourse analysis focuses on stories that were broadcast on the same day on four or five flagship network newscasts, that were predictable and that were based on information readily available to all networks. Parliamentary or legislative stories emanating from Ottawa or Quebec's Assemblée Nationale were excluded based on the expectation that the presence of the separatist Bloc Québécois and Parti Québécois at the federal and provincial levels of government would skew the findings towards the idea that French television news reproduces the idea of a bi-national Canada while English television news reproduces the idea of a unitary Canadian nation. "Predictable" describes stories for which coverage could be anticipated and planned. This criterion serves to exclude so-called "hot" stories arising on the day of coverage and ensures that the stories to be analysed are the result of a process of reasoned selection rather than reflexive journalistic decision-making. In television newsrooms, such "predictable" stories are more likely to involve many decision-makers at all journalistic levels of the organisation and are thus more likely to reflect a broad newsroom consensus on focus, framing and content. Finally, the criteria of "readily available information" means that all networks should have had access at the same time to the same information as other broadcasters. This meant avoiding stories that were "discovered" in locations where one or more networks would have been dependant on third party news sources such as the Canadian Press. For example, because TVA does not have reporters stationed in Canada outside of the province of Quebec and the Ottawa region, it would not have the same coverage options in cities like Vancouver where all other networks have stationed national reporters. Avoiding stories with unequal network access to the "discovery" and

“selection” processes ensures that networks’ “reporting” choices were made under similar organisational constraints.

Three additional criteria were applied to the selection process. First, the substantive information on the stories must not have been previously published or broadcast either through leaks or advance copies in other media, including the press, radio or the internet. This criterion sought to eliminate any potential *effet d’entraînement* whereby frames, content and/or focus of coverage mirrors the first published or broadcast reports. Second, stories had to have been broadcast in one of the randomly selected days of the content analysis. Finally, in order to determine if similar/different treatments vary according to the “national import” of a specific story, the stories chosen for analysis were from different locations on a continuum of relevance to the “national question”.

Based on these criteria, two stories representing 51 minutes and 15 seconds of broadcast time were selected for analysis: the Survey of the Family results released by Statistics Canada on September 12, 2007 (14 items) and the May 12, 2007 coverage of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the repatriation of the Constitution from Great Britain (11 items). A final example of a Parliamentary story in which differences in treatment are more marked completes the chapter.

### **Survey on the Family Corpus**

On the morning of September 12, 2007, Statistics Canada released its Survey on the Family to all media outlets. Advance information of the release was posted on its

website weeks earlier and reminders were sent to newsrooms across the country in the days preceding the release. This compendium of descriptive statistics on the state of Canadian families was culled from 2006 census data and made available in French and English under the title “2006 Census: Families, marital status, households and dwelling characteristics”. Like many similar releases by Statistics Canada, the numbers became fodder for news stories in national and local media outlets.

The flagship newscasts of the five national networks were recorded on September 12, 2007. All elements relating to the Survey on the Family were identified and transcribed (Appendix B). On this day, all five national newscasts devoted a good portion of their airtime to the presentation and analysis of what each newscast viewed as key findings. Four networks headlined and opened their newscasts with a Survey on the Family story, while TVA ran its story and commentary 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>, after its second commercial break and more than thirty-two minutes into its hour-long newscast. English networks offered the most coverage relative to their “news hole” (length of newscast minus commercials), with values ranging from 11 percent for the CBC to 29 percent for Global, while French networks devoted less time to the story, with Radio-Canada the lowest at 6 percent of its total news hole.

Table 29  
Survey of the Family coverage on five national newscasts

Network	Headline	Item rank	Stories	Analysis	Total time	% of news hole
TVA	-	9, 10	2min20s	1min30s	3min50s	9%
R-C	yes	1	2min45s	-	2min45s	6%
CBC	yes	1,2	4min10s	50s	5min	11%
CTV	yes	1,2	3min05	40s	3min45s	17%
Global	yes	1,2,3	6min25	-	6min25s	29%

## Analysis

The national newscast coverage on this day was informed by Statistics Canada's press release (Appendix C) and complementary report including numerous tables made available to all media. The press release begins with information on its census data and is followed by what Statistics Canada believed to be the most significant numbers and trends revealed by its statistical analysis. The first of these concerned an increase in common-law couples across Canada and the specific contribution of Quebec to these numbers:

The proportion of common-law-couple families rose from 13.8% to 15.5%, while the share of lone-parent families increased slightly from 15.7% to 15.9% (...) In Quebec, where the prevalence of common-law-couple families has been one of the defining family patterns for years, the number of common-law-couple families increased 20.3% between 2001 and 2006 to 611,855. They accounted for 44.4% of the national total. Close to one-quarter (23.4%) of all common-law-couple families in Canada lived in the two census metropolitan areas of Montréal and Québec.

Other significant findings were included under separate subheadings titled "Same-sex married couples counted for the first time", "Households: large increase in one-person households", "More young adults living with their parents" and "Unmarried people outnumber married people for the first time". Unsurprisingly, as "firsts", the statistics on same-sex couples and on total unmarried vs. married couples played prominently on all networks. The press release's lead statistics on the increase in common law couples also received much coverage and analysis on the five national network newscasts. Thus, principal story choices were not significantly different between any of the networks.

Aside from one American statistic on *Global National* (on absent fathers and violent children), all the figures in each of the newscasts came directly from the Statistics Canada press release and accompanying materials, making the variations in story choice and story frames between newscasts (revealed through lexical structure, silencing and footing) significant markers of separate discourses in the construction of news.

### Lexical Structure

One way to begin to tackle the question of national identity in discourse is to identify the frequency of textual references to socio-political categories. Thus, as a first step to analysing the lexical structure of the Survey on the Family Stories, all references to Canada, Quebec, the ROC, specific provinces and cities were counted and categorised by network. References to “Canada” included wordings indicating the state (“the country”, “the nation”), its people (“Canadians”) or the capital (“Ottawa” as political-institutional center). References to “Quebec” included its people (“Québécois”, “Quebecers”). References to “ROC/provinces” included generic appellations (“les autres provinces”, “other provinces”) and only one specific example (“Nouveau Brunswick”). “Cities” included all those named except “Ottawa”, which was assigned to the “Canada” category when used in the sense of the political-institutional center of the country.

Table 30

**Number of references to Canada, Quebec and ROC provinces in national newscast coverage of Statistics Canada’s Survey on the Family – all networks. (Sept.12, 2007)**

	Canada	Quebec	ROC/provinces	Cities
<b>TVA</b>	8	5	-	-
<b>R-C</b>	3	8	4	3 (To,Mtl, Van)
<b>CBC</b>	20	-	1	1 (Toronto)
<b>CTV</b>	14	3	1	2 (Toronto, Vaughan)
<b>Global</b>	12	3	-	4 (Wpg, To, Mtl, Que)

A cursory glance at the number of times different networks refer to Canada, Quebec and other provinces reveals a sharp contrast between French and English networks. “Quebec” is used 8 times in Radio-Canada’s single story, the same number as in all English newscasts combined. “Canada” is referenced 11 times on French networks combined, once fewer than on Global, the English network with the least number of Canada mentions. The CBC, meanwhile, references Canada 20 times, mentions “other” provinces once, and makes no mention at all of Quebec. Of course, these lexical structure numbers are but an *indication* of divergent news treatment. What follows is a more thorough examination of the ways in which these references interact to reproduce different pictures of “nation”.

**CBC’s Pan-Canadian Family of One.** As the lexical structure suggests, CBC frames all the statistics as national and silences provincial and urban/rural differences. Only once is a city (Toronto) identified as a specific outlier: “Among grown children here - those in their 20s - a whopping 58 percent still live with their parents.” Otherwise “Canada’s remarkable new family portrait” is unmarked by regional or cultural difference. Same-sex marriages for example, (50 percent of which Statistics Canada’s press release situates in “the three largest census metropolitan areas, Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver”), are presented only as “legally possible across Canada”. And though oversight or technical error may have played a role, even the clips and visuals of a male couple and their new baby are not geographically marked, contrary to usual CBC practice of systematic graphic identification through place-name “supers”. Finally, the word “provincial” is used once, but refers to provinces in the aggregate, when it is suggested

that in light of pan-Canadian family trends, “provincial health plans may have to be reconfigured or redesigned”.

*The National*'s largest silencing of regional difference is on Quebec's contribution to common law couple statistics. The pan-Canadian increase in common-law couples is mentioned thrice in CBC's coverage: once in the headlines, a second time in the introduction to the story as a census “standout”, and a third in the body of the news report where common-law unions are described as growing “five times faster” than marriage. This repetition reveals the perceived significance and resonance of these numbers for the CBC journalists and their audience. Yet no mention is made of the fact that 44.4 percent of common law couples reside in Quebec, a province with only 23.3 percent of Canada's total population, even though these numbers figure prominently in the married versus common-law couple section of the Statistics Canada press release. By systematically silencing difference, CBC's coverage presents a picture of a unitary Canada, undifferentiated by region or cultures.

CBC's top of newscast headline titled “Who we are” has anchor Peter Mansbridge reading: “Who and when we marry, whether we marry at all. Canada's family portrait is changing”. This opening is a strong marker of the unitary-Canadian coverage that follows. Through the three “we” in this opening, the CBC anchor firmly positions its chief journalist and all those watching on the same footing: part of the “Canadian family.” By abandoning the journalistic footing of third person address in favour of the “we” of belonging, the CBC gives no choice to its audience but to identify as the

“Canadians” exemplified in the “family portrait”. The use of the definite article “*the* Canadian family” further presages the totalizing pan-Canadian coverage that follows. There is, in this story, only one Canada, only one “family” to which all audience members belong.

**CTV’s fractured family.** Although it maintains a journalistic (third-person) footing throughout, *CTV National News* also largely frames “the changing face of Canada’s family portrait” as a pan-Canadian phenomenon, with a few notable exceptions. The newscast provides a more nuanced view of the country by highlighting certain urban/rural differences. Against the growth of non-traditional families illustrated by the same gay couple with child presented by the CBC (but identified here as living in Toronto), the reporter presents the city of Vaughan “just outside of Toronto” as a place where “the so-called traditional family still dominates”. These two examples, though both from the province of Ontario, introduce the idea that difference is also a characteristic of the national picture.

Like CBC’s *The National*, *CTV National News* also underlines the importance of the increase in common-law unions by speaking of it three times in its newscast: in the headlines, in the introduction to the story and in the body of the story itself. But where CBC makes unmarked reference to the numbers as pan-Canadian, CTV qualifies them in relation to Quebec in much the same way as the Statistics Canada press release. In his introduction to the story, anchor Lloyd Robertson reads: “the number of common-law

couples rose 19 percent with almost half of them living in Quebec”. Then, in the body of the news report, reporter Graham Richardson provides further context and analysis:

And for those who still argue that Quebec is not a distinct society, think about common law marriage. This census shows 35 percent of Quebecers live common law, they do not marry. That's more than double other provinces. And, Lloyd, that number is actually driving up the overall common law number across the country.

Significant here is the presentation of these numbers as proof of Quebec’s status as a “distinct society”, a contested appellation which sunk the 1990 Meech Lake Accord after becoming the lightning rod for opponents of its constitutional reforms (Cairns 1991; Resnick 1994). Richardson’s narration also opposes Quebecers’ values to those from “other provinces”. Here, the reporter bolsters an argument not quite for a two-nation Canada, but for a country that includes a different social entity geographically located in Quebec; a “distinct society” that has the significant effect of “driving up the overall common law number across the country”. As Shoemaker discovered in her sociological analysis of news, “the powerful are presented routinely as representing the normal state of affairs, whereas the less powerful, when they do intrude into the symbolic environment, do so as deviants or as stereotyped inferiors.” (1996: 59). CTV’s choice of framing similarly reveals the Canada of the ROC as the norm, with Quebec as “Other” or more accurately, as outsider-within.

**Global’s asymmetrical family.** Of all networks, *Global National* attributes the most airtime to the Family Survey, and arguably, the most importance. The story appears in its headlines and is spun-off into three distinct segments: a first report on the impacts of increased numbers of single parents, a second report on the increase in common law

relationships and a third announcer voice-over and clip on the number of same-sex marriages.

At first glance, Global's coverage is less pan-Canadian than either CTV's or CBC's as measured by a smaller number of references to "Canada". Deeper analysis does not support this conclusion. For example, though Global illustrates its story on increased numbers of single parents with specific examples from Ottawa, Toronto and Winnipeg, all depict aspects of a monolithic situation occurring throughout Canada. There is no mention of differences between the three single parents or the cities they represent. Because they are portrayed as essentially the same, the cities are therefore brought together into a mental map of Canada where they belong, undifferentiated, as essential and equal illustrations of this pan-Canadian issue. Likewise, the voice-over and clip on same-sex marriage is presented as pan-Canadian with no specific reference to the phenomenon as primarily urban.

However, Global's coverage does make reference to Quebec difference. Its story on common-law relationships contains three references to Quebec as a province. It also cites Quebec City and Montreal as two specific cities in the province with large numbers of common-law couples. Each of these references is made in relation to Canada as a whole, with Quebec consistently portrayed as leading a Canada-wide phenomenon as exemplified by the phrases "Quebecers are leading the charge" and "the surge in common law relationships is happening across Canada but is most obvious in the province of Quebec". In these ways, Quebec is framed less as a separate entity than as a part of an

asymmetrical whole. Quebec is here a province, but one with special attributes within Canada. Of all the portrayals of Canada illustrated through the Survey on the Family coverage, *Global National's* most resembles the “nation within a united Canada” portrayal outlined in the House of Commons motion of December 2006. Yet even this more inclusive framing is significantly different from the ways in which French networks portray the Quebec/Canada relationship in their coverage of the Survey on the Family.

**Radio-Canada's two nation family.** Radio-Canada takes up CTV's “distinct society” theme, and makes it the centerpiece of its coverage. Its headline, “En amour, le Québec est une société distincte: les Québécois, champions du monde des unions libres”, not only frames Quebec as “distinct”, but as the “world champion” of common law unions. The headline also contains an analysis of the difference between Quebec and Canada, as presented in a clip by university professor Céline Le Bourdais: “Ailleurs au Canada, on a des unions libres au début, mais quand les enfants arrivent, on se marie.” Thus, Quebecers are framed as different from the rest of Canadians in an essential way.

Radio-Canada's use of “Quebec” and “Canada” as national reference points supports this frame. Analysis of the lexical structure shows that “Quebec” is referenced most often (8 times), with the ROC/provinces next with 4 mentions. More importantly, three of these ROC mentions oppose Quebec to “les autres provinces”, “beaucoup d'autres provinces” and “ailleurs au Canada”, while the last mention places “Nouveau-Brunswick” in relation to Quebec as “la province voisine”. Crucially, the textual order of this opposition always places Quebec first, with the “autres” ROC provinces in contrast

to the Quebec centre. Only three times are mentions of “Canada” and Canadian numbers not placed in relation to Quebec, a far cry from English broadcasters’ “Canada” references (CBC 20, CTV 14, and Global 12).

In this same spirit, while other broadcasters either speak of common law union numbers across Canada, or across Canada *as affected* by Quebec numbers, *Le Téléjournal* is the only newscast to present statistics for common-law unions in the Rest of Canada (ROC) *as opposed* to Quebec. So while other broadcasters put the number of common law unions in Canada at 15.5 percent, with Quebec *in particular* at 35 percent, Radio Canada removes the Quebec numbers from Canada as a whole to calculate a separate ROC percentage, and just as significantly, presents the Quebec numbers first: “C'est au Québec que les couples en union libre sont les plus nombreux : ils représentent 35 pourcent de l'ensemble des couples. La moyenne dans les autres provinces est à peine supérieure à 13 pourcent.” This particular choice of focus has the effect of reversing English private newscasts’ frames of Quebec as modifier of Canadian society, to a frame of Quebec and the ROC as two separate and distinct social phenomena.

Radio-Canada also takes its analysis one step further by claiming that common-law unions are a phenomenon “plus courant chez les francophones”. It supports this claim by pointing out that after Quebec, New Brunswick has the highest number of common law unions: “la deuxième province avec la plus forte proportion - on parle d'un peu plus de 18 pourcent - c'est au Nouveau-Brunswick, donc la province voisine du Québec où on a la plus forte minorité francophone”. The common-law union phenomenon is thus

presented as primarily ethno-cultural and belonging to French-Canadians as opposed to all Canadians, or indeed, as opposed to all Quebecers regardless of cultural or linguistic background. This portrayal lends weight to the Chapter 4 content analysis finding that Radio-Canada's geographical coverage most closely mirrors the distribution of French mother-tongue speakers across Canada.

Radio-Canada concludes its coverage by reiterating that Quebec holds the title of “champion du monde des couples en union libre”, this time opposing the province to its “plus proche rival: la Suède”. This formulation has the effect of placing Quebec on the world stage as a nation to nation competitor with Sweden. This assertion, presented in the headlines and story conclusion, effectively brackets Radio-Canada's coverage and reinforces the portrayal of Quebec as a separate nation, much less a part of Canada as *beside and equal* to the ROC.

**TVA's separated Quebec/Canada family.** Though Radio-Canada has the least number of “Canada” mentions (3) followed by TVA with eight, the private French broadcaster actually presents the most qualitatively Quebec-centered coverage of the Family Survey, which consists of a full report followed by an editorial-style commentary by journalist Denise Bombardier. TVA alone does not include the Family Survey story in its headlines. Both story elements are also broadcast much later in the newscast (items 9 and 10). This is consistent with TVA's practice (see Chapter 4) of privileging stories that specifically emanate from Quebec. Of the first eight stories broadcast before the

Family Survey, seven were Quebec-based and one concerned an attack on the Taliban by the 22<sup>nd</sup> regiment (Valcartier) in Kandahar province, Afghanistan.

Like Radio-Canada, TVA immediately frames the Family Survey story as primarily a Quebec one with the on-screen subtitle “Champions mondiaux de l’union libre”. Unlike Radio-Canada, TVA feels no need to specify which political entity or people are world champions. This absence is significant as it points to an unmarked common understanding of the audience’s primary identification of themselves as these “champions”. Specific designation of “Canada” or “Quebec” as “champions mondiaux” is not necessary since TVA’s audience and its journalists *are* the unmarked “nous sommes” which precedes the title.

TVA also presents Quebec’s percentage of common law unions as 9 percent superior to “les pays Scandinaves, traditionnels leaders mondiaux à ce chapitre”, symbolically positioning Quebec as a nation on the world stage. Like other broadcasters, TVA also introduces numbers on the new phenomenon of same-sex marriage, this time attributing them to Canada as a whole. But TVA’s strongest indication of a “nation apart” stance comes in its editorial commentary on the survey results. Focusing on the question of lower numbers of married couples, Denise Bombardier frames this issue as an exclusively Quebec one.

From the start, her speech is addressed to Quebecers, from a Quebecer. In 2 minutes and 30 seconds of commentary, Canada is never mentioned, even in comparison

to Quebec, though “la société Québécoise” is contrasted to societies elsewhere in the world. In both footing and framing, Bombardier produces a distancing effect with those who are not Quebecers, making them outsiders to the social, national phenomena she describes. Thus is Quebec presented here as its own society, unmarked by comparison or affiliation either to Canada as a whole *or* to the ROC.

### **Plural Pictures of Nation(s)**

Separate pictures of nation emerge from the Survey on the Family news discourse analysis. First, CBC presents an undifferentiated, united Canada, with provinces and cities subsumed within the broad overarching numbers applicable to the country as a whole. Private English networks CTV and Global present a Canada “plus” that has rural/urban variation and provincial variation in Quebec only, though both treat this last fact quite differently. While CTV places Quebec as a “distinct society” outlier “driving up the numbers” of a Canadian norm, Global places Quebec as “leading the charge” in a “surge” in common law unions occurring “across” Canada. In this way, Global’s framing places Quebec firmly within Canada as a whole. Thus both the CBC and Global present the Family Survey in a truly pan-Canadian perspective, with Global including Quebec as the leading province (among many), while CTV most closely approaches a two nation perspective, with Quebec framed as second(ary) partner, but negatively so, as it skews the numbers for the broader Canadian landscape.

French networks present a much more Quebec-centered view of nation, though here as well, there are differences in treatment. Radio-Canada situates Quebec as a

separate and equal nation to the ROC, though it further qualifies the separate nations along linguistic (and cultural) lines. The presentation of “francophone” (meaning French mother-tongue) as the essential element of difference harks back to an older French-Canadian identity, while delegitimizing non French-speaking members of Quebec society as identifiably “Quebecer”. TVA meanwhile, presents Quebec as a nation and pays no more heed to Canada as a whole or the ROC than it does to “les pays Scandinaves”.

Important differences in the national portrayal of Canada (and Quebec) are produced through this seemingly apolitical story involving statistics equally available to all broadcasters. While there are nuances between all networks, English-language newscasts present either an undifferentiated pan-Canadian national picture or a Canada modified by a subordinate provincial Quebec outlier. French-language broadcasters paint a much different picture. Quebec is presented as a political-geographic or ethno-cultural entity which is equal (and opposed) to Canada, thus (re)producing a two-nation vision from the same original material available to all network newscasts. Here, French and English newscasts participate in the (re)production of the separate discourses of nation that have existed in Canada since its inception in 1867. We turn now to the discourse analysis of a story with closer resonance to Canada’s national question.

### **25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Coverage Corpus**

The flagship newscasts of five “national” networks were recorded on April 17, 2007. All elements pertaining to remembering the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Constitution’s

repatriation and enactment of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms were identified and transcribed (Appendix D).

Four of the five newscasts covered the anniversary.<sup>31</sup> The two public networks offered the most coverage. Both headlined the story and “teased” it before or after commercials. Both ran a same-day “reaction” story and a longer current affairs story in the second half of their broadcast. The two commercial networks that covered the story gave it less time and ran it further down in their newscast. TVA offered a three minute report and a same-day follow-up, while the CTV host read a brief text over archival footage from 1982.

Table 31  
25<sup>th</sup> anniversary stories by network newscast

Network	Headline	Tease	1 <sup>st</sup> story rank	Story	Current affairs	Total time
TVA	-	-	16	1min00s	3min00s	4min
R-C	yes	yes	7	2min35s	10min10s	12min45s
CBC	yes	yes	7	2min25s	10min00s	12mn25s
CTV	-	-	10	20s	-	20s
Global	-	-	-	-	-	-

### Analysis

This analysis will begin without providing a historical overview of the Constitutional events of 1981-1982. The first reason is that producing historical overviews entails acts of representation that cannot be unproblematically divorced from positionality. The second reason is that it is highly unlikely that the comparative approach taken here would be undertaken by a significant number of viewers since 1-

only 17% of Canadians know enough of Canada's official languages to understand both French and English newscasts (Statistics Canada, 2006), and 2- most network news viewers watch only one "flagship" newscast on any given night. In order to simulate audience reception of particular stories and frames and to better highlight differences in approaches, this section begins with a discourse analysis of English network coverage. This is followed by a brief "positional" historical overview of the events that inform the French networks' remembering of these same events, followed by a discourse analysis of their coverage. It is hoped that this more "narrative" order of presentation will highlight the acts of representation and silencing that occur on all networks.

**CTV – story and frames.** CTV offers the shortest treatment of this story. Over archival footage of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Queen Elizabeth signing the Constitution document, the host reads:

And today marks the 25th anniversary of Canada's Charter of Rights and freedoms. The document which was signed by the Queen and then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau came into effect when the Canadian Constitution was repatriated from Great Britain.

This succinct reminder of the event runs second last in the newscast. The form of this text is one of detached journalistic objectivity. Yet the story's frame shows choices relating to a hierarchy of importance. In this text, the Charter is framed as most significant, the "anniversary" event. The repatriation of the Constitution is incidental, its importance residing in the fact that it allowed the Charter to come "into effect".

**CTV - forms of address.** In CTV's story, the monarch is referred to as "the Queen". In choosing this designation rather than a more formal ("her Royal Highness the Queen") or descriptive ("Queen of Great Britain and Canada" or "Queen Elizabeth the Second") form of address, CTV is (re)producing a certain kind of relationship between its audience and the Queen: an unproblematic acceptance of this Queen as "ours", as "Canada's" queen. This shortened form of address also connotes a certain respectful closeness and identification by Canadians with the symbolic nature of the monarch. As such, "the Queen", along with "then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau" and "the Charter," are framed as recognizable, unifying symbols of national identity for the audience.

**CBC – story and frame.** In addition to a headline that asks: "Has the Charter delivered everything it promised?" CBC's *The National* runs two stories on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The first has the Liberals and Conservatives arguing in the House of Commons about which party best defends the rights and freedoms of Canadians. The second, longer current affairs story deals with the "legacy" of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Significantly, in close to 15 minutes of airtime devoted to this 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary, the repatriation of the Canadian Constitution is mentioned only once, to show how it "brought to life...a Charter that would become a model to much of the world and come to define the Canadian character." Thus, both English networks frame repatriation as secondary to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Having given birth to the Charter, repatriation is sidelined from the represented history of this signal moment in Canadian history.

**CBC - lexical structure.** The lexical structure of CBC's coverage indexes pan-Canadian nationalism and constructs a specific representational frame of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Charter. Below is a list of the phrases accompanying every mention of the Charter in CBC's coverage.

- has the Charter delivered everything it promised...?
- normally held up with respect
- protecting minority rights and freedoms, guaranteed with the signing of the Charter
- the Charter of rights and freedoms as an enhancement of our liberties
- its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary appears to have brought out a sense of pride
- champions of the Charter
- the legacy of the Charter is too precious
- 25 years ago, there was a sense that something important was happening here on the hill
- but all agree on one thing: ... it's a beacon, it's a source of great pride (x2)
- the Governor General calls it a secret elixir
- the Charter of Rights and freedoms is held up by many Canadians
- it has touched the lives of all Canadians
- attitudes fostered and enforced by the Charter
- a Charter that would become the a model to much of the world
- a Charter that's come to define the Canadian character
- many feel the Charter has both defined and strengthened Canada as a nation

Taken together, the words and phrases *everything it promised, respect, protecting, guaranteed, enhancement, sense of pride, champions, legacy, too precious, something important, beacon, source of great pride (x2), secret elixir, held up, touched the lives of all Canadians, fostered, enforced, a model to much of the world, define the Canadian character* and *strengthened Canada as a nation* frame the Charter as an incontrovertible good for Canada. The frame also positions the Charter as a national symbol with which all Canadians proudly identify. The Charter is criticised only once. When a law professor argues that the Charter has left some people more equal than others, he does not speak in

opposition, but suggests that it is not inclusive *enough* since it does not guarantee economic rights for the poor. Interestingly, a public opinion poll taken in November 2006<sup>32</sup> and published in the journal *Policy Options* found that 26 percent of Canadians thought the Charter was “moving our country in the wrong direction”, while only 58 percent thought it was “moving Canada in the right direction” and 16 percent were uncertain. (Nanon 2006: 51). In framing the Charter within a discourse of progress as a national beacon and source of pride, CBC’s coverage effectively renders invisible those who oppose some or all of its effects on society.

**CBC - change in footing.** CBC’s current affairs story also contains a significant change in footing by reporter Joan Leishman. After briefly outlining the historical context of the Charter as “a source of great pride” Leishman departs from the impersonal journalistic form that indexes her role as “objective” observer of the deeds and words of others: “We were proud of ourselves. We eagerly embraced this new vision without knowing what it would really mean.”

With this “we” turn, the journalist collapses herself into her audience, an audience which is unproblematically assumed to be Canadians unified in their proud support of the Charter and, by extension, of the day the Charter was signed by the Queen and the Prime Minister. As the following analyses of French network coverage reveals, this choice obscures the fact that this day was also a source of shame and bitter disappointment for a great many Canadians.

## French Network News Analysis

Radio-Canada's opening montage ends with the following headline:

(Clip of then Quebec premier René Lévesque): “Le Québec se retrouve tout seul.” (Voice of news anchor Bernard Derome over footage of 1982 repatriation ceremony): “Souvenirs constitutionnels: Pourquoi le Québec n’a-t-il pas accepté le rapatriement?”

The first image and clip introduces a frame of Quebec isolation. The anchor's script indicates that the story is about repatriation. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms is absent, silenced in this reproduction of historical memory. Quebec is positioned as both actor (refuses repatriation) and acted upon (finds itself isolated). Quebec's opposition to Canada and the Crown (represented by the ceremonial images) is introduced. Clearly, the narrative that will characterize Radio-Canada's coverage is embedded in a very different discourse of nation than the one that informs English broadcasters' coverage. This *alternative* frame is partially explained by a shift in emphasis and position on the events of 1981-1982. The historical context for this position is outlined below.

### Historical Context Informing French Networks' Remembering

Negotiations on constitutional repatriation from Great Britain and on a new Charter of Rights and Freedoms began in the 1970s. But the 1981 round of discussions was given exigency in light of the 1980 Quebec referendum on sovereignty-association. The referendum question had asked Quebecers to give the provincial government a mandate to “negotiate” a new “sovereignty-association” with Canada. Then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau had campaigned against the measure with the promise that he would work towards “fixing” the federation's imperfections. Many in Quebec interpreted this promise in light of Quebec's traditional demands of “autonomy” within the

federation based on the bi-national concept of confederation. The referendum question was eventually defeated in a 60/40 vote split. As Hugh Segal, then advisor to the Premier of Ontario, recalls, the Prime Minister set out to fulfill his promise:

After the referendum, Ottawa suggested a 12-item agenda for constitutional reform, 12 items that included but were in no way dominated by the Charter. Items like Supreme Court appointment processes, opting out options on federal programs, the nature of the amending formula going forward, etc., were at least as important if not more so than any Charter reference” (Segal 2007: 58).

In the provincial election following its referendum defeat, the Parti Québécois returned to power under the leadership of populist premier René Lévesque. The new constitutional negotiations initiated by Trudeau included Lévesque and the nine other provincial premiers from whom the Supreme Court of Canada expected a “substantial measure of...consent” (1 S.C.R 753, 1981) to establish constitutional legitimacy for repatriation. At first, Quebec led a group of 8 provinces in opposing the federal plan. Many premiers feared the new Charter would erode the supremacy of parliaments and legislatures. In the end, an agreement was reached in eleventh-hour negotiations with all provinces except Quebec, following the inclusion of a Charter clause to allow provincial and federal governments to temporarily suspend certain provisions of the Charter. These negotiations have been since been called “*la nuit des longs couteaux*” in Quebec on the understanding that René Lévesque was betrayed by the ROC premiers and purposely excluded from final negotiations. The Quebec government did not attend the repatriation ceremony, passing instead an all-party motion of censure in the provincial Assemblée Nationale. To this day, no Quebec government has officially ratified the repatriated

constitution, though the Supreme Court has ruled that it applies to Quebec in spite of the provincial government's position.

## TVA

Clearly working within the historical remembering outlined above, French-language private broadcaster TVA introduces its story on the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary with the following script:

Il y a 25 ans jour pour jour la Reine Elizabeth deux a signé le rapatriement de la constitution Canadienne, une constitution que le Québec n'a jamais signée. Mais au fait pourquoi nous fallait-il une nouvelle constitution? Voici un rappel des faits.

**TVA - forms of address.** Here, the form of address used to introduce the monarch ("la Reine Elizabeth deux") differs from CTV's "the Queen". By adding the Queen's name including the "The Second", TVA's host constructs her audience's relationship to the monarch as distant. On its own, the address "the Queen" is shown as problematic for this audience, which might wonder "which Queen?" TVA's longer, less normalized form of address creates a barrier between audience and character and makes the possibility of a strong identification with an "*our* Queen" remote.

A similar distancing effect through description is achieved when the host speaks of the constitution as "Canadian". There is in fact no other nationwide constitution in Canada, but here, the repatriation of *Canada's* constitution is placed in opposition to *Quebec's* refusal to sign. This construction delegitimizes the unifying aspects of the Constitution as a national symbol and positions Quebec as equal and opposed to Canada.

**TVA - change in footing.** The anchor's use of the "nous" ("we") in this introduction helps create reciprocity with her audience. The pronoun choice substantially informs the rhetorical question, "Mais au fait pourquoi nous fallait-il une nouvelle constitution?". But does the "nous" construct the audience and host together as Canadians, as Quebecers, or both? One answer lies in examining the unchosen option for this sentence. From the ideological perspective of journalistic objectivity, the use of "nous" ("we") is suspect. More importantly, "nous" in this question is also grammatically unnecessary. One possible alternative, "Pourquoi fallait-il une nouvelle constitution?" would have made the question grammatically acceptable and journalistically neutral, and as with all forms of detached address, would have referred to the largest audience possible, and therefore a "Canadian" one. Here the use of "nous" is an *added* referent that includes "those like you and me" and excludes those "not like us". In the context of this question, "nous" subtly refers to the identifiable group that is not the broadest possible, and therefore to the French-speaking Quebecers of TVA's audience. Just as the CBC used "we" to refer to all Canadians, the "nous-Québécois" group is constructed unproblematically as unified and aligned with the discourse of a dual nation contained in the story as reported.

**TVA - story and frames.** Where English TV newscasts' stories dealt with the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Charter, TVA's stories revolve around the repatriation of the Constitution. The rhetorical question discussed above and its answer - "Voici un rappel des faits" - set the stage for a history lesson. Here the objectivist discourse of journalism is in evidence. The "rappel des faits" promises to repeat what the audience should already

know (“rappel”-“reminder”) as well as all that is fact (“faits”). This promise of “objective truth” obscures the fact that alternative readings will be silenced.

The report that follows the introduction “remembers” the events that led to Quebec’s defeat at the constitutional table in 1982 through archival footage, clips and comments by contemporary historians. Always, opposition to the federal government is portrayed as either coming from Quebec or led by Quebec. Only two mentions of the Charter appear in TVA’s story. The first instance underlines that the Western provinces were solidly opposed to the Charter because it limited the sovereignty of parliaments. The second shows how Quebec lost against the federal government when Pierre Trudeau alleviated the fears of Anglophone premiers by including a notwithstanding clause in the Charter that would allow legislatures to enact, for a limited period, certain laws that might contravene the Constitution. Thus, while English networks subordinated the story of constitutional repatriation to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, TVA subordinates the Charter story to a narrative of repatriation as framed in the context of Quebec opposition, exclusion and loss. This frame is illustrated by the following lexical structure:

- Le Québec se trouve seul à s’opposer
- Ce qui a causé la perte de la délégation Québécoise
- Pour montrer leur opposition, tous les partis à l’assemblée Nationale votent une motion pour s’y opposer.
- Meech sera un échec. Puis il y aura Charlottetown, un échec aussi.
- la place du Québec dans le Canada n’est toujours pas définie

In addition, TVA extends the historical frame of loss and exclusion forward by showing how the 1982 “betrayal” was followed by further constitutional losses and betrayals in the “échec” of the 1990 Meech Lake and 1992 Charlottetown Accords. It

concludes by reminding its viewers that Quebec's position within Canada is still "undefined". This story structure, presented within an objectivist discourse which presents its chosen facts as the *only* facts, succeeds in making past and present one and the same: an eternal reaffirmation of an unequal relation of opposition in which much is promised but little is delivered and where Quebec's given role is to be outmanoeuvred and oppressed by English Canada.

### **Radio-Canada**

**Story and frame.** A similar frame of Quebec betrayal, exclusion and loss is revealed in the lexical structure of Radio-Canada's coverage:

- le Canada se dotait d'un nouveau sujet de discorde avec l'une de ses provinces
- le Québec avait été exclu de l'entente finale
- l'absence du Québec à la fête
- un prétexte fallacieux après coup pour justifier une trahison
- le réveil est brutal pour M.Lévesque
- le Québec se retrouve tout seul (x3)
- le Québec refuse toujours de signer cette nouvelle constitution
- l'absence du Québec à cette signature

Significantly, the archival clip of René Lévesque proclaiming "le Québec se retrouve tout seul" runs three times in the broadcast, first in the headlines, then immediately before the anchor's introduction of the current affairs story and finally within the story at the key moment of Quebec's defeat at the constitutional table. It serves as a reminder of the thrust of the message that the past still lives in the present through memory and representation, a message in which both Radio-Canada and TVA participate and (re)make legitimate through their commentary on this narrative of betrayal and exclusion. This repetition also carries great emotional weight, as the abject defeat of a

much-loved and respected Premier such as René Lévesque cannot fail to strike an emotional-affective response with the French-Québécois.

**Radio-Canada - footings and forms of address.** There are differences between Radio-Canada's and TVA's presentation of the frame. While TVA firmly positions itself and its audience as French-Québécois through the use of "nous", Radio-Canada's anchor and reporter always maintain journalistic detachment, using the designations "les Québécois" and "les Canadiens", "les fédéralistes" and "les nationalistes". On contentious issues, Radio-Canada shies away from totalising designations of sovereignists or Quebecers, saying "dans l'esprit de beaucoup de nationalistes" and "une partie de la classe politique Québécoise" to highlight positional nuances within these groups. But this lexical care is not extended to "le Canada Anglais" and "les fédéralistes" who are presented unproblematically in these totalizing terms. And though "nous" is never used by either the anchor or the reporter, the indeterminate pronoun "on" (interpretable as "we" or "people") does appear, for example in the phrases "Ceux qu'on a appelé la bande des huit" and "Ce qu'on a appelé depuis la 'nuit des longs couteaux'." The ambivalent stance of "on" leaves open the question of positionality.

**Radio-Canada – silencing.** In this retelling of the repatriation story, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms is never mentioned. Nor is any explanation offered to explain the "notwithstanding" clause compromise that led seven premiers from the ROC to chose to accept the federal government's repatriation plan. In this story, the alternative narrative of

the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms is silenced, leaving the repatriation story as the exclusive focus for this day.

Interestingly, the story is also presented on Radio-Canada as “la version...de deux souverainistes”. Bernard Derome tells his viewers that they will see a sovereignist version of events. This clarification helps avoid some of the pitfalls of objectivist discourse in that it allows the viewer to understand the story as a particular viewpoint, and not as some immutable factual retelling of events. This overt positional framing of the story is perhaps related to the fact that as a public broadcaster, Radio-Canada’s journalists are more aware of their audiences outside Quebec as well as those within the province who share a more unitary-Canadian national outlook. It is also possible that this deliberate revealing of position stems from Radio-Canada’s Broadcasting Act mandate to contribute to a “shared national consciousness and identity” (1991, art.3.1.m.iv). By attributing the story and frame to “deux souverainistes”, Radio-Canada avoids the potential charge that it has constructed a “biased” story.

*Le Téléjournal’s* care in maintaining “fair and balanced” coverage is further illustrated by the fact that anchorman Bernard Derome also reminds his viewers, “Hier, Jean Chrétien a donné la version des fédéralistes”. The previous day’s newscast had presented the federalist version of the events of 1981-82, as remembered by Jean Chrétien, who was at the time both Attorney General and the federal government’s chief constitutional negotiator with the provinces. The ten minute and thirty second report included extensive excerpts of his interview with Radio-Canada parliamentary reporter

Patrice Roy. In these excerpts, Jean Chrétien argues that the Charter of Rights and Freedoms was worth the potential alienation of Quebec and that in any case, the Parti Québécois of the time was only interested in blocking Prime Minister Trudeau, not in participating in any negotiated settlement between the provinces and Ottawa. One significant aspect of this May 16 report is that it systematically juxtaposes Jean Chrétien's version of the events with the Quebec-nationalist alternative reading in its voice-over narration. Furthermore, the frequent inclusion within the report of the interjections and questions of the journalist challenging Jean Chrétien's positions serves to create a story in which both the Charter narrative and the repatriation narrative are presented. This treatment is in contrast to the "sovereigntist" version of May 17, which never outlines the federalist position.

### **CTV, TVA, Radio-Canada, CBC - Visual Embedding**

A final illustration of the differences between French and English networks lies in the ways certain symbolic images are used to embed "affective" associations. The most used footage on all networks is of the ceremonial signing of the Constitution document by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Queen Elizabeth as illustrated in the image on the following page. The reporter narration that accompanies the images on different newscasts is also reproduced.



**CTV:** The document which was signed by the Queen and then Prime minister Pierre Trudeau came into effect when the Canadian Constitution was repatriated from Great Britain



**TVA:** Et le 17 octobre, la Reine la signe la constitution. Pour montrer leur opposition, tous les partis à l'Assemblée Nationale votent une motion pour s'y opposer.



**R-C:** 1- Pourquoi le Québec n'a-t-il pas accepté le rapatriement?  
2- La Reine ne connaissait probablement pas les détails de ce froid protocolaire, l'absence du Québec à la fête. 3- L'absence du Québec à cette signature ne se fait peut-être pas sentir dans la vie quotidienne, pourtant, dans l'esprit de beaucoup de nationalistes Québécois, une hantise persiste.



**CBC:** 1- The images are iconic now. Symbolic of the birth of modern day Canada. A country celebrated for protecting minority rights and freedoms, guaranteed here with the signing of the Charter. 2- At a signing ceremony with Queen Elizabeth, he repatriated the constitution and with it brought to life a home-grown Bill of Rights and Freedoms, a Charter that would become a model to much of the world and come to define the Canadian character.

The “iconic” images of the official signing ceremony, as the CBC calls them, embed very different affective messages. Here again, the difference lies in whether one is watching French or English television. For Radio-Canada and TVA, the association is clearly negative. TVA tells its viewers that the entire provincial political class opposed this signing, while Radio-Canada twice reminds its viewers that Quebec was “absent” from the “fête”. CTV on the other hand, presents the event as fact, with no mention of Quebec’s absence, while CBC is rapturous in its emotional appeals. It is over these

images that the most glowing comments of the Charter are made, calling it the “symbolic birth of modern-day Canada” and “a model to much of the world that would come to define the Canadian character.” The contradictory affective messages embedded by French and English broadcasters in these images do not construct a national symbol to bolster a common “imagined community”. Here, the visual embedding leads to separate affective readings for *two* imagined communities.

### **Separate Spheres**

This discourse analysis has shown that English and French national newscasts reproduce different conceptions of Canada through their 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary coverage of a milestone in Canadian history. While English networks position repatriation as secondary to the Charter, French networks position the Charter as secondary to repatriation. Where English networks present the day as a proud one for all Canadians and its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary as cause for celebration, French networks portray the day as a betrayal of Quebec and its anniversary as a reminder of many such bitter disappointments. Through their choices of frames, forms of address and changes in footing, English networks position the Queen, the Charter and the signing ceremony itself as symbols of national pride, while French networks take an ambivalent, distant position towards the Queen, ignore the Charter and denounce the signing ceremony as yet another abandonment of Quebec. Most importantly, both French and English networks silence alternative readings of the historical significance of the moment. English networks ignore (and are perhaps *ignorant of*) the reading of constitutional repatriation without Quebec as a source of shame and exclusion, and therefore silence this manifestation of the bi-national concept of Canada.

Conversely, French networks silence a manifestation of unitary nationalism by ignoring (or *being ignorant of*) the alternative reading of the Charter as a unifying symbol and source of pride for all Canadians.

### **A Toxic Canadian Cocktail – Hockey, Language and Politics**

As discussed earlier, stories emanating from the federal Parliament or Quebec's provincial Assemblée Nationale were excluded from the discourse analysis on the expectation that the presence of openly nationalist Quebec politicians would skew the content of news reports on English and French newscasts in the direction of unitary and bi-nationalism. The illustration of one such story is provided now, to show the extent to which these portrayals can be dichotomous and to what lengths journalists sometimes go in the conscious or unconscious reproductions of the national discourse in which they are embedded.

On May 3, 2007, the head of Hockey Canada appeared before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Official Languages to defend Shane Doan's appointment as captain of Team Canada even though he was alleged to have uttered a racial slur against a Quebec linesman during a game in Montreal some 18 months earlier. Shane Doan had been cleared by an internal NHL investigation, which nonetheless agreed with linesman Michel Tremblay that an unidentifiable player had indeed called him a "fucking Frenchman". Many in French Canada questioned the impartiality of the closed-door internal investigation, which pitted the word of an English-Canadian hockey

star against that of an unknown Québécois linesman. The story had been given new life by the Official Languages Committee hearing on May 3, 2007.

The heat of argument on this day led some journalists and their news organisations to openly take sides, even abandoning all pretence of objectivity, fairness or balance. Thus, *CTV National News* began its coverage with host Lloyd Robertson introducing a beleaguered Shane Doan as “a class act and a proud Canadian”. In her report, journalist Sarah Galashan then claimed without any evidence from Quebec that “on talk-shows across the country, the sentiment (against the Official Languages Committee) was unanimous”. The story was followed with a scripted conversation between anchor Lloyd Robertson and the outraged Ottawa bureau chief Robert Fife who accused federal politicians of harming hockey, “an institution that has united French and English” and of cowering before the Bloc Québécois even though “I suspect that the majority of Quebecers would not agree with what happened today”. These statements come seconds after Robert Fife’s pronouncement made with complete lack of journalistic shame: “I’ve spoken to MP’s from every party except the Bloc Québécois”, as though 51 Bloc MP’s (out of a possible 75 Quebec seats) was not a sufficiently important number of representatives to justify seeking a reaction.

Conversely on this day, TVA chose to broadcast a story with comments and clips *only* from Bloc MP’s, as though the comments of the other three parties represented at the Standing Committee who sided with Hockey Canada were of no interest to their viewers, even though many of them represented Quebec ridings. *Le 22 heure*’s story this day

ended with images of Bloc MP Pablo Rodriguez leaving a heated scrum followed by journalists and news cameras with the reporter affirming in voice-over that he was “assaillit par des medias Anglophones.”

Images from the same scrum would be used by *Global National* for a polar opposite purpose. Its promise to right a wrong committed by separatist forces begins with its headline: “We asked a Quebec MP, where’s your proof?” The story that follows ends with Global’s journalist taunting the “separatist MP” who had in fact already answered the journalist’s question - “Why are you running away? You’re running away... afraid to answer the question?” – and is entirely silent on the fact that the Official Languages Committee concluded its hearing by agreeing that there was no need for censure or action, and that the Committee supported Hockey Canada, Team Canada and the choice of Shane Doan as its captain.

Such are some of the not-so-subtle results of a story which, as the CBC’s Susan Bonner said lucidly amidst the journalistic chaos of the day, “serves as a reminder that when the Canadian lightning rods of hockey, language tensions and politics collide, you don’t want to be caught in the middle”. She could well have also warned her fellow journalists about losing their footing. The journalistic departments of some of her Parliament Hill colleagues could be farcical, were it not for the fact that for the millions tuning in to one of the national broadcasts that abandoned all pretence of fairness and balance, the story they saw *became* the reality of the events in Ottawa that day.

## **Conclusion**

The finding that network television newscasts reproduce such clear differences in the national concepts of Canada can be partially explained by audience-seeking behaviours and the structure of Canada's broadcasting system. As the content analyses in Chapter 4 have shown, the territorial nature of official language use in Canada encourages English networks to broadcast news from regions in the ROC, while French networks concentrate the vast majority of their news coverage on Quebec-based stories. This tendency is exacerbated by the apparent choice at Radio-Canada to view potential audiences in terms of mother-tongue speakers rather than all those with a working knowledge of French. TVA, meanwhile, appears to have exclusively chosen Quebec French-speakers as its potential target audience, resulting in almost blanket coverage of the province to the exclusion of other regions of Canada. Consequently, regular viewers of only one newscast, French or English, public or private, will be presented with vastly different mental maps of their imagined national community.

The silencing of oppositional and alternative readings and the subtle participations in separate discourses of nation uncovered in these discourse analyses are not exceptional examples, but the ordinary operation of a system that rewards the (re)telling of already agreed-upon stories between audiences and journalists with increased viewership and advertising revenue. They are the manifestations made visible through analysis of the "we" and "nous" of belonging that lie under the mirrored surface of the discourse of journalistic objectivity. Gauthier (1992) discovered this operation in her comparative analysis of CBC and Radio-Canada current affairs stories:

...while the structural basis of the story is the same in both English and French-Canada, the choice of protagonists and antagonists, the nature of the conflict and the implicit action-guides vary according to the political, cultural and social realities of each narrator and listening audience. (1992: 178)

Crucially, such acts of journalistic story-telling constitute not just manifestations, but actual building blocks of the competing discourses of nation embedded historically, socially and journalistically into the consciousnesses of audiences and journalists in Canada.

The most significant finding of these newscast analyses is not so much that television news audiences in Canada are presented with separate visions of Canada. After all, these separate discourses also exist outside of news media, and as seen in Chapters 1 and 2, their roots can be traced to the very origins of Canada. The most significant conclusion is that French and English national television newscasts produce discourses of nation which deny the very existence of other visions of the country, so that French-only audiences will receive very little of the rationale for a unitary nation, while English-only audiences will be shown that expressions of Québécois nationhood are incompatible with the very existence of Canada.

## CHAPTER 6

### **Tuning Inward and Outward for National Understanding**

This study has shed new light on the discourses of nation produced within Canadian national newscasts. The analysis has shown that network news contributes to the reproduction of separate ideas of Canadian nationalism for French and English language audiences. Though the locus of operation is language, these separate discourses are fed by historical interpretation, a will to power by pan-Canadian nationalists and the constantly reaffirmed specificity of French-Canadian/Québécois identity. The specific conclusions of the study are summarised below, followed by a brief discussion of a potential future.

First, this separateness traces its roots to the very beginning of Confederation, and has remained active through the various incarnations of pan-Canadian nationalism and French-Canadian nationalism, including the present forms of Québécois and English Canadian civic-cultural nationalism. In parallel, these discourses of nation have been reproduced for their respective French and English language audiences through the mass media radio and television. In 2007, television remained the main medium through which Canadians kept informed about their nation(s), making television newscasts important vehicles for the (re)production of unitary and bi-national concepts of Canada.

Second, interventions, legislation and regulations by the federal government and administrative bodies with the goal of encouraging or forcing broadcasters in both official

languages to create unitary Canadian identity across the linguistic barrier have had limited effects on the reproduction of these separate ideas of nation. Moreover, coercive actions have been actively opposed by many Quebec nationalists and have often exacerbated existing tensions between Canada's linguistic communities.

Third, in four decades of analyses of television newscasts in particular, the trend in coverage has been in the direction of increased geographical isolation of the two linguistic communities of Canada. This trend ensures that viewers of television newscasts in only one of the two official languages will see and hear very little about the realities of their linguistic others within Canada.

Fourth, this increased divide appears to be driven by competitive audience-seeking behaviours whereby choices of newsworthiness are influenced by markers of potential resonance with the largest newscast audience, including geographical, historical, cultural and linguistic proximity. Audience language, the marker encompassing the largest possible viewer-groups for national newscasts, appears to be a primary determinant of coverage, particularly of federal and regional stories. Newscasts in French and English thus both help shape and are shaped by separately bounded audiences.

Fifth, separate discourses of nation are persistent and pervasive in network newscasts. These discourses both contribute to, and are reproduced within, the very structure of newscasts as well as in the tone, content and omissions of individual news stories. These separate discourses are reproduced not only within stories that deal with

ideas of nation, but also in those that appear to have only tangential bearing on the questions of pan-Canadian, bi-national or Quebec nationalism.

### **The Future Lies in the Past**

*“L’essence d’une nation est que tous les individus aient beaucoup de choses en commun, et aussi que tous aient oublié bien des choses”*, wrote Renan (1869: 15) in his classic essay on nationalism. Yet as Anderson (2006) ably demonstrates, Renan’s insistence on the need for “forgetting” is not so much erasure from memory of the dark pasts of nations, their internecine battles and betrayals of kin, as recognition that national consciousness requires consensus readings of history if the past is to be constitutive of a common national symbolic *present*. Thus “forgetting” does not mean erasing from memory historical events such as the Battle of the Plains of Abraham or the 1981-82 Repatriation and Charter negotiations, but rather ceasing to reproduce these events in the present as symbols of separate nations in conflict, and see them instead, “as reassuring fratricidal wars...inscribed as ‘family history’” (Anderson 2006: 200-201). In this way, France’s “*Massacre de la St-Barthélémy*” is remembered in French schools first as a conflict between “*fellow Frenchmen*” who were *also* Catholic and Protestant (200), just as “a vast pedagogical industry works ceaselessly to oblige young Americans to remember/forget the hostilities of 1861-65 as a great ‘civil’ war between brothers rather than between ... two sovereign nation-states” (201).

In Canada, it appears that such unifying acts of remembering/forgetting are not produced in network newscasts. Canada’s *co*-lingual system of broadcasting prevents the

easy circulation of alternative readings and acts as a break on creating the common meanings, histories, images and symbols required to call forth a unified imagined community in Canada. Situated within the relatively bounded geography of province and language, and producing news within a discursive regime of “journalistic objectivity” that leads to the search for greatest *resonance* between narratives and audiences, network newscasts in Canada (re)produce the ideas of nation most likely to be viewed as true by their respective audiences. Thus, English television networks produce a unitary national symbol out of the Charter anniversary by silencing Quebec’s bi-national narration of these events, while French networks’ silence on the unifying aspects of the Charter allows them to perpetuate through commentary the “now” of exclusion, betrayal and loss; a frame rooted in the concept of a bi-national Canada not yet fully realised because of English-Canada’s persistent imposition of its will over both Canadian nations.

### **The Search for Solutions**

The enduring problem of ordinary Canadians’ misunderstanding and mistrust of their others in the ROC or Quebec is exacerbated by the invisible reproduction of separate discourses of nation in national news. The reproduction is invisible, because save for those who might critically watch French and English newscasts on a given night, the vast majority of viewers are *unaware* that their national newscasts consistently reproduce either pan-Canadian nationalism or English Canada/Quebec bi-nationalism. This does not mean that viewers automatically adopt what is presented to them as their own thinking. What it does mean, as seen in Chapter 3, is that viewers *will* uncritically internalise narratives that are based on discourses that resonate with ones already learned

through their own experiences, social interactions, familial and religious values, and education. In Canada, where the development of these discourses has been bounded by language and geography since before Confederation, there is little awareness and even less understanding in either linguistic community of the true nature of the “other” discourse of nation. Thus the “given” national discourse of each linguistic community is consistently reinforced among French and English audiences through their reproduction on national newscasts. The crucial question is not how to change these reproductions of nation, which are firmly rooted in the national realities of English and French Canada, but how to make them *visible* to audiences of national newscasts.

Gauthier’s 1992 study of French and English television’s separate discourses on Quebec nationalism/separatism concluded that part of the solution to the marginalization of alternative readings of events and ideas by French and English journalists lay in the critical awakening of audiences. Canadians should, she writes

...seek to gain a better appreciation for constitutional positions and ideas that conflict with their own, if only to be able to more effectively criticize the depiction of marginalized ideologies in television news and public affairs programming (182).

For Gauthier, becoming an informed citizen is not only a right, but a responsibility, though she also acknowledges that “this may seem like a great deal of work for most Canadians” (183). The problem in the context of underlying discourses of nation is that the kind of work she expects requires *a priori* knowledge on the part of ordinary Canadians of what they are *not being shown*. Where should they turn for this knowledge? How do they even find out that they *should* seek this knowledge?

In multination states such as Canada without a nationally imposed history curriculum or a common language of country wide public discourse, journalists play a disproportionate role in purveying images of the national other to their audiences. Bilingual elites may have access to the evolving discourses in both national communities, but for the mass of ordinary Canadians who regularly live in only one language, journalists and television broadcasters remain the primary source for information about their fellow citizens. For this reason, the responsibility for rendering visible the discourses of nation that underlie the construction of national newscasts rests first in the work of journalists and broadcasters.

### **Speaking of that “Other” Thing...**

This study does not argue that Canadians need a uniform, standardized and official discourse of nation underlying all national newscasts. Rather, it argues that the separate discourses of nation should be regularly available to ordinary Canadians of both linguistic communities through the main forum they use to keep informed about the world they live in – television news. This will not avoid clashes between Quebec and the ROC, but will at least ensure that confrontations are not presented as “un discours de sourds” between irreconcilable enemies, but as disagreements wherein all sides are heard and understood from their respective positions.

To achieve this kind of productive conversation in network news would require three things. First, national broadcasters should ideally commit to covering the news from all regions of Canada, and not exclusively from regions where “their” language

community is concentrated. Ignorance of events in the other linguistic and cultural community is neither useful for those who believe in pan-Canadian unity nor for those who wish to affirm the dual-nation nature of Canada; it only prepares the ground for misunderstanding and mistrust when conflict inevitably arises. Familiarity with people, contexts and issues is ordinarily a condition for *productive* confrontation. Second, there must be a recognition on the part of journalists and broadcasters that their coverage is informed by specific views of nation that shape the content, tone, structure and tropes of their newscasts and news stories, and that other complementary or competing ways of conceiving Canada also exist with their own internal logic and socio-political legitimacy. Finally, journalists and broadcasters should act on this knowledge by being transparent about the positions from which various news stories have been constructed and making room for alternative readings within their newscasts.

### **An Unlikely, Possible Turnaround on Regional Coverage**

There appears little hope that broadcasters will willingly increase their coverage outside their respective linguistic communities. On the contrary, the trend observed in this study is likely to accelerate. Two particular factors should drive this trend. First, what Kymlicka (2001: 213) and Laponce (1993) call “the territorial imperative”, or the tendency of language groups within multi-nation states to become ever-more geographically concentrated. As of 2006, “language transfers” to English of French mother-tongue individuals in the ROC continued apace<sup>33</sup> while out-migration of Quebec’s mother-tongue anglophones combined with the province’s language laws had further consolidated French as the language of the public sphere within Quebec<sup>34</sup>.

Following the trends brought to light in this study, broadcasters will probably be increasingly reluctant to broadcast news from areas of the country with shrinking proportions of potential viewers.

Second, the increased segmentation of the television viewing public in the “multi-channel universe” and the growing presence of the internet as a source for news are leading to decreased viewership of national newscasts. With decreased viewership comes a decrease in advertising revenues, leading many broadcasters to cost-cutting measures in their news divisions, primarily in so-called “underperforming” markets. In early 2009, many local television stations in small markets were threatened with outright closure<sup>35</sup>. In Quebec, over a few months in late 2008 and early 2009 alone, CTV cancelled its local Montreal morning newscast, while Global television dramatically scaled back its local news production in Quebec City and Montreal. Meanwhile, in its broadcast license renewal submission, TVA asked the CRTC to remove its weekly half-hour quota of television production from the ROC that formed part of the quid pro quo for granting country-wide distribution of its signal in 1999 (Québecor Média 2009: 19-20)<sup>36</sup>. It bears repeating that this content analysis has shown that Global and TVA are already the broadcasters that produce the least amount of news coverage from the geographical areas of the “other” linguistic community. Yet both also produced in 2007 the national newscasts with the highest ratings within their own linguistic communities<sup>37</sup>. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to imagine a broadcaster would choose to develop a newsgathering strategy focused on increasing its coverage from regions with fewer potential viewers.

### **Governmental/Regulatory Action Redux?**

One way for the federal government to increase regional and national news coverage at the CBC and Radio-Canada could be to ban advertising on public television. Bastien's (2002) study of the influence of advertising on French-language private and public radio and television newscasts found that the broadcaster which relied exclusively on public funding (French public radio) was the most successful in reflecting all regions of Canada with "la plus grande proportion de nouvelles canadiennes consacrées à l'ensemble du pays et moins limitées au Québec" (110). Liberated of the need to compete with CTV, Global and TVA for audience share, CBC and Radio-Canada television might likewise rely more heavily on their 1991 Broadcast Act mandate to "reflect Canada and its regions to national and regional audiences" and "contribute to shared national consciousness and identity" (art.3.1.m. ii, iv).

As seen in Chapter 2, the results of past interventions by the CRTC and the federal government aimed at forcing broadcasters to help create a pan-Canadian identity have ranged from ineffectual to disastrous. But this national-unity goal is qualitatively different from one that seeks to ensure that national broadcasters actually cover the news in regions in which they broadcast. The CRTC already demands that conventional broadcasters offer local news coverage in exchange for the right to sell local advertising. Could there be similar requirements for regionally based national news correspondents in exchange for the right to sell national advertising? If Global chose to shut down its less profitable Quebec operations or ceased to cover the maritime provinces entirely in its national newscasts, should the CRTC allow it to retain its national licence? Should TVA

continue to enjoy CRTC-mandated national carriage if it has stationed only two reporters in the ROC and none west of Ottawa? TVA argues that the nationwide carriage of its signal since 1999 has not resulted in additional advertising revenues since its viewership numbers outside Quebec are low (Québecor 2009: 20). But recent moves by conventional broadcasters CTV, Global, CBC/Radio-Canada and TVA to receive fee-for-carriage from cable and satellite distributors could result in significant additional revenue which would be dependant in large part on their status as CRTC-mandated national broadcasters<sup>38</sup>. Arguably, one reason Radio-Canada's *Le Téléjournal* offers more ROC regional coverage than its competitor TVA is the presence of its own reporters in all provincial capitals. As a condition of license for all national broadcasters, the CRTC could impose minimal numbers of national correspondents throughout the regions of Canada<sup>39</sup>.

Of course, the mere presence of reporters throughout Canada will not guarantee a specific level of coverage, though there would certainly be on the part of broadcasters a desire to maximize the utility of their (albeit forced) regional investments. But there are three major obstacles to the success of this kind of imposition by the CRTC on national broadcasters. First, in light the CRTC's (2008) decision to allow struggling Quebec provincial broadcaster TQS to dramatically reduce its news programming<sup>40</sup>, it is doubtful that the federal regulator would move to impose additional journalistic requirements on economically strained national broadcasters. Second, a CRTC imposition of specific numbers of regional news correspondents would probably be opposed and fail as an unacceptable infringement on journalistic freedom. Third, as seen in Chapter 5, just because journalists and newscasts speak of their national "others", it does not follow that

they do so in a way that renders visible the underlying discourses of nation that inform their story-telling and that shape the portrayals of those who participate in different discourses than their own.

### **Journalistic Awareness of “Self” and “Other”**

Achieving popular Canada-wide understanding of the separate ideas of nation reproduced within national newscasts requires that journalists and broadcasters first become aware that they are themselves subject to invisible positionality which stems from being embedded in particular discourses of nation. This acknowledgment could arguably allow them to avoid silencing or marginalizing the alternative readings of events and issues of the other linguistic and cultural group. Such an end might best be achieved through changes in journalistic training in Canada.

First, aspiring journalists need to understand enough of the other stance(s) on the Canadian nation to allow them to critically analyse emerging issues and their own news production from other national perspectives. As education in Canada is a provincial jurisdiction, it is unlikely that different concepts of the Canadian federation will be taught on an equal footing in grade-school history classes. For the same reason, the very idea of a national history curriculum is also a non-starter. Canadian journalists-in-training will therefore have to rely on post-secondary history courses to understand the national dichotomy that lies at the very heart of Confederation. And since journalism is about the evolving “now” of events with a past and that the reproduction of Canada’s separate discourses of nation is mediated through language, journalism students would also benefit

from functional English-French bilingualism in order to follow the unmediated evolution of the public sphere discourses in Quebec and the ROC.

Second, journalists-to-be need to recognize that news production necessarily relies on unspoken, taken-for-granted contexts and webs of meaning that form the basis for communication between journalists and audiences. And though the newer regime of journalistic objectivity which relies on “fairness and balance” allows for a greater diversity of opinion than the older “truth” doctrine, *judging* what’s fair and balanced still operates through underlying assumptions of what constitutes reality. Thus to the journalist operating within the discourse of Quebec as nation, it is “fair and balanced” to place Quebec’s rate of common-law couples as world-leading against other nations, just as it is “fair and balanced” for a journalist operating within the discourse of a one-nation Canada to “absorb” the Quebec numbers into the whole and present the world-leading phenomenon as quintessentially Canadian. Could a single news story encompass both perspectives? Perhaps, but getting journalists to use underlying assumptions from both national stances to provide equal alternative readings within the same two minute news report is unrealistic, especially since the structure of television news favours linear storytelling. Still, a relatively simple step in the direction of greater transparency would be to cease to reproduce as “facts” what are in reality *positions*, and to clearly state the perspective or perspectives from which the story is being told. Yet even this is more difficult than it seems, since it requires that journalists step outside the store of common “public knowledge” they generally share with their audiences, knowledge that helps shape and is shaped by the very news stories they tell.

In light of television journalism's tendency towards linear story telling and its active participation in creating the discourses in which it participates, the presence of other discourses of nation might best be accommodated outside the traditional reporter-voiced news report. Regular interviews with representatives steeped in the culture and discourse of the other national community would allow for a less mediated exposure to the ideas that inform and help construct both national identities. A related way to make room for the other national discourse within television newscasts is currently illustrated by the CBC's weekly *At Issue* panel, where three to four commentators discuss current Canadian political issues. The regular panellists include the bilingual Montreal-based journalist Chantal Hébert, whose analyses often shed light on particular Quebec-centered interpretations of events that stem from the deep-rooted political and legal realities, cultural assumptions, collective experiences and historical memories that shape (and are shaped by) Quebec's distinctive identity.

### **The Middle Road Less Travelled...**

There exists a third way out of this conundrum, one that does not require that journalists alter their news producing practices, only that they cease to view themselves as the guardians of mutually-exclusive truths about Canada. It requires that they act as faithful conduits for the evolving political discourse in Canada on the national question.

Recent constitutional impasses within the Canadian federation stem in part from the fact that "instead of a distinct English Canadian conversation partner, Quebec has to put up with English Canada's pan-Canadian embrace" (Kenerman 2005: 60). As

Kymlicka (2001) argues, beginning to unravel the paradoxes of the national question in Canada requires two things: that English Canada ceases to think of itself as a purely civic nation unmarked by a common culture that seeks to reproduce itself, and that it accepts that Canada is not a nation-state but a multi-nation state organized as a federation:

The impasse in Quebec-Canada relationships is not simply that Quebecers have developed a strong sense of political identity that is straining the bonds of federalism. The problem is also that Canadians outside Quebec have developed a strong sense of pan-Canadian political identity that strains the boundaries of federalism. (263)

Thus English-Canada's nationalists (and all journalists) could come to recognize that the desire for pan-Canadian action by the federal government on questions of provincial jurisdiction is a consequence of the development of a collective *cultural* national identity that crosses provincial boundaries and is mediated through the English language. By accepting the *cultural nature* of English-Canada's nationalizing project, ROC Canadians might cease to view their nationalism as superior to Quebec's. Only then might they understand that for Quebec nationalists, opposition to federal encroachment on areas of constitutionally protected provincial jurisdiction is not meant to weaken Canada, but is rather an affirmation of their legitimate national and political autonomy within the Canadian federation.

Concurrently, Quebec nationalists (and all journalists) could recognize that the strong desire in English-Canada for pan-Canadian unity of action does not primarily stem from an antagonistic desire to crush Quebec's autonomy, but from a growing common cultural identity that crosses provincial boundaries and that can only be legitimately

expressed at the federal level. Only by understanding the cultural nature of English-Canada's national project might Quebec nationalists find common purpose with them.

Mais il me semble que notre vision simpliste du Canada anglais nous empêche de voir que, au-delà de toutes ces différences, nous partageons aussi des valeurs fondamentales: notre conception de la démocratie, de la solidarité, du rôle de l'État, de celui du Canada dans le monde (Pratte 2007, 44-45).

Together, these understandings of the civic-cultural nature of both nationalisms have the advantage of granting legitimacy to the desire of pan-Canadian nationalists for collective action *and* to Quebec nationalists' desire for provincial autonomy. They cannot eliminate conflict between Quebec and Canada since English Canada's nationalizing desire for stronger pan-Canadian ties above the level of provinces will continue to run into opposition from Quebec nationalism which views its provincial legislature - "L'Assemblée nationale" - as its primary seat of legitimate democratic power. At its most basic, the ongoing Canada/Quebec disagreement is after all about the exact meaning of federalism, a disagreement present in all democratic multination states<sup>41</sup>. As Kymlicka demonstrates, "for the majority nation, federalism is a compact between equal territorial units...for the national minority, federalism is a compact between peoples" (2001, 107). Understanding this very basic difference can keep conflicts from escalating beyond the productive level of disagreement, discussion and necessary compromise to the destructive level of accusations of attacks against Canadian unity or Quebec autonomy. Furthermore, so long as there is a national minority within Canada, these *naturally* conflicting definitions of federalism will not simply go away, nor will one definition manage to "win" over the other. Successful multination states find ways to accommodate both conceptions of federalism. Such accommodation is facilitated within democracies if these

conceptions are understood and accepted not only by elites but also by the people of both the majority and the minority nation. This is why it is important that French and English journalists and broadcasters broaden their coverage and cease to marginalize and silence the legitimate presence of the “other” national discourse.

### **A Word on Canada’s Other Others**

Until the 1960’s and 1970’s, Aboriginal people in Canada had little room to voice their national aspirations within the country. Increased constitutional recognition in the 1980’s and the gradual strengthening of regional, national and international native civil society and political institutions have led Aboriginal people to begin to reclaim their place among the nations of Canada. Yet deeply rooted misunderstandings on the *nationhood* of First Nations, Inuit and Métis people persist among many Canadians. Considering the rather more marginalised nature of native culture, history and society, it appears likely that systematic silencing of native discourses of nationhood also occur in Canada’s French and English national newscasts.<sup>42</sup>

### **From Confrontation to Conversation...**

Apparently, Canadians have not yet realized that the strategy of combating one type of nationalism with another produces yet more nationalism.  
(Kenerman 2005: 55)

The idea of the legitimate existence of separate conceptions of Canadian nationhood has been articulated in academic and political circles for much of the past few decades. It has achieved surprisingly high levels of support among elites while failing to gather majority support among ordinary Canadians. Thus, though the vast majority of

Canada's political class initially supported the 1990 Meech Lake Accord, it failed because granting "distinct society" status to Quebec was popularly deemed to be an attack on Canadian unity (Cairns 1991; Resnick 1994). Popular opposition to a similar distinct society clause in the 1992 Charlottetown Constitutional Accord contributed to the Accord's defeat in a Canada-wide referendum.

Today, though disagreements still exist around the sociological, legal and physical boundaries of Canada's minority nation, all federal political leaders as well as most academics and political theorists that have examined the Canada/Quebec question agree that there is a Québécois nation in Canada<sup>43</sup>. Yet the overwhelming popular opposition among Anglophone Canadians and correspondingly high approval among Francophone Canadians to the 2006 parliamentary resolution "that the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada" illustrates that an important divide on the very nature of the Canadian federation still persists among ordinary Canadians, and that this division is perpetuated along linguistic lines<sup>44</sup>. As this study has shown, national newscasts in Canada have been and remain key sites for the (re)production of the separate ideas of Canada that construct this division.

Journalists and national newscasts have a role to play in the diffusion among their audiences of what could be complementary rather than competing ideas of Canada. This performance requires of them a strong understanding of their linguistic "others". It also requires the courage to go against decades of journalistic practice that, in its efforts to achieve the greatest resonance with linguistically and geographically bounded audiences,

has simply reproduced and reinforced the dichotomy between national discourses. Should broadcasters and journalists choose the middle road less travelled of national conversation, they will participate in replacing this dichotomy with a more productive discursive pluralism.

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## END NOTES

### Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup>The Léger Marketing poll of 1500 Canadians was conducted from November 2 to 6, 2006, and is considered accurate within 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

<sup>2</sup> Since the 1960s there has been an increasing recognition of aboriginal people's rights to nationhood. Massive immigration has also modified existing French and English nationalism. These social forces have certainly moved English Canadian nationalism from an ethnic "British" conception to a civic one. In Quebec, the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s also moved society away from the Catholic Church to a more secular identity, while immigration continues to contribute to a now hegemonic civic/cultural identity (see Breton 1988; Karmis 2004, Kymlicka 2001). Some have argued that multiculturalism policies and programs aimed at immigrants now hamper their historical integration by "encouraging and exalting linguistic apartheid" (Schlesinger 1992: 138) and driving "ever deeper the awful wedges between races and nationalities" (Bissoondath 1994:111). In response, Kymlicka (2001: 152-176) argues that only groups with a fully public language (of education, work, government, etc.) have any hope of maintaining the kind of societal culture that would halt integration into the dominant society. Thus, Canada's evolving national identities are still being constructed along linguistic and political lines in both Quebec and in the ROC, even as immigrant identities are being shaped by and are shaping these respective societies (Kymlicka 2001; Mackey, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> *CTV National News*, *The National* (CBC), *Global National*, *Le 22h* (TVA), *Le Téléjournal* (Radio-Canada).

<sup>4</sup> BBM Nielsen Media Research Jan 1, 2007 to June 17, 2007 weekday (Mon-Fri) ratings (*CTV National News* 978,000; *Global National* 959,000; *CBC The National* 647,000). Fall 2006 BBM Nielsen ratings for French networks (Radio-Canada *Le Téléjournal* 300,000; TVA *Le 22h* 550,100). These numbers do not include simulcasts and rebroadcasts of *The National* and *Le Téléjournal* on Newsworld and RDI, which combined reach an additional 500,000 viewers according to CBC research.

### Chapter 2

<sup>5</sup> BBM Nielsen Media Research Jan 1, 2007 to June 17, 2007 ratings (*CTV National News* 978,000; *Global National* 959,000; *CBC The National* 647,000). Fall 2006 BBM Nielsen ratings for French networks: (Radio-Canada *Le Téléjournal* 300,000; TVA *Le 22h* 550,100; TQS *Le Grand Journal* 187,700). These numbers do not include simulcasts and rebroadcasts of *The National* and *Le Téléjournal* on Newsworld and RDI, which combined reach an additional 500,000 viewers according to CBC research.

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<sup>6</sup> The Ekos survey of 1503 Canadians was conducted between March 22 and 30, 2005. The survey results are valid within (plus or minus) 2.5 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

<sup>7</sup> This figure includes viewership of national newscasts rebroadcast on Canada's four all-news channels: CTV Newsnet, RDI (Radio-Canada), CBC Newsworld and LCN (TVA).

<sup>8</sup> Statistics from CBC/Radio-Canada President Hubert Lacroix's presentation to the House of Commons Canadian Heritage Committee, April 27, 2009: "Le contexte de la radiodiffusion et le rendement de CBC/Radio-Canada au chapitre de l'auditoire". Sources quoted in presentation: BBM, Nielsen Media Research, Statistics Canada.

### Chapter 3

<sup>9</sup> Though Mousseau's numbers adequately reflect the relative importance of different regions on network news, the large and ambiguous "Other" category makes direct statistical comparisons to later studies difficult. The "other" category represents 11 percent to 25 percent of Canadian news items depending on the broadcaster and includes "des nouvelles provenant de l'ensemble du territoire canadien..., d'une partie indéterminée, et de plusieurs parties à la fois, par exemple Ottawa et une autre partie du Canada ou deux ou plusieurs régions Canadiennes" (114). Later studies including the one produced for this thesis allocated this category differently by defining « geographical provenance » as the province from where the news/pictures emanated, and aggregating news from the "whole of Canada" and "multiple regions of Canada" with the "National/Capital category". For this reason, Mousseau's study cannot be directly compared to later studies.

<sup>10</sup> Though Siegel also conducted analyses of CTV, TVA and Global newscasts, these were confined to a three day period (n=252). He found that only 3 stories were covered by all networks. The limited sample threatens the reliability of this part of the study and these results will not be included for comparative analysis.

<sup>11</sup> The study is based on 10 « constructed weeks » (2 of each weekday) between February 16 and April 24, 1987. (N=535).

### Chapter 4

<sup>12</sup> National broadcasters are defined by the CRTC those "groups licensed to operate in several provinces with a potential reach of more than 70 percent of the audience in its language of operation." (see CRTC Decision 2001-385)

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<sup>13</sup> Newscasts broadcast during the months of June, July and August were not recorded to avoid content outliers that might arise due the absence of key journalistic personnel and decision-makers during the summer holidays.

<sup>14</sup> Each recording day was assigned a number from 1 to 70 and a random order was generated by computer. The first four Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays on the list were included in the corpus. The randomly selected days were March 7, 15, 23; April 9, 17; May 3, 7, 18, 29; September 5, 7, 12, 18, 21, 27; October 1, 5, 12, 16 (all dates 2007).

<sup>15</sup> See the News Analysis Code Book (Appendix A) for an explanation of the geographical categories.

<sup>16</sup> Total time devoted to Virginia Tech shooting by network: CBC 29min10s, Radio-Canada 19min, TVA 20min30s, CTV 13min10s, and Global 15min10s. Note: CTV National News and Global National News are half-hour newscasts.

<sup>17</sup> Counts for stories emanating exclusively from the province of Prince Edward Island (PEI) were zero for all broadcasters over the randomly sampled days.

<sup>18</sup> Though Mousseau's numbers adequately reflect the relative importance of different regions on network news, the large and ambiguous "Other" category makes direct statistical comparisons to later studies difficult. The "other" category represents 11 percent to 25 percent of Canadian news items depending on the broadcaster and includes "des nouvelles provenant de l'ensemble du territoire canadien..., d'une partie indéterminée, et de plusieurs parties à la fois, par exemple Ottawa et une autre partie du Canada ou deux ou plusieurs régions Canadiennes" (114). Later studies including the one produced for this thesis allocated this category differently by defining « geographical provenance » as the province from where the news/pictures emanated, and aggregating news from the "whole of Canada" and "multiple regions of Canada" with the "National/Capital category". For this reason, Mousseau's study cannot be directly compared to later studies.

<sup>19</sup> In TVA's 2001 Conditions of licence (Decision CRTC 2001-385), the CRTC stated that it "...expected TVA to expand its news coverage to better serve the Francophone population outside Quebec" (art.18). See Raboy (1990) for discussions of federal government and CRTC entreaties that Radio-Canada broaden its coverage of the ROC.

<sup>20</sup> Stories emanating from the Yukon, North-West Territories and Nunavut were grouped under the "North" region. Totalling only 8 out of 1673 items, they were coded as missing in subsequent analyses to increase the reliability of the regional samples. Stories emanating from more than one region of the country (Quebec and New-Brunswick, Ontario, Alberta and Newfoundland etc were coded as "multiple regions" and included in the "Federal" category.

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<sup>21</sup> Statistics Canada GDP figures are for 2007, while population and official language statistics are from results of the 2006 Census.

<sup>22</sup> Chi-square or “Goodness of fit” tests measure whether the differences between two particular distributions of the same variables are significant or simply due to normal variations.

<sup>23</sup> In order to find the expected distribution, contributions to GDP were first aggregated by region. Their percentage share of GDP was then calculated (West=32.5%, Ontario=41.5%, Quebec=20.4%, Atlantic=5.6% of total GDP in 2007). Total does not equal 100 percent as the North region share of GDP was factored out (in line with North stories coded as “missing”). An expected distribution of the total number of each newscast’s regional stories (as per the content analysis) was calculated based on the GDP share of each region. The Chi-Square test was then applied to the observed and expected distributions. The same operations were done for Population, knowledge of English and French, and French and English mother tongue statistics.

<sup>24</sup> Population numbers used to establish the expected distributions are from Statistics Canada 2006 census results. (West=30.4%, Ontario=38.8%, Quebec=23.3%, Atlantic=7.0% of total population in 2006). Total does not equal 100 percent as the North region share of population was factored out in line with North stories coded as “missing”.

<sup>25</sup> Language knowledge numbers used to establish the expected distributions are from Statistics Canada 2006 Census results. (French language knowledge: West=7%, Ontario=14.9%, Quebec=73.3%, Atlantic=4.7% of total population with knowledge of French in 2006). (English language knowledge: West=34.8%, Ontario=44.0%, Quebec=12.6%, Atlantic=8.2% of total population with knowledge of English in 2006). Totals do not equal 100 percent as the North region share of population with knowledge of French or English was factored out in line with North stories coded as “missing”.

<sup>26</sup> Mother tongue numbers used to establish the expected distributions are from Statistics Canada 2006 Census results. (French mother tongue: West=2.6%, Ontario=7.2%, Quebec=86.2%, Atlantic=3.9% of total population with French mother tongue). (English mother tongue: West=39.7%, Ontario=46.2%, Quebec=3.5%, Atlantic=10.6% of total population with English mother tongue in 2006). Totals do not equal 100 percent as the North region share of population with French or English mother tongue was factored out in line with North stories coded as “missing”.

<sup>27</sup> For example, though “Yes” supporters were featured more often than “No” supporters on French newscasts (61% to 39%), “Yes” side statements were more often used “indirectly” (paraphrased by journalists) compared to “No” side statements whose supporters spoke more often in their own voices. In addition, “Yes” statements tended to serve as a basis for recontextualization by English and French journalists, while “No” statements were more often left unmediated. Robinson concluded that the more

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numerous “Yes” statements on French networks were thus “doubly contextualized” and suggested: “Since viewers learn to consider voices that address them directly as more authoritative, one can hypothesize that the double-contextualization of the YES side statements likely rendered them less credible to all viewer groups (153).”

<sup>28</sup> Though the determination of what constitutes a “major clash” is highly subjective, for the purposes of this study it will be deemed to have occurred before the Aug 20<sup>th</sup>, 1998 Supreme Court of Canada decision *Reference re Secession of Quebec*, [1998] 2 S.C.R. 217, wherein the federal government received a response to its query on whether Quebec could unilaterally separate from Canada.

## Chapter 5

<sup>29</sup> See *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect* (Kovach and Rosenstiel 2007), particularly Chapter 2 “Truth: The First and Most Confusing Principle” for a discussion of journalism as a “practical and functional form of truth...by which we can operate on a day to day basis” (42).

<sup>30</sup> For example, the three guiding principles of CBC’s *Journalistic Standards and Practices* are Accuracy, Integrity and Fairness (art. III, 2 : 48). Their application should allow journalists to “achieve the optimum objectivity and balance that must characterize the CBC’s information programs” (49). Others such as Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) maintain that objectivity is still the path to the journalist’s ultimate goal of “truthfulness”, and that fairness and balance are “inadequate” substitutes for truthfulness because they are “abstract” and “subjective” (46).

<sup>31</sup> Global did not run any stories on the anniversary. Though it is tempting to see here an ideological choice, the absence is more likely due to the fact that in 1982, the precursor to Canada’s newest national broadcaster was little more than a provincial broadcaster based in Southern Ontario. Global only began broadcasting a truly integrated national newscast in early 2000. It is quite possible that Global does not own any archival footage of the constitutional conferences and ceremonies of 1981-82. National television newscasts rarely run stories without footage except for events of great immediate import. See Canwest Global, “Canwest History”, <http://www.canwestglobal.com/media/history.asp>.

<sup>32</sup> The SES Research National Survey poll of 1002 Canadians was conducted from November 5 to 9, 2006, and is considered accurate within 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20. (Nanos, February 2007).

## Chapter 6

<sup>33</sup> The rate of language transfer to English for francophones outside Quebec has been rising steadily for at least four decades. In 1971, the proportion of francophones who spoke English most often at home was just under 30 percent. In 2006, the proportion was

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39 percent. The relative proportion of the population outside Quebec of French mother tongue is also in decline. In 2006, 4.4 percent of Canadians living outside Quebec reported French as a mother tongue. In 1951, the proportion was 7.3 percent. All statistics from Statistics Canada, 2006 Census: The Evolving Linguistic Portrait, 2006 Census: Findings.

<sup>34</sup> The proportion of English mother-tongue speakers in Quebec has declined from 13.8 percent in 1951 to 8.2 percent in 2006. The success of the language laws aimed at making French the dominant language of public discourse in Quebec is borne out by the fact that 2006 marked the first time that a majority (51%) of linguistic transfers of non French or English-speaking (“allophone”) migrants to the province were towards French rather than English. This proportion rises to 75 percent for (“allophones”) who arrived between 2001 and 2006. Statistics Canada, 2006 Census: The Evolving Linguistic Portrait, 2006 Census: Findings.

<sup>35</sup> Among the largest announced shutdowns were CHCH in Hamilton (Global) and CTV’s Windsor and Wingham stations.

<sup>36</sup> This quota consists primarily of the production of a half-hour lifestyle show (called « Via TVA ») on « la vie sociale et culturelle des communautés francophones » in ROC provinces. TVA must also produce 6 specials which reflect the diversity of French communities outside Quebec and reinvest 43 percent of profits accrued through access to the pan-Canadian market to improving its programs aimed at francophones living outside Quebec.

<sup>37</sup> In single show weekday comparisons, Global National in 2007 outpaced CTV as the national newscast with the greatest number of viewers.

<sup>38</sup> Conventional broadcasters argue that advertising revenue alone cannot sustain their current operations. They believe cable and satellite distributors should pay them for their signals on a per-subscriber or viewer basis just as they presently do for specialty channels. As of April 2009 the CRTC had twice rejected the suggestion, but was reconsidering its decision in light of the economic recession and the breakdown of the traditional advertising model. (Quebecor backs carriage fees for TV broadcasters: Bankruptcies likely without extra charges, Paul Viera, Financial Post, April 21, 2009)

<sup>39</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, TVA recently suggested to the CRTC that it was considering (“nous nous proposons de...”) stationing a journalist somewhere in Western Canada (Québecor Média 2009: 19-20), though this decision appeared contingent on the CRTC removing TVA’s obligation to produce a weekly half-hour program on life in French Canada, deemed unprofitable by the network. National francophone organisations and the Official Languages Commission immediately and vigorously opposed the elimination of TVA’s broadcast obligations to francophones outside Quebec (FCFA 2009: 1-7). Ironically, the CRTC might soon have to choose between continuing to demand that TVA reflect the life of francophones outside Quebec and encouraging the broadcaster to reflect

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the “rest of Canada” to TVA’s audience through increased news coverage outside Quebec.

<sup>40</sup> Broadcasting Decision CRTC 2008-129 allowed TQS to eliminate its daily local newscasts have them replaced “with a new concept that features local programming in which current events are discussed and analyzed.”

<sup>41</sup> Kymlicka (2001) offers a full exploration of this idea with illustrative examples from Spain/Catalonia, Great-Britain/Scotland, Belgium/Flanders and Canada/Quebec among others.

<sup>42</sup> Recently, these discourses have been given a pan-Canadian voice through the creation of the Aboriginal Peoples’ Television Network (APTN), which has received national-carriage designation from the CRTC. Dubbing itself “Canada’s Fourth National Broadcaster”, APTN runs programming in English, French and Aboriginal languages. Since 2002, it also runs APTN National news, a Monday to Friday pan-Canadian newscast.

<sup>43</sup> The 2006 “Québécois a nation within a united Canada” resolution was unanimously supported by leaders of all federal parties and passed by a vote of 288 to 16. The new leader of the Liberal Party, Michael Ignatieff, is also a strong supporter of the recognition of a Québécois nation and has been credited with initiating the process towards parliamentary recognition while he was a contender for the leadership of the party in 2006.

<sup>44</sup> A Léger Marketing poll of 1500 Canadians showed that 78 percent of Francophones across Canada agreed that Quebecers form a nation, while 62 percent of Anglophone Canadians disagreed. The poll was conducted from November 2 to 6, 2006, and is considered accurate within 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

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**APPENDIX A**  
**Content Analysis Code book**

- 1- Each separate item receives its unique number beginning with 1, 2, 3 etc. An “item” is delineated by a story told from beginning to end. Where one or more stories are told on a subject (two edited reports or a report followed by an interview, count each instance as a separate item. A newscaster reading a story from beginning to end with or without pictures or sound clips counts as one item. Where a newscaster reads an introduction to a reporter’s story or interview, the introduction and the report/interview combined count as one item. An interview between a newscaster and a reporter or between a newscaster and one or more interview subjects counts as one item.
- 2- Date of the broadcast.
- 3- The network on which the item is broadcast
- 4- Rank of item in the newscast.
- 5- Length. Count in seconds from beginning of newscaster introduction to end of each separate item. (see 1)
- 6- Item is “International” if it takes place outside Canada. It is Canadian if it takes place on Canadian soil.
- 7- International item has a Canadian perspective if the story is told explicitly in reference to Canadian nationals, Canada’s political, economic or other interests or involvement, Canadian foreign projects or aid, Canadian military presence etc.
- 8- Code...
  - a. Provinces (1-10) if story takes place exclusively within the boundaries of that province, or if only a passing reference is made of other provinces or Canada as a whole.
  - b. Territories (11) if the story takes place exclusively in one or more of Nunavut, North-West Territories and Yukon, or if only passing reference is made of other provinces or Canada as a whole.
  - c. Mixed West (12) if the story takes place exclusively in more than one province West of Ontario, or if only passing reference is made of other provinces or Canada as a whole.
  - d. Mixed Atlantic (13) if the story takes place exclusively in more than one province East of Ontario, or if only passing reference is made of other provinces or Canada as a whole.
  - e. Canada/Capital (14) if the story deals primarily with Canada as a whole, is primarily about Canadian parliamentary politics, takes place outside the capital region but is pan-canadian in its scope (ex: Health ministers conference), emanates from a federal institution and is Canada-wide in its scope (ex: CRTC, Supreme Court of Canada).
  - f. Canada/one province (15) if the story deals exclusively with an issue between one province and the federal government. Note province.
  - g. Mixed regions (16) if the story deals with issues that involve two or more provinces involving more than one region of the country. Regions are: Territories, West, Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario. Note regions.

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- 9- Indicate the type of story. If mixture of categories, indicate only the preponderant category. Code...
- a. Politics (1) if the story concerns the cut and thrust of politics, elections and electoral preparation, inter-governmental relations, operations of governments at the municipal, provincial or federal level, political protests, provision of government services, and the operations of political parties.
  - b. Economics and Society (2) if the story concerns business, labour, economic performance, relations between private sector actors, governmental social or tax policies, health care, education, environment, communications, systemic treatment of crime and policing, decisions of the Supreme Court or Courts of Appeal, and other subjects with societal impact either across a region, province or the country as a whole.
  - c. "Faits Divers" (3) if the story concerns crime or policing as a specific case, human interest stories, natural events (storms, tornados, floods etc) and their non-systemic effects.
  - d. Arts and Culture (4) if the item deals with production, performance, showings and business dealings of the high and popular arts broadly defined, both of institutions and individuals in a non-systemic way. Code Economics and Society if dealt with in a systemic fashion.
  - e. Sports (5) if the item deals with athletes and teams in their performance, operations and business dealings in a non-systemic way. Code Economics and Society if dealt with in a systemic fashion.
- 10- Write a brief (3-5 word) subject title describing the item. Use to determine 9- Original/Common Story.
- 11- Indicate whether same subject was broadcast on none, some or all of the other networks on same broadcast day. Indicate each that applies. Subject itself is what matters (the story), not the way in which it was treated (focus, angles or frames).

**News analysis form**

1- Number of news item \_\_\_\_\_

2-Date of newscast \_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_

3- Newscast:   CBC    1  
                   R-C    2  
                   TVA    3  
                   CTV    4  
                   GLO    5

4-Rank           1,2,3,4 etc

5- Length of news item (seconds) \_\_\_\_\_

6- Canadian vs. International

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Canadian item	1
International item	2

## 7- "Canada" in International news

Canadian perspective	1
No CND perspective	2
Not applicable	0

## 8- Canadian geographic origin

British-Colombia	1	
Alberta	2	
Saskatchewan	3	
Manitoba	4	
Ontario	5	
Quebec	6	
New Brunswick	7	
Nova Scotia	8	
Prince Edward Island	9	
Newfoundland	10	
Territories	11	
Mixed West	12	
Mixed Atlantic	13	
Canada/Capital	14	
Canada/1 province	15	(Name province)
Mixed regions	16	(Name regions)

## 9- Category of news from Canada

Politics	1
Economy & Society	2
"Faits divers"	3
Arts and Culture	4
Sports	5
Not applicable	0

## 10- Subject \_\_\_\_\_

## 11- Original/Common content

CBC exclusive	1
CBC, CTV	2
CBC, GLO	3
CBC, R-C	4
CBC, TVA	5
CBC, CTV, GLO	6
CBC, CTV, R-C	7
CBC, CTV, TVA	8
CBC, GLO, R-C	9
CBC, GLO, TVA	10
CBC, R-C, TVA	11
CBC, CTV, GLO, R-C	12
CBC, CTV, GLO, TVA	13

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CBC, CTV, R-C, TVA	14
CBC, GLO, R-C, TVA	15
ALL Broadcasters	16
CTV only	17
CTV, GLO	18
CTV, R-C	19
CTV, TVA	20
CTV, GLO, R-C	21
CTV, GLO, TVA	22
CTV, R-C, TVA	23
CTV, GLO, R-C, TVA	24
GLO only	25
GLO, R-C	26
GLO, TVA	27
GLO, R-C, TVA	28
R-C only	29
R-C, TVA	30
TVA only	31

### News Item Analysis Short Form

2-Date      /      /           3- Newscast     

1-Item number		
4-Rank		
5-Length		
6-National/international		
7-Canadian perspective		
8- Geographical Canada		
9-Category		
10-Subject		
11-Original/Common		

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**APPENDIX B**  
**Family Survey News Scripts**

CBC Television - The National  
Wednesday, September 12, 2007 - 22:00 EDT

PETER MANSBRIDGE (HOST):

- "Who We Are." Who and when we marry, whether we marry at all. Canada's family portrait is changing. -

Good evening. There was a time when the Canadian family was defined as a mother, a father and their children. But, in this country, there's a whole new story of the family being written with the 2006 census providing illustrations. Statistics Canada released more findings from the census today, and what is clear: the definition of family has clearly changed. Some standouts... For the first time since census taking began in this country, married people are the minority, with more people over the age of 15 not married. Another first... There are more couples without children than with. The number of common-law couples is on the rise, as is the number of single parent families, and especially the number of single parent families headed by men. And if you have older kids who seem to be lingering in the nest for longer than you expected, well, you are definitely not alone. Behind all the those findings, Canadians like you, creating these new trends. The CBC's Sasa Petricic has the story.

SASA PETRICIC (REPORTER):

Meet Greg Pike, in his 20s, about to graduate from university, still eating, sleeping, living with his parents. He even runs a small Web design business from their house. Like a huge number of young adults in Canada, more than 43 percent, he has no intention of moving out.

GREG PIKE:

Even when I do graduate and I do get, you know, a great job that's going to be paying me all kinds of, you know... when I'm making my millions, as long as I live at home, all the money that comes in is just disposable. I can spend it on whatever I want. I can save it however I want, invest it however I want.

SASA PETRICIC (REPORTER):

Mostly, it seems to be a financial decision, especially in Toronto. Among grown children here, those in their 20s, a whopping 58 percent still live with parents. Otherwise, children seem to be fading from the Canadian family. For the first time, the 2006 census found that couples without children outnumber those with kids: 42.7 percent compared to 41.4. Women are also waiting longer to become mothers: 9.4 percent of children under 4 have

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mothers over 40. It's just one snapshot in Canada's remarkable new family portrait. Husbands and wives don't have the roles or the prominence they once did. The young and the not so young are focusing on careers and education, not traditional commitments. If and when Canadians do start living together, they've found all kinds of new combinations, and, for the first time, marriage is not the Canadian norm. This census shows that, among Canadians 15 years and over, slightly more than half are single, divorced, or widowed, unmarried. Among couples, common law unions are still less common than marriage, but the number of these unions is growing five times faster. The exception here is the big jump in same-sex marriages, made legally possible across Canada in 2005, first officially surveyed in 2006. Neil Prongelly and Kevin Smith are among some 7,500 same-sex couples who are married and among a growing number raising a child.

KEVIN SMITH:

Now that the legal situation has changed and the rights are there, I think people are taking advantage of that to do it and have a family like they've always wanted to have.

NEIL PRONGELLY:

Both of us like kids. And we talked about it, and we decided that this is something that was important to us.

SASA PETRICIC (REPORTER):

Observers of the new Canadian family in all its forms say there's no question some things have not changed.

CLARENCE LOCKHEAD (VANIER INSTITUTE OF THE FAMILY):

Are families continuing to do the kinds of things that families have always done, and that is to provide care for each other in times of sickness and in health, care for children, organizing themselves to participate in the labour market? And I think, by and large, my sense is that the answer is "yes."

SASA PETRICIC (REPORTER):

All of this may work for individual Canadians, couples and families, but, on the national level, it could mean significant change. Peter?

PETER MANSBRIDGE (HOST):

All right, Sasa, what kinds of changes are we talking about and what do they mean for policy makers?

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SASA PETRICIC (REPORTER):

They're saying all kinds of policies which were drafted in a different era for a different Canada will have to be redrafted now. For instance, since Canada's birth rate is no longer enough to maintain its population, immigration levels may have to go up to maintain a workforce. Also, laws on custody and divorce will have to be rewritten, and in other areas, city services and provincial health plans may have to be reconfigured or redesigned in order to keep up with all of this. Many challenges. Peter?

PETER MANSBRIDGE (HOST):

Sasa Petricic in Ottawa tonight.

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CTV - CTV NATIONAL NEWS

Wednesday, September 12, 2007 - 23:00:00 ET

**Headline:**

LLOYD ROBERTSON: Tonight, extreme makeover. The changing face of Canada's family portrait. Gay and lesbian parents. More single moms and common-law couples. What it all means for home life as the country has known it for generations.

ANNOUNCER: CTV News with Lloyd Robertson.

**Story. Title: The changing face of Canada's family portrait**

LLOYD ROBERTSON: Good evening. Over the years as Canadian society has changed so, too, has the definition of family. And tonight we can tell you just how much we've changed. Based on the 2006 census, if you're part of a so-called traditional family where the children are raised by a mother and father who are married you seem to be a declining breed. The number of single parents has increased almost six percent to almost 1.5 million or one in 4 Canadian families. For the first time in the history of the census, more than half of Canada's adult population is unmarried. There's been a big jump, more than 32 percent, in the number of same-sex marriages, and the number of common-law couples rose 19 percent with almost half of them living in Quebec. CTV's Graham Richardson has more.

GRAHAM RICHARDSON (Reporter): Landon Dorey is not alone. Like more than two million other Canadian children, he's being raised in a single-parent home.

ASHLEY DOREY (Mother): I think that just the two of us, we consider ourselves family.

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RICHARDSON: It's difficult making ends meet. Ashley is just 20. She's still finishing high school but determined to make it. What was once considered the traditional family in Canada - a man, a woman, in a heterosexual relationship with children - is shifting, significantly. Landon's Canadian family is not the same as Kevin, Neil, and Kadin's Canadian family. Twenty years ago, the two gay men wheeling through the park with a baby would have surprised, even shocked a lot of Canadians. Not anymore.

NEIL PENGELLY (Father): Everything's been positive. I mean our neighbourhood, there's a lot of gay couples and families, and there's a lot of people with children.

RICHARDSON: They've been together for more than a decade. Six months ago, with the help of a surrogate mother, Kadin came into the world.

PENGELLY: You can't really even imagine what it's like to have a child until they arrive on the scene. And it's been life changing and I think it's been good for both of us, and hopefully for Kadin, too.

RICHARDSON: Some have concerns about all of these changes. Groups that are opposed to gay parents and believe getting a divorce is far too easy in Canada.

DAVE QUIST (Institute of Marriage and Family Canada): It's easier to get a divorce or it's easy to live common law now, and so people are saying, well, why should I get married?

RICHARDSON: But the new census data also shows there are large pockets where the so-called traditional family still dominates. In Vaughan, Ontario, just outside of Toronto, there are large suburban homes, minivans, and huge malls packed with stay-at-home moms and children.

UNIDENTIFIED WOMAN: We picked this area because the house prices were cheap.

RICHARDSON: Traditional marriages are still the vast majority. This is the second time around for both partners. But the numbers now reflect people who wouldn't even be counted just five years ago. And for those who still argue that Quebec is not a distinct society, think about common law marriage. This census shows 35 percent of Quebecers live common law, they do not marry. That's more than double other provinces. And, Lloyd, that number is actually driving up the overall common law number across the country.

ROBERTSON: Well, Graham, obviously there is a lot in this report. And what about that point about younger people staying longer in the family home? How does that play into this census data?

RICHARDSON: Well people in their 20s, or right up to 29, 44 percent of Canadians, are still at home with their parents. It even stretches into people's 30s, from 30 to 35. Ten

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percent of that population now stays home with the parents. That is all economic - big student debt, high housing costs - so it's altering the pattern that young people have. It used to be finish school, get the job, get the first place. It's not happening as much anymore simply because it's too expensive.

ROBERTSON: Very interesting material. Thanks, Graham.

RICHARDSON: Good night, Lloyd.

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## GLOBAL NATIONAL

KEVIN NEWMAN (Host): For our entire history, the social fabric that has made up this country has been interwoven with the concept of marriage. Tonight a symbolic landmark reached in a decades long unravelling of that institution. For the first time in our history, the majority of Canadians are unmarried – 51 and a half percent of those above the age of 15. The reasons are simple: an increase in the number of single parents and an increase in the number of common law relationships. The impact on our society however is anything but simple. Jacques Bourbeau begins our coverage looking at the strains of raising kids on your own.

BOURBEAU: Traci Carson is a single mother trying to make a better life for her and her daughter Abigail. Traci is part of innovative program: allowing her to drop off Abigail at daycare, while Traci goes to school and learns to live independently. What motivates Traci is escaping the poverty that traps too many single moms.

TRACI CARSON: I would put my daughter in any sports or activities that she wants to do without having to worry about if I have enough money to do it or anything like that.

JACQUES BOURBEAU: In more and more Canadian families either mom or dad is not on the scene. According to the latest census the number of single parent families has risen almost 8 percent since 2001. One quarter of all families with children are led by a single parent.

The problem according to someone who works with young unwed mothers is that poverty is far too often the reality for these families.

JUDITH SARGINSON: Most of the young women here are on social assistance. Almost all of them live below the poverty line. And their journey is an uphill one to be sure.

BOURBEAU: In Toronto, the city experienced a wave of gang violence this summer and to explain it some point to American research, which found that boys raised without a father have a higher risk of going to jail. It's a statistic that worries Latoya Logan.

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LATOYA LOGAN: Our community now has a lot of violence in it and it worries me that my son will grow up and he'll friends who are his, who he follows instead of having a male role model telling him no you can't do this, it's not right...

BOURBEAU: Community centers can play a positive role for those living in single parent homes. The director of Winnipeg's Boys and Girls' Club says its easy to predict what happens when these resources are not available.

MIKE OWEN: They're left up to their own devices and often choices that are made are not positive ones, and they get involved in..sometimes gang activity – activities and substance abuse and ah those kinds of things.

BOURBEAU: Latoya Logan is planning a brighter future. She will soon get her high school diploma and hopes to go to university. A big challenge as she copes with raising her two year old son Tylee by herself.

Jacques Bourbeau, Global news, Ottawa.

KEVIN NEWMAN (Host): As we mentioned a sharp increase in common law relationships the other factor pushing the number of unmarried people into the majority. Common law relationships have more than doubled over the past two decades, from 7.2 percent in 1986 to just over 15 percent now. Quebec however is far and away the province with the most couples living out of wedlock, more than one in three. Looking at the shift from wedding showers to shacking up, here's Peter Harris.

STACY PRICE (On phone): there was probably you know, 1500 brides that went through the door which was really, really really good.

HARRIS: As a wedding planner, Stacy Price makes her living off of other peoples desires to tie the knot. This weekend alone, she's organizing two different weddings.

STACY PRICE (Up-sound): business has definitely been ringing.

STACY PRICE: We started ah 12 weddings a year, and that's doubled every year.

HARRIS: But while Marry-me productions may be building its business, the institution of marriage is definitely losing customers. The number of common-law families jumped from just under 14 percent five years ago to 15.5 percent of all unions in 2006. The represents 2 point 8 million Canadians. Most of the people going into common law relationships are under 30 years old but the big surprise is the rise of common law unions among Canadians 40 years or older.

Quebeckers are leading the charge with one out of two of all common law relationships in Canada happening in this province, especially in the big cities like Montreal and Quebec city.

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STREETER: Well we're not there yet. That's the main reason. In the future we'll get married, but right now it's for financial reasons.

HARRIS (Stand-up): This surge in common law relationships is happening across Canada but its most obvious in the province of Quebec where it's been on the rise for years. The reason behind it is a mix of economics, the fact that it's less socially taboo to live with someone and really, people just have more choice.

CLARENCE LOCHHEAD: We live in a society where we celebrate and promote individual choice ah, and ah... people I just think have more options today when they think of the kind of unions that they would like to be in.

HARRIS: Marriage is still the most popular choice but the slide in the number of legal unions has advocates of traditional marriage worried.

DAVE QUIST: A strong family means that we have a strong country. The erosion of the family is just going to result in a weaker country.

DIANE PACOM: I don't think marriage is going to come back.

HARRIS : This sociologist says the institution is evolving and could be on its way out.

DIANE PACOM: We want absolute happiness and absolute autonomy and absolute self-fulfillment and we don't compromise. I mean marriage is built on compromise.

Peter Harris, Global news, Ottawa.

KEVIN NEWMAN (Host): While more heterosexual couples are choosing common-law relationships, we have our first indications of how many same-sex couples are choosing marriage. In 2006, nearly seventy five hundred same-sex couples were listed as married, but that only represents one year of weddings because same-sex marriage was not legalized until 2005. The big surprise though, same-sex unions are growing at five times the rate as of traditional unions. The census shows more than 45 thousand same-sex couples, including common law and married. That's a 33 percent increase over 2001 but some in the gay community believe it's actually even higher.

KELLY MONTFORT: I kind of hesitate to believe the data because there are a lot of same-sex couples who are still afraid to be out and are not willing to admit even to the census taker that they are a couple.

KEVIN NEWMAN (Host): Some gay-rights advocates complain the census form did not have a box to check for same-sex union instead relying on people to write it in on a line titled "other".

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## TVA – LE 22 HEURES

SOPHIE THIBAUT (Host): Vous avez répondu à un tas de questions sur vous l'an dernier et voila le résultat. Statistiques Canada nous a servi aujourd'hui le grand portrait de la famille canadienne et c'est révélateur, révélateur des changements importants que vivent les couples. Ça pourrait presque s'appeler au diable le mariage vive l'union libre. Raymond Fillion.

*Sous-titre du reportage: Champions mondiaux de l'union libre*

FILLION : Papa , Maman et les enfants. Il n'y a pas si longtemps, c'était la famille typique. Mais le portrait a bien change. Tellement que pour la première fois dans l'histoire du pays, les personnes mariées sont en minorité. Les données du dernier recensement indiquent que plus de la moitié des Canadiens sont soit divorcés, séparés, veufs ou n'ont jamais été mariés. Le mariage n'a jamais été aussi impopulaire.

CLIP: C'est plus comme quelque chose qu'on voit dans l'ancienneté.

FILLION : Aujourd'hui, ce sont les unions libres qui ont la cote. Surtout au Québec. Si à l'échelle Canadienne, 15 et demi pourcent des couples vivent en union libre, la proportion grimpe à 35 pour cent au Québec. C'est 9 pour cent plus élevé que dans les pays Scandinaves, les traditionnels leaders mondiaux à ce chapitre. Et attention, le phénomène des unions libres au Canada, ce n'est pas seulement l'affaire des jeunes couples.

ROSEMARY BENDER: Les croissances les plus importantes on les voit dans le groupe d'âge 60-64 ans. Alors ah, c'est vraiment un phénomène ah qui se partage ah avec tous les groupes d'âges.

FILLION : Autre phénomène en croissance, les enfants vivant avec un seul parent. Une famille sur six est monoparentale. Les jeunes adultes, eux, tardent de plus en plus à quitter le nid familial. Alors qu'en 1986, 15 pour cent des vingt-cinq à vingt-neuf ans habitaient toujours chez leurs parents, ils sont maintenant 26 pour cent à demeurer à la maison.

ALAIN BOUCHARD: Je pense qu'il y a aussi un facteur culturel qui fait que les jeunes ont tendance à rester plus longtemps puisque ils étudient plus longtemps, le marché de l'emploi n'est peut-être pas encore très ouvert.

FILLION : Enfin pour la première fois, le recensement contient des chiffres sur le mariage entre conjoints de même sexe. Sur 45 mille couples gais dénombrés en 2006 au Canada, plus de 7 mille étaient mariés. Le nombre de couples de même sexe a augmenté

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de 33 en 5 ans, par rapport à seulement 6 pour cent d'augmentation chez les hétérosexuels.

Pas de doute le portrait de famille des Canadiens change rapidement, pour le meilleur ou pour le pire.

Raymond Fillion, TVA, Ottawa.

SOPHIE THIBAUT (Host): Alors Denise Bombardier est avec nous. Denise, qu'est-ce que vous pensez de cette radiographie de l'état amoureux?

Sous-titre : La peur du mariage.

BOMBARDIER: Ben je pense que ça sonde les coeurs et les reins de la société Québécoise et puis je pense qu'il y a peut-être des gens qui vont se réjouir de ça, que c'est un signe d'affranchissement social – on bat tous les records mondiaux euh..mais euh, quand à moi euh, je trouve qu'on devrait plutôt s'inquiéter et d'une certain façon c'est assez triste puis il faut s'interroger. Il est vrai effectivement qu'il y a une peur du mariage au Québec. Et là ce que je vais dire je ne veux pas faire de polémique avec ça. Je respecte totalement tous les gens qui se, qui sont installés en union libre et qui ne sont pas mariés. Il y a une vérité dans les relations amoureuses. Mais il y a quand même un phénomène social derrière ça: le fait d'avoir si peur de se marier, qui est un phénomène qui se retrouve tout le temps on le sait bien comme si le mariage était l'équivalent de...quand on dit mariage, les gens pensent divorce. Alors il y a quelque chose qui va pas. Il est certain que ceux qui ne, ne se sont pas mariés depuis plusieurs années ce sont entre autres les vétérans des divorces de leurs parents n'est-ce-pas qui ont été traumatisés par ce qu'ils ont vécu dans leur enfance euh... donc les parents qui se séparaient. Ils y a tous les désillusionnés du mariage, des unions, qui ont connu, qui se sont mariés, qui y ont cru et qui n'y croient plus et il y a également des gens qui croient que le mariage c'est pas important parce que du moment qu'on se met ensemble euh, ça va, mais le problème c'est qu'on n'est pas seulement des êtres de l'intimité parce que quand on se met ensemble c'est: je t'aime, puis même on s'installe en ménage. Le mariage, c'est plus que ça. C'est un pas de plus quelque part je dirais dans l'engagement.

THIBAUT: C'est un serment? C'est, comment voyez-vous ça?

BOMBARDIER: C'est un serment. Y'a quelque chose de sacré et c'est pas, c'est pas du tout nécessairement quelque chose sur le plan religieux. C'est ce qu'on dit à la société.

THIBAUT: Non. Parce qu'il y a les mariages civils là-dedans..

BOMBARDIER: Bien sûr! Nous sommes des êtres sociaux. Nous nous aimons et nous voulons dire à la société que nous prenons le risque d'affirmer que notre amour va durer. Donc je pense qu'il y a dans le désir de se marier, un désir de perpétuer l'amour, alors que quand on ne se marie pas, c'est comme si, si ça marche pas bien ce sera moins grave

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et c'est tellement vrai au Québec qu'on a un problème avec le mariage qu'on a change le vocabulaire. C'est le seul endroit au monde ou on ne s'appelle plus mari et femme, on s'appelle mon chum puis ma blonde. On a voulu totalement, comme si on a voulu éradiquer tout ce qui touche au mariage. Et en ce sens-là c'est inquiétant.

THIBAUT: Merci beaucoup Denise!

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SRC Télévision - Le Téléjournal / Le Point

BERNARD DEROME (LECTEUR) :

- En amour, le Québec est une société distincte : les Québécois, champions du monde des unions libres.

CÉLINE LE BOURDAIS (CHAIRE DE RECHERCHE EN STATISTIQUES SOCIALES) :

Ailleurs au Canada, on a des unions libres au début, mais quand les enfants arrivent, on se marie. –

DEROME : L'État n'a peut-être pas sa place dans les chambres à coucher de la population; n'empêche, il aime bien connaître le statut de ceux et celles qui y dorment. Alors certaines tendances très nettes se dessinent dans ce grand portrait de famille que vient de dévoiler Statistiques Canada, notamment à ce qui a trait aux données touchant le Québec. Un portrait qui comporte des nouveautés également. Vincent Maisonneuve, par exemple, pour la première fois, on tient compte des mariages gais.

VINCENT MAISONNEUVE (REPORTER) :

Oui, et ce recensement nous permet de constater qu'il y a beaucoup de couples gais qui ont décidé de se marier. En contrepartie, le mariage est de moins en moins populaire chez les couples hétérosexuels. Autre constat : la famille d'ici est de moins en moins nombreuse et avec le vieillissement de la population, il y a plus de Canadiens qui vivent seuls. Quand Alain Johnson et Sylvain Letendre se sont mariés, c'était par amour, bien sûr, mais aussi par conviction.

SYLVAIN LETENDRE :

On ne voulait pas que les gens qui se sont battus pour obtenir ce droit-là se ramassent tout seuls.

VINCENT MAISONNEUVE (REPORTER) :

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Et ils n'ont pas été les seuls; des quelque 45 000 couples gais recensés en 2006, plus de 7400 se sont mariés. Des couples qui vivent en majorité à Toronto, Montréal et Vancouver. Un nombre important, si on tient compte qu'au Canada le mariage gai a été légalisé seulement en 2005.

SYLVAIN LETENDRE :

Ce qui est paradoxal, c'est que dans tous les couples d'amis qu'on a hétérosexuels, on est les seuls mariés.

VINCENT MAISONNEUVE (REPORTER) :

Si les couples gais se marient en grand nombre, le mariage chez les hétérosexuels est en perte de vitesse. Depuis 2001, le nombre de couples mariés a augmenté de seulement 3,5 pour cent. À l'opposé, les couples en union libre sont plus nombreux que jamais : une augmentation qui frôle les 20 pour cent. L'union libre, c'est ce qui a la côte auprès des jeunes de moins de 30 ans, mais de plus en plus de sexagénaire préfèrent aussi vivre en couple sans se marier. C'est au Québec que les couples en union libre sont les plus nombreux : ils représentent 35 pour cent de l'ensemble des couples. La moyenne dans les autres provinces est à peine supérieure à 13 pour cent.

CÉLINE LE BOURDAIS (CHAIRE DE RECHERCHE EN STATISTIQUES SOCIALES) :

On a maintenant des enfants, on a choisi d'avoir des enfants et de les élever à l'intérieur des unions libres, alors que dans beaucoup d'autres provinces au Canada on a des unions libres au début, mais quand les enfants arrivent, on se marie.

VINCENT MAISONNEUVE (REPORTER) :

Mais l'analyse des résultats montre aussi que l'union libre est un phénomène plus courant chez les francophones.

CLAUDE YELLE (ANALYSTE STATISTIQUE CANADA) :

Ce qui est intéressant, c'est que la deuxième province avec la plus forte proportion - on parle d'un peu plus de 18 pour cent - c'est au Nouveau-Brunswick, donc la province voisine du Québec où on a la plus forte minorité francophone.

VINCENT MAISONNEUVE (REPORTER) :

En 2006, le Québec a raflé le titre de champion du monde des couples en union libre, devançant de très loin son plus proche rival : la Suède.

Vincent Maisonneuve, Radio-Canada, Montréal.

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**APPENDIX C**  
**Statistics Canada Survey on the Family Press Release**

**SURVEY ON THE FAMILY**  
THE DAILY – STATISTICS CANADA  
Wednesday, September 12, 2007

**2006 Census: Families, marital status, households and dwelling characteristics**

Statistics Canada today releases a "family portrait" of Canadians using the third set of data from the 2006 Census. This release examines developments in families, marital status, households and living arrangements in Canada between 2001 and 2006, and how children fit into these evolving family structures.

In addition, it provides information on the number of same-sex couples, both those living in a common-law union and, for the first time, those who are married.

In total, the census enumerated 8,896,840 census families in 2006, up 6.3% from 2001.

The census enumerated 6,105,910 married-couple families, an increase of only 3.5% from 2001. In contrast, the number of common-law-couple families surged 18.9% to 1,376,865, while the number of lone-parent families increased 7.8% to 1,414,060.

Consequently, married-couple families accounted for 68.6% of all census families in 2006, down from 70.5% five years earlier. The proportion of common-law-couple families rose from 13.8% to 15.5%, while the share of lone-parent families increased slightly from 15.7% to 15.9%.

Two decades ago, common-law-couple families accounted for only 7.2% of all census families. Married-couple families represented 80.2%, and lone-parent families, 12.7%.

In Quebec, where the prevalence of common-law-couple families has been one of the defining family patterns for years, the number of common-law-couple families increased 20.3% between 2001 and 2006 to 611,855. They accounted for 44.4% of the national total. Close to one-quarter (23.4%) of all common-law-couple families in Canada lived in the two census metropolitan areas of Montréal and Québec.

Among lone-parent families, growth between 2001 and 2006 was most rapid for families headed by men. Their number increased 14.6%, more than twice the rate of growth of 6.3% among those headed by women.

**Same-sex married couples counted for the first time**

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The number of same-sex couples surged 32.6% between 2001 and 2006, five times the pace of opposite-sex couples (+5.9%).

For the first time, the census counted same-sex married couples, reflecting the legalization of same-sex marriages for all of Canada as of July 2005. In total, the census enumerated 45,345 same-sex couples, of which 7,465, or 16.5%, were married couples.

Half of all same-sex couples in Canada lived in the three largest census metropolitan areas, Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver, in 2006. Toronto accounted for 21.2% of all same-sex couples, Montréal, 18.4% and Vancouver, 10.3%.

In 2006, same-sex couples represented 0.6% of all couples in Canada. This is comparable to data from New Zealand (0.7%) and Australia (0.6%).

Over half (53.7%) of same-sex married spouses were men in 2006, compared with 46.3% who were women. Proportions were similar among same-sex common-law partners in both 2006 and 2001.

About 9.0% of persons in same-sex couples had children aged 24 years and under living in the home in 2006. This was more common for females (16.3%) than for males (2.9%) in same-sex couples.

### **Households: Large increase in one-person households**

Since 2001, there has been a large increase in one-person households.

During this time, the number of one-person households increased 11.8%, more than twice as fast as the 5.3% increase for the total population in private households. At the same time, the number of households consisting of couples without children aged 24 years and under increased 11.2% since 2001.

The households with the slowest growth between 2001 and 2006 were those comprised of couples and children aged 24 years and under; these households edged up only 0.4%.

Between 2001 and 2006, the number of private households increased 7.6%, while the population in private households rose 5.3%.

The census counted more than three times as many one-person households as households with five or more persons in 2006. Of the 12,437,470 private households, 26.8% were one-person households, while 8.7% were households of five or more persons.

### **More young adults living with their parents**

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Over the last two decades, one of the trends for young adults has been their growing tendency to remain in, or return to, the parental home. This upward trend has continued over the past five years.

In 2006, 43.5% of the 4 million young adults aged 20 to 29 lived in the parental home, up from 41.1% in 2001. Twenty years ago, 32.1% of young adults lived with their parents.

Among individuals aged 20 to 24, 60.3% were in the parental home in 2006, up from 49.3% in 1986. Among those aged 25 to 29, 26.0% were in the parental home in 2006, up from 15.6% two decades earlier.

Saskatchewan (31.8%) and Alberta (31.7%) had the lowest proportions of young adults aged 20 to 29 living in the parental home in 2006. Among the other provinces, Newfoundland and Labrador (52.2%) and Ontario (51.5%) had the highest.

Among the census metropolitan areas, Toronto had the highest proportion of young adults who lived in their parents' home in 2006. Nearly 6 in 10 (57.9%) young adults aged 20 to 29 lived with their parents in Toronto, well above the national average (43.5%).

### **Unmarried people outnumber legally married people for the first time**

For the first time, the census enumerated more unmarried people aged 15 and over than legally married people.

In 2006, more than one-half (51.5%) of the adult population were unmarried, that is, never married, divorced, separated or widowed, compared with 49.9% five years earlier. Conversely, only 48.5% of persons aged 15 and over were legally married in 2006, down from 50.1% in 2001.

Twenty years earlier, 38.6% of the population aged 15 and over were unmarried, while 61.4% were married.

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**APPENDIX D**  
**Charter/Repatriation 25th Transcripts**

**CTV National News****CTV Voice over pictures.**

LLOYD ROBERTSON (Host): And today marks the 25th anniversary of Canada's Charter of Rights and freedoms. The document which was signed by the Queen and then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau came into effect when the Canadian Constitution was repatriated from Great Britain.

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**RADIO-CANADA Le Téléjournal****Radio-Canada headline**

RENÉ LÉVESQUE : Le Québec se retrouve tout seul

BERNARD DEROME : Souvenirs constitutionnels : Pourquoi le Québec n'a-t-il pas accepté le rapatriement?

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**Radio-Canada sting.**

Ici Achille Michaud. Péripéties, revirements, coup de force. Dans quelques instants, les événements palpitants que la vie constitutionnelle canadienne des années 80, vu par deux négociateurs indépendantistes Québécois.

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**Radio-Canada current affairs story.**

Montage :

LÉVESQUE : Le Québec se retrouve tout seul

BERNARD DEROME (ANIMATEUR) : Il y a 25 ans aujourd'hui, le Canada maintenant qu'il rapatriait sa constitution... le Canada se dotait d'un nouveau sujet de discorde avec l'une de ses provinces. Le Québec avait été exclu de l'entente finale, ce qui, un quart de siècle plus tard colore toujours le paysage politique. Alors comment expliquer cet épisode de notre histoire? Là-aussi, l'orientation politique colore la réponse. Hier Jean Chrétien a donné la version des fédéralistes, ce soir, Joanne Demers et Achille Michaud sont allés demander celles de deux souverainistes qui ont pris part à ces négociations.

(Musique et calèches GRC)

TEXTE : 17 avril 1982

MICHAUD : En dépit du déploiement cérémonial, malgré les pompes royales, même la reine ne pouvait ce jour-là cacher un petit regret.

REINE : Malgré l'absence regrettée du Premier ministre du Québec...

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MICHAUD : La Reine ne connaissait probablement pas les détails de ce froid protocolaire, l'absence du Québec à la fête. La séquence d'événements qui a mené à cette signature est pleine de péripéties et de revirements. Elle commence à la fin de la campagne référendaire Québécoise. Devant une foule chauffée à bloc, le Premier ministre Trudeau fait une promesse aux Québécois s'ils votent NON.

TRUDEAU : Je sais que je peux prendre l'engagement le plus solennel...qu'à la suite d'un non, nous allons mettre en marche, immédiatement, le mécanisme de renouvellement de la constitution et nous n'arrêterons pas avant que ce soit fait.

(Sound-up applause)

MICHAUD : Les nationalistes Québécois pensent que le rêve d'un Québec plus autonome sera enfin réalisé.

CLAUDE MORIN : Tout le monde a compris au Québec, pas nous mais enfin un bon nombre de monde, ont compris que ça voulait dire euh.. (cough) du fédéralisme renouvelé, c'est-à-dire que la demande classique du Québec. En réalité c'était tout à fait autre chose.

MICHAUD : En octobre 80, voyant peu d'ouverture des provinces, le premier ministre Trudeau annonce le rapatriement unilatéral de la constitution.

TRUDEAU : En acceptant que ce le seul accord possible soit un accord unanime, nous avons fait de cet idéal de l'unanimité une véritable tyrannie.

MICHAUD : Les choses se compliquent. Le parti Québécois qui avait perdu le référendum de 1980, se fait réélire avec une forte majorité en avril 81. Quelques jours plus tard à Québec même, huit premiers ministres dont René Lévesque lui-même créent un front commun contre le rapatriement unilatéral. Le gouvernement indépendantiste s'engage à participer au rapatriement de la constitution.

MORIN : On s'est dit : on risque d'être isolé. Une des méthodes pour euh éviter ce risque-là, c'est d'avoir une entente entre les provinces qui étaient dissidentes qui étaient contre le projet de Trudeau qui portait sur quelques points quitte à ce qu'on poursuive la discussion constitutionnelle après.

MICHAUD : Ceux qu'on a appelé la bande des huit proposent le rapatriement avec une formule d'amendement de la constitution. Le Québec renonce à son droit de veto en retour d'un droit de retrait des programmes fédéraux avec compensation financière. En septembre 81 coup de pouce aux provinces, la Cour Suprême juge que le rapatriement unilatéral que veut faire Ottawa est légal mais qu'il est politiquement illégitime. Le fédéral doit donc avoir un consentement substantiel des provinces. C'est dans ce contexte que s'ouvre la conférence de novembre 81.

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MORIN : Dans les autres provinces, y'étaient tannées de voir leur premiers ministres pis leurs ministres partir un peu partout dans le Canada pour discuter d'affaires qui au fond avaient été provoquées par le Québec. Y'avait hâte d'en finir. Et c'était entendu, c'était clair que y faillait que la conférence du mois de novembre 81, la xième après un an et demi, arrive à quelque chose.

MICHAUD : Pendant les discussions à huis clos le quatre novembre, M Trudeau surprend le premier ministre Lévesque en proposant un référendum sur le rapatriement de la constitution. M Lévesque accepte.

BERNARD : On ne réussissait pas à trouver une formule qui faisait le consensus de tout le monde. Alors on se trouvait dans un cul de sac. Alors y fallait trouver une voie de sortie pour ce cul de sac-là. Et s'est dans ce cadre-là que c'est vrai c'est M. Trudeau qui a dit on est dans un cul de sac. Pourquoi on laisse pas la population décider dans ce moment-là. Puis M. Lévesque a dit ben si y'a pas moyen de s'entendre sur d'autres chose, c'est peut-être la seule façon de sortir de ce cul de sac-là.

MICHAUD : L'idée d'un référendum national n'était qu'un ballon lancé par M. Trudeau. Une idée qui n'ira nulle part.

LÉVESQUE : C'est devenu tout à coup quelque chose-là qui est pas loin d'être du Chinois. Mais quand tu traduis le Chinois j'suis pas sûr du tout que ça veut dire ce qu'on pensait que ça voulait dire ce matin.

MICHAUD : Depuis ce temps, on se querelle sur la signification de cet épisode des négociations. Les acteurs Québécois de l'époque disent que cette idée de référendum n'était qu'une hypothèse parmi d'autres lancées ce jour-là.

BERNARD : La question du référendum elle a été mise de côté dans l'après-midi de cette journée-là, pis les autres ont continué à à à à, les autres ont continué à discuter, on s'est réuni avec les autres provinces tout de suite après la, la la la conférence, y'avait jamais quelqu'un, personne des autres provinces qui nous a jamais reproché à quelque manière que ce soit, cette- cette euh, cette euh, ouverture que M. Lévesque avait fait dans le temps.

MICHAUD : Le premier ministre Lévesque s'en retourne à Hull ce soir-là avec une prémonition.

LÉVESQUE : Y'était entendu que qu'y fallait que la nuit porte conseil... j'suis pas un gambling man-là (rires). Mais j'dirais que les odds sont probablement loadés plutôt pour un échec.

MICHAUD : En effet, il y a eu échec. Mais on ne s'entend pas sur la cause. Les premiers ministres disent qu'en acceptant l'hypothèse d'un référendum fédéral sur le rapatriement, M Lévesque a brisé le front commun et se sentaient alors libres de conclure

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pendant la nuit, un accord de rapatriement avec Ottawa sans le Québec. C'est ce qu'on a appelé depuis : La nuit des longs couteaux.

BERNARD : C'est vraiment un prétexte fallacieux, après coup pour justifier une trahison des huit-sept autres provinces.

MICHAUD : Le réveil est brutal pour M. Lévesque et la délégation Québécoise.

LÉVESQUE : Je dois dire que je regrette profondément que le Québec se retrouve aujourd'hui dans une position qui est devenu en quelque sorte une des traditions fondamentales du régime fédéral canadien tel qu'il fonctionne. Le Québec se retrouve tout seul.

De toute façon disent les fédéralistes, un gouvernement indépendantiste à Québec n'aurait jamais rien signé avec Ottawa.

LÉVESQUE : Pourtant nous sommes venus ici pour négocier de bonne foi.

MORIN : C'est faux de dire on n'avait pas l'intention de signer. Ce qu'on n'avait pas l'intention de signer, pis on l'a pas faite d'ailleurs, c'aurait été un texte constitutionnel qui aurait remplacé, ce qui est arrivé, la conception Québécoise du fédéralisme par la conception du Canada anglais. Ça on n'aurait jamais signé ça et on l'a pas signé.

LÉVESQUE : This could have incalculable consequences.

MICHAUD : Le Québec refuse toujours de signer cette nouvelle constitution. Beaucoup disent que ça n'empêche pas les Québécois de progresser.

BERNARD : Ça prouve que les Québécois sont forts vous savez. Ça prouve que les Québécois sont capables de progresser malgré un certain nombre de choses euh.. si on avait plus.. moi vous savez je pense que la souveraineté du Québec est nécessaire au développement alors si on avait plus de pouvoirs on ferait mieux mais on fait bien avec les pouvoirs qu'on a...

MICHAUD : L'absence du Québec à cette signature ne se fait peut-être pas sentir dans la vie quotidienne, pourtant, dans l'esprit de beaucoup de nationalistes Québécois, une hantise persiste.

MORIN : Ça fonctionne, ça fonctionne, mais par exemple euh je l'ai dit tantôt, vous avez une Constitution Canadienne qui est opposée à la loi 101. Quel jour va arriver quelque chose qui va mettre en cause la loi 101, à partir de la constitution, ça peut arriver, elle n'est pas protégée.

MICHAUD : Depuis cet événement, la méfiance d'une partie de la classe politique québécoise à l'égard du Canada anglais n'a pas diminuée. Pour les nationalistes, le reste du Canada sera toujours une menace à la survie culturelle du Québec.

**TVA Le 22 heures story**

SOPHIE THIBAUT (ANIMATRICE) : Il y a 25 ans jour pour jour la Reine Elizabeth deux a signé le rapatriement de la constitution Canadienne...une constitution que le Québec n'a jamais signée... mais au fait pourquoi nous fallait-il une autre constitution? Monique Grégoire rappelle les faits.

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RENÉ LÉVESQUE (ARCHIVES): Vous êtes en train de dire à la prochaine fois.

GRÉGOIRE : Mil neuf cent quatre vingt – René Lévesque perd le référendum. Pierre Elliott Trudeau promet de réformer la constitution si les Québécois votent non.

HENRI BRUN-PROFESSEUR : Sa réforme de 1982 est venue pour donner suite à cet engagement.

GRÉGOIRE : La réforme constitutionnelle proposée par Pierre Trudeau ne plaît pas au Québec – il ne retrouve pas les pouvoirs qu'il réclame... Mais elle ne plaît guère plus aux autres provinces.

GIL RÉMILLARD –PROFESSEUR : Les provinces de l'Ouest étaient très opposées à la charte. Ils y voyaient là une atteinte à la souveraineté du Parlement.

GRÉGOIRE : Le Québec et sept autres provinces constituent donc un front commun pour s'opposer au projet de Pierre Trudeau. Leur accord prévoit un droit de retrait des programmes fédéraux avec compensation financière. Mais le front commun éclate et le Québec se trouve seul à s'opposer.

CLIP : Ce qui a causé la perte de la délégation Québécoise, à toutes fins pratiques c'est l'ampleur des compromis faits par le premier ministre Trudeau en acceptant que la Charte ait une cluse nonobstant.

GRÉGOIRE : Et le 17 octobre la Reine la signe la constitution. Pour montrer leur opposition, tous les partis à l'assemblée Nationale votent une motion pour s'y opposer. Mais la Cour Suprême dit que même si le Québec n'a pas signé la constitution, elle s'applique au Québec quand même.

CLIP : Une fédération a été créée à un certain moment de l'accord entre deux peuples et voilà qu'à un moment donné un de ces deux peuples décide de modifier le cadre constitutionnel unilatéralement ou enfin sans l'accord de l'autre...euh.. du point de vue d'une morale politique c'est, c'est scandaleux.

GRÉGOIRE : En 1984, Brian Mulroney prend le pouvoir. Lui aussi croit que le Québec aurait du signer la constitution et tente donc de l'accommoder.

CLIP : Meech été fait pour qu'on puisse compléter l'entente du rapatriement et qu'on le rende acceptable au Québec pour qu'il puisse signer.

GRÉGOIRE : Meech sera un échec. Puis il y aura Charlottetown un échec aussi. Ces échecs convainquent les souverainistes que les Québécois sont mûrs pour dire oui. Mais ils disent non à un autre référendum en 95. 25 ans après avoir adopté une nouvelle constitution, la place du Québec dans le Canada n'est toujours pas définie.

Monique Grégoire, TVA, Montréal.

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## **CBC THE NATIONAL**

### **Headline.**

MARK KELLY : The Charter at 25.

BEVERLY MCLAUGHLIN-The rights and liberties granted by the charter come with correlative responsibilities.

MARK KELLY: Have Canadians met them and has the Charter delivered everything it promised that cold wet day a quarter century ago.

### **Story.**

MARK KELLY (HOST): The Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Normally held up with respect. This week it's had the country's leaders trading barbs.

As Susan Bonner reports, the occasion of its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary appears to have brought out a sense of pride... and competition.

BONNER: The images are iconic now. Symbolic of the birth of modern day Canada. A country celebrated for protecting minority rights and freedoms, guaranteed here with the signing of the Charter. It was born under the liberal government of Pierre Trudeau.

(Applause) And ever since, the Liberals have been congratulating themselves as champions of the Charter, with some fighting still left to do...

STÉPHANE DION: The legacy of the Charter is too precious for us to remain indifferent to those whose who, through antagonism or neglect, would seek to undermine the Charter.

BONNER: That would be the Conservatives said Stephane Dion. He promised to reverse Conservative policies he believes undermine the Charter, weaken rights, like the cancellation of the program that helped fund legal challenges of laws.

STÉPHANE DION: To eliminate the law commission and the court challenges program fits a broader pattern. A pattern of antagonism towards some of the basic precepts of our judicial system. (Applause)

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BONNER: The Conservatives argue that program promoted lawyers fees more often than rights.

STEPHEN HARPER: This party has a proud history of human rights protection.

BONNER: Prime Minister Harper cited Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, the Conservative champion of rights for his 1960 Bill of Rights.

DIEFENBAKER: It will provide an anchor to the Rights of all Canadians.

BONNER: And argued he has righted wrongs the Liberals ignored.

STEPHEN HARPER: Where was he when the historic injustice of the Chinese head tax was not fixed.

MICHEAL IGNATIEFF: Mr Speaker.

BONNER: On it went. A righteous feud over who best defends rights.

MICHEAL IGNATIEFF: I'm still waiting to hear the Prime Minister of Canada in this house welcome the Charter of Rights and Freedoms as an enhancement of our liberties. I have not heard it!

STEPHEN HARPER: And I'm glad as a government we're able to actually advance some of these rights. (applause)

BONNER (Stand-up):

25 years ago there was a sense that something important was happening here on the hill. Today, the tone was much less lofty.

Susan Bonner, CBC News, Ottawa.

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**CBC current affairs sting.**

Tease:

PETER MANSBRIDGE (IN 1982): The constitution is now home.

RIDER-It's a beacon, it's a source of great pride

MARK KELLY: But what has the Charter of Rights and Freedoms done for you?

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**CBC current affairs story.**

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MARK KELLY (host): The Governor General calls it a secret elixir. One that blends together Canadians of all races, religions, genders and orientations giving each one of them equal standing. The Charter of Rights and freedoms is held up by many Canadians as a broad definition of what makes them stand apart from the rest of the world.

On a more intimate level, it's meant wedding vows have happened, native lands have been reclaimed and access to health care reexamined. It has touched the lives of all Canadians. Though some would argue it's left certain Canadians more equal than others. Here's Joan Leishman.

LEISHMAN: Canada has been transformed in every way. Ethnically, culturally, religiously. To become one of the most diverse countries in the world. Canada is also known for tolerance and fairness. Attitudes fostered and enforced by the Charter of Rights and freedoms.

SOUND-UP: When the Charter was adopted in 1982...

LEISHMAN: A conference celebrating the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the charter brings together the cream of the constitutional experts

Beverly McLaughlin is chief justice of the Supreme Court where Charter challenges end up.

BEVERLY MCLAUGHLIN: The rights and liberties granted by the charter come with correlative responsibilities. The Supreme Court has affirmed this over and over again.

At the conference there are congratulations, rigorous debates, disagreements on what the charter has and has not achieved. But all agree on one thing. Constitutional scholar Bruce Rider:

BRUCE RIDER: It's a beacon, it's a source of great pride. Our fundamental rights and freedoms are guaranteed in the constitution. They brought home from the UK parliament the final authority over our political future.

LEISHMAN: Pierre Elliot Trudeau was Prime Minister in 1982. At a signing ceremony with Queen Elizabeth, he repatriated the constitution and with it brought to life a home-grown Bill of Rights and Freedoms, a Charter that would become a model to much of the world and come to define the Canadian character.

TRUDEAU: We know that justice and generosity can flourish only in an atmosphere of trust. For if individuals and minorities do not feel protected against the possibility of the tyranny of the majority; if French speaking Canadians or native peoples or new Canadians do not feel they will be treated with justice, it is useless to ask them to open their hearts and minds to their fellow Canadians. (Applause)

LEISHMAN: We were proud of ourselves. We eagerly embraced this new vision without knowing what it would really mean. Professor Peter Russell tried to explain it to members of parliament as best he could.

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PETER RUSSELL: They kept asking me for instance will it have anything to do with abortion. I said damned if I know, it all depends on the judges. It depends on the judges! I said yeah! I said let me tell you about the Americans. Oh tell us professor. Told them 'bout Roe versus Wade. They didn't know about that. Their eyes popped open. You mean they they found a right of abortion ah to of a woman to have an abortion? In the Bill of Rights? Said sure! Oh my! Oh isn't that something? They were absolute babes in the world.

LEISHMAN: Antonio Lamer is a former Chief justice of the Supreme Court. He says it came as a shock to the high court judges when their jobs changed so dramatically. They had to decide tough issues in those first few years. Including abortion.

LAMER: Uh many of us had to had to ah struggle with our personal ah views as regards ah, ah abortion ahhh and ah try to.. try to put them aside and say well what what what is best for Canadian society.

PROTESTER: How about three cheers for Dr Henry Mortgentaler!

LEISHMAN: Doctor Henry Mortgentaler spearheaded the hottest most divisive issue in the country. Towns and cities were convulsing with rage and protest, for and against.

PROTESTER: I don't care what the court says! I don't care what it says. Since when can you kill? Legally kill.

LEISHMAN: In the end, the Supreme Court ruled that women did have the right to an abortion. A bold victory said advocates for the new Charter and the judges who deciphered what it was to mean.

HENRY MORTGENTALER: Bravo for the Supreme Court of Canada, Bravo for the women of Canada.

LEISHMAN: The Charter also brought dramatic changes for gays and lesbians demanding equal rights. Jim Egan was the most outspoken.

JIM EGAN: We are not asking this court for any special rights, special protection, special benefits or special privileges the way you will hear from the opposition. None. Absolutely none.

LEISHMAN: Not special rights. Just the same rights as straight couples. Egan and Jo Nesbitt lived together for 50 years. They fought to get old age spousal benefits. The court rules against them but it also wrote that people should not be discriminated against because of their sexual orientation.

It was a ruling that would open the door for other rights for gays, including marriage.

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LEISHMAN (Stand-up): The Supreme Court has now ruled on several hundred charter cases. Some were of interest only to the legal profession such as defining the Charters limitations and guarantees. Others packed a punch for the public, such as English signs on stores in Quebec, native fishing rights and wait times for patients

One of the most significant rulings recently was on health care. It was launched by doctor Jacques Chaouli, in Quebec, whose patient waited almost a year for a hip replacement. To almost everyone's surprise, the Supreme Court struck down Quebec's prohibition of private health care saying: One way or another, public or private people have a right to timely health care.

The case was watched closely by Professor Jamie Cameron of Osgoode Hall law school.

JAMIE CAMERON: The Supreme Court's decision in Chaouli to my mind was uhm, really one of the most significant decisions in the first 25 years. Because what the court did there was to...show its willingness to look at questions of social and economic entitlement and to use its institutional authority to push the legislatures on those issues.

LEISHMAN: But does the court push too far? Does it strip power from elected politicians? Or are the politicians happy to lob the hot potato to the court?

JAMIE CAMERON: The politicians are.. happy to be relieved it seems in some cases of the responsibility to make difficult decisions and then when the court issues its decisions and the politicians are not pleased with it, they then have the opportunity to complain about what the court has said. It might seem unfair to the judges that are put in this position, but its part of the give and take that we have in Canada under the Charter now, and it's not necessarily a bad thing.

But in some cases the charter and the court are criticized for not going far enough.

BRUCE RIDER: We don't need the Charter for those who can protect themselves through the political process. We need a Charter for those who are vulnerable and disadvantaged. And if we think of the Charter from their point of you, if we ask the most disadvantaged people what has this charter meant to you? Has it improved your lives? I think the answer we would get for many is it hasn't made a difference for me at all. And from the point of view of the most disadvantaged the Charter might appear to be something of a cruel joke, a hoax perpetrated on them by the powerful.

LEISHMAN: The reasons according to Osgood professor Bruce Rider: for one thing, the Charter does not guarantee economic rights and for another, Charter challenges are not cheap.

BRUCE RIDER: But the reality is that for the most disadvantaged and the most vulnerable Canadians, governments are not always sensitive to their concerns. And those people often lack political power sufficient to convince the government to change laws or policies so they often need to turn to litigation and litigation is extraordinarily costly. So

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there is a paradox in a sense embedded at the heart of a..of a rights document like the Charter in that it promises to provide basic protections to the rights and liberties of all but you have the means of its enforcement is beyonf the means of many.

LEISHMAN (Stand-up): Even if it has weaknesses, many feel the Charter has both defined and strengthened Canada as a nation. Former chief Justice Antonio Lamer goes as far as to say that it has developed and nurtured a culture of human rights that is more important than the Charter itself.

Joan Leishman, CBC news, Toronto.