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NETWORK TELEVISION NEWS AND CURRENT AFFAIRS IN CANADA:

THE SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF PRODUCTION

by

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ABSTRACT

The thesis uses a Gramscian perspective to explore the relationship between media production and ideological reproduction in Canadian society. The relationship is examined empirically through analysis of the production and the products of network television information; specifically, the five major programmes represented by CBC's THE NATIONAL, THE JOURNAL, and the fifth estate, and CTV's CTV NATIONAL NEWS and W5. Based upon extensive fieldwork conducted at each of the production units responsible for these programmes, including non-participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews, and questionnaires, the labour process at each unit is documented. It is argued that there are a significant number of "constraints" intrinsic to the organization of the labour process in addition to others which arise from the broader political economy of Canadian broadcasting and historically evolved professional journalistic practices and ideologies. These constraints include the limitations of time, money and technology identified by Tracey with respect to British current affairs production; the limitations of story values, and the phenomenon of inter-media dependence which tends to reinforce these values and produce a homogeneity of form and sameness of content; the absence of investigative resources which produces, among

other things, a dependence upon official information suppliers, especially agents of the state, such that state subjects dominate the televisual population to the neglect of representatives of private capital; legal constraints and the fear of legal repercussions, which likewise direct journalistic critiques towards the state rather than private capital; the limitations of established programme formats; the absence of systematic knowledge of programme audiences, which leads producers to use themselves as points of reference in determinations of audience interest and programme composition; and so forth.

All of these features or constraints of the labour process, it is argued, act in conjunction with each other to shape the product of the process in a particular way, a way that tends overall to inscribe a "preferred reading" of the social world into informational texts and thereby to favour the reproduction of bourgeois hegemony. To fully appreciate the effects of production constraints, it is argued that, methodologically, integrated study of both production and product offers the best means to witness the often subtle structural connections between the practices of media production and the mechanisms of ideological reproduction. The analysis proceeds, then, to consider the texts produced at the same time in which the conditions of their production were observed, and to identify some of the consequences of production constraints

manifest in the final product, based upon a two-year sample of programmes which aired during 1982 and 1983.

Lastly, then, the results of a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the programmes are presented, and their textual characteristics are shown to be the outcome of the production constraints identified earlier. These characteristics, for example, include the limited "story geography" of news and current affairs, which is directly the outcome of the geographic distribution of journalistic labour and the national and international infrastructures of story transmission. It is concluded that, while alternative and oppositional readings are probable among some audience sectors, the dominant or preferred hegemonic reading of televisual information texts is best explained not by class-mounted conspiracies or the willful "bias" of individual producers, but by the everyday practical processes according to which network television news and current affairs is produced in the context of Canadian capitalism.

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INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of the project is to elucidate the relationship between media production and ideological reproduction through a study of network news and current affairs programming in Canada. Rooted in a Gramscian theoretical framework, the project seeks to unravel some of the complexity of the relationship through empirical illustrations of its workings. A major assumption about the process of media production/ideological reproduction is as follows: it is neither possible nor necessary to seek a direct, empirically identifiable exercise of control by the capitalist class over the means of mental production such that a dominant, bourgeois ideology is automatically and systematically reproduced. Among other failings, the orthodox account wrongly assumes that the capitalist class is consistently able to mobilize itself in its own interests. Worst of all, the argument mistakes the nature of bourgeois hegemony and obscures the dialectical movement of the hegemonic process. Alternatively, Gramsci's outline of the successive stages of hegemonic struggle (1971: 180-183 et passim) clarifies the defining feature of a successfully hegemonic ideology: that is, the moment at which a dominant class manages to win other classes over to a conviction that their particular interests represent the interests of all classes, at which point the ideology that serves the interests of that class becomes not just dominant but truly hegemonic;

it becomes universalized in a set of common, national interests, into the national interest, and permeates throughout the whole ideological climate of the society.

To that point, the structuralist account of hegemony is not problematic. However, there are at least two major problems with the way in which the structuralist argument - specifically, the structuralist reading of Gramsci - proceeded thereafter. First, there developed a tendency to sever the hegemonic ideology, and for that matter, all ideologies, from their class connections, a tendency illustrated by the notion of the "relative autonomy" of ideology vis-a-vis class relations; in other words, a tendency to forget that hegemony is above all the privileged achievement of a hegemonic class. Secondly, there developed a tendency to forget that hegemony is won by means of and only through struggle, and that once won, it is never fully secured, but must constantly be renewed and regained.

The struggle becomes most apparent during periods of capitalist crisis, when hegemony is seriously threatened; when, among other things, ideological battle is waged by those whose interests are not in reality represented. At such moments, the terrain is favourable for revolutionary change, although Gramsci, of course, specified a number of other equally essential prerequisites as well. These other contingent forces include what he termed "the relation of

social forces" or the general level of development of the material forces of production, "the relation of military forces" or the repressive capacities of the state machine, the level of intra- and inter-class homogeneity, and so forth.

Within Gramsci's schema, then, there is never a perfect, simple reproduction of a universally adopted and uncritically absorbed hegemonic ideology. Instead, there is at all times ideological struggle, in which the dominant-cum-hegemonic ideology will confront and clash against fragments of other, non-dominant ideologies rooted in the modes of existence, practices, and cultures of other classes. Where revolutionary preconditions are ideally ripe, one will see the formation of class alliances, fully formed in opposition, exhibiting the requisite degree of homogeneity, concretized in the form of a historic bloc, and fully equipped to tackle head-on the bases of bourgeois hegemony.

Those moments, however, in which that certain set of forces congeals to produce full-scale hegemonic struggle, occur infrequently throughout history. By way of situating the place of media commodities and other social texts within the schema, though, it means, from a Gramscian point of view, that the ideological constitution of media texts will tend to reflect the state of ideological struggle at any one point in historical time. Concretely, it means that, in terms of the contribution of media production to the ongoing process

whereby ideologies are reproduced and enter into struggle, it must be understood that such products are offered out to a heterogeneous, class-torn, class-divided, and otherwise stratified audience, and that therefore those products will be "read" ideologically in different ways, depending upon where one is located in that struggle. Nonetheless, of course, there will be a dominant or preferred reading that is offered and invoked in any text, based upon the ultimate pre-eminence of the hegemonic ideology. So that we can speak, theoretically at least, of broadly class-based "readings" of social texts.

The methodological difficulty arises at the point where one attempts to empirically specify these differential readings, since alternative readings are not rooted in fully formulated, homogeneous class experiences and neatly corresponding ideological frameworks. There is not (nearly!) that level of homogeneity within classes, which tend rather to be cut through by ethnic, regional, and other splits, as in the case of Canada. All of these considerations make it very difficult to plot a definitive "map" of ideological configurations for the population at large. Moreover, the research field is vastly underdeveloped, particularly in Canada, but "even" in the United Kingdom, where a preoccupation with theory that verges upon sheer and futile theoreticism continues to prevail over "detailed and direct"

empirical work (Golding and Murdock, cited earlier, are among the noteworthy British exceptions).

To date, the most viable model is Parkin's typology of dominant, subordinate, and radical meaning-systems (1972: 79-102), particularly Hall's appropriation and translation of it into a model of dominant, negotiated, and oppositional readings of cultural texts (see, for example, Hall, 1973). Yet, as Morley discovered in his study of the BBC's NATIONWIDE audience (1980, cf. Morley, 1975), much further refinement of the model is required. Related British studies suggest a need to develop a materialist analysis of the psycho-social as an ancillary but perhaps essential project, and to consider, for example, the psychological literature regarding cognitive dissonance as one means to specify the mechanisms at work in the act of reading. In Canada, where progress in the field lags well behind that in Britain, it is first of all essential to document the conditions under which ideological texts are produced, and then to proceed to study their constitution, i.e. what is offered by means of their form and content, before we may begin to determine how these offerings are actually received and read; hence the current project. The moment of media reception must, for these reasons, await future analysis.

With regard to the moment of production, two elements need to be considered; namely, the production and the constitution of the text. Contrary to the dominant structure

of the research literature, it is argued here that these two elements must be analyzed not in isolation, nor as separate areas of inquiry, but in relation to each other. A full discussion of the underlying logic of the approach follows shortly, but first the existing approaches may be briefly introduced. Those who have researched the production process, at least as it pertains to news and current affairs, occupy four broad categories: firstly, the organizational approach found in the work of Altheide (1976), Epstein (1973), and others; secondly, the phenomenological/ethnomethodological approach of Fishman (1980), Molotch & Lester (1974, 1975), and above all Tuchman (1972, 1973, 1976, 1977, 1978); thirdly, some quasi-Marxist efforts which explain the nature of news production largely by reference to news values or journalistic practices, with little or no account of their material origins or historical emergence (Hall and others are included here); and finally, other Marxist analyses, such as those of Schlesinger (1978) and Tracey (1978), which address the social relations of news production and yet stop short of a discussion of how these relations come to figure in the constitution of news and current affairs texts.

Those who examine the text and only the text employ either traditional content analysis, impressionistic readings a la classical literary criticism, or some variety of semiotics. These are the available options, and within that

range there are few sensible choices. Above all, there is little opportunity to integrate the two fundamental components of production into a more strongly materialist analysis (see, however, Bruck, 1981). The key requisites of such an analysis are to relate the ideological structures of texts back to a prerequisite analysis of the conditions under which these texts are produced, and to in turn contextualize those conditions within the still larger frame of the social relations of production more broadly characteristic of capitalist societies.

That progression is reflected in the organization of the present text and its chapter outline. Chapter 1 sets forth in greater detail the theoretical and methodological parameters of the project. Chapter 2 traces the historical and infrastructural underpinnings of contemporary television journalism at the international and national levels. Chapters 3 through 8 present the results of direct observational research at the five major news and current affairs production units of each national network. Finally, Chapters 9 and 10 offer analysis of a sample of their respective programmes, taking account of short- and long-term production constraints identified during the observation period.

PART I:

THE NEWS/CURRENT AFFAIRS PROCESS

CHAPTER 1: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
NEWS/CURRENT AFFAIRS

A somewhat more extensive assessment of the literature will help to establish the distinctiveness of the approach to be utilized here. The current inventory of literature regarding television journalism, most of which is concerned specifically with news, divides into three broad sectors: production research, content research, and effects research. To a regrettably large extent, each of these constitutes a separate, non-integrated corpus of work. Within the first category, which is of greatest interest here, three subcategories are identifiable: firstly, occupational studies of journalism, including those of the traditional "sociology of occupations and professions" genre (e.g. Tunstall, 1971; Johnstone et al, 1976) and those of the phenomenological mode already cited; secondly, the tradition of gatekeeper studies (classically, White, 1950); and thirdly, short- and long-term studies of the news production process (e.g. Halloran et al, 1970; Epstein, 1973; Altheide, 1976). Production studies may also be classified according to the unit or object of analysis, as follows: studies of journalists, studies of news selection (the gatekeeper tradition), studies of the treatment of particular events (the "short-term" production studies), and finally, studies of the total production process (the "long-term" production studies). It should, of course, be borne in mind that these categories are neither mutually exclusive nor necessarily mutually incompatible.

It is perhaps a sorry reflection upon the state of the field that, until the 1970s, much of the literature consisted of popular biographies of journalists and histories of the profession, largely concerned with individual personalities, and often concerned to celebrate the lofty virtues and professional integrity of prominent figures in the occupational field. Golding & Elliott reply that "the trouble with the Great Man theory of history is that there is an awful lot of history and not many great men" (1979: 7). In other words, the role of individuals in the development of modes of journalistic practice is often drastically overrated in these accounts. Works like Kesterton's history of Canadian journalism (1967) and Peers' histories of broadcasting (1969, 1979), although not without utility, reduce its historical formation to either a succession of technological innovations, abstracted from any analysis of the requisites of capitalist growth, or a succession of royal commission recommendations and legislative measures, abstracted from any analysis of the pivotal place of the state in capitalist social relations. The literature includes accounts of journalistic triumphs, either by journalists themselves or in some cases by historians, such as Rutherford's celebratory discussion of "The Rise of the Newspaper," "The Golden Age of the Press", and "The Triumph of the Multimedia" - the three chapter titles of his work, The Making of the Canadian Media (1978).

Rutherford admits at the outset that "whatever theory underlies this survey is eclectic and haphazard" (1978: ix); a frank admission, and indictment, not only of Rutherford's work, but of most other accounts in this vein. The utility of popular biographies is limited to the supply of anecdotal and (at best) supplementary data.

Among the more systematic treatments of the journalism profession, Johnstone et al's work (1976) is exemplary. Like Tunstall's early analysis of specialist correspondents (1971), it is representative of sociological analyses of the journalism profession. Telephone interviews were conducted with more than 1,300 journalists at more than three hundred representative news organizations across the United States, and it was discovered that journalists tended to be young, male, and of "middle or upper middle class origin" (indeed, 78.5 per cent were counted in this category). Class origins, not surprisingly, were found to be reflected in patterns of educational attainment: those of "higher" class origins were channeled into academic programmes at the university level, while those of "lower" class origins attended journalism training programmes at colleges. A high degree of lateral job mobility was also noted, especially in broadcast journalism, as well as a high degree of related geographic mobility, although there was little flow between the print and electronic sectors (Johnstone et al, 1976: 136-

169).

Within this tradition, considerable debate surrounds the questionable status of journalism as a "profession" in the strict sociological sense. Johnstone et al re-evaluate the debate in light of their findings. On the one hand, journalism has passed through all of the sequential historical stages that are understood to mark the emergence of a profession. Moreover, journalists hold and adhere to professional values regarding their work, which means that the group meets yet another criterion of professionalism. As an occupational group, journalists also place great value upon public service, autonomy, and freedom from supervision, and tend to de-emphasize monetary and other tangible rewards. On the other hand, Johnstone et al found their involvement in professional associations to be relatively low, which in turn reinforces the heterogeneity and segmentation of the occupational field at large.

Johnstone and his colleagues also identified a "value cleavage" among contemporary American journalists, which clashes around certain common themes: impartiality versus partiality, detachment versus advocacy, the observer role versus the watchdog role, and libertarian neutrality versus social responsibility. These divisions were found to distinguish "neutral" and "participant" styles of journalism. The distinction lies at the base of occupational "segments" or

subgroups organized around alternative professional identities and ideologies. It is suggested that most journalists subscribe to elements of both perspectives, although the two styles are visible as "pure ideological types" among working news people (see Johnstone et al, 1976: 212-226).

According to Johnstone et al, "participant" values are related to the pursuit of the news writing or professional journalistic path of intra-organizational mobility, while "neutral" values are related to the pursuit of the administrative path. The former are also more characteristic of younger journalists, with older journalists more likely to subscribe to the latter set of values. Participant values tend to be shared by those who work in large cities and those whose primary social ties are with colleagues rather than with the community at large, while neutral values are more prevalent among those in smaller centres and those with more extensive formal ties outside the newsroom (1976: 233-239).

Work satisfaction is lowest among the most qualified and most educated young journalists, and does not stem from economic grievances alone, but is more likely to be related to professional considerations, to arise out of the discrepancies between journalistic ideals and concrete newsroom practices. The "alternative media" in the United States are also included in the analysis. News workers at the underground press organizations are described as participant journalists in the

extreme, who stress substance rather than technique, interpretation rather than speed of transmission, and advocacy rather than neutrality in their professional values. So-called "alternative" journalists tend to be younger than their "straight" counterparts and are more likely to be women, yet are similar in their class origins, regional origins, and educational experiences. However, most exhibited little or no long-term commitment to journalistic careers (1976: 253-270).

The design and framework of Johnstone et al's analysis necessarily leads it to over-stress individual and biographical considerations at the expense of structural ones, and the choice of method (i.e. telephone interviews) radically constrains its explanatory power; in some ways, the analysis poses many more (albeit fascinating) dilemmas than it resolves. Nonetheless, it remains a richly documentative work with much useful empirical data regarding the journalism profession.

Janowitz' discussion (1975), on the other hand, notably lacks a sound empirical base. He substitutes the term "gatekeeper" for "neutral" and "advocate" for "participant," and speculates that there are two highly age-graded subcultures which co-exist in the occupational field. It is argued that the rise of advocacy journalism cannot be simply or adequately explained by way of the student protests of 1960s America. Instead, Janowitz suggests that there is a

direct line of historical continuity between the old-style "muckrakers" of the colonial period and contemporary advocate journalists, and adds further that Lippmann had presaged the current development of advocacy journalism when he wrote Public Opinion in the early 1920s.

Of the phenomenological studies of news, Tuchman's work (e.g. 1972, 1973a, 1973b, 1976, 1977, 1978) is perhaps the most influential. Tuchman chooses to approach the study of production through the study of journalists' notions about it; indeed, one is led to conclude, based on her analyses, that news production assumes its peculiar form as a result of what takes place inside journalists' heads. Her early studies (1972, 1973a) sought to determine the means through which spontaneous, unexpected events become organizationally manageable through routinization; yet the process is not explained according to the rationalization of news production and therewith the routinization of tasks. Rather, it is explained by reference to the routinized categories and classifications (i.e. the "typifications") that journalists assign to potential news stories. Tuchman herself subscribes to a notion of events that "burst to the surface in a disruptive, exceptional (and hence newsworthy)" fashion, and refers, for example, to Hughes' statement that "quickeness of urgency is the essence of news," yet these ideas about the nature of news belong more appropriately to the language and

imagery of news producers themselves, to a specialized ideological framework which itself requires explanation. Moreover, it ignores the pre-planned character of most news stories, and the relative predictability of both what will be reported and how events will be packaged and presented.

A number of Tuchman's assumptions derive from the "sociology of organizations" and the "sociology of occupations" literature; among them, that the (presumed) variability and spontaneity of the raw materials of production will impede or prohibit routinization, and that individuals categorize the objects of their work in order to assert greater control and attempt to gain more autonomy. Yet she fails to trace these imperatives to their source in the social relations of news production. She argues that news organizations routinize the processing of unexpected events by typifying them along certain dimensions, which in turn refer to concrete procedures for handling and processing events, e.g. "soft" versus "hard" news, "spot" versus "developing" news, and, following Schutz, suggests that these typifications serve to routinize and make manageable the world of, in this case, news production. Yet again there is no account of the sources or origins of these typifications.

Similarly, the study titled "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity" (1972) is not truly incompatible with those long-term production studies that

identify constraints operative upon the production process, nor with occupational studies of journalism. It simply points to the means through which occupational ideologies (which include, of course, notions of "objectivity") find some representation or are manifestly observable in everyday newsroom practice. Specifically, she shows how the objectivity principle is sustained by the formal attributes of news stories and the characteristic features of news products, such as the presentation of conflicting possibilities, of supplementary evidence, the use of quotation marks, the presentation of the most material facts first, and the separation between factual "news" and more blatantly subjective "news analysis." A number of these practices, however, are more fully and accurately explained by reference to the production constraints imposed by the organization of news work in capitalist societies.

What is most disappointing in Tuchman's work is her failure to carry through the argument far enough to ask how these typifications might affect the news product. The act of typifying a particular event as a "soft" news story, for example, may reflect the demands of newsroom organization, yet it also indisputably affects the processing of the event as the raw material, and thereby the nature and composition of the story that is produced. Different "typifications" pose different practical production problems, which should be

expected to result in different treatments of events and therefore different stories or products as the outcome. Tuchman's perspective implies strongly that the relationship between work organization and typifications or other practices must logically extend to the form and/or content of the stories shaped by these practices, and yet the argument does not proceed to explore these obvious, and obviously significant, connections. Instead, she is content to describe the production process as ritualistic, routinized, and organized according to typifications (cf. Bruck's critique, 1981: 9-12).¹

A second category of production research includes studies of the treatment of events by those who occupy particular positions within the occupational hierarchy of the newsroom, and which concentrate largely upon the act of news selection. It refers most directly to the tradition of gatekeeper studies, which are confined to the analysis of short-term, deliberate "bias" and deliberate manipulation, and which frequently entail a comparative analysis of accepted and rejected news stories. The gatekeeper thesis proposes that the editor opens and closes the newspaper's "gate" to stories that s/he selects and rejects. It is more readily applied to media (e.g. small-town newspapers, local radio stations) which depend largely upon wire service news than to those which also originate news or generate their own stories (cf.

Gans, 1979: 341n).

The term "gatekeeper" was originally coined by Lewin, and was specifically applied to the editorial act of selection. Subsequent works in this tradition have variously identified the gatekeeper at the level of owners, managers, or editors, and, in some later Marxist adaptations, the gatekeeper concept is used to describe not only the selection of news, but also or rather the selection of people: key editorial personnel who are said to share a fundamental ideological affinity with owners (e.g. Miliband, 1969; Sallach, 1973; Clement, 1975). However, the gatekeeper tradition offers little explanatory potential, limited as it is to the act of selection, to the exclusion of other aspects, components, and stages of news production (e.g. news planning, gathering, and presentation). Moreover, while the gatekeeper argument might explain how the realm of ideological discourse is delimited and confined (within the "boundaries" or "limits of tolerance" set by gatekeepers at whatever level), it does not explain how a particular, dominant ideology is reproduced through the operations of media enterprises. In other words, it may be able to account for the outer limits of the discourse (yet that too is problematic, since it allows no space for oppositional readings), but it is unable to account for its substance. This is a central weakness of the approach.

Traditionally then, gatekeeper studies are concerned to analyze how news content is screened by the decisions and beliefs of newspaper editors, network producers, and other news managers. Yet, like traditional content analysis, the visual capacity of the television medium illustrates and exacerbates the limited capacities of the approach. Culbert (1978) uses the example of Bailey & Lichty's (1972) study of the NBC Tet execution film to demonstrate the problem. In that case, both a photographer and a television camera operator were on hand when the chief of the South Vietnamese national police, General Loan, executed a suspected Vietcong sympathizer on an otherwise quiet street during the start of the Tet offensive in 1968. Bailey & Lichty explained how the NBC producer edited the newsfilm and described how the film was transmitted to Tokyo and from there to New York. Culbert shows why it is important to know what the footage means (especially what it came to "signify," in the semiotic sense, vis-a-vis the anti-war movement), and not just how the story came to be broadcast. The problem is particularly acute in this case since the Loan photograph and newsfilm became first a symbol and later a major contributor to myths about the Vietnam War (see Culbert, 1978: 140-147).

A third broad category of production research, studies of the treatment of particular events, includes the Langs' seminal study of the reportage of the 1952 MacArthur

Day parade in Chicago (1953) and Halloran et al's classic analysis of coverage of the 1968 anti-Vietnam demonstration in London (1970). These studies largely sought evidence of short-term, deliberate and non-deliberate bias. Works in this tradition are limited to case studies of specified events, and, like the gatekeeper studies, necessarily operate with tacit, idealized models of impartial and objective or at least "unbiased" news presentation. While some include analysis of production procedures and other newsroom practices, attention is commonly focussed upon these practices only with respect to their "effects" upon coverage of the event under study.

Long-term production studies, on the other hand, set larger parameters for the analysis of television news. These divide roughly into those which adopt the organizational approach and materialist analyses of the social relations of news production. Of the former (largely American) group, Epstein's (1973) study laid the main foundations. Many subsequent American works operate under the rubric of Epstein's framework, although misconceptions about his original premises abound. Contrary to some of these interpretations, Epstein did not argue that network news is wholly determined by "organizational factors." He did argue that "certain consistent directions in selecting, covering, and reformulating events over long-term periods are clearly related to organizational needs" (1973: xviii). These

organizational imperatives were said to shape not only the process of production but also the portrayal of subjects and topics found in network news programmes and the "pictures of society" (Epstein's substitution for "ideologies") that result:

...it follows that network news can be partly explained in terms of the relatively stable procedures, criteria, and values by which it is gathered, selected, reconstructed, and presented on television. And if it is further accepted that these procedures, criteria, and values derive in large part from the structure of commercial television, then it is possible to conclude that the selection of reality that a national audience sees on television as news will follow certain consistent directions (Epstein, 1973: 257).

The major problem is not some simple "organizational determinism" characteristic of Epstein's approach, but rather that his conclusions need to be further advanced and developed. The key demands or imperatives that are found to structure network news include the budgetary requisites imposed by "the economic logic of network television," the need to maintain audience flows, the demands of affiliated stations for truly "national" news, and finally, state regulatory constraints, notably the FCC's Fairness Doctrine (1973: 259ff.). While Epstein admonishes that organizational requisites only partially account for the nature of network television news, he nonetheless insists that "the organizational imperatives of network news, and the logics that proceed from these demands, irresistibly shape the

pictures of society in consistent directions" (1973: 265). Overall, Epstein's analysis is comparable in its form and in its findings to Marxist analyses of news production, and his observations do not in any significant sense conflict with the latter. The chief difference lies in his ultimate conclusions. Despite the argument that the limitations of television news trace largely to its organizational structure, Epstein does not in the end propose that television news be organized differently, or indeed changed at all: "the point is not to change news, but to understand its limitations" (1973: 273). He simply advises that "news consumers" make use of alternative sources of national news, such as magazines, in order to maintain a balanced news "diet."

Paletz & Pearson, among others, are critical of Epstein's approach, noting that it is "unconvincing as theory" (1978: 67), and that most of his conclusions can be explained without recourse to purely internal organizational considerations. Indeed, Epstein's organizational constraints are of the second-order type of determination: budgetary ceilings and audience maintenance requirements trace further to economic requisites of a more fundamental nature, and the same is true of the constraints imposed through state regulation of the broadcasting industry.

To complicate matters, Epstein's followers have sometimes further obscured and distorted the subtleties of his

original argument. Altheide (1976), for example, on the basis of his study of affiliated stations in the United States, proceeds from Epstein to a thoroughly idealist case; one that explains everything that appears on local newscasts by reference to what he calls "the news perspective," which he claims absolutely "distorts" real-world events. The news perspective is said to be influenced by "commercialism, political influence, technology, and scheduling demands" (1976: 173-174). All of these considerations, in Altheide's view, make necessary the formulation of "the news perspective" and thereby render all news programmes essentially similar in form and content.

Chibnall (1977), on the other hand, who operates with very different assumptions, argues that the "distortion of reality" to which Altheide refers is not at all random and not simply or entirely due to organizational needs or the ideas of journalists. Rather, the transformation of the social world takes place quite systematically through a process that exhibits "patterned regularities governed by a consistent set of interests, practices, and professional relationships" (1977: 207). The subtleties and complexities of the process whereby the raw events of the world are transformed into a completed hegemonic product have until recently eluded the attention of most Marxist analyses of televisual communication which, in Chibnall's words, "successfully identify the overall

political role of the media in the continuing hegemony of a capitalist class and assert the overriding importance of the media's structure of ownership and control in that process, but...generally fail to go beyond this insight" (1977: 207). Most were content with a crude orthodoxy that linked ownership and control to class relations thusly: control of the mass media by capitalist interests leads to the production and reproduction of bourgeois ideology, which in turn leads to mystification, false consciousness, and the reproduction of existent relations of production (see Chibnall's "Flow Chart", 1977: 208).

The more recent Marxist analyses of news production are able to elaborate the process at much greater length, and with a greater degree of comprehensiveness and sophistication. Briefly, the crux of these investigations centres around the forces and relations of news production, above all the constraints imposed upon television news reportage by the means in which production is organized, routinized, and rationalized in line with the imperatives of the capitalist mode of production. Broad similarities across networks and across capitalist societies take on greater significance than the relatively inconsequential differences that are so often the object of non-Marxist comparative analyses.

Golding & Elliott (1979), for example, are able to demonstrate the fundamental global uniformity of news

programmes and news practices, by means of their three-nation observation of production in Ireland, Nigeria, and Sweden. Their description of the stages of broadcast news production (planning, gathering, selection, and presentation) discloses some of the more tacit restrictions upon reportage. According to their analysis, news gathering is sharply limited in the case of television since (a) there is limited time available, which means a low volume of reportage; (b) the demand for visual accompaniment makes reportage more difficult and cumbersome than in the case of newspapers; and (c) broadcast journalism is inherently passive, due to the labour and other resources required to process news stories. The extensive use of wire service agencies poses constraints that are operative during the selection stage; constraints not likely to be detected by means of a "gatekeeper" approach. Firstly, wire services become the most important, and often the sole source of foreign news, since it is clearly impractical, at least for most news organizations, to staff more than a few foreign correspondents. Secondly, it leads to a global uniformity of news definitions, where the relative significance of news events is effectively pre-determined by the "big four" international news agencies: Associated Press, Reuters, United Press International, and Agence France Presse (cf. Chapter 2). Thirdly, where reporters are assigned to cover foreign stories, agency items and line-ups alert the newsrooms

core argument underlying the approach is that a prerequisite analysis of the relations of media production can go a considerably long way towards accounting for the nature, including the form and content, of the media product.

The available explanations of broadcast news content (which, with some variations, may also be applied to current affairs) should first be outlined and assessed. The first of these is the "mirror" thesis, according to which news merely reflects or records reality. Network news is claimed to be nothing more than a mirror reflection of the real world; it simply re-presents the most important daily events for the benefit of public view. Reality is not understood to be mediated by the social production of news, or, for that matter, by anything else; rather, news is a perfect, unmediated reproduction of spontaneous world events. Not surprisingly, the interpretation is popular among news executives and producers who use it as a means of defence against critics (Robinson, 1978: 199). For example, CBS News president Richard Salant once matter-of-factly remarked: "Our reporters do not cover stories from their point of view. They are presenting them from nobody's point of view" (cited in Epstein, 1973: ix; Altheide, 1976: 17; Robinson, 1978: 199). Gans, however, suggests that its credibility among news producers was weakened substantially during the 1960s, in the face of heightened critical attacks against the treatment of

news events by American journalists (1979: 79).

Three additional "theories" of broadcast news are sometimes identified: the "professionalism" interpretation, which states that news is the outcome of the professional judgements of journalists; the (almost identical) "newsworthiness" interpretation, which suggests the inherent validity of professional news judgements; and the "collage" interpretation, which "explains" that news is a constant mixture of sensational, political, and human interest stories (Epstein, 1973; Robinson & McPherson, 1977; Adams, 1978a; Robinson, 1978; Gans, 1979). It is difficult to imagine how these accounts could be seriously entertained as "theories" (yet see Gans, 1979: 78-80). Clearly, all three are no more than descriptive statements that add little to our knowledge of the actual mechanisms of broadcast news production.

A further offering is termed by some the "political" thesis, whereby news is understood to be the product of "ideological biases" on the part of owners, editors, and/or reporters. It can at least be acknowledged that the thesis holds greater validity than the others, yet its capacity to yield a comprehensive account of the ongoing dynamic of news production and ideological reproduction is weak, for reasons already discussed. In addition, the use of the phrase "ideological biases" is ambiguous, and confuses a long-term non-purposive process (of ideological reproduction) with a

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short-term, purposive act (of bias).

A more substantial, yet still problematic, account is, finally, Epstein's "organizational theory," as Adams (1978a) and others choose to call it. Apart from its own intrinsic limitations, the widespread impact of Epstein's work upon television news analysis in the United States poses some additional problems. Adams notes that the phrase "organizational theory" has been used quite indiscriminately: "any explanation that does not take news to be an undistorted reflection of reality can acquire the organizational theory label; the catchall vagueness of the concept has reduced its usefulness" (1978a: 16). He suggests that "organizational theory" actually encompasses a wide range of explanations of network news content. Some analysts isolate particular components (e.g. legal, technological, "commercial") to the exclusion of other "factors," while others merge them all together into a sweeping "organization" approach (e.g. Krieghbaum, 1972; Batscha, 1975; Altheide, 1976; cf. Adams, 1978a: 17). Nonetheless, a common feature of these organizational arguments is their stress upon particular components of production which act to subtly and indirectly control or "bias" the nature of the product. These "factors" shaping the news come to be reified as "organizational mechanisms" part and parcel of the structure of news work, and which, tacitly or otherwise, acquire the status of eternal,

inescapable organizational necessity (cf. Sigelman, 1973: 140; Bruck, 1981: 9). There is, then, a peculiar circularity to the argument as it assumes a nearly functionalist, justificatory tone, and worse, as it precludes the opportunity to consider the routes to radical "organizational" change.

A final and serious problem with all of the above accounts is that none are able to provide theorizations of broadcast news that contextualize it within a larger social frame, since all are, in effect, disembodied assertions and descriptions not integrated into larger theories of society.

The difficulty posed is that of how one might approach the analysis of television journalism from a materialist perspective. What compounds the problem is the fact that news and current affairs production encompasses, indeed conjoins, both base and superstructural operations. In superstructural terms, it contributes powerfully to the dynamic of hegemonic struggle; some would even say that it constitutes one of the major sites of that struggle. Yet, fundamentally, the process of producing televisual information is analogous to other instances of commodity production: it combines instruments of labour, "raw materials" of production, etc., and takes place according to a set of institutionalized practices; these practices consist of the types of labour required to transform the raw material of production into the processed news/current affairs product. Since the "raw

material" of news production is, at least in theory, the world at large, the prima facie delimitation of the world for news producers is its reduction to the event, which in turn is reduced to the newsworthy event, which in turn is reduced to the report of the newsworthy event. Ultimately, the news report of the event is the finished commodity of the production process.

Through the course of production, the event is still further reduced to the "angle" of the coverage (i.e. to its extraordinary, dramatic, tragic, humourous, etc., elements), to its key factual components (who, what, when, where, why), and it will also be compartmentalized or assigned to the specified news categories (international story, consumer story, political story, human interest story, etc.) - all in accordance with the canons of professional journalistic practice. All of these considerations and some additional ones - the nature of news sources, the perception of the audience, the operation of news values, and so forth - hold consequences for what is produced, for the way that "the world" is presented, and hence all act in some fashion to constrain the presentation of the world in the television news programme.

With that broad usage of the phrase "production constraints" in view, it is possible to tentatively summarize some of those most commonly operative in the production of

television news (cf. Clarke, 1981b). The constraints can be categorized according to the magnitude of their impact upon news production and the news programme. Time, money, and technology, the three production constraints that Tracey (1978) stresses, are probably the most immediate and the most pressing constraints faced by producers, and those most plainly observable. Yet there are others which, while not so immediate and not so readily observable, suggest more serious and more extensive implications for the news product. At least ten of these additional, long-term constraints can be identified, among them: the patterns of interrelation with other media, the social control of news workers, the constraints imposed by the visual nature of the television medium and the "entertainment" context within which news is produced, the operation of news values, the perception of the audience held by producers,³ the distribution of news sources, the compartmentalization of stories, and other exigencies of professional journalistic practice, such as rules about objectivity, evidence, and the use of authoritative sources. These constraints, of course, do not operate independently or in isolation, but rather tend to congeal, in various combinations, in order to activate their restrictive consequences upon the ultimate news commodity.

The social world, however, is not simply reduced or constrained by means of its televisual presentation. The real

world is actually re-constructed and re-presented in televisual form. As Gibson argues (1980: 102):

The electronic "window to the world" is not a window at all, but a screen. What appears on that screen is not the world, but a socially constructed representation of the world in terms of visual symbols...These symbols do not reflect reality but are instead re-inventions of reality, interpretations produced according to rules...

...and, we might add, interpretations produced under the constraints of the conditions of television production in capitalist societies. Television therefore translates the social into the symbolic, by means of a process that is above all a social construction. Many of these symbolic fabrications conceal themselves in the naturalistic film code of television news and current affairs programming, which, among other things, thereby provides the appearance of unmediated reality. Gibson's discussion, for example, reaffirms the importance of programme flow (cf. Williams, 1974), of televisual codes of naturalism and familiarity, and of its temporal structure, to television's symbolic capacity and ideological potency (see 1980: 106).

The production of news, then, is something more than the sum total of the conditions and constraints of its production. By its very nature, the production of news engages, quite irrevocably and systematically, the (re)production of ideas about the world. A fully fledged attempt to expose and extract that larger process must,

therefore, proceed beyond a documentation of the constraints that lie within the organization of news production to the analysis of themes, tenets, assumptions, etc., that lie within the news product. In other words, there is a need to supplement accounts of news production with analyses of news programmes, to move beyond the problem of production to the problem of reproduction. The present project, then, seeks ultimately to ask: what is the relationship between media production and ideological reproduction? Towards that end, the analysis sets out to investigate the total labour process, from the raw materials to the organization of production and its constraints, to the actual routines of production and the practices of news producers, and finally, to the news product itself.

It is argued, therefore, that studies of production are alone insufficient to account for the ideological constitution of news products, limited to the explanation of what gets excluded and why, with little or no capacity to explain what gets included and how, i.e. their concrete ideological substance. Hence the thesis culminates in the analysis of sample news and current affairs programmes, one that takes into account the constraints identified during the observation of production as part and parcel of the attempt to extract their ideological character. Once extracted, at least one side of the dialectic will be empirically unravelled. In

other words, it should be possible to disclose the social construction of the text by reference to its material genesis in the relations of media production. What remains, then, is to investigate the channels through which the ideological potentialities offered by news texts come to be incorporated into the pre-existent ideological frameworks of viewers; that is, the process of reception.

Golding & Murdock's emphatic call for analysis of the "social contexts" of production and reception should not, therefore, be interpreted as virtuous lip-service to a vague and often empty phrase. On the contrary, attention to the relations of production that support and shape media commodities is precisely what distinguishes the political economy approach to media analysis from those earlier-mentioned "quasi-Marxist" analyses which account for the ideologies immanent in media texts through sole reference to the ideologies of professional journalists, and which refuse to look beyond the text itself, thereby stripping it of its supportive social context (i.e. the approach of "cultural studies"). Here the text becomes a "disembodied cultural artefact" that produces its own immanent ideological significance independent of social relations. Rather, the political economy approach understands the text to be firmly grounded in a set of social relations that extend through the media organization to the larger social structure of which it

is an integral and inseparable part. The penultimate context is thus the set of social relations that figure in capitalist society at large.

About "Ideology"

Yet another point of contention between the two Marxist approaches is their respective understanding of ideology. Since the concept is absolutely central to the analysis here, it is important to make clear its usage and to outline the understanding of its place in the hegemonic process.⁴ Within the the materialist tradition generally, notions of ideology as "a set of ideas that arise from a set of material conditions" and of ideology as a "bourgeois swindle" or sheer illusion have each been used widely, and often very confusingly and casually throughout the literature. The principal source of these perennial ambiguities is to be found in the ambiguous usages of the concept in the original works of Marx and Engels. At least three recurrent usages might be listed. In the first place, there is the illusion/false consciousness/upside-down reality meaning associated with, for example, the camera obscura image presented in The German Ideology (1970: 47), which retains the eighteenth century pejorative connotation of the word. Secondly, there is a more neutral sense of "ideology" found, for example, in the 1859 Preface, where ideological forms are

the forms through which men become conscious of the conflict arising from conditions and changes in conditions of production (Marx, 1975: 424-428). The usage is neutral in the sense that it is neither pejorative nor polemical, certainly less polemical than the usage in The German Ideology. It also marks the seeds of the crucial theoretical innovation later taken up by Gramsci, and, within another subsequent tradition, it is misconstrued as "the problem of levels" - that is, in the tradition of Althusserian-style structuralism that appears after the 1960s. Finally, a third use of the concept in the original texts is found where ideology is counterposed against science, as that which is not scientific. The distinction was originally set forth by Engels, who argued that ideology would "end" once humans grew cognizant of their real life-conditions, at which point their consciousness would become genuinely scientific.

Williams suggests that the second usage is "very difficult to reconcile with the sense of ideology as mere illusion" (1976: 129). Or is it? Much depends upon whether one understands that ideology itself is a mere illusion or if indeed ideology is something real (and material in class struggle) that consists of illusions. Adorno recognized the crucial subtlety of the distinction when he stated that "it is not ideology in itself which is untrue but rather its pretension to correspond to reality" (1967: 32). Meanwhile,

Lenin and others had developed the notion of class-specific ideologies, introduced the phrases "proletarian ideology" and "bourgeois ideology," and theoretically forged the indivisible link between the modes of existence of particular classes and the "sets of ideas" associated with and materialized in these concrete modes of existence. Ideologies, in a classical materialistic sense, were not simply "sets of ideas" but ideas materialized in class practices.⁵ Following that line of classical thought, which preceded of course the later structuralist formulations about the nature of ideology, Gramsci prepared the way for the notion that ideology, despite its "illusory" content, nonetheless constitutes a real and material force in class struggle; that, like other social forces such as the repressive machinery of the state, it acts to mediate the struggle in a complex myriad of ways. And it was Gramsci who proceeded from there to nurture the concept of ideological conflict between classes as a real force in class relations, but above all as a vital component of hegemonic struggle, the winning of which was a prerequisite to the realization of hegemony by any class.

Indeed, Gramsci's conception of ideology is inextricably tied to the formulation of his revolutionary model. Included among the forces at work during those ripe revolutionary moments are: firstly, a crisis of legitimacy or failure to win consent or the imbalanced dependence of the

state upon coercion as the basis of its rule; secondly, a homogeneous working class and/or the creation of a congealed, effective class alliance (workers and peasants, students and workers, working class and petit bourgeoisie) or, most preferably, the formation of a wholly concretized historic bloc; thirdly, a war of position, calling for cultural organization and ideological struggle; and finally, a war of movement or war of manoeuvre, a direct frontal assault upon the state.⁶ All these in turn need to be understood within the context of the core concept of "hegemony."

Chantal Mouffe suggests that through Gramsci the original Leninist conception of hegemony was "doubly enriched" (1979: 181): first, its application was extended to the bourgeoisie, it was no longer something that referred only to the leadership of the proletariat; and secondly, Gramsci added a new component to hegemony, that of "intellectual and moral direction." In truth, however, these modifications were nothing more than a necessary re-alignment of the Leninist conception within a dialectical understanding of history. Through Gramsci, hegemony was re-situated theoretically and practically as a process that proceeds dialectically; not as some noble, worthwhile, and distant objective of the working class, without any dynamic. Moreover, there must of course be an "intellectual and moral" dimension, since hegemony is at one and the same time economic, political, and ideological;

wherever one of the constituents is absent, there is no hegemony, only domination.

The triadic nature of hegemony in Gramsci's schema is often tragically overlooked by his structuralist interpreters, and it is a common and serious oversight among those with specialized interests in the media contribution to hegemonic struggle. Thus Chantal Mouffe's definition of a hegemonic class as "a class which has been able to articulate the interests of other social groups to its own by means of ideological struggle" (1979: 181) is acceptable but incomplete: it must be stressed that the ideological struggle is not waged in a vacuum, nor is hegemony the outcome of a struggle among two or more well-armed antagonists. Rather, it presupposes the already established economic and political domination of the class that secures hegemony. To illustrate, one can cite from the well-known passage introducing the concept of the "compromise equilibrium" that is worked out or administered through the state:

...for though hegemony is ethical-political, it must also be economic, must necessarily be based on the decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity (Gramsci, 1971: 161).

Gramsci's specification of the successive stages in the movement of hegemony, introduced at the outset, may now be outlined in full. The most elementary moment is that where organization, unity, and homogeneity are characteristic of

those within the same industry or industrial group; in the case of the bourgeoisie, for example, it is limited to fractionalized, regional interests. The second moment is that at which collective political consciousness extends across a whole class. There are (essentially reformist) struggles for a "legitimate" footing vis-a-vis the legislative and administrative apparatuses of the state, although these struggles are still couched largely in terms of "economic-corporate" interests. The third moment offers the potential realization of hegemony: what were heretofore "purely corporate" and short-term interests become, at this juncture, long-term and clearly articulated interests that are seen to transcend the interests of the one class, and to necessitate the incorporation of the interests of other classes and/or class groupings:

This is the most purely political phase... bringing about not only a unison of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity, posing all the questions around which the struggle rages not on a corporate but on a 'universal' plane, and thus creating the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups (Gramsci, 1971: 181-182).

In light of the multiplicity of forces (of which ideology is but one) and the complex interplay of forces operative in the hegemonic process, Gramsci insists upon the need to periodize moments of crisis, of struggle, etc., and to understand both organic and conjunctural moments according to and in terms of their historical specificity. In other words,

his ultimate plea is for the analysis of concrete cases, for the concrete study of real, historical situations.

Ideologies, then, figure within the hegemonic process insofar as they are weapons of hegemonic struggle, embedded in class practices and institutions, and rooted in the modes of existence of particular classes and class groupings. It follows, therefore, that the potency of ideology as a hegemonic weapon can best be determined through concrete analysis of the practices and institutions - in our own case, the practices and institutions of broadcast journalism - where it is embodied and through which it is reproduced.

Methodological Outline: The Social Relations of Media
Production and the Textual
Analysis of Media Products

The central concern with ideology and ongoing ideological reproduction by means of news production, as opposed to a concern centred upon short-term bias or manifest news content, poses serious problems of method, and, it is argued, demands the sort of integrated analysis of production and product infrequently found in the traditional literature. Bruck concluded his critique of the literature with a similar recommendation:

- the relation of the production process/product is one where the two ends of the relation must be considered together...To focus on one end, the production process and its institutional constitution and organizational arrangement is the object domain of media sociology. To focus on the other end, the media product, and its structural coherence, narrative composition, etc., is the object domain of media semiotics. To focus on the relationship between the two, on the actual communication process, is the domain of communications (1981: 19-20).

While Bruck has at least set forth some compelling reasons for developing the approach, the actual undertaking of the project still requires that one venture out into relatively uncharted methodological territory. The approach calls for integrated study of the structures of the news text, the production practices that give rise to it, and the broader societal structures that support and shape the process at large. The principle is that, in order to fully understand what ultimately appears on the television screen and what it "means" ideologically, we need to examine not just what appears but how it comes to appear in a particular way, to assume its peculiar form and content. In other words, we must also examine the conditions under which television programmes, as ideological texts, are produced.

Bruck suggests that, in effect, there are three methodological options on offer (cf. 1981: 20). First, one can read from the produced text back to the structures of society, drawing from, and solely from, the ideological composition of the text itself - the method exemplified in

Barthes' Mythologies (1972) and in much of the semiotic work. Here though, one faces those rather severe problems that are seemingly intrinsic to the method, including the problem of immanence, of ahistoricism, the notably severe problem of inference, and its dependence upon the ingenuity and analytical sophistication of the individual semiotician (cf. Clarke, 1980). Moreover, its compatibility with the classical epistemological principles of historical materialism is more than arguable; indeed, a source of the polarity among British media scholars, and a source of discomfort to those who prefer a more truly materialist approach. Secondly, one can read from the formal structures of media organizations and practices back to the structures of society; a more sound approach, yet one still unable to capture and unravel the specificity of the text and its ideological structures. Thirdly, there is the possibility that one could read back from the structures of the text through to the production practices which support it to the structures of society; a more complex approach, yet one that strives to trace the text to its material origins in the relations of media production.

Although it may be premature to speak of a nascent "tradition" of news studies in Canada, there is increasing evidence to suggest that those similarly disillusioned by the semiotic offering are more and more attracted to the third option, reflecting a growing preference for the political

economy approach (cf. Salter, 1981).⁷ Bruck himself calls for the development of a "social genetics" of news texts along the lines of the third option. Yet the implementation of the third option as a mode of analysis strains the limits of practicality, demanding a range of different and often difficult research procedures - historical analysis of news practices and news programming, a (preferably) long-term period of fieldwork at the news organizations, and, ultimately, analysis of the news and current affairs products. Regardless, for all of the reasons that have been outlined, the approach seems the best possible means to a comprehensive materialist analysis of the linkages between media production and ideological reproduction.

To a great extent, then, one of the principal arguments of the thesis is the case for a particular method, a method which remains "experimental" in the sense of having been comparatively untried or untested. Out of that method unfold the other arguments; among them, a central contention is that investigation of the actual organization and practices of production can go a considerably long way towards accounting for the nature of the commodity that emerges as their result. More specifically, it is possible through such investigation to identify a range of constraints intrinsic to the organization of news and current affairs production (as presently constituted within the existing "structures of

society") that lead to direct implications for the form and content of news and current affairs programmes. These production constraints can be tentatively grouped into two general categories. With respect to news, the first category includes the more immediate or short-term logistical constraints of production: the pressures of time, and in North America at least, of time zones; technological constraints, such as the use of film versus video tape, the use of two-inch versus one-inch video tape editing equipment, etc.; and the budgetary limitations that constrain the availability of facilities, the number, placement, and movement of reporters, the transmission of their stories, and a whole range of additional considerations. Thus, for example, the story of a strike vote in Thompson, Manitoba may be delayed, hastily edited, appear without visual accompaniment, or not appear at all if travel time from Winnipeg to Thompson and back is insufficient, if a film editor is not available, if editing facilities are already in use, if feed lines cannot be accessed, if the Toronto newsroom deadline cannot be met, etc. In addition to jeopardizing the inclusion of the story in the newscast, several of these factors may also contribute to the particular form that the story assumes and to the specific content of the script and visuals. For current affairs production, these same short-term logistical constraints are operative, except that the

time constraint becomes less severe in the case of weekly programmes.

The second category includes the more subtle, long-term constraints that are repeatedly at work: historically derived news practices and ideological principles of television journalism, the dependence of the production unit upon continental and international news suppliers, the increasingly forced dependence of current affairs units upon international suppliers of documentary material (e.g. Intermag) and upon co-production arrangements, the broader economic imperatives that underpin the organization of the labour process, and so forth. In short, a multiple array of short-term and long-term constraints are endemic to existing relations of news and current affairs production, all of which place stern limitations upon the type of news/current affairs commodity that can be produced under these conditions.

What further complicates the method is that, in order to empirically specify these constraints and their actual implications, one must first acquire a thorough knowledge of the operation of the production unit associated with each individual programme under study. As the present project and others illustrate, each production unit may be of such a size and its division of labour of such complexity as to render this preliminary task awesome in itself. Once a sufficient degree of familiarity with the structure and operation of the

unit is obtained, it remains to observe that operation across a period of time sufficient to detect the often subtle ways in which the underlying constraints surface at the level of everyday production. Following that second stage, it still remains to determine and demonstrate their actual interplay with the daily and weekly programmes that result. And further, perhaps most importantly, all of these observations must be situated within the framework of the historical evolution of journalistic practices and the global infrastructure of media production and distribution, as the outer confines within which each production unit operates.

The Canadian Case

The three broad premises which guide the analysis may now be summarized: first, that the nature of news production and distribution uniquely reflects Canada's location vis-à-vis other capitalist economies and the related pattern of media interdependence at the international level; secondly, that, within Canada, television broadcasting developed and continues to be organized under the rubric of capitalist relations of production, which in turn impose a number of crucial constraints upon both the production of news/current affairs and the range of professional journalistic practices; and thirdly, that the attendant social relations of news/current

affairs production lend a peculiar character to the form and content of news and current affairs commodities - one that contributes, in complex ways, to the ongoing dynamic whereby bourgeois hegemony struggles to be reproduced. These statements represent the major assumptions about how the object of study is understood to operate.

Despite the large scale of the current project, it would be pretentious to claim the capacity to substantiate all of these grand assumptions. There are, however, a significant number of specific claims that can be demonstrated through the course of the analysis, and which lend support to the three broad premises above. These include:

That the professional practices and ideologies of television journalism originate in and trace to key shifts in the Canadian political economy of the late nineteenth century and beyond, and that changes in these practices parallel changes in the political economy at large;

That Canadian news production is plugged solidly into the international network of news production and depends heavily upon continental and international news suppliers, such that it might more accurately be regarded as a system of news distribution rather than one of news production proper;

That the structure of the national networks and the respective news operations of CBC and CTV reflect that special "compromise equilibrium" worked out through the state for the sake of the national broadcasting system;

That the organization of news and current affairs production at each network is the outcome of that negotiation, of their respective positions in the Canadian economy and the imperatives that derive from it;

Above all, that these underlying conditions of production figure prominently in the organization of news and current affairs work, in relations among news workers and between news workers and management, and finally, in the news and current affairs programmes broadcast by the two national networks.

Many of the findings of other news production studies (e.g. Schlesinger, 1978; Tracey, 1978; Golding & Elliott, 1979) can also be demonstrated by the Canadian case.

Paramount among these findings is the recurrent observation that television news is "socially constructed." A whole series of observations which follow from that will be supported by the analysis here, for example: that television news production is fundamentally a "passive" journalistic mode; that television news is the outcome of a highly regulated and routinized production process; that television news portrays the social world in a fragmented, decontextualized, and ahistorical manner which concentrates upon events, upon formalized institutions, and which depends upon official, institutionalized sources; that power is largely invisible in television news, since the journalistic concept of "politics" equates it with the parliamentary procedures of government, rather than with power; that journalists, as a professional group, share a range of common social traits, including their common class origins, levels of educational attainment, ethnic and regional origins, and their highly mobile career patterns; that journalists are structurally denied access to a comprehensive knowledge of the

news/current affairs audience, and consequently tend to use themselves as a point of reference for their assumptions about the audience, which in turn lends a particular character to the form and content of television information programming; and so forth. These and other related arguments are amply illustrated by the Canadian evidence to be presented here.

The core objects of the analysis are the five major news and current affairs programmes produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the CTV Television Network (CTV); namely, CBC's THE NATIONAL, THE JOURNAL, and the fifth estate, and CTV's CTV NATIONAL NEWS and W5. It is important to realize that the decision to analyze both CBC and CTV programming is not based upon expectations of significant differences between their respective news and current affairs products. Indeed, the analysis seeks rather to determine and identify the intertextuality of the programme forms, and to account for these shared patterns through reference to the professional journalistic practices and ideologies that foster these commonalities. Those concerned strictly with the manifest content of news and current affairs programming often take as their focus of study differences in the treatment of events by different broadcasting networks or stations; yet such a procedure would, in effect, defeat the purposes of the present project. As Gibson suggests, "by ignoring common codes of the familiar they can conceptualize nothing beyond

the strange" (1980: 93). The point is rather to make these familiar codes the focus of direct attention, as a product of the fundamental uniformity of televisual production practices, and on that basis to consider the possibility of alternative, perhaps radically different, production practices and correspondingly different codes of televisual presentation. Hence, since a major focus of the analysis is the common codes among the network news and current affairs forms, quantifiable differences in manifest programme content will not be of central concern, at least not with respect to the wider purposes of the project.

The study of the five programmes is based upon fieldwork carried out during 1982 and 1983 at each of the five units responsible for their production (all of which are located in Toronto), including extensive observations and both informal and formal interviews with production staff at all levels; and secondly, textual analysis of a video taped sample of the programmes broadcast during the same period in which the conditions of their production were observed. A detailed outline of the field work appears as Appendix I, and a discussion of the sample design is provided in Appendix III. The five production units are each separate, organizationally distinct, and formally "autonomous" vis-a-vis other programme production units at the two networks. Apart from linkages at the highest level of their management structure, no formal

relationships exist between them. Their separate budgets, facilities, staff contingents, and other resources in effect make for five separate "case studies" of television information production in Canada, which allow evaluation of the major arguments and assumptions of this study.

NOTES

1. Molotch & Lester (1974, 1975) and Fishman (1978, 1980) do expand upon Tuchman's work, yet still do not advance it to the problem of effects upon story content (cf. Bruck, 1981: 12-15).
2. See Golding's typology of purposive and non-purposive communication (1974: 79). The concept of "bias" plays no part in the present analysis, since it is understood that the notion of "biased" news is illogical and contradictory, offering little or no theoretical utility. There is some sense in which "all news shows the scars, slants, and virtues of its production processes, i.e. bias" (Bruck, 1981: 8), but only in this sense is the term apt. In other words, one may state that the process of production "biases" or shapes the form and content of news in a particular direction, or that it can be expected to profoundly affect the outcome of that production. Yet, even in this limited sense, the concept loses a good deal of its meaning and its discriminatory power. To seriously sustain the concept of bias throughout a critical analysis of news is also to encounter the perennial problem of establishing standards against which bias can be measured; a point made by Rosengren (1979) and many others. Moreover, it is totally antithetical to a sociological analysis, since:

"it is presupposed in the sociological perspective that all phenomena of study are socially produced...attempts to measure bias and to document distortion introduce a whole rhetoric of scientific superiority of media scholars over media workers. The establishment of the "news-as-biased" theme and the ensuing charges boil down to the fact that media people do their work differently, by different means, and for different purposes, and obviously, with different results than their sociologically-minded critics" (Bruck, 1981: 17; cf. Anderson & Sharrock, 1979).
3. Unless otherwise indicated, the word "producer" is used throughout in its generic sense, without reference to a specific position or occupation.
4. A more thorough elaboration of the materiality of ideology appears in Clarke, 1981a. The bulk of the foregoing discussion derives directly from that paper.

5. Bukharin first insisted that ideology must be understood as more than a "set of ideas" (see Buci-Glucksmann, 1980: 255). With respect to religion, for example, Bukharin distinguished its three inseparable components: a set of ideas, a mode of institutional organization, and a practice - three visible elements of what Gramsci called "a hegemonic apparatus."
6. This is not to imply any necessary chronological order of precedence, e.g. that the war of position must precede the war of movement. See Gramsci's examples, 1971: 120.
7. Wernick (1982) has argued, with much insight and good sense, that we should also recognize the problems that accompany a shift to "pragmatism" or "the Gramscian corrective." While it is important to denounce the tendency to over-privilege the moment of reception to the neglect of production analysis, Wernick suggests that, given the newness of the field in Canada, we might instead prefer an "eclectic mix" of theoretical perspectives, as opposed to the growing hostility towards what he calls "the two poles of revulsion" - that is, towards the work of contemporary Frankfurt Marxists and that of neo-Marxist semioticians.

CHAPTER 2: THE ORIGINS AND INFRASTRUCTURE
OF NEWS/CURRENT AFFAIRS

Two interrelated phenomena transformed the character of the news industry during the latter part of the nineteenth century: economic consolidation and the professionalization of journalism. In fact, the forces of economic consolidation contributed directly to the consolidation of journalistic practices, organized around the newly imposed need for a consistently "professional" and "objective" news supply.

The 'Great Depression' of the 1880s and 1890s occasioned the large scale consolidation of capital -- centralization and concentration -- into a fewer number of larger hands. Markets became monopolized, and the form of economic organization began to shift from the small entrepreneurial firm to the large corporation. The press was not spared either the economic or political consequences of corporate consolidation. Economically, consolidation meant the growing need for the press to create mass markets as increasing dependency upon advertising for revenue and profits dictated the need for expansion and growth (Knight, 1981: 7).

Freely competitive partisan journalism fell victim to these momentous economic and political forces, overcome by the need to generate mass markets and replaced by a new mass-produced press. The overall effect was to consolidate, centralize, and homogenize the process of news production and distribution, including its infrastructural distribution system and the practices and ideologies of its producers. The foundations of contemporary Canadian journalism were consolidated at this crucial historical stage, and the sources of modern journalistic ideologies, couched within a philosophy of social responsibility and embodied in the principle of

objectivity, trace directly to the dynamics of the political economy of the period. Outwardly manifest in a shift from "partisan" to "objective" journalism, these developments reflected the propelling force of economic consolidation which, in the newspaper industry, took the decisive form of horizontal integration or chain ownership.

Our task in this chapter is to follow the consequences of these developments for: firstly, the rise of contemporary journalistic practices and ideologies, and secondly, the rise of the global and national infrastructure of news production and distribution. These two larger structures constitute the outer parameters within which Canadian television journalism operates.

Origins of News Practices

Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, a multiplicity of newspapers catered to small publics and practiced a style of journalism that is a sharp contrast to contemporary news practices. Still, it is possible to trace a line of historical development along which changes in journalistic practices have responded to shifts and correspondent changes in the political economy. The numerous and highly partisan papers of the mid-nineteenth century, their numbers and their ability to service small and specialized audiences, reflected

the relatively low capital requirements of newspaper entrepreneurship at the time. These conditions were to alter dramatically in the decades that followed, presaging the shift to a mass press directly dependent upon advertising revenue.

In Britain, for example, there were two crucial changes that wholly transformed the character of the press during the second half of the century. First, rising publication costs rendered ownership of newspapers the exclusive preserve and privilege of big capital, which effectively eliminated the participation of all other social groups. Secondly, whereas some newspapers were highly profitable on the basis of subscription revenue, during the second half of the nineteenth century, this ceased to be true, and all papers in the commercial market depended upon advertising for their sustenance and profit. These changes were in turn a consequence of two related changes: a sharp reduction in the price of newspapers to readers and a sharp increase in paper costs. The profitable papers became those that were able to attract large advertisers. Not surprisingly, working class papers suffered most from these developments, finding it difficult to attract sufficient advertising support, partly for political reasons, but also because their readers spent less money than more affluent readers and therefore attracted substantially less advertising support.

The press became a vehicle of mass marketing, and its content was increasingly shaped by the need to produce audiences for advertisers. The rise of advertising as a major sponsor of the mass media was part of the same process whereby competitive capitalism was transformed during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It signalled a shift to the mass production of demand for branded goods by means of the mass media, although their ostensible purpose bore no visible relation to the mass marketing of commodities. These developments in turn called for a re-structuring of the form and content of newspapers and magazines, one that took place during the 1880s and 1890s.

In Canada, the "people's journals" or popular newspapers of the 1880s were forced to moderate their radical tones by the same need to attract advertisers and to defray their rising costs. By the 1890s, people's journalism was considerably tamed, coincident with the nascent decline of newspaper competition. Steadily rising publication costs ultimately spawned the wave of newspaper closings and mergers characteristic of the period following the First World War. Collusion between newspaper publishers became the only efficient means by which to manage a market overloaded with a bounty of struggling papers that found themselves without a solid basis of market support. In the words of Rutherford, "winning battles in the marketplace of ideas (was) no longer

nearly as important as winning battles in the marketplace of goods" (cited in Cayley, 1982).

Closely tied to all of these developments was the foundation of The Canadian Press (CP), which proved to be a successful market tool geared to the restriction of competition. CP was and is a monopolistic device that assured the death of the competitive press in the 1920s. The small group of dominant newspaper owners assumed and exercised control of the agency from its outset, populated its board of directors, formulated the rules of its operation, and thereby achieved an almost impenetrable control of the supply and distribution of Canadian news. CP's directors constructed a web of policy entanglements that effectively denied access to the supply system by aspiring new publishers who clearly posed a competitive threat. Through their judgements, all such threats to the established monopoly of news were quickly quashed. On the one hand, access to CP's supply network was absolutely prerequisite to the creation of a viable newspaper enterprise, while on the other hand, proof of viability was made the prerequisite of entry into CP. The news agency's charter with respect to new memberships read as follows:

Membership in The Canadian Press shall be open to the widest extent compatible with the expectation of an applicant being able to establish a newspaper as a self-sustaining business enterprise. No application shall be granted except under conditions which give reasonable assurance that the newspaper can be permanently established (cited in McNaught, 1940: 59).

All new membership applications required the approval of a two-thirds majority of board members present at meetings, and a majority of the full board. Even if a new application was granted, the new member, if it planned to operate in direct competition with existing CP members, was required to pay an entrance fee equal to three times the annual assessment and district fixed charges. McNaught proceeds to describe the CP board's intimidating powers:

...it is important to note the wide powers which have been conferred upon this organization. Its Charter guarantees it against interference from any outside source, other than the courts of law, in the conduct of its affairs. It imposes its own conditions for admission to membership, and it can withhold membership on grounds of which its present members are the sole judges. The opinion of its membership as to 'reasonable assurance that the newspaper can be permanently established' determines whether a new paper shall or shall not be granted the membership which is practically essential to its existence (McNaught, 1940: 61).

What is most important to note is that these successive changes in the patterns of ownership and control and the structure of news production and distribution were accompanied by related changes in the way in which news was reported, and the type of authority which it embodied. In the earliest colonial period, during which the press was controlled by the state, it embodied the authority of the state, and was formally expressed as the authoritarian model of press operation. In the period of diversified private newspaper ownership and competitive partisan journalism, it

was formally expressed as the libertarian theory of the press, and the authority of the news derived from the force and vigour of the newspaper's editorial opinion. However, as Cayley points out, "it was only when the complex of advertising, improved production technique, and changing industrial organization combined to produce the mass press that the idea of objectivity could even appear" (1982). The onset of mass-produced newspapers, therefore, and the economic forces that set the stage for it, precipitated changes in both the form of news and its philosophical umbrella, in news practices as well as journalistic notions about news coverage:

Objectivity begins to make sense only in the context of mass production. The collapsing of separate publics into one mass audience requires standardization of the product, and the need for universally intelligible stories requires the segmentation of the social world into simple causes and effects (Cayley, 1982).

The authority of the news now comes to derive from its perceptibly "factual" character, from the related conceptual split between "fact" and "opinion" which appears both practically and in the philosophical realm at the same historical point. Rutherford identifies the underlying mechanics of the split as follows:

[The conceptual divorce between fact and opinion] emerges in the philosophical realm generally in the late nineteenth century. It is, of course, tied to market realities. It is much easier to market fact than it is in the end to market opinion if your intended audience is huge and getting bigger, because fact can be presented as relevant to everybody ... so there's a market basis to this change, as well as a philosophical basis (cited in Cayley, 1982).

Market realities made these changes all the more imperative after 1910, with the appearance of CP. The new agency was required to service a whole range of newspapers -- Liberal, Conservative, French Catholic, anti-French Catholic, and so forth -- and in light of that mandate, CP needed to supply material that would appear to be objective fact, of use to newspapers of all politico-ideological persuasions; facts that would appear to be totally divorced from all hint of petty partisanship and therefore of wide appeal. Hence, by the 1920s, "at the very time that the free press is dying, you have a sort of uniform belief on the part of publishers and journalists in the need for 'objective fact'" (Rutherford, cited in Cayley, 1982).

The growth of the mass produced press and the increasingly specialized division of labour within the news industry meant that different organizations operating inside it were forced to develop and distribute a common, marketable product (cf. Elliott, 1978: 183). Similarly, at the international level, the prime example and counterpart to these developments was the rise of the international news

agencies (see later discussion). After the First World War, once the international cartel was formally broken, these agencies were required to service subscribers who not only represented different political perspectives and policies, but also different national allegiances (Elliott, 1978: 183-184). By formalizing a distinction between "news" as fact and "opinion" as ideology (or at least ideologically motivated and therefore tied to sectional, specialized interests), the new style of journalism offered a product that could be successfully dispensed to large and diversified markets at the local (individual newspaper), national (across CP wires to all Canadian newspapers), and international levels (serviceable to the many and varied subscriber countries of Reuters and the like). Thus three concurrent developments result from the economic consolidation first underway at the close of the nineteenth century: the practical and professional shift from partisan to objective journalism, the formation of a centralized system of news supply and distribution in the form of CP at the national level, and the ascendancy of the dominant news supply and distribution agencies at the international level, forging the global infrastructure of news production that supports the contemporary news industry. As these relationships of supply and distribution crystallized into a worldwide network of interdependence, the need to package "news" in the form of sheer and straightforward

"fact," a form that appeared to transcend the specialized interests and inputs of particular classes and nations, became all the more imperative. Not only did publishers require a product acceptable to newly enlarged and diversified markets of readers, but national and international news agencies required a product acceptable and recognizable to their own increasingly large markets of other news producers and news organizations in general.

In reality, of course, "fact" cannot be divorced from its ideological imputations. Yet the developments of this period mark the point at which the relationship between news and ideology lost much of its directness, its obviousness, and so the relationship between media production and ideological reproduction entered the first stage of its complexity. Ideologically, the effect of these changes was to obscure the connection between the production of news and the (re) production of ideologies engaged in hegemonic struggle. The moment is analogous to that stage in the hegemonic process where the interests of one class are claimed to represent the interests of all classes; it was a triumph of hegemonic battle, since not only did it appear that the battle was won, but that the battle had ceased to be waged at all. The economic forces that gave rise to the objectivity principle contributed in no small way to this hegemonic achievement. Cayley describes the mystificatory power of the principle

thusly:

The idea of objective news supposes that the world consists of an order of facts which have meaning in themselves. But, in supposing this, it actually hides the operation of political power in the definition of what shall be considered news, because in reality the meaning of the news is not inherent in an order of facts, but is the negotiated outcome of a 'contest' in which political power is continually exerted (1982).

In a secondary way, the introduction and spread of objective journalism served yet another useful political expedient:

As the press became increasingly concentrated in the hands of a smaller number of large newspaper (later media) chains, so it became increasingly vulnerable to the charge of limiting opportunities for freedom of speech and diversity of opinion. Commitment to objectivity, then, served to displace such criticism by eschewing an overtly partisan orientation, by separating 'fact' from 'opinion,' and by relying upon formally accredited sources as the primary definers of news content. The potential contradiction between a monopoly press and the ideology of free speech was blunted by a commitment to practical objectivity-through-impartiality (Knight, 1981: 7-8).

Knight argues that associated changes in the class structure also help to account for the rise of some contemporary news practices. The process of economic consolidation hastened the demise of the "old" middle class of independent, self-employed commodity producers, including many small newspaper proprietors, replaced by greater bureaucratization and the growth of a "new" middle class of salaried, "intellectual" labour. The appearance of the "new" middle class was motored by the growing application of science

and scientific values to all areas of work organization (see Knight, 1981: 8). The rising prestige and power of new scientific and scientistic professions, like engineering for example, created a spill-over effect whereby scientific principles were applied and incorporated into other areas of intellectual labour, including principles of objectivity and rationality, which figured highly in the pursuit of "truth." Knight argues that these values, once associated with the new intellectual forms of dependent "wage-labour," supplied credence to their claim of professional autonomy, and thereby afforded a means through which to resist the rationalization of their skills by the capital that employed them. The same tendencies were found among a range of class groupings and specialized professions, and yet:

Journalism was no exception to [the] movement: as it became a separate, full-time occupation in the employ of large-scale capital, so the claim to professional status in general and objective practice in particular, developed as a basis for autonomy and prestige. Commitment to objectivity, then, served a dual purpose: on the one hand it enabled owners to fend off potential political interference on the grounds that press monopolies contravened freedom of speech; on the other hand it enabled employee journalists to fend off editorial interference on the grounds that objectivity meant professionalism, and professionalism meant self-control (Knight, 1981: 8-9).

The application of scientific and rationalistic techniques was facilitated by and exemplified in the advent of shorthand, which, in Smith's words, "transformed the business of reporting into a kind of science" (1978: 186). Among the

scientific tools of the trade, shorthand was, in its initial stages, indispensable to the objective reporter. The contribution of the technique to the early professionalization of journalism is described by Smith as follows:

Shorthand was the first of that long series of journalistic techniques which at first seem(ed) to promise the reader the complete recovery of some semblance of reality. A fully competent shorthand reporter seemed to have acquired an almost supernatural power and shorthand was invested with the same kind of social optimism as the microphone and television camera in later times. By presenting the reader with the ipsissima verba of a speech it seemed at first that reporting was capable of providing a true mirror of reality (1978: 186-187).

Proficiency at shorthand imbued the reporter with the mysticism, the differentness, of a true "professional." Those adept at the new skill were no longer reporters but "correspondents" who specialized in the production of a precise record of social reality. As Smith observes, it was that apparent capacity to recover the dimension of reality in news coverage that lent to journalistic activity its professional appearance and character. The reporter now stood between event and reader with the wholly convincing aura of neutrality; s/he could now more credibly claim to represent the interests of the newspaper's clients, to offer a professional service to its readers. The professional journalist now possessed a skill sufficiently pregnant in its social importance to place the journalist in league with other socially responsible professionals, particularly engineers and

other objective, professional "scientists" who also laid claim to ethical neutrality (cf. Smith, 1978: 188).

Similarly, the introduction of the telegraph and telegram complicated the developing division of labour within newspaper organizations, generated additional specialties, and at the same time fuelled the process of economic consolidation. Reports originating from more numerous and more distant places became a feasible and practical offering to readers. At the same time, however, the expansion of news collection in this manner substantially raised the cost of entry into the already limited circle of newspaper entrepreneurship. The quantity of fixed capital required to own and operate a newspaper leapfrogged, while variable costs rose steadily upward as a result of rising circulations and the capital requirements associated with the need to increase staff and create still more departments within the newspaper (Smith, 1978: 193). By the 1890s the telegraph offered sufficient economies of scale for news reports to be transmitted anywhere in the United Kingdom (Smith, 1978: 194), and the same was true for Canada by the close of that decade. Most importantly, widespread use of the telegraph, as a means of news collection and distribution initiated significant trends in the progression of journalistic practices:

The telegraph ... made possible the idea that a daily newspaper should encompass the events of a 'day.' Such boundaries hardly correspond with the conceptual and cognitive categories accepted elsewhere, but henceforth daily journalism operated within a new tense, as it were, of the instantaneous present... In the newspaper office, the 'story' became the basic molecular element of journalistic reality, a structured nugget of information, the basic unit through which the reader was to be presented with events ... There was a convenient division into 'hard' and 'soft'; there was the clear underlying recognition of the audience as a market. The specialism of the journalist, and especially of the editor, lay in knowing what the market required. Reality was categorized into pages: home, overseas, political, women's interest, sport, the City. Special new kinds of event were developed which had not previously existed in human cognition, such as the 'crisis,' the 'horror,' the 'human story.' Events acquired 'angles', or rather special elements which made them more easily communicable within certain sectors of the market (Smith, 1978: 194-195).

To summarize, the new journalism that blossomed during the 1880s and 1890s and reached full fruition after the First World War was distinguished by a variety of new and innovative practices and principles: first, the mandatory divorce between fact and opinion, and out of it a commitment to the objective and precise recording of reality, based upon ethical neutrality and both authorized by and authorizing journalism's new professional status; secondly, the practical implementation of the objectivity principle into the more readily attained practice of impartiality; thirdly, the segmentation of the world into simple, and simply transmittable, parts -- the "story" and its types and categories ("hard," "soft," "economic," "political," "human

interest," etc.) as well as its "angles;" fourthly, the new (or perhaps reinforced) dependence upon officially accredited sources of news supply, i.e. other authoritative professionals; and not least of all, the "instantaneous present" tense of the new daily journalism. The vital point is that these sets of rules and practices are not somehow intrinsic to the internal logic of the profession of journalism, but are directly and plainly the product of its outer politico-economic context; a point which refutes the neo-Marxist arguments about a self-contained and "autonomous" journalistic practice.

Radio and Television News

The connection between news and ideology, and behind it the connection between information production and hegemonic power, was further complicated by the arrival of the broadcast media: radio in the early 1920s, and particularly television, in the early 1950s. The apparent disconnection between information production and hegemonic power was reinforced and solidified by television, which "appears to fully realize the myth of objectivity" (Rutherford, cited in Cayley, 1982). The Glasgow Group concur that "the ideology of 'neutral' news achieves its credibility on the screen" (GUMG, 1980: 124). By exploiting the oral and visual capacities of the medium to

the full, the viewer witnesses the event firsthand, sees it, hears it, by means of a television camera which appears unable to "lie," such that even the mediation of news producers is apparently absent. The visual imperative, one of the most important components of the professional ideology of television journalism, derives its momentum from the capacity of television to re-assert the objectivity and hence professional autonomy of television producers. There appears to be a perfectly unmediated experience of the event by the viewer. The production of news through television was yet another major stage in further obscuring the relationship between news or fact and ideology; the two were now one step further removed from each other.

Pictures appear to tell the story by themselves, and enable the news producer to in effect say to the audience, "there you are, this is how it looks, this is what it's like," and hence seem to remove the last trace of mediation. Extensive use of visuals re-affirms the professional autonomy and ethical neutrality of journalism. Pictures can show the viewer "what it's really like" without the intervention of words; words uttered by a potentially biased or untrustworthy human being. For these and other reasons to be discussed later, the importance of "the visual imperative" is overriding in television journalism practices. Words must be limited, but pictures can "tell it all." The new techniques of

television in fact influenced the whole character of the news industry, and in the process elevated both its prestige and its profitability.

The development of the broadcast media, like the rise of the national and international news agencies, once again confirmed the professional journalistic need to distinguish between news as fact and opinion as ideology. Like the agencies, the broadcast media confronted a large and heterogeneous audience market. Rather unlike the print media, however, their performance is closely regulated by the state and closely watched by political parties, wary of the power that might be wielded by the relatively limited number of broadcasting networks granted access to the air waves. One outcome of these conditions is the particular form of fragmented news which concentrates upon available events and incidents, those which can be confirmed and documented by reference to readily available "official" sources and in a short space of time (cf. Elliott, 1978: 184).

Broadcast journalism spawns a type of professionalism which is analytically similar to that of the printed press. In both cases the work of the professional journalist is subordinate to the short- and long-term objectives of the organization. These tend to be couched in terms of policy propaganda or commercial success in the private media, and in terms of public service in state-financed broadcasting

organizations like the CBC. Elliott argues that in both cases a disinterest in "ends" on the part of journalists leads to a re-directed concentration upon "means" (1978: 184), i.e. the introduction and refinement of the techniques and practices of televisual production, including a re-affirmation of the objectivity principle. Desmond Taylor once described how it affects the professional stance of the journalist at the BBC:

The BBC journalist would be a bad journalist if he [sic] took no interest in the world around him and an unlikely human being if that interest did not father opinions; but in the office he has to stand back from these opinions, distance himself and keep them out of his work... He must have the same attitude to his raw material that an employee of a bank has to its money -- it isn't his. He is handling it on behalf of other people, he must preserve it scrupulously, never convert it to his own use ... He must give them the untainted information they need to make up their own minds (Taylor, "Editorial Responsibilities," BBC Lunch-Time Lectures, 1975, cited in Elliott, 1978: 184).

Indeed, the entry of broadcasters into the activity of news production once and for all solidly entrenched the pre-eminence of the objectivity principle. To understand the process through which it came about, it is necessary to examine the origins of broadcast news. Significantly, the first newscasts of both the BBC and the CBC were not produced by their own staff, but simply reproduced or re-distributed the news supplied by news agencies, and the agencies were clearly identified as the source, supplier, and producer of the news that was broadcast. The CBC, for example, did not establish its own domestic news service until as late as 1941

(see Chapter 3). Those early arrangements for the production of radio news bulletins critically shaped the nature of broadcast news as a cultural form. News broadcasting started out by absorbing and integrating wholeheartedly the established practices of the agencies, since throughout the first several years broadcast news was entirely agency-produced (cf. Schlesinger, 1978: 15), and, as we have seen, those agency practices were founded upon a specific conception of objective reportage which in turn was rooted in purely commercial motives. Nonetheless, a natural affinity arose between the news agency values of "impartiality," "accuracy," and "factuality" and those that grew to characterize present-day public service news broadcasting. Both claimed to produce untainted information about the world, derived from a sound and reliable set of "accredited" sources, and hence both conformed to the same Western doctrines regarding the pursuit and documentation of "truth." While the agencies adopted these principles on the basis of their economic logic, broadcasting organizations adopted them out of attention to both their underlying economic logic and the political logic of their operations (cf. Schlesinger, 1978: 15).

The political logic of public broadcasting enterprises prohibited, for example, the early production of news at the BBC. During the hearings of the 1923 Sykes Committee on broadcasting, the first of its kind in the United

Kingdom, press representatives forcefully and successfully argued that the potentially unfair competition of the BBC's monopoly should be restricted, that the BBC should not collect news, and that instead the content of the news should be determined by the "experts" -- the newspapers and the news agencies. It was not until the 1926 General Strike that the press agreement was waived and the BBC was allowed to construct its own five daily newscasts, at which point it first began to actually collect news itself (Schlesinger, 1978: 16-19). Still, by 1930, broadcast news remained "a very passive operation which simply filtered agency material, and did not have its own newsgatherers" (Schlesinger, 1978: 21), and the BBC News was not formalized into a separate Department of the Corporation until 1934. Paulu concluded that "news broadcasting was slow to develop in the United Kingdom: it took fifteen years and a world war to put day-round bulletins on the BBC" (1956: 155). Likewise, Barnouw found the growth of news broadcasting in the United States to be similarly slow, at least until the mid-1930s, at which point:

News broadcasting grew: it had to. As Hitler mobilized and Mussolini moved troops into Somaliland, and rumblings came from Spain, the networks resumed newsgathering. Slowly they grew into news media. Half reluctantly they had met a challenge and moved forward (1968: 22).

The Genesis of "Current Affairs"

"News" continues to be defined in terms of objectivity and the straightforward factual presentation of reality. That basic framework, which has persisted throughout the history of modern-day journalism, "has not been transcended, but rather has been supplemented by 'current affairs,' an institutionally separate creature, explicitly licensed to deal in values and interpretation" (Schlesinger, 1978: 46). Although its origins are yet to be fully documented, the expansion of current affairs broadcasting in both radio and television would appear to have been fuelled in part by the "news explosion" of the 1950s, during which time a series of technical and creative production techniques were introduced, including new interview styles, some investigative journalism, new modes of film editing and processing, and the availability of national and international satellites, among others. Schlesinger suggests that the distinction between "news" and "current affairs" first became fully institutionalized, in Britain and elsewhere, during the 1950s, and notes that the use of the concept "current affairs" to refer to a distinctive form of programming first appears in the BBC Handbook of 1960, where the category includes "the wide range of topical programmes" which are "in some sense complementary to the news bulletins" (cited in Schlesinger,

1978: 276n).

Burns' analysis (1977) suggests that the development of current affairs as a programme form was a response to organizational controls and their threat to professional autonomy and integrity, as well as a response to the rationalization and routinization of news production. The response was partially expressed through a growing dissatisfaction with traditional production techniques, and the arrival of current affairs was thus distinguished by a number of radical style changes evident in the early programmes. Examples would include the BBC's THAT WAS THE WEEK THAT WAS and the CBC's THIS HOUR HAS SEVEN DAYS, where, for the first time, camera and cables were exposed and made part of the set, among other innovations that broke with established production practice. Apart from differences of technique, however, the new programme form enabled the broadcast journalist to re-assert, perhaps reclaim, his/her professional non-partisanship by assuming the role of adversary on behalf of "the public" and by adopting the now-familiar cynical and sceptical attitude towards all those presented as "partisan" subjects or guests on current affairs programmes. Burns identified it as a matter of compelling and urgent professional need:

The adversary stance ... accords well with the vague populism which comes readily - naturally - to the broadcast journalist, but it is, at bottom, best understood as a reaction against the very restraints

imposed on broadcasters by the accommodation reached between their professionalism and the national interest, mediated through the Corporation and Parliament. It is this which underlies and accounts for the anti-establishment posture of the TONIGHT programme which ... spread to other programmes and set the tone for so much of current affairs; much the same attitude seems to have developed quite independently in America. It spread not only because success bred imitation but because it gained acceptance as a price which could be extracted for that accommodation (1977: 209).

Tracey (1978) concurs with Burns' assessment regarding the widespread impact of the seminal current affairs programme TONIGHT, broadcast by the BBC during the 1957-62 period. He acknowledges that "any cultural form owes much to a number of antecedents, and the origins of this rather curious form of political television lie in the immense success of TONIGHT" (1978: 83), and he further observes that the start of TONIGHT's transmission in 1957 has become a matter of legend: "It is now part of holy writ that this was a momentous event not only in the development of television, but in the career of a new post-war generation of programme-makers" (1978: 83). Tracey, however, disagrees with Burns about the reasons for its appearance, suggesting instead that it was part of the BBC's response to the challenge of the new private ITV network, which began transmission in 1955, and, as it turned out, the effect was to dramatically strengthen the BBC's competitive position. Moreover, at around the same time, the Pilkington Committee was due in the near future to decide which of the two networks would be licensed to operate

a third television channel. Tracey concludes that:

TONIGHT, PANORAMA, and their descendants thrived because in a potentially hostile environment they created substantial audience figures and in helping to solve one dilemma, the lack of an audience for BBC, established a format of political television which could be successfully taken up by other and later producers (1978: 86).

To a probably great but unknown extent, the same forces may well account for the rise of current affairs at the CBC, i.e. a response to the threat posed by the new private CTV network in 1961, which finally broke the Corporation's long-held monopoly of network television. Similarly, the CBC's more recent renovations of its news and current affairs programming, namely the shift to prime-time news and the introduction of THE JOURNAL, can also be understood as a response to the threat of pay television and other potential competitors which may further fracture the corporation's share of the audience market (see Chapter 3). Regardless, the particular form that current affairs programming assumed at the CBC was undoubtedly strongly influenced by its BBC-produced predecessors.

* * *

The forces that underlie the progression of broadcast journalism and the rise of the international production system

may be summarized as follows. The capital investment required to serve mass markets made it more and more essential that journalism should produce a common, predictable, and marketable commodity. In contrast to earlier periods in which a small staff shared all the work required to write and publish a newspaper, the contemporary journalist is part of a much more complex division of labour, assigned to perform much more specialized tasks oriented to the short- and long-range objectives of a large-scale organization. That division of labour extends from single organizations to the whole international news gathering and processing system. The elaboration of the global system through supply agencies, syndication, and satellite distribution has also served to make news a routine and predictable product (cf. Elliott, 1978: 186). To ensure that the system is properly co-ordinated and efficient, it is essential that all those who contribute to it and work with it share common criteria for judging and processing its final product. These criteria must include not just measures of newsworthiness, but a shared set of complete and fully formulated practices that guide the production of the news commodity from start to finish.

These forces, then, can be called upon to account for the global uniformity of news practices as well as the historical specificity of professional journalistic principles such as objectivity. The international division of labour

with respect to news production and distribution is the backdrop against which one must comprehend both the nature of news practices in Canada and the nature of the news production system in Canada, which can now be perceived as a system of auxiliary news distribution. In light of its specific location in the international division of labour, we should not expect otherwise. The effects upon the actual substance of Canadian news and current affairs programming, however, are somewhat less predictable; it could be argued that it creates a peculiarly "passive" style of journalism here. We must proceed, then, at this point to map out the patterns of international news flow and to situate the place of Canadian news organizations therein.

The Infrastructure of the Canadian Industry: International News Flows

One of the early seminal discussions of world news flows is that of Schramm (1964: esp. 58-89), who pointed out that news tended to flow from the highly developed to the poorly developed countries, from Europe and North America to the other continents, and more broadly from North to South in a clearly patterned and continuous flow. In addition, the content of news tended to be predominantly concerned with the highly developed countries, with Western Europe and North America, and with the Northern portion of the world. These

traits and patterns continue to characterize the international flow or distribution of news commodities. Still, it is important to keep in mind that imperialism is not a particular flow of goods, but a particular set of relationships; relationships that are, theoretically at least, subject to change. Schramm was more concerned to outline the manifest patterns of news flow that stemmed from these underlying sets of relationships, and so he was content to conclude simply that:

...the flow of news among nations is thin, that it is unbalanced, with heavy coverage of a few highly developed countries and light coverage of many less-developed ones, and that, in some cases at least, it tends to ignore important events and to distort the reality it presents (1964: 65).

Schiller later illustrated, with greater authority, the connection between the post-war ascendancy of the United States in the world economy and the concerted campaigns, in the United Nations and elsewhere, to win universal adherence to a global policy of free information flow.

The outward thrust of U.S. corporate enterprise was economic, but the utility of the cultural-informational component in the expansion process was appreciated at a very early stage in the drama. The rapid international advances of U.S. capitalism, already underway in the early 1940s, were legitimized as unexceptional and highly beneficial expressions of growing freedom in the international arena -- freedom for capital, resources, and information flows (Schiller, 1976: 25).

Schiller adds that it was a particularly propitious time to expound the virtues of a totally unrestricted movement

of information and resources. The experience of the Nazi occupations stunned and traumatized Europe and much of the rest of the world, and the memories of its terrors were still fresh. A model of the unfettered flow of capital and information could be readily touted as the only logical and desirable direction for the post-war world. American corporate objectives could be translated and re-presented as fully compatible with and essential to the realization of the aspirations of all nations. The free flow sentimentality so tailor-made to the requirements of U.S. economic expansion was emphatically expressed by Palmer Hoyt, the influential American publisher, who shortly after the war declared:

I believe entirely that the world cannot stand another war. But I believe as completely that the world is headed for such a war and destruction unless immediate steps are taken to insure the beginning at least of freedom of news -- American style -- between the peoples of the earth. A civilization that is not informed cannot be free and a world that is not free cannot endure (cited in Schiller, 1976: 25-26; Schiller's added emphasis).

Through the first decades of the present century, the still-forceful British and French empires effectively excluded entrepreneurial entry into vast regions of the world. Their blockade was achieved by virtue of a global network which fused the set of dependent economic relationships with a set of information distribution patterns and controls that "sealed them off from possible commercial penetration by other entrepreneurs" (Schiller, 1976: 26). And yet:

The decisive role played by the British worldwide communications network -- both its control of the physical hardware of oceanic cables and its administrative and business organization of news and information -- which held the colonial system together, promoted its advantages, and insulated it from external assault, had not escaped attention in the United States. It was against these finely spun, structural ties that an American offensive was mounted (Schiller, 1976: 26).

AP, for example, had for some time endeavoured to break the international grip of the European news cartels -- Reuters, above all, and Havas and Wolff (Schiller, 1976: 26). By the time of the Second World War, the advantages to be gleaned in foreign trade and the nurturance of export markets by worldwide communication control could no longer be overlooked. The American "offensive" was decisive. Ultimately, aided by huge state subsidies, U.S. corporations would be the first to exploit and later monopolize satellite communications, rendering the British control of cable and telegraph networks redundant and obsolete. In the process, a prime commercial objective was translated into a single, overriding ethical imperative, reiterated throughout a masterful rhetorical campaign organized by the large press associations and publishers and backed by private industry at large. Among the campaigners were the American Society of Newspaper Editors and, of course, AP and UPI. One of the most effective weapons in the campaign was the fact of American dominance or the "automatic majority" that could be counted upon at the UN and particularly at the newly created United

Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Together with U.S. control of the new communication technologies, notably computers, space satellites, and television, the mighty penetration of the U.S. corporate structure made for a "total hegemonic system" akin to and yet successfully replacing the potent British imperial structure that preceded it.

Remnants of the old empire ties are still to be found, however, in the international communication network. Presently, control of the major media resources is concentrated within Britain, France, and the United States. Harris (1977) counts among these resources: first, the raw resources of news production or reports of world events; secondly, labour resources, specifically the network of news correspondents; thirdly, technological resources, including news bureaus, teleprinters, and satellite facilities; and finally, financial resources, the capital available to maintain and expand news production. All of these resources, vital to the activity of news production, are distributed unequally throughout the world.

One implication is that reports of world events or the raw resources of newsmaking are "stratified" with respect to their newsworthiness, stratified according to the likelihood of their acceptance for processing as news stories. Unlike other raw materials, such as minerals in the extractive

industries, events are obviously not concentrated or found solely in one or more specific regions of the world. In other words, the raw materials of news production exist everywhere in the world, and yet stratification enters at the point of coverage, at the point where events are witnessed by journalists and subsequently processed into reports of world events. Such inequality in event coverage reflects the structure of the existing "world information order," defined by Harris in the following way:

The world information order refers to that network of international relationships within which patterns of both news flow and news coverage are located. It thus refers to the mechanisms which link the various disparate parts of the world in the field of news and information ... this information order is not marked by equality but rather by a basic inequality between regions of the world, occasioned by the particular way in which the international news media network came to be formed (1977: 155).

Five major arguments about the world information order are offered by Harris. First, the present international news agency network owes its origin and its character to the expansion of the economic and political interests of the major colonial powers -- Britain, France, and later, the United States. Secondly, the major influence upon the indigenous news media in underdeveloped countries has been a foreign one, which has spawned the growth of a demand for the types of services (and the type of news) supplied by the Western agencies, and furthermore, the establishment of indigenous news organizations has been carried out largely with the

assistance and training of these same Western agencies (cf. Golding, 1977). Thirdly, the present international news media network continues to be dominated by the major Western news agencies. Fourthly, the service that the Western agencies supply to the "underdeveloped" news media features a "Western-oriented image of reality," and fifthly, the service that the agencies supply to their Western markets features a rather unbalanced image of the role of the Third World in the international arena. Above all, Harris' analysis demonstrates that the confines of the markets to which the news agencies attach is largely the product of the internationalization of capital, and that these markets are the basis upon which news production and distribution are defined and otherwise determined.

The subscribers to the news agencies are supplied with news according to free trade principles couched in terms of "press freedom." Harris' argument makes clear that such notions of press freedom in the international news network have operated largely to the advantage of the Western media. Press freedom, of course, actually promotes the present inequalities between media systems since the concept implies, among other things, the freedom to monopolize particular markets and thereby retard the development of these markets as producers in their own right. Hence the free flow of information principle is manifest in forms which supply both

the means through which dependence operates and the means to justify that dependence.

From the outset, then, the development of international communication was directed towards the interests and consolidation of the expanding international economy. As an adjunct of colonialism, the international communication network radiated outwards with the expanding economic system and sustained the system by facilitating the conduct of commercial and trade relations, by servicing the colonizers who operated the system in the colonial territories, and by contributing to the system's ideological defence. It is not, therefore, at all "coincidental" that the dominant overseas interests of the major agencies coincide directly with those regions where their host countries have held and continue to hold economic and political interests. The dominance of London, Paris, and New York as the news centres and editorial centres of the West and the world at large has not diminished to any significant degree. Despite the introduction of sophisticated computer technologies and the widespread use of satellites, these three cities retain their prominence as the major editorial centres of the international news agencies. Figure 2.1 summarizes data regarding the operations of the "big four" international agencies: Reuters, Agence France Press (AFP), Associated Press (AP), and United Press International (UPI). A brief outline of each will indicate

FIGURE 2.1: THE "BIG FOUR" INTERNATIONAL NEWS AGENCIES

	REUTERS	AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE	ASSOCIATED PRESS	UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL
HEADQUARTERS	London	Paris	New York	New York
OWNERSHIP	non-profit, co-op trust, jointly controlled by British/Australian /New Zealand media	state	non-profit co-operative of U.S. newspapers	private (Media News Corporation, Nashville, Tenn., U.S.)
REVENUE SOURCE(S)	100% subscription fees	50% subscription fees 50% state subsidies	100% subscription fees (80% domestic U.S. market)	100% subscription fees (80% domestic U.S. market)
SOURCE COUNTRIES	183	166	N/A	49
SUBSCRIBER COUNTRIES	150	150	110	114
TOTAL SUBSCRIBERS	4,500	1,200 newspapers 2-300 radio/TV stations 69 national news agencies	10,000 (1,298 U.S. news-papers) (5,614 U.S. br'g org'ns)	6,911 (4,826 U.S.)
BUREAUS:	Domestic Overseas TOTAL	17 94 111	111 60 171	78 146 224
JOURNALISTIC STAFF:	Domestic Overseas TOTAL	550 820 1,370	N/A N/A 2,500	N/A N/A 10,000*
DAILY NEWS VOLUME (# of words)	1,500,000	6,000,000	3,000,000	6,000,000
SOURCES:	Compiled from Harris (1977: 69-94), Hachten (1981: passim) Globe & Mail (3 June 1982): 12, Siegel (1983: 185-188). Note that some figures are approximate.			* includes part-time staff, stringers, and technicians

the tremendous scope of their worldwide operations.¹

(i) Reuters

Reuters is a non-profit co-operative trust jointly controlled by the British, Australian, and New Zealand media. At its Fleet Street headquarters in London, Reuters gathers news from 183 countries and distributes it to almost 4,500 subscribers in 150 countries. The staff of approximately 1,700 journalists transmit a total of more than 1.5 million words of copy daily to subscribers along a leased cable network of almost 2.5 million teleprinter miles. It also operates the largest financial news agency in the world, which distributes financial and commercial information to major corporations in eighty countries; the service supplies 11,000 quotations from thirty-eight exchanges in approximately twenty countries. Reuters is also the major shareholder in Visnews, the television newsfilm agency (see later discussion), which supplies 154 broadcasting organizations in 83 countries. Unlike the three other majors, Reuters does not undertake any domestic operations.

(ii) Agence France Presse

AFP's domestic operations consist of the Paris

headquarters where some 1,000 staff members are stationed (although only 40 per cent are journalists), and the seventeen bureaus throughout France staffed by approximately 150 full-time workers and more than 1,000 stringers.² The international operations include bureaus or correspondents based in 166 countries, staffed by 820 journalistic and technical workers, and supplemented by more than 360 additional part-time journalists based throughout the world. The agency supplies news to 1,200 French and foreign-language newspapers, some 2-300 broadcasting stations (French and foreign-language), and sixty-nine different national news agencies, all in a total of 150 subscriber countries. AFP also operates a features service, a news photo service, and a service of audio reports for radio and television stations. The international network is co-ordinated through the Paris headquarters. The news gathered by the national and international staff is channelled through the central editorial headquarters in Paris and to some extent through the regional editorial centres in New York, London, Singapore, Hong Kong, Mexico City, and Beirut.

(iii) Associated Press

AP was established in New York in 1848 as a non-profit co-operative of the major American newspapers.

Revenues are derived entirely from its subscribers, which include more than 10,000 newspapers, radio stations, and television stations in 110 countries. Of these, however, more than 1,300 newspaper subscribers and approximately 3,600 radio and television subscribers are American; in other words, about half of AP's subscribers are found in the United States. More importantly, Harris estimates that AP obtains at least 80 per cent of its revenue from the domestic U.S. market (1977: 139). The labour force includes more than 2,500 full-time journalists based in the U.S. and abroad. A total of 171 bureaus or correspondents are operated by AP, of which 111 or 65 per cent are located in the United States. New York is the control centre of AP's worldwide operations, although two important regional centres are maintained in London and Tokyo.

(iv) United Press International

UPI was created in 1958 out of the merger between United Press (established in 1907 by E.W. Scripps) and International News Service (established in 1909 by William Randolph Hearst). Until recently, it was principally owned by the E.W. Scripps Company with a minority interest held by the Hearst Corporation. In 1982, the agency was sold to the Media News Corporation of Nashville, Tennessee (Globe & Mail, 3 June 1982: 12). UPI boasts a total of

approximately 10,000 staff, which includes full- and part-time journalists, stringers, technicians and editors. Two hundred bureaus are maintained in forty-nine countries, including ninety-two domestic news bureaus and thirty-seven domestic news photo bureaus, all supplying 6,911 subscribers in 114 countries, in addition to 1,146 newspaper subscribers and 3,680 broadcasting subscribers in the domestic market.

The agency also operates a news photo service for newspapers and television stations through a 45,000-mile network of wires that spans the United States, Canada, and Mexico, supplying 476 cities in all. UPI is also a dominant partner in UPITN, the major international counterpart and competitor to Visnews, which is jointly owned by UPI, ITN of the United Kingdom, and the Sacramento Union Corporation. UPITN supplies more than eighty-five television stations and national networks (including CTV) with daily broadcast news feeds. It also provides a special cable news wire for American cable television systems, which consists of daily news reports, sports stories, weather forecasts, business and financial news, stock quotations, consumer news, and features. It also operates a financial news service called Unistox, a high-speed transmission system that delivers stock market information to American newspapers. UPI also provides sophisticated market data transmissions to banks and other financial institutions, and it compiles electronically-

calculated lists of New York and other U.S. stock exchange quotations for distribution as well. Finally, a special Washington wire supplies a daily news report to government offices, corporations, and journalists in the U.S. capital and also to business and industrial interests throughout its domestic market, which like AP, accounts for at least 80 per cent of the agency's total revenue.

Harris undertook a quantitative analysis of the output of the news agencies, and concluded that the international news media do indeed provide an unbalanced picture of reality to the "Third World." The imbalance was defined according to the quantities of different types of news stories distributed across the international agency wires; undoubtedly, the study would have been significantly strengthened by a qualitative analysis of the agency stories. A second strong conclusion that arises out of his work is that the international agencies act to "set the agenda" of stories and issues that will be addressed by national news organizations around the world, including, as we will see later, CP and the Canadian national networks.

A further stage of his analysis investigates the reportage of the "Third World" to the West. Six weeks of wire copy from three agencies -- Reuters, AFP, and UPI -- a total of 4,139 news stories, were subjected to quantitative content

analysis. The indices of imbalance included measures of "news geography" or the relative distribution of story datelines and "actor geography" or the relative distribution of actor nationalities. Reuters, for example, was found to carry almost 57 per cent Western news (that is, news regarding Western Europe and North America), while AFP carries more than 50 per cent and UPI news is almost 81 per cent Western. A content breakdown by news geography is presented in Table 2.1. Three major conclusions arose out of the content analysis of agency news: firstly, that the amount or volume of "Third World" news supplied by the agencies is disproportionately low; secondly, that the news supplied by the agencies is dominated by coverage of a few principal countries; and thirdly, that it still bears evidence of the consonance between the news agencies' regions of interest and their host countries' regions of interest. The study also confirmed a tendency on the part of the international agencies to focus upon the "bad news" aspects of "Third World" activities, a tendency to portray that entire region of the world as a region of "bad news" relative to the somewhat more balanced presentation of the West. To that extent, Harris' data support the "Third World" argument that the Western-based news media continue to supply an unbalanced picture of "Third World" affairs to their Western news audiences.

The news imbalance that Harris documents is what lies

TABLE 2.1: REGIONAL COVERAGE OF REUTERS, AFP, AND UPI

Region	<u>Reuters</u>	<u>AFP</u>	<u>UPI</u>
	%	%	%
Western Europe	40.9	38.7	9.6
North America	14.0	11.1	71.2
Australia/New Zealand	1.9	0.7	0.1
The Levant	2.4	1.4	0.3
Middle East	8.2	7.7	3.0
USSR/Eastern Europe	4.1	3.5	1.5
Africa	9.3	13.2	1.8
Latin America	5.0	5.1	3.2
Indian Subcontinent	5.3	2.7	1.6
Far East	2.2	7.8	1.8
Asia	4.1	5.7	2.5
Other	2.6	2.4	3.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Harris (1977: 163).

at the heart of the contemporary "New World Information Order" debate. What tends often to be obscured in the debate is that the news imbalance traces at root to clear historical antecedents in the origins of an international communication network directly tailored to the expansion of a multinational and international economic system; new agencies, in short, followed the flag. Likewise, the contours of news coverage offered by the international agencies correspond directly to the geographical contours of imperialist expansion throughout the world, as it has historically developed. Harris summarizes the relationship succinctly:

Originally, news agencies were established in response to the growth of demands in the colonial metropolises for fast, reliable information of economic and commercial affairs. As the spheres of economic and political interest expanded outwards into the colonial territories, so too did the spheres of news agency interests. It was no accident that the spheres of influence into which the world of news agencies was demarcated conformed closely to the spheres of political and economic influence mapped out by the colonial powers. Colonial territories were incorporated within the overall network as markets for the dominant agencies in their attempts to capture as much of the world as possible within their own respective orbits of activity (1977: 291).

It is within that historical context that the seeds of the present discontent, expressed through the New World Information Order debate, have germinated. The expropriation of colonial markets in the period of international news agency expansion quite effectively denied these colonial markets the right and the means to create and develop their own autonomous

and competitive news media systems. The indigenous national news organizations or agencies that do exist, such as CP, continue to depend very heavily upon the agendas and the stories originally created by the dominant world suppliers. These larger news suppliers in turn depend upon a network of correspondents who are unequally distributed around the world. Harris' figures indicate that the international agency correspondents are stationed as follows: a grand total of 62 per cent in the West (34 per cent in North America and 28 per cent in Europe), 17 per cent in Asia and Australia, 11 per cent in Latin America, 6 per cent in the Middle East, and only 4 per cent in all of the continent of Africa (1977: 297). Clearly, the "news geography" of agency stories is directly a function of where their news gatherers are situated.

Finally, mention should be made of the three major international news film agencies - Visnews, UPITN, and CBS -- which control the international distribution of televisual news material. As Golding & Elliott argue, "the economic logic of film agencies is even more compelling than that of wire agencies" (1979: 109), particularly in their Nigerian case, where a dependence upon Visnews means a supply of films that are often delayed, outdated, or irrelevant to the Nigerian market. The Visnews items feature a notable neglect of African stories, or otherwise offer an overabundance of pictures of starving children, which scarcely meet criteria of

"newsworthiness" in Nigeria. Still, in light of the conditions of news production at the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, there are virtually no options. The problem is that, while the price of a Visnews subscription is comparatively cheap,

... the real price is more than the economic cost. Total dependence on one or two Western agencies means total dependence on a style and approach determined in London or New York by the needs of more important customers in Europe and North America. As in world television marketing generally, Third World countries become hooked onto cheap spillovers from production in Europe and North America, whose economies of scale they are unable to match. In turn these products become the standard by which broadcasting is judged (Golding & Elliott, 1979: 109).

The same compelling logic is operative in the case of Canadian news flows, to which we now turn.

The Infrastructure of the Canadian Industry: National News Flows:

The introduction of the telegraph made it possible, for the first time, for news to flow between newspapers, setting the foundations for a national distribution system that would confirm the demise of competitive newsgathering and partisan journalism. In Canada, it was the telegraph companies that originally supplied news services to the pioneer papers. The first to offer the service was the Montreal Telegraph Company which, along with its early competitors, would later merge into the Great North Western

Telegraph Company, which in turn was affiliated with the Grand Trunk Railway (Nichols, 1948: 5). During the 1880s and 1890s, the newspapers and the telegraph companies were tightly wedded in a close and mutually advantageous relationship. The newspapers required the telegraph services, and the telegraph companies soon discovered that the transmission of news was profitable; operating costs were low and "press reports could be sandwiched between commercial messages" (Nichols, 1948: 11). These relations between the newspapers and the telegraph companies were to endure throughout half a century.

Prior to the creation of CP, then, the distribution of news in Canada was controlled by two companies, Great North Western and Canadian Pacific Telegraphs. The latter emerged as the stronger competitor, supplied first by United Press (not related to UPI) of New York and later, in 1894, the owner of exclusive Canadian rights to the news output of AP. Moreover, the CPR derived considerable advantage from the completion of its transcontinental rails and wires. As a result:

It acquired a national status, not only for its rail lines but for its telegraph service as well. It opened up sources of news as western settlement expanded, which in the absence of a competing agency placed it in a singularly strong position to collect and distribute news east and west (Nichols, 1948: 13).

Already by the turn of the century, "with the celebrated AP service at its command and with unmatched territorial range,

the Canadian Pacific Telegraphs ... appeared to be secure against all comers" (Nichols, 1948: 12).

Still, there were growing dissatisfactions among Canadian newspaper publishers with the available news supply. The telegraph companies never engaged in original news collection, but merely distributed news obtained through their contractual relations with the news agencies based in New York. The New York agencies were obliged to deliver U.S. and overseas news at the agreed border points. Their reports of world events were assembled in New York, condensed to a specified wordage, and placed on the road to the Canadian market. Out of that compilation of imported news, Canadian telegraph companies made their selection, which would later appear at the desks of Canadian newspaper editors. However:

As nearly all the business of co-operative and proprietary (news) agencies was at that time within the boundaries of the United States, their reports of domestic, British, and foreign news were as a matter of course fashioned to the tastes of American readers (Nichols, 1948: 7).

Understandably, the American agencies were concerned first and foremost to supply their primary market in the United States, a requirement reflected in the content of the news distributed to their secondary, external markets. For example, there seemed to be a noticeable indifference to events and issues related to Britain and the Empire, which in itself was a matter of grave concern to Canadian editors, whose own domestic market required much greater attention to

events in the United Kingdom. In addition, American coverage of British and world events naturally reflected the American foreign policy perspective, not always neatly compatible with its Canadian counterpart. In Nichols' words: "Constantly recurring instances of inadequacy of overseas news sharply reminded Canadian editors that their reports were shedding scant light on British and foreign affairs and that the light at times was misleading" (1948: 8).

According to Nichols, these factors led to a growing realization within the Canadian industry that dependence upon foreign agencies for the supply of all international news was increasingly unacceptable. Nichols suggests that the development of an indigenous news supply system became a necessity imposed upon Canadian publishers well before it was actually economically viable: "Co-operative collection and distribution of news came to Canada many years before it could have been coldly calculated as an enterprise likely to succeed. It was a forced growth" (1948: 9).

The indigenous news distribution system originated in Winnipeg, where the three Winnipeg newspapers struggled to break the CPR's monopoly of AP distribution rights.³ Overall, co-operative newsgathering took root in five stages. First, in 1907, CPR abruptly doubled the price of AP service to the Winnipeg newspapers (and to its other subscribers). The publishers responded by creating their own co-operative

agency, the Western Associated Press, in September of that year (Nichols, 1948: 3; cf. Kent Report, 1981: 119-133). Members included every daily newspaper in the western provinces and those in Port Arthur and Fort William, Ontario. The agency purchased the services of United Press, Publishers' Press, and later, Hearst News Service in place of AP. The railway responded by demanding a higher rate for carrying the new competitive service across its telegraph lines. After two appeals by the publishers to the Dominion Board of Railway Commissioners, it finally agreed to relinquish the AP contract, clearing the way for the eventual establishment of CP, which would be formed precisely in order to distribute AP copy in Canada.

The Eastern Press Association, which included Maritime dailies, was established in September of 1910, marking the second stage. The third and most important stage was marked by the decision of the federal railway commission in December 1910 regarding the Western Associated Press application. Following the judgement, Canadian Pacific Telegraphs agreed to abandon its direct role in news distribution and ceded the AP franchise to the newspapers. As Nichols concedes, the new organization, CP, was not born of any voluntary or noble desire on the part of newspeople to produce original news, but rather to win control of rights to both edit and distribute the pre-packaged AP supply.

Co-operative units were (later) established in Ontario and Quebec and these, combined with the Western Associated Press and the Eastern Press Association, created a national co-operative primarily designed to make a collective contract with The Associated Press of New York. Early efforts to establish an operating national co-operative under centralized direction were unsuccessful; Canadian Press Limited from 1910 to 1917 was little more than a holding company for the discharge of contractual obligations to The Associated Press (1948: 4; added emphasis).

In fact, Canadian Press Limited, incorporated in December of 1910 as a national holding company for AP rights, did not actually begin to develop its own newsgathering service until 1917. In September of that year CP subsumed under its corporate wing The Central Provinces group, the Western Associated Press, and the Eastern Press Association, and managed to obtain a \$50,000 annual federal subsidy to cover the cost of leased telegraph lines (Nichols, 1948: 3). Hence only at this fourth stage was some effort made to actually gather original news for national distribution. Five years later, however, after much political debate about state intervention in the news business, the grant was revoked and CP members were forced to assume the total financial burden of the operation. Shortly thereafter, at the fifth stage of development in March 1923, Canadian Press Limited was re-incorporated as a non-profit co-operative and re-named The Canadian Press. Shareholders were bought out, shares were cancelled, and membership certificates were issued. In 1925, the membership firmly declared that the co-operative would

never again accept a grant or subsidy from any source outside the industry, least of all the state. By that point, then, The Canadian Press had crystallized into a private and national news collection and distribution system that would continue to exercise monopoly rights to the flow of news in Canada.

At present, CP delivers a quarter of a million words of news copy each day to more than one hundred newspaper members and almost 450 radio and television subscribers, including the CBC (Kent Report, 1981: 119-120). The agency operates a total of seventeen domestic and foreign bureaus staffed by more than 300 editors and managers, and it is represented in every province except Prince Edward Island. Outside of Canada, its newsgathering network is sparse. The vast majority of foreign news derives from the wires of AP, Reuters, and AFP, with which it has exchange agreements. CP itself maintains only two correspondents in London, two in New York, and two in Washington. There are no other foreign staff (cf. Siegel, 1983: 193).

Criticisms of the CP news service were common throughout the Kent Commission hearings. One CP worker based in the Maritimes, for example, suggested that what the agency offers its members is "journalism by the pound" (cited in Kent Report, 1981: 121). Describing the chronic staff shortage and work overload, he observed that "there's an awful lack of

original investigative and interpretative reporting, especially in the regions" (cited in Kent Report, 1981: 121). Rather than concentrate upon broader coverage, he complained, CP journalists are tied down by routine, re-writing hourly radio news bulletins and processing sports scores. Another CP staffer, based in Ottawa, stated: "CP executives may protest all they like, but penny-pinching remains the watchword of the day when it comes to getting the news" (cited in Kent Report, 1981: 121).

According to the Kent Commission, between 1971 and 1981 CP's total number of non-management editorial staff rose from 220 to 299; the number of CP reporters assigned to Ottawa rose by four, from twenty-seven to thirty-one, but one-person bureaus in Windsor and London, Ontario, were closed, which left the vast area between Toronto and Winnipeg -- almost one-third of Canada's land mass -- uncovered. The one-person bureau in Paris closed; the eight-member operation in New York City was reduced to one, with most of its operations transferred to Toronto; and the London, England bureau, which ten years earlier boasted a staff of five (including the bureau chief) was cut to two, one of them a locally hired assistant (Kent Report, 1981: 121). CP also reduced its foreign coverage budget from 2.3 per cent in 1974 to 1.1 per cent in 1979 (Kent Report, 1981: 122).

The French-language service, *la Presse canadienne*

(PC), includes thirty reporters, editors, and translators, representing one-tenth of CP's total editorial labour force. It supplies copy to ten French-language newspapers in Quebec and Ontario, which represent 18 per cent of the national daily circulation. The French-language staff are thinly spread among Montreal, Quebec City, and Ottawa, with one based at the English-language headquarters in Toronto (Kent Report, 1981: 122). The French-language service is treated by CP as a subsidiary, regional service like those in the Maritimes, Ontario, and the West. Of the twenty French service staffers assigned to Montreal, only six are full-time reporters, four responsible for general news and two assigned to sports. The remainder are assigned to desk work or to translate the English language copy for use in the French-language press. Seven of the eleven correspondents in Quebec City are French-speaking, reporting about the National Assembly and occasionally about regional events in eastern Quebec. Two work for the CP English-language service and two work for the broadcast service. At CP's Ottawa bureau, three of the twenty-seven reporters are associated with the French-language service. Other than the single representative at CP's Toronto headquarters, there are no French-language writers or editors anywhere else in the country (Kent Report, 1981: 122). To the Kent Commission, one CP French service reporter described their major responsibility as "re-heating" news originally

written in English (cited in Kent Report, 1981: 123).

CP increasingly depends upon its broadcasting members for a large proportion of its revenues. Through its subsidiaries, Press News Limited (PN), which supplies news to the CBC for approximately \$1 million each year, and Broadcast News (BN), which delivers print and voice reports to the private radio and television industry, CP obtains more than \$9 million annually in gross revenue towards its total budget of almost \$23 million.⁴ Compared to CP's 110 newspaper subscribers, 449 radio and television members receive the BN output, reflecting the declining numbers of Canadian dailies and the continuing trend towards newspaper ownership concentration.

While taking pains to stress the original⁵ newsgathering capacities of the Globe and Mail, the newspaper's publisher has railed against "the fact that all the major media in Canada are overly dependent on one source for their news and information -- Canadian Press" (Megarry, 1981). Megarry also qualified what the Kent Report identified as a growing dependence upon broadcasters for a large proportion of CP's revenues. In addition to its own newsgathering, CP collects and distributes the stories generated by its member newspapers, drawing from the \$184 million invested in editorial costs by the newspaper industry in 1980 (see Kent Report, 1981, and Megarry, 1981). Megarry reasoned that

therefore CP sells to broadcasters for \$9 million a product that costs \$184 million to produce, and he estimated that, if broadcasters were forced to generate their own original news, the cost would amount to at least ten times the price of their subscription to Canadian Press (1981: 7). There is also the question of whether the market could reasonably sustain a separate broadcast news service, since it is even doubtful whether a competitive print service is viable in the limited national market. One can look, for example, to the experience of the FP news service, which was closed following the acquisition of FP Publications by the Thomson complex. The FP service was relatively costly, operating with a first-year budget of almost \$900,000 (Kent Report, 1981; Megarry, 1981).

Indeed, in 1982 CP itself entered into "a regime of quite severe restraint" (Globe & Mail, 21 April, 1982: 13); in response to the weakened Canadian market. A capital spending freeze and a hiring freeze, together with the normal annual attrition rate of 7 per cent, reduced CP's staff of approximately 500 by at least thirty-five workers. Apart from these cuts in hiring and capital spending, CP also reduced its supply of "soft" news to the industry (Globe & Mail, 9 April 1982: 5).

A smaller alternative news service is United Press Canada Limited (UPC), the offspring of the American agency, UPI. UPI retains a 20 per cent interest in the Canadian

enterprise, while the remainder is controlled by the Toronto Sun Publishing Corporation, which assumed control of UPI's Canadian operations in 1979 (Fox, 1978). UPC was originally the stepchild of the former British United Press, founded in 1923 as an affiliate of United Press in the United States. The two companies were integrated as United Press International in 1958. During its heyday, BUP, with head offices in Montreal and a branch operation in London, England, maintained a staff of eighty-five correspondents, twenty-four of those in Canada. In 1938, fifteen Canadian dailies that were members of CP also subscribed to BUP (Kent Report, 1981: 128). It is important to point out, however, that prior to the Toronto Sun Publishing take-over, the Canadian operation of UPI was simply the representation of one of the major international agencies -- "actually, the UPI operation in Canada has existed primarily to provide Canadian news to UPI's worldwide service" (Fox, 1978) -- and it has traditionally employed no more than a handful of full-time journalists for the purpose.

At present, UPC operates eight bureaus in Canada, staffed by twenty-four full-time editorial workers and sixty to one hundred stringers. Since it is purely a reporting agency and not a co-operative like CP, it does not require its subscribers to submit news stories. UPC is principally engaged in its own news collection and it does not, therefore,

match CP's much broader scope. The agency does, however, transmit a daily average of 30,000 words of Canadian news and approximately fifteen pictures. Foreign news, supplied by UPI, accounts for an additional 50,000 words of copy and ninety pictures daily (Kent Report, 1981: 128). The service is distributed to approximately twenty-five newspaper clients, including the three Toronto dailies and five Southam newspapers (the Vancouver Sun, the Vancouver Province, the Ottawa Citizen, the Montreal Gazette, and the Windsor Star). It also supplies about fifty broadcasting stations and CBC national radio and television, both English and French. The Globe and Mail is its only subscriber of the Thomson group. In the aftermath of Black Wednesday, the broadcasting sector is increasingly crucial to its survival, supplying some 40 per cent of UPC's revenues (Kent Report, 1981: 128). Consequently, the agency has sought to initiate a special broadcasting service, with separate wires for radio and television.

Two other agencies include the Southam News Service and the Thomson News Service. The former operates a total of eleven news bureaus, six in Canada and five abroad, although low usage of the service remains a persistent problem (see the Kent Report, 1981: 130). The Thomson service is substantially smaller: it operates with an annual budget of approximately \$400,000, which represents less than one-fifth of the Southam

budget at \$2.3 million (Kent Report, 1981: 130-131).

Conclusion

The contemporary character of Canadian television journalism owes its origins to the transformation of the news industry that first took root in the late nineteenth century. The process of economic consolidation and the associated shift to mass production led logically to the consolidation of journalistic practices based upon a model of the objective and professional reportage of the world. Later, exploitation of the potentialities of radio and television solidified the trend. Evolving market requirements successively initiated the series of practices that presently constitute the specialized profession of television journalism. The initiation of "current affairs" as a distinctive form of information programming was a response to the introduction of market competition, to the increasingly specialized division of labour characteristic of news organizations, and to the threat posed by organizational controls upon the professional autonomy of news workers.

The same forces of economic consolidation, the same market requirements, and the same division of labour shaped the structure of news production and distribution at the international level. That structure is dominated by a few

powerful news supply agencies which reflect the politico-economic interests of their host nations, the major imperial powers. Canadian news organizations are tied to and dependent upon the international infrastructure, which underwrites the burdensome costs of foreign news supply. Their dependence upon the international agencies is in every sense a reflection of Canada's relative position vis-a-vis other national economies and the world economy at large. Similarly, within Canada, the domestic news supply system is dominated by a single agency, The Canadian Press. CP's own news collection service constitutes the basic infrastructure of national news production in Canada, a service that was initiated only once market demands rendered it an inescapable necessity, and a service that continues to be shaped (or reduced!) by market forces.

There are at least three significant dimensions to the dependence upon international and national supply agencies (cf. Golding & Elliott, 1979: 104-105). First, despite the occasional incompatibility of their stories and the criticisms of journalists and others, the agencies are absolutely crucial sources of international and national news, due entirely to the economics of newsgathering. The cost of foreign correspondents is astronomical compared to the cost of agency subscriptions, just as the capital required to support a network of national correspondents far exceeds that required

to plug into CP's ready-made supply of Canadian news. These practicalities impose powerful limits upon the amount of original news collection that can be reasonably undertaken in a country that, in terms of total land area, ranks second largest in the world. "Even" the CBC, as the best-financed news organization in Canada, is (increasingly) forced to restrict its activities to the reproduction of agency-produced news rather than the production of original national and international stories;⁷ a requirement all the more compulsory at smaller news enterprises (see, for example, the case discussed in Clarke, 1981b).

The second aspect of agency dependence is that it leads to a global uniformity of news definitions, to a widely and commonly shared set of available news stories, and ultimately to a homogeneity of news content across the whole spectrum of "competing" news organizations. Globally, that uniformity is inevitable, since just three or four agencies provide the basis of foreign news coverage in every newsroom of the world. Nationally, it is manifest, for example, in the "pack journalism" about which many Canadian news editors protest.

Their protests reflect the third dimension of news agency dependence; namely, the limitations that the agencies impose upon the autonomy of individual newsrooms and their staff. The choice of which stories will be covered by a

newsroom's own reporters is strongly influenced by the sheer authority of the agencies. Even at the network level, agency line-ups alert the central newsrooms to international (in the case of Reuters et al) and national (in the case of CP and BN) events, and hence the line-ups of the network newscasts are constructed upon the early "stock-of-knowledge" provided by their key suppliers.

These are but a few of the implications for news practices and news content, which will be elaborated upon and demonstrated later in our discussion of production routines in the network newsrooms. To introduce that discussion, we must first consider at greater length the origins and structures of the national networks.

NOTES

1. The outline of the agency operations is based largely upon Harris (1977: 69-94), with revisions based upon Boyd-Barrett (1980) and Hachten (1981).
2. The word "bureau" is always deceptive; it may refer to a single journalist based in a particular location.
3. There is some evidence that the railway itself held a controlling interest in the Manitoba Free Press (now the Winnipeg Free Press) prior to its acquisition by Sir Clifford Sifton in 1898. Sifton, at that time federal minister of the interior, is said to have purchased the paper at a bargain basement price in exchange for helping the CPR to obtain a \$3 million federal subsidy to construct a spur line into the mineral-rich B.C. interior. See the Kent Report, 1981: 119.
4. PN (referred to as CP throughout) also derives revenue from magazines, non-daily newspapers, government departments, the armed forces, and schools.
5. Megarry (1981) boasts a staff of thirty-two journalists, an annual budget of \$1.7 million, and bureaus in Halifax, Quebec City, Ottawa, Montreal, Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver, Washington, London, Peking, and Mexico City. A domestic and a foreign bureau were added in 1982.
6. According to CP's managing editor, compounding the expenditure problem was the fact that 1981 was "CP's most challenging year for news since the Second World War, covering the economy, the constitution, the Kent Commission on newspapers, elections and other political developments, sports at home and abroad, and major sea disasters off Newfoundland" (cited in Globe & Mail, 21 April 1982: 13).
7. As always, the relationship between economic forces and programme production becomes most apparent during periods of economic crisis. In October of 1982, the CBC announced that it would lay off fifty-five employees immediately, abolish a further 125 permanent positions through the course of the following eighteen months, and make "sweeping changes" in programming, all in response to a \$10 million shortfall in advertising revenue. Like CP, CBC News was further affected by the fact that 1981 and

1982 were "expensive news years" (especially travel costs during "the Falklands crisis"). The Vice-President and General Manager of ESD Television made the announcement that "travel by correspondents is cut back and some major stories won't be covered by the CBC. What's worse, we'll have to pick up more reports from U.S. networks, which means we won't be seeing certain international events from a Canadian perspective ... Generally speaking, our ability to cover international events will be limited for at least eighteen months" (cited in Steed, 1982: 1-2).

PART II:

THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF NEWS/CURRENT AFFAIRS PRODUCTION

CHAPTER 3: THE NATIONAL NETWORKS

The purpose of this chapter is to further contextualize the five production units under study through a discussion of the more immediate structures that frame their operation; namely, the Canadian broadcasting system, and therein, the two national television networks. Both the political economy of Canadian broadcasting and the organizational parameters of the networks structure the process of news/current affairs production in critically important ways. A clear identification of the relationship between the two networks is also prerequisite to any understanding of their respective programming operations. The nature of that relationship is best revealed through a historical outline of the system in which the networks operate.¹

Origins of the Broadcasting System

Broadcasting made its Canadian debut in 1920, at which time Station XWA (later CFCF) MONTREAL began regular radio programming. At the outset, the state, through the Department of Marine and Fisheries, issued licences and assigned frequencies. Massive numbers of licences were issued during the period 1922 to 1930. By the end of the decade, 540 private commercial licences and 122 amateur licences had been granted,² for a total of 662 licences throughout the eight-year period. The licensees included major daily newspapers (the Calgary

Herald, Edmonton Journal, Hamilton Spectator, London Free Press, Toronto Telegram, La Presse, Halifax Herald, etc.), other private corporations (Abitibi Power & Paper, the Canadian National Carbon Company, Gooderham & Worts, Northern Electric, Nestle's Foods, etc.), religious organizations (the Jarvis Street Baptist Church, the United Church of Canada, the Christian & Missionary Alliance, etc.), and universities (Queen's, Acadia, Alberta, and so forth). The Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) was organized in 1926 to represent the long-term interests of private broadcasters and their more immediate interests in light of amendments to the Copyright Act, which included "radio communication" in those categories of performance that required payment of copyright fees. The Canadian Performing Rights Society, which represented the interests of copyright holders, had threatened legal action against a Toronto radio station unless copyright fees were paid, and, in defence, the dominant broadcasters organized the CAB (see Allard, 1976).

Radio broadcasting in the 1920s was beset with several problems. Interference from American and Mexican stations was intolerable and left Canadian stations, with their meagre wattage, only infrequently accessible. Those Canadian stations that could be heard imported American radio programmes to occupy the spaces between the numerous (and to many, highly objectionable) advertisements. At the time of the Aird

Commission's appointment, the three largest Canadian stations were about to affiliate with the large U.S. networks. Moreover, radio stations were concentrated in the major cities and rural Canada was virtually without the service, yet more than half the population was still rural at the end of the 1920s. Religious controversies, notably that surrounding the operation of radio stations by the International Bible Students' Association (later the Jehovah's Witnesses), raised the whole issue of freedom of speech and freedom of religious expression, and more importantly, the issue of who should be authorized to own and operate radio stations.

The difficulties culminated in the appointment of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (the Aird Commission) in 1928, which was directed "to examine into the broadcasting situation in the Dominion of Canada and to make recommendations to the Government as to the future administration, management, control, and financing thereof" (Aird Report, 1929: 5). Its 1929 Report numbered no more than nine pages (excluding the appendices), and yet the principles espoused in those nine pages established the foundations of the present-day broadcasting system, forged the peculiar duality of its ownership structure, and came to be successively reiterated and endorsed by all subsequent state investigatory bodies. Most importantly, the Report left no doubt that state intervention in the broadcasting industry would be a perennial force in its development, through

its outright declaration that private enterprise was inherently incapable of satisfying the demands of the Canadian market. Consequently it sparked the heated, in some ways still raging, debate with respect to the ownership of broadcasting enterprises.

The Aird Report was therefore the first to articulate the issues that have historically been at the heart of debates about the organization and structure of broadcasting in Canada. The issues raised through its pages posed the problem in terms of "public service versus private enterprise," and it was that polarity that set the tone and marked the substance of the conflict. The debate was at its height during the period 1929 through to the creation of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) in 1932, a Commission later transformed into the CBC in 1936. The debate resurged again at various historical points, notably the 1950s and late 1970s. Through the early stages of the 1929-32 debate, two clearly opposing sides arose: those who supported a system of private ownership, including the CAB and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (CMA), and those who proposed a system of public ownership, the Canadian Radio League (later the Canadian Broadcasting League) its most vehement and vocal proponent. The CMA, for example, took great pains to publish and distribute booklets and finance newspaper advertisements that set forth their arguments. Their submission to the Aird Commission was also published in book

form. It described the first decade of radio in Canada as follows:

In private hands, radio in Canada in the past few years by better understanding, broader education, improved techniques and facilities on the part of the listener-in, equipment apparatus maker, advertiser and broadcaster, has changed from being a thing of squeaks and howls with an occasional bit of beauty, to a thing of beauty with occasional interruptions.³

Their argument concluded that: "There is no indication of any serious failure on the part of private radio broadcasting in Canada. There are a few major and some minor difficulties that can be straightened out by the co-operation of all parties."⁴

The National Carbon Company, which owned CKNC in Toronto, granted that privately-owned radio stations might be regulated by a non-political, non-partisan commission. The CPR argued somewhat more forcefully for a complete system of private broadcasting enterprises free of state supervision. And the radio director of La Presse carried the argument one radical step further, advocating strictly private ownership in the form of a few high-powered and strategically located stations. Generally, the arguments of the private broadcasters tended to be somewhat inconsistent and weakly developed, whereas their opponents were more united in their presentation of the case for public ownership. The final Aird Report, which recommended a system based solely upon public ownership, justified its recommendation according to the realization of nationalist objectives. There was, in the words of the Report, "unanimity

on one fundamental question - Canadian radio listeners want Canadian broadcasting" (1929: 7). The Commission concluded:

The potentialities of broadcasting as an instrument of education have been impressed upon us; education in the broad sense, not only as it is conducted in the schools and colleges, but in providing entertainment and of informing the public on questions of national interest...At present the majority of programmes heard are from sources outside of Canada. It has been emphasized to us that the continued reception of these has a tendency to mould the minds of the young people in the home to ideals and opinions that are not Canadian. In a country of the vast geographical dimensions of Canada, broadcasting will undoubtedly become a great force in fostering a national spirit and interpreting national citizenship...We are impelled to the conclusion that these interests can be adequately served only by some form of public ownership, operation, and control behind which is the national power and prestige of the whole public of the Dominion of Canada (Aird Report, 1929: 9).

Press response to the Report appeared to vary widely, but depended largely upon whether the newspaper was one of those which also owned a radio station. By March 1930, opposition to the Report grew to include at least five major daily newspapers. Letters and resolutions swamped the offices of Mackenzie King and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. In October of that year Graham Spry and Alan Plaunt organized the Canadian Radio League, which published two widely distributed pamphlets in October 1930 and January 1931.

Support for the Radio League was amassed at a tremendous rate. A 1931 letter to cabinet ministers listed its members as follows: fifty daily and non-daily newspapers with a combined circulation of more than two million, women's

organizations, trade unions, farmers' associations, twelve university presidents and other "education leaders," six provincial education systems, and so forth. In effect, the League represented in concretized form a coherent class alliance between a labour movement propelled by strongly nationalist sentiments and a petit bourgeoisie motored by principles of cultural elitism. With respect to the League's impact, O'Brien states:

...it is clear that the Radio League was the undisputed leader of the movement which advocated the establishment of a publicly owned and operated national broadcasting system and that its policies were incorporated in broadcasting legislation (1964: 440).

Incredibly, the CAB was not alerted to the League's existence until 1931. According to Allard, "the CAB's knowledge of the League's activities, still limited, came far too late for effective counter-action" (1976: 10). At its meeting called to discuss possible strategies vis-à-vis the League, Arthur Dupont argued:

I think we should all take stock of what we are doing, especially now that the Canadian Radio League is directing a well-organized campaign. We should recognize our faults, curtail our advertisement announcements, improve our programmes, and even go so far as to spend more money than ever before. That is the best way to check their propaganda (cited in Allard, 1976: 10).

It was resolved that all member stations would disallow advertisements on Canadian programmes broadcast on Sundays, except that the name, address, and product of a sponsor could be mentioned. In addition, the amount of advertising on weekly

programmes after 7:00 PM would be restricted to 5 per cent of the air time of each programme. Considerably more effective than these meagre concessions was the decision to issue a pamphlet titled "Radio Broadcasting Under Private Enterprise," which listed major Canadian corporations and programme sponsors that supported private ownership. Not surprisingly, many of these were also owners of radio stations.

The Radio League's response was to issue its own pamphlet titled "Radio Advertising - A Menace to the Newspaper and a Burden to the Public," which was also distributed at the annual meeting of the Canadian Daily Newspapers Association (later the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers Association) in Toronto. Interestingly enough, the League at this time modified its position to allow low-powered, locally owned stations; that is, stations that could be privately owned. At the same time, Ashcroft's proposal for a two network system began to gather credence among private stations owners.

The CAB, whose position had seriously weakened due to the League's vigorous and methodical campaign, made its proposals to the 1932 Radio Broadcasting Committee. At the hearings, the Association's allies included the CPR, the CMA, the Association of Canadian Advertisers, the Radio Manufacturers Association, and others, all armed with expert technical and legal authorities. Weir describes their effect:

Though elaborately prepared, their proposals were inadequate when it came to presenting a practical alternative to the proposals for nationalization, and their presentations were far from well co-ordinated. Their main argument was a plea for government subsidies for transmission facilities and a limited number of national programs (1965: 130).

The Radio League, on the other hand, was plainly dominant at the proceedings. Their proposal included public ownership of high-powered radio outlets, private ownership of low-powered local stations, competition in terms of programme production, and the leasing and exclusive control of all transmission circuits by the national broadcasting organization (Peers, 1969: 132). The highlight of their presentation was the appearance of Gladstone Murray, a Canadian who was at that time the BBC's public relations director, who clarified the relationship between the BBC and the British state and assured the Committee of the BBC's autonomy, particularly with respect to radio programme production.

The subsequent legislation established the CRBC, which was empowered to not only operate a broadcasting enterprise, but to regulate its private competitors. The CRBC was granted the quite considerable power to: determine the number, location, and wattage of stations required for the satisfactory development of the industry; recommend the issuance, suspension, or cancellation of private broadcasting licences; allot channels to stations; determine the proportion of time that a station could dedicate to national and local programming; identify

periods to be reserved for the presentation of national programmes; determine the permissible amount and the character of advertising; and finally, supervise the creation of any private broadcasting networks.

The Commission did not formally begin to operate until mid-January 1933, and not until April of that year did it start to acquire its own stations and staff, largely from the CNR. Daily national broadcasting began in May, and the original one hour of daily service gradually increased. Gladstone Murray was seconded from the BBC to undertake a three-month study of Canadian radio and to make recommendations to the Commission regarding matters of general policy (CBC, 1976: 4). By the end of the year, the CRBC owned or leased five stations (in Chicoutimi, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, and Vancouver) in addition to the Halifax studios that were originally opened by the CNR in 1930, and time was reserved for CRBC programmes on a number of private stations (English- and French-language) across the country. At the time, the Commission broadcast approximately forty-eight hours of programming weekly, thirty of which aired across the regional networks and eighteen of which aired nationally (CBC, 1976: 4).

During its tenure, the CRBC also constructed a shortwave receiving station to relay programmes from Britain and, like its successor, supplied technical assistance to private stations in order to improve broadcast quality and

reception. Under its direction, the regular national schedule increased to six hours daily across a basic network of twenty-six stations, eight with facilities owned or leased by the Commission (Halifax, Chicoutimi, Quebec City, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Windsor, and Vancouver). CRBC programming was optional for another thirty-one stations. The operating budget derived from annual parliamentary appropriations based upon licence revenues (at the time, the annual licence fee to listeners was two dollars). Still, there was insufficient capital to create the high-powered stations that were badly needed, and by 1936 the national network still reached less than half the population. Programming was available only during the evenings and on Sunday afternoons, since wire line connections, even for a few hours daily, constituted approximately one-quarter of the Commission's total expenditures (CBC, 1976: 5). CRBC employees were subject to the Civil Service Act, which restricted salary scales and required ministerial approval of appointments. Furthermore, the Commission's two principal responsibilities, broadcasting and regulating, too often conflicted with each other, and it was largely hesitant and subservient in its relations with private broadcasters. The Toronto and Montreal stations that had earlier joined the large American networks were not compelled to disaffiliate, and the larger stations whose power exceeded the recommended 100-watt maximum were not required to reduce their wattage. At the same time,

controversies erupted regarding unethical political broadcasts.

The problems afflicting the broadcasting industry were subsequently considered by two additional parliamentary committees. The Radio League's proposal to the 1936 committee was again modified, this time suggesting a public network of high-powered stations and a large number of low-powered private stations. The CAB and its allies, to everyone's surprise, accepted the principle of public ownership of broadcasting, provided that private stations could continue to co-exist with public stations and that the public network existed strictly in order to correct the deficiencies of commercial broadcasting, and also to supply the programmes and the national distribution that private broadcasters could not profitably offer. Indeed, the wishes of the private broadcasters were granted and fulfilled beyond their grandest expectations. The 1936 committee recommended "that a public corporation modelled more closely on the lines of a private corporation be set up to replace the CRBC" (CBC, 1976: 5; added emphasis).

In 1936, the CBC assumed control of the CRBC's facilities and its staff of 132, with Gladstone Murray appointed its General Manager (CBC, 1976: 7). A coverage survey indicated that the national network serviced no more than 49 per cent of the Canadian population and that the coverage was largely urban (CBC, 1976: 7). To accommodate time zone differences and regional interests, CBC production would be

partially decentralized into five regions: British Columbia, the Prairie Provinces, Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes. By the close of 1937, 50,000-watt transmitters were in place near Toronto (CBL) and Montreal (CBF - French-language), which alone increased national coverage from 49 to 76 per cent of the population. A new Vancouver transmitter (CBR, later CBU), started the year before by the CRBC, was officially opened. Thanks to a new contract for wire lines, network service was increased to twelve hours daily. The basic national network spread to thirty-four stations, and programming was optional for another twenty-six (CBC, 1976: 7). By the outbreak of the Second World War, the scope of national network coverage approached 90 per cent of the Canadian population (CBC, 1976: 8).

After just two short years of operation, the CBC announced its commitment to commercial broadcasting, and the private broadcasters declared their own war, again with the public corporation. Through the editorial pages of their newspapers, a full-fledged attack upon public ownership was launched. As the battle raged onwards, successive federal governments deliberately maintained the co-existence of public and private stations, both inside and outside the CBC's network. However, the broadcasting debate would soon enter a new stage with the introduction of a new broadcast medium.

The arrival of television in the post-war period

accelerated the debate by virtue of its clear significance as a powerful new means of mass communication. Private television broadcasting had already been relatively well established in the United States by the late 1940s. Canadian broadcasters were eager to capitalize on the increased advertising budgets of the post-war economic boom, and so fought hard against the state's presence as both broadcaster and regulator of the mixed public and private system. The state's first television policy announcement, released in 1949, nonetheless declared that the CBC's board of directors would be responsible for the development of television in Canada, and the Corporation was authorized to construct production centres in Toronto and Montreal.

In the same year, the Massey Commission was appointed to investigate the culture industries, including broadcasting. Its 1952 Report concurred with the principles established by the Aird Commission and at least partially embodied in the 1932 and 1936 Broadcasting Acts. The Commission endorsed the principle of a single national system incorporating public and private components, and rejected the private broadcasters' arguments for a public/private division. Their oft-cited response to the private broadcasters succinctly captures the traditional perspective of the state with respect to the nature of the broadcasting system:

The principal grievance of the private broadcasters is based, it seems to us, on a false assumption that broadcasting in Canada is an industry. Broadcasting in Canada, in our view, is a public service directed and controlled in the public interest by a body responsible to Parliament...The only status of private broadcasters is as part of the national broadcasting system. They have no civil right to broadcast or any property rights in broadcasting...The statement that the Board of Governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is at once their judge and their business rival implies a view of the national system which has no foundation in law and which has never been accepted by parliamentary committees or by the general public (Massey Report, 1952: 151-152).

The expansion of television was nothing short of phenomenal in its first five years. After little more than a year, newly-licensed private stations went to air, the first of these in Ontario. The CBC's microwave network gradually linked the stations together, and meanwhile the CBC expanded its production facilities in order to supply the private stations with network programming (CBC, 1976: 15). The two CBC stations operative in 1952, which served less than 150,000 television sets, increased to forty-two stations (CBC-owned and private) that served close to three million television sets in 1957 (Crean, 1976: 39). At the same time, the public corporation's budget increased from \$1.4 million in 1934-35 to \$7.5 million in 1952 to \$91.5 million in 1957. Coast-to-coast microwave service was achieved by 1958, with links completed across the more than four thousand mile distance from Victoria to Sydney, at which point Canada could boast the longest television network in the world. A year later the link with Newfoundland was completed.

By the 1958-59 season, more than sixty television stations were in operation across Canada. The proportion of Canadian content in the CBC programme schedule was relatively high - approximately 60 per cent on the English network, and nearly 75 per cent on the French network - in terms of the two combined language services, CBC television was producing more live programming than literally any other network in the world (CBC, 1976: 15). The price of all these developments, however, amounted to more than \$170 million of public monies (CBC, 1976: 15), a price that private broadcasters were ill-prepared to pay.

During the same period, anti-CBC hostility on the part of the private sector escalated, culminating in a series of complaints regarding the CBC's operations, and finally forcing the creation of another Royal Commission, chaired by Robert Fowler, in 1955. The public hearings of the Fowler Commission supplied a nation-wide public forum for the private broadcasters; it was perhaps the height of their campaign and the fiercest moment of the debate. Porter observed that:

Many of the newspaper publishers who also controlled broadcasting outlets used both media to solicit public support for private broadcasting. Ownership links between radio and television stations further facilitated the campaign...In their trade association, the CAB, the owners of broadcasting outlets have acted with a uniformity that could scarcely be more complete if all the outlets were owned by the same person (1965: 468).

Like the earlier Massey Commission, the Fowler Commission rejected the position of the private broadcasters;

there was little evidence to suggest that the CBC board had treated the private sector unfairly, either in terms of regulation or competition! The Commission, however, in contrast to all of its predecessors, agreed that the CBC occupied conflicting roles as the regulator of all broadcasting licences and as the operator of a broadcasting enterprise, and it therefore proposed a separate regulatory body, the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG). Nevertheless, the Commission foresaw potential conflict arising from such a division of responsibilities, and consequently organized its proposals with a view to minimizing the conflict. However, the legislative changes that followed in 1958 disregarded these specific measures, with disastrous results. The Fowler Commission did not support the establishment of independent private television stations; private broadcasters had not indicated a willingness to finance indigenous Canadian programme production beyond the absolute minimum. Yet it was the BBG which invited the entry of private broadcasters and forsook the long-standing "single station" policy, according to which it was agreed that competition in the same market should not be encouraged until national coverage was attained. In blatant disregard, the BBG invited applications for second stations in Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton, and Vancouver. CBC stations already existed in all except the Alberta cities; the Corporation was awarded the Edmonton licence. New private

stations were licenced at each of the other points, and began to broadcast in 1960. BBG permission was subsequently granted for a private network operation linking the independent stations, and the CTV network formally opened in October of 1961.

These actions by the BBG aggravated the already inflamed conflicts between it and the CBC's board. Such conflicts were frequent, substantial, and extensive. BBG orders were ignored or disputed by the CBC and there were virtually no avenues of resolution; the ambiguities of the 1958 Broadcasting Act precluded any attempts at reconciliation. The situation left a profound mark upon the pattern of television development; indeed, the BBG deliberately enforced a pattern of uneven development through the exercise of its licensing powers.

At the same time, the CBC's financial stability was increasingly precarious. Excise tax revenues declined rapidly after 1958, while the Corporation's costs rose at a tremendous rate. The CBC became increasingly dependent upon state funds to absorb the rising costs of the operation of the networks. The 1958 Act required that it seek annual parliamentary grants towards capital and operating expenditures, and yet the arrangement precluded revenue predictions and therewith the sort of long-range planning necessary to the expansion of television. Moreover, most of the capital required for the development of television was supplied in the form of loans that had to be repaid with interest.

The Troika Committee was formed in 1963 to review and attempt to resolve the BBG-CBC conflicts. The Committee consisted of "the leading protagonists in the dispute" - the chairman of the BBG, the president of the CBC, and the president of the CAB (Hindley et al, 1977: 59). The Committee prepared joint and individual statements which revealed only their failure to reach agreement about the CBC's mandate and its powers. Not long after, yet another committee, again chaired by Robert Fowler, was appointed to study the broadcasting industry. The Fowler Committee recommended the abolition of the two board system, to be replaced by a single regulatory agency empowered to licence all stations. The Committee added that conflicts between the public and private sectors should always and ultimately be resolved to the benefit of the CBC.

Their report was followed by the 1966 White Paper on Broadcasting, which essentially recommended that the distinction between a regulatory board with general supervisory responsibilities, and the CBC directors with responsibilities for the Corporation's management, should be retained. The White Paper endorsed the argument that the public sector should have ultimate authority in the event of public/private conflicts, and it agreed that the CBC should receive its parliamentary grants for five-year periods. It took one more parliamentary committee in 1967 and six months of intermittent parliamentary debate before the 1968 Broadcasting Act was passed. That Act created

the Canadian Radio-Television Commission (now the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission or CRTC), which replaced the BBG and was granted the authority to regulate both sectors of the industry. Reiterating the principles of the Aird Report some forty years earlier, the Act still maintained that "broadcasting undertakings in Canada make use of radio frequencies that are public property."⁶

It is important to note that, even after the arrival of non-CBC private television and later the CTV network, the public corporation continued to supply the capital and the services that private broadcasters could or would not. At the request of the federal government, it was the CBC which constructed and operated the \$10 million International Broadcasting Centre at Expo '67 (CBC, 1976: 17). It was the CBC which supplied the facilities that made television accessible to 96.6 per cent of the population by 1970, through both its owned and operated stations and its privately-owned affiliates (CBC, 1976: 17). The Olympics coverage by itself required that the CBC create a special division (the Olympics Radio and Television Organization or ORTO) to plan and co-ordinate the coverage, which supplied some seventy television and one hundred radio organizations around the world (CBC, 1976: 19). And it is the CBC which, through arrangements with government departments and other agencies, regularly trains "student broadcasters" from other countries, and provides technical and organizational assistance

to a number of countries in the development of their indigenous broadcasting systems (CBC, 1976: 19).

Since 1968, the CBC's total labour force has grown from 9,200 (CBC, 1976: 34) to 12,250 in 1983 (Fulford, 1983: 15) only to be reduced to a current (1986) figure of 11,129 following the state's recent slashes of the Corporation budget (CBC, 1986: 24). In July of 1970, the CRTC issued licences to five domestic networks of the CBC: French-language television, English-language television, French AM radio, English AM radio, and English FM radio. While the Corporation had previously held licences for its individual owned and operated stations, it was now required to hold network licences, licences that would be subject to regular renewal. In March 1974, the CBC announced the gradual elimination of advertising on English and French AM radio, which was largely complete by 1975. Similarly, effective the new programme season of 1975-76, the Corporation removed all advertising from its television programmes directed to children aged twelve and under. Pre-school programmes were already commercial-free (CBC, 1976: 38).

The CBC currently produces a yearly average of 85,000 hours of programming for the six networks that it operates altogether (English and French AM and FM radio, English and French television) and Radio Canada International. A full 70 per cent of the Corporation budget is allocated to programme production and the rest to "distribution" costs: maintenance of

the networks, transmitters, and facilities that carry the programming to its audience. Indeed, throughout its history, the public corporation has shouldered the astounding costs entailed in television production and distribution for a country of the vast geographical dimensions (and linguistic and regional requirements) of Canada. More significantly, the CBC has historically underwritten the costs of creating the broadcasting infrastructure for the short- and long-range benefit of private capital. It will be seen later that the same role is assumed by the CBC with respect to the supply and distribution of television news.

Theoretical and Practical Distinctions Between Public and Private Broadcasting Enterprises

Harry Boyle (1982) has commented that the CBC has never quite filled the bill of a public broadcasting entity in the usual sense. Rather, it is structured as a quasi-public, quasi-private corporation with both an annual dependency upon state funding and a seemingly chronic dependency upon advertising revenue. Unlike the models of public broadcasting implemented elsewhere, public broadcasting exists in Canada by virtue of its interdependence with the private sector of the industry; in that sense, it can be accurately and not just rhetorically proclaimed a "single" broadcasting system. Private broadcasters have depended upon and continue to depend upon the CBC for a host of

reasons. The CBC has historically depended upon private stations for the distribution of its programming, and private stations still account for almost 30 per cent of its distribution of television. The CBC's private affiliates in turn depend entirely upon advertising revenue, and the Corporation has therefore been forced to adjust its "public service" product accordingly, occasionally to such an extent that it is no longer recognizable as public service broadcasting. In many ways, it continues to be "modelled along the lines of a private corporation," as the 1936 Committee decreed that it should be.

It was the Aird Commission, however, which first articulated the fundamental problem: that the nature of broadcasting, coupled with the peculiar features of Canadian geography and demography, and the "cultural threat" of a large and imposing U.S. neighbour, rendered private capital incapable of fully developing the broadcast media to the satisfaction of all parties and in accordance with the needs of the state. On the one hand, a group that might be identified in Gramsci's terms as the "economic-corporate fraction" of the dominant class sought the realization of their entrepreneurial aspirations; broadcasting was (correctly) perceived as a venture that promised abundant financial rewards. The active capitalist segment united in their pursuit of a private system that would make possible a lucrative operation for media capitalists and

deliver a crucial commodity to all others; namely, the radio (and later television) audience. On the other hand, a group which conforms to Gramsci's depiction of the "organization fraction" threw its support to the Radio League, which sought the "socially responsible" development of broadcasting and cast the state in the role of cultural guardian. The state was thus called upon to organize a reconciliation of these contending visions, and so it did, yet ultimately, and expectedly, the conflict was "settled to the profit of the ruling class" (cf. Clarke, 1979: 38-39). The creation of the public broadcasting corporation satisfied these requirements to a large extent and those of the private broadcasters to the greatest extent. Moreover, the state saw to its own requirements and its own interests in the conflict. This it achieved largely through the provision of innumerable forums (what was to be the endless chain of investigative bodies) that left its ideological reputation as "independent" arbiter untarnished.

The state's satisfaction of its own requirements, the need to maintain the appearance of universality (that is, to present itself as the embodiment of the interests of all classes) and the need to maintain a "compromise equilibrium" in the Gramscian sense vis-a-vis class relations, can be readily illustrated. At the close of the first stage of the debate, marked by the establishment of the CRBC, then Prime Minister Bennett made a speech which, in the words of Hindley et al,

"summarizes the basic position of the federal government from 1932 to the present...with regard to broadcasting in Canada" (1977: 48). The following excerpt, worth citing at some length, is indeed a telling statement of the state's position:

First of all, this country must be assured of complete control of broadcasting from Canadian sources, free from foreign interference or influence. Without such control radio broadcasting can never become a great agency for the communication of matters of national concern and for the diffusion of national thoughts and ideals, and without such control it can never be the agency by which national consciousness may be fostered and strengthened and national unity still further strengthened. It seems to me clear that in Canada the system we can most profitably employ is one which, in operation and control, responds most directly to the popular will and the national need...Secondly, no other scheme than that of public ownership can ensure to the people of this country, without regard to class or place, equal enjoyment of the benefits and pleasures of radio broadcasting. Private ownership must necessarily discriminate between densely and sparsely populated areas. This is not a correctable fault in private ownership; it is an inescapable and inherent demerit of that system...The use of the air...that lies over the soil or land of Canada is a natural resource over which we have complete jurisdiction under the recent decision of the Privy Council; I believe that there is no government in Canada that does not reflect the principle under which the Crown holds the natural resources in trust for all the people. In view of these circumstances and of the further fact that broadcasting is a science that is only yet in its infancy and about which we know little yet, I cannot think that any government would be warranted in leaving the air to private exploitation and not reserving it for the use of the people (cited in Hindley et al, 1977: 48-49, added emphases).

Television's arrival after the war had little impact upon the state's basic posture. The Massey Commission, the Fowler Commission, the CRTC, and the parliamentary broadcasting

committees each successively endorsed these principles. Yet, while the appearance of universality has been rigorously maintained, one must carefully scrutinize the ultimate broadcasting structure that emerged, in order to determine the extent to which it serves "public" or private interests. Despite Bennett's early disdain for the "inescapable and inherent demerits" of private enterprise, private capital has at no time been excluded from full and profitable participation in the broadcasting industry. To the contrary, the establishment of the CRBC and later the CBC gave birth to a "single system" (as the state always insists) in which the public corporation functions largely to serve the needs of private capital within the industry. This is precisely the substance of the compromise equilibrium that was formed.

It is therefore ironic that the formation of the CBC in 1936 was celebrated as a victory for public ownership. Historically, the number of privately-owned broadcasting stations has far exceeded the number of stations actually owned by the Corporation. As late as 1940, the CBC still owned only ten radio stations or 9 per cent of the ninety-four licenced radio stations in Canada (McNaught, 1940: 249). By 1950, the CBC owned nineteen outlets or 13 per cent of the total 150 radio stations (Canadian Radio and Television Annual, 1950: 31). By 1978 CBC-owned stations still accounted for only 11 per cent of all major radio stations and only 25 per cent of all television

stations in Canada. These same stations contributed to 19.6 per cent of the total Canadian radio and television circulation, while private broadcasting stations accounted for 80.4 per cent of the total (Clarke, 1978: 238). Hence, while it might appear that the state and private capital are more or less equal participants in the ownership of broadcasting enterprises, in reality the "single system" is one in which private ownership clearly predominates.

As our historical outline of the system illustrates, there are many facets of the CBC's operations and activities which serve the interests of private broadcasters. One perhaps obvious way in which this occurs is through the Corporation's establishment of broadcasting stations in the "hinterland" areas; that is, in those regions where it is plainly not profitable for private media capitalists to operate.⁸ At the same time, it would be difficult for the state to lay claim to a truly "national" broadcasting system that serviced only the lucrative urban markets of Ontario and Quebec. Similarly, it is the CBC's practice to provide regional programming and to (increasingly) originate production in its regional centres, e.g. Moncton, thereby drawing attention away from the historical concentration of private production in the metropolitan areas. Thirdly, the CBC has traditionally assumed the burden of indigenous Canadian programme production, since it is plainly not economically feasible for private media capitalists. In

1972, for example, the CBC spent \$144 million or 68 per cent of its total expenditures on programme production, compared to \$87 million for the entire private sector (Crean, 1976: 47) and only \$11 million for the CTV network (Hallman, 1977: 61). Indeed, the CBC by far surpasses all private networks in terms of the volume of Canadian programming produced. During the 1976-77 period, for example, the Corporation produced 4,257 hours of English-language television and 2,876 hours of French-language television for a total of 7,133 hours of original Canadian programming that year. The CTV network, on the other hand, produces a yearly average of 2,000 hours of Canadian programming or just 28 per cent of the CBC's total Canadian (television) programme output (see Hallman, 1977: 61-62). Even during 1985-86, the CBC produced 2,480 hours of English-language television (209 hours of which was co-produced) and 1,144 hours of French-language television for a total that still nearly doubles CTV's annual yield (CBC, 1986: 12-15).

The same factors that discourage the private production of indigenous Canadian programming also discourage the private production of news and current affairs. CTV's average weekly production of sixty-five programming hours includes only twelve hours of news and current affairs or a mere 18 per cent of its total programme schedule, whereas the CBC's average weekly production of eighty-one (English-language television) programming hours includes thirty-eight hours of information

programming which represents 47 per cent of its overall English-language television programme schedule (CBC, 1982a: 13). Other differences in their respective productions will be discussed later.

Finally, the co-existence of public and private broadcasting enterprises presents the appearance of competition in terms of advertising revenue, whereas in practice the CBC's share of the available advertising revenue has steadily decreased to the point where it is now relatively insignificant. In 1960, the Corporation claimed no more than 3.7 per cent of the total radio advertising revenue, which declined to 1.8 per cent in 1968 and to nil in April 1975 when it discontinued commercial radio advertising altogether. The peak period of the CBC's share in the total television advertising revenue was, interestingly enough, 1960; that is, just prior to the BBG's authorization of the CTV network. At that time it claimed 51.9 per cent of the total, which decreased rapidly to 28.5 per cent in 1962 and 23.9 per cent in 1968 (Davey Report, II, 1970: 527). On the other hand, the state has become increasingly important as the Corporation's major funding source. In 1965 the state supplied \$100.1 million or 80.6 per cent of the CBC's total expenditures, increasing to \$170.5 million or 86.8 per cent of its total expenditures for 1969, and further to \$415.9 million or 87.4 per cent in 1977. Advertising revenues in 1986 contributed to less than 20 per cent of the CBC's total revenues

of \$1,096 million (CBC, 1986: 3). The private broadcasters' portrayal of the CBC as a "competitor" in the advertising revenue market is therefore highly deceptive.

A broadcasting system based strictly upon private ownership, then, would place rather severe restrictions upon the type, quantity, and quality of programming that could be offered. As both Bennett and the Aird Commission stressed, private enterprise simply does not lend itself well to the activity of broadcasting. It is intrinsically poorly suited to meet the demands of radio and television production; demands that, in Canada at least, are aggravated by regional, demographic, geographic, linguistic and other imperatives. It is not at all coincidental that the "national" CTV network operates only in the English language. If it is possible to imagine the development of Canadian broadcasting without the CBC or some alternative state enterprise, it is evident that the critical contradiction between the private interests of private media capitalists and the "public interest" - so often defined as the need for a "national broadcasting system" that affords a sense of "national unity," "national identity," and so forth - would have become, at a very early stage, very quickly and very readily apparent.

Gramsci's model of the compromise equilibrium thus applies well to the historical specificity of Canadian broadcasting. The peculiar duality of the system fulfills both

"public" and private interests. The injection of the public ownership component safeguards the short- and long-term interests of private broadcasters, and in fact complements their operations by filling in those "gaps" - hinterland markets, indigenous Canadian production, and news and current affairs production, among others - where private capital cannot lucratively function. We will see that it is precisely that symbiotic relationship between the public and private national networks which accounts for their distinct undertakings in news and current affairs broadcasting.

Contemporary Organizational Structure of the Networks

The structure of the public corporation has evolved considerably since the days when just three men directed the CRBC. The contemporary corporate structure of the CBC dates to 1970, when Davidson as president and Picard as executive vice-president studied the previous structure and carried out a major re-organization of it (Miller, 1972; cf. McKay, 1976). The principal outcome of the changes was to consolidate the CBC's domestic operations into the two main language divisions: the English Services Division (ESD) based in Toronto and the French Services Division (FSD) based in Montreal (CBC, 1976: 34). The Corporation's headquarters remained in Ottawa, along with the division responsible for Ottawa area stations. Radio Canada

International (RCI) and the engineering headquarters continue to be based in Montreal. In addition to its Toronto centre, the English Services Division includes a Newfoundland Region office in St. John's, a Maritime Region office in Halifax, a Quebec Region office in Montreal, an Ontario Region office in Toronto, a Prairie Region office in Winnipeg, an Alberta Region office in Edmonton, a British Columbia office in Vancouver, and a Northern Service office in Ottawa. The FSD includes a Maritime Region office in Moncton, an Ontario Region office in Toronto, a Prairie Region office in Winnipeg, an Alberta Region office in Edmonton, a British Columbia Region office in Vancouver, and a Northern Service (Quebec) office in Montreal.

The most significant contemporary changes to the Corporation's management structure were announced 1 April 1983, changes that upset the traditional management reporting network first set in place by Davidson and Picard. The rationale behind the changes was speculated upon by one CBC observer as follows: "The new president (Juneau) was simply moving to take charge, to get his finger more directly on how the CBC was handling its main job of picking the shows it will broadcast. And the changes were designed as well to let everyone inside the CBC know that" (Miller, 1983: D3; original emphasis). Prior to the changes, all programming decisions were divided between the ESD centre in Toronto and the FSD centre in Montreal. The official executive headquarters in Ottawa has traditionally concerned

itself with long-range policy matters, the general Corporation budget, relations with the CRTC, audience and content research, public relations, and like matters. Formally, the Toronto and Montreal chiefs reported to the Ottawa headquarters, although in practice all of the key programming decisions were settled at the Toronto and Montreal locations for the English-language and French-language networks respectively. The corporate headquarters in Ottawa remained largely isolated from the day-to-day programming operations of the CBC.

Under the new structure, there are television network and radio network vice-presidents in Toronto, each reporting directly and more regularly to Ottawa headquarters about the specifics of their programming operations. The same is true of the French networks based in Montreal. All local radio and television programmes are subject to the ultimate management of a separate new vice-president in Ottawa. Each of the vice-presidents report to the CBC's executive vice-president in Ottawa, who in turn reports to the new president. These recent revisions have been incorporated into Figure 3.1, which charts the present management structure of the Corporation at large.

Figure 3.2 specifies the management substructure of ESD Television's Information Programming division, which is the pertinent corporate wing for the purposes of the present analysis. After the CBC was split into the two

FIGURE 3.1: CBC CORPORATE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE, 1983

* And Assistant to the President.
 Abbreviations: VP - Vice President, VPGM - Vice President and General Manager.
 SOURCE: "People and Places," CBC Head Office Information Centre, 1 June 1982 (with revisions).

FIGURE 3.2: ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF ESD TELEVISION
INFORMATION PROGRAMMING, 1983

SOURCE: Interview, Director of Programme Production, January 1983. Note that the executive producers of the other Television Current Affairs programmes also report directly to the Director of Programme Production.

language divisions by the 1970 changes, the responsibility for ESD Television rested with the Managing Director of Television (MDTV) (cf. McKay, 1976: 108ff). Presently, then, this responsibility rests with the ESD Television Vice-President and General Manager (ESD TV VPGM), who until the 1983 changes also held responsibility for ESD Radio. The new position thus replaces both the ESD VPGM and MDTV posts and combines responsibility for two vital areas: the creative quality of English Television programmes and the financial performance of ESD TV. Among the group which reports to the ESD TV Vice-President are the two programme directors who carry "creative" responsibilities: the Director of Entertainment Programmes, and the Director of News & Current Affairs (in other words, the chief of the ESD Television Information Programming division).

In addition to matters of programme content, the Director of News & Current Affairs is responsible for the budget performance of all the news and current affairs programmes under his control. In light of their responsibilities vis-à-vis programme content, the Director of Entertainment Programmes and the Director of News and Current Affairs are perhaps two of the most publicly "visible" figures in the CBC. The Director of TV Network Scheduling (who also reports directly to the ESD TV VPGM) works in conjunction with the Director of News and Current Affairs, the Director of Entertainment Programmes, and the ESD TV VPGM in the design of the network programme schedule.

Moreover, the actual programme-by-programme scheduling of the network and satellite operations are under his control. Proposals to pre-empt regular programming are also set forth by the Director of TV Network Scheduling, based upon the recommendations of the two programme directors, and approved by the ESD TV VPGM. Also not depicted in the Figures is the central English Television "Planning Group" that consists of the ESD TV VPGM, the two programme directors, the Director of TV Network Scheduling, the National Resources Manager, and the Chief Financial Analyst. That group, along with the Area Head of Current Affairs and the current executive producer of THE JOURNAL were instrumental in the decision to introduce the new NATIONAL and JOURNAL (see later discussion).

Figure 3.2 also indicates the position of executive producers within the current organizational structure of ESD TV Information. It will be noted that the Area Head of News (more properly titled Managing Editor of CBC News) deals directly with the executive producer of THE NATIONAL, while his counterpart in Current Affairs is one stage removed by the Director of Programme Production (Current Affairs), who in turn deals with each of the individual current affairs executive producers. All individual programme units are headed by their own executive producers, who are each responsible for the staff within their own unit: producers, directors, associate producers, editors, researchers, production assistants, programme secretaries, and

so forth. Contracted producers, journalists, and other writing or performing staff are also the responsibility of the executive producers, whereas camera operators, film and VTR editors, graphic artists, and so forth, are assigned to programme units by the various service departments, either on a continuing basis or according to weekly or daily schedules.

In stark contrast to the elaborately structured organization of the CBC, the structure of the private network is crudely simple, as Figure 3.3 illustrates. The number of managers is limited, and the lines of supervision between the CTV board and the executive producers of the programmes are short and direct. Little information can be presented about formal programme policies, since one such policy dictates that the others are private and are not to be made available to outside researchers. (Strong indicators, however, are present in the discussions of Chapter 7). The following discussion therefore, of necessity, concentrates largely upon the CBC.

Network Policies and Programmes

According to McKay (1976), most ideas for new CBC programmes originate anywhere along the spectrum from producers and executive producers to the two programme directors (1976: 113). McKay found that some programme series ideas originated in other areas of the Corporation, some were suggested by other

FIGURE 3.3: CTV CORPORATE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE, 1983

* And Assistant to the President. VP = Vice-President.

broadcast professionals outside the CBC, and others were suggested by the lay public. He notes that any attempt to systematically analyze the sources of programme ideas "would be frustrated by the fact that the development of a 'notion' for a programme into a formal proposal (is) an interactive and iterative process - involving people at all of the organizational levels" (1976: 113). Regional directors, for example, may also contribute programme ideas to the Area Heads. McKay also discovered that the pattern of programme development differed not only from area to area but also from programme to programme; there seemed to be no regularities at all. Of course, many more programme ideas are submitted than the CBC could possibly produce. In most cases, the selection of programme ideas to be included in the major annual network production feasibility study is determined by the Area Heads and, in turn, by the programme directors.

Slightly more than half of all the programmes produced by the CBC are journalistic or informational in character. The figure increased dramatically during the 1970s in response to steadily increasing audiences for CBC news and current affairs. In 1968, for example, CBC English Television produced approximately 2,800 hours of information programming, whereas by 1978 the figure had more than tripled (CBC, 1978b: 380-381). The Corporation's current official policies with respect to news and current affairs programming are formally stated in two key

internal documents: a general outline of "Programme Policy" more commonly referred to as the "Red Book," and the "Yellow Book" formally titled CBC Current Affairs Handbook. Of greatest concern are the policies which reflect the network's incorporation of fundamental practices of modern-day, professional, objective journalism. In one of the first sections of the general programme policy book, a section titled "Continuity and Change in Canadian Society and the Contemporary World: The Place of Dissent," these practices are fully articulated, as are the principles upon which the Corporation itself is theoretically based:

...the Corporation, since it belongs to all Canadians, cannot adopt the opinions of a few, cannot take the side of a faction. The CBC policy rests on firm principles which have been fundamental to all CBC programming since 1936:

- (a) The air belongs to the people, who are entitled to hear the principal points of view on all questions of importance.
- (b) The air must not fall under the control of any individuals or groups influential because of their wealth or special position.
- (c) The right to answer is inherent in the doctrine of free speech.
- (d) The full interchange of opinion is one of the principal safeguards of free institutions (CBC, 1980: 4-5).¹⁰

The CBC Current Affairs Handbook was prepared in 1979 by the then Area Head of Television Current Affairs, who is presently executive producer of the fifth estate. The Handbook was written in consultation with the ESD programme policy office

and the legal department "as a guide for Current Affairs Supervisors, Producers, Researchers, Story Editors, and other production staff" (CBC, 1979). While the production of the Handbook is at best a symbolic gesture that bears little relation to everyday production practice, it nonetheless outlines the broad frameworks within which that production is understood to take place, and some portions of the Handbook, since it culls together assorted themes of journalistic ideology, are in fact reflected in practice.

One example is the discussion of "Fairness and Objectivity," which sets out the Corporation's adaptation of the objectivity principle as it pertains to current affairs. For the sake of on-camera appearances, it is achieved by drawing clear lines between three types of on-air staff: reporters, hosts, and commentators. The role of the reporter is predictably outlined as follows:

No CBC journalist should, in his [sic] reporting, express an opinion for or against a person, a movement, or a policy. For a reporter to express such an opinion in his reportage is to destroy in time his credibility as an impartial and informed observer. However well-intentioned the reporter who champions a cause may be, he critically damages his value to the public and the Corporation. He can report, he can background, he can explain, and he can analyze, but he must not express personal opinions (CBC, 1979: 13-14).

The position of the host is set forth in similarly unequivocal terms:

Hosts and ongoing programme personalities have privileged access to an opinion-making medium. It is essential, therefore, for the maintenance of the CBC's

integrity, that they refrain from personal advocacy in their examination of issues and that any opinions they express in their programmes are supported by research or based upon expert knowledge (CBC, 1979: 14).

The most crucial distinction is that between the first two categories (reporter and host) and the third; namely, the role of the commentator. The CBC enforces the distinction by insisting that commentators be at all times recruited from outside the Corporation, in order that its own staff may consistently maintain a posture of impartiality. That tradition dates to the much earlier period in which the CBC was hesitant to venture into the collection of news and instead left it entirely to the outside source of CP, since "even" the production of news was recognized to be potentially partial. Comment must always be invited from without, and must not appear to reflect the "views" or the position of the public organization. Producers are responsible to ensure that, where commentators appear on a programme, they are clearly identified as such, and more importantly, that they are clearly identified as outsiders:

Because of its character as a publicly-owned institution the CBC does not adopt as its own, the opinions of those commentators whom it invites to articulate the various shades of current opinion on a given subject. The CBC interest is to ensure the presentation of a wide and balanced spectrum of opinion - taking into account the weight of the opinion holding those views - particularly when the matter is sharply controversial. The CBC demands that this free comment be responsible and be based on accurate information and it is incumbent upon producers to satisfy themselves that this is so. It is also incumbent upon producers to ensure a clear understanding of the distinction

between the role of the commentator and of other on-air people as defined above (CBC, 1979: 15).

Additional precautions to ensure both the authoritativeness and the distinctiveness of the commentator are prescribed as follows:

A commentator's credentials should be briefly summarized before and after the delivery of the commentary, so that the audience may have perspective by which to appraise it; for example, the position and affiliation of a journalist or the particular qualifications of an academic or any other special factor that would influence a commentator's opinion, that should also be mentioned (CBC, 1979: 25).

Controversy and opinion, therefore, are at least two steps removed from the protected shrine of objective CBC news: first, it is shifted into the distinct programme form of "current affairs," and secondly, opinions are presented only by distinctively separate "commentators" recruited from outside the CBC. As a matter of formal policy, controversial matters are to be expressed only through the vehicle of the current affairs format. "Controversial" has been defined by the Corporation as "a matter of public interest about which there is significant difference of opinion and which is, or is likely to be, the subject of public debate" (Westell, 1980: B4).¹¹ The second precaution or means of distinction between news and comment refers to the identification of the commentator. One exception to the rule is election coverage, where limited "analysis" is allowed. The policy is to "give weight to the size of the political parties" in determining the nature and amount of

coverage, according to the CBC's Director of News and Current
 Affairs.¹²

Finally, the general incorporation of and adherence to standard principles of contemporary journalism was also clearly expressed in the CBC's 1978 submission to the CRTC:

What is critical for the CBC is to ensure that the choices being put to the Canadian people are reported fully, fairly, and responsibly, and in a balanced manner, taking into account the weight of opinions which support the several choices. It is critical, too, to ensure that the choices are explored with equal fairness, thoroughness, and responsible balance. These, in fact, are the principles upon which the best journalism is based, and nothing less will do in the CBC's news and current affairs programmes (CBC, 1978b: 372).

The New NATIONAL and JOURNAL

Of the three major American network news organizations, CBS News has traditionally partaken in a close relationship with the CBC and has exercised a not inconsiderable influence upon its operations. Indeed, it could be argued that the CBC's operations, including its internal conflicts and contradictions, reflect its divided loyalties to the legacy of the BBC on the one hand (remnants of that colonial influence are still apparent) and CBS on the other (long considered the most prestigious of the three American networks, and the one most admired by CBC journalists). That division of loyalties is complicated by the contradictory mandate of the Corporation: to, on the one hand, supply a conscientious and socially

responsible "public service" news product à la the BBC (in the grand old Reithian tradition), and to, on the other hand, produce a viable news package that will sustain a large audience and attract advertising revenue.

Although difficult to chart precisely, the CBS network may well have influenced, directly or indirectly, the creation of the new NATIONAL and JOURNAL. Similar changes were in process at CBS News during the same general period. The replacement of Walter Cronkite by Dan Rather as CBS news reader in March 1981 led to huge audience losses, and the network responded by implementing some significant staff and other changes. Van Gordon Sauter, installed as president of CBS News in November 1981, initiated substantial changes not unlike those under discussion at the CBC. Sauter, for example, criticized the over-abundance of Washington-based "bureaucratic news stories" produced by CBS News, and consequently dispersed correspondents into the field to report about "how Washington decisions actually affected people in the heartland" (cited in Rosenbaum, 1982: 56). CBS also introduced "bumpers" (referred to as "stings" or "teases" at the CBC) into its newscast, the whirling chroma key "coming up next" promotions that now appear prior to the commercials.¹³ New laser-inspired graphics for the first time made the style of CBS EVENING NEWS seem similar to that of ABC'S WORLD NEWS TONIGHT. That change alone signalled a sharp rupture with tradition, uprooting the classically "strait-

laced" or "purist" image of CBS news and instead aping the "show-biz" techniques of ABC, the least highly regarded of the American networks within the profession. Rosenbaum describes the results of the changes as follows:

Whatever it was Sauter did, it seemed to work: nine months after he took over, CBS EVENING NEWS had pulled itself out of a tailspin in the ratings and had established itself as a clear leader over the other two nightly news broadcasts (1982: 56).

Indeed, all three American networks introduced swift and substantial changes to their newscasts during the early 1980s, infusing large amounts of new capital into their operations, a movement that has attracted the close attention of news management at the CBC.

Spurred by ABC's advances, the CBS and NBC news organizations are playing a catch-up game, spending millions on new electronic hardware, reshuffling top-line news management, and changing the "look" of their prime evening news broadcasts. Ironically, the more they "improve" their broadcasts, the more they are beginning to look like WORLD NEWS TONIGHT (Smith, 1982: 32).

Significantly, the above observation was made by the weekend producer of THE NATIONAL, a long-time CBC news producer and former executive producer of the weekday NATIONAL, who regularly contributes articles about American and other television news to New York and other such magazines.

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The shift to prime-time news was contemplated at the CBC as early as 1965. Then CBC president Al Johnson presented the idea to the board of directors in 1977, and, although approved in principle, neither the budget nor the technology

were available at the time (Czarnecki, 1982: 39). The concept gained momentum in the summer of 1979, as the present executive producer of THE JOURNAL, the current Managing Editor of CBC News, and the Area Head of Current Affairs undertook a thorough and intensive review of the CBC's information programming.¹⁵ Their study indicated that, among other things, the potential audience for a 10:00 PM newscast was high: the difference between the 4.3 million Canadians who watch television at 11:00 PM and the 7.5 million who watch at 10:00 (Lacey, 1981: E1).

As our earlier discussion of the CBC's position in the broadcasting system makes clear, such changes are not initiated in a policy vacuum. The network's decision was propelled by market forces and specifically by the rapidly changing broadcasting environment in which it is forced to compete for audiences. On the one hand, it was increasingly clear that the idea of a purely non-commercial CBC (at least commercial-free television), proposed at various times by the CRTC and others, would not likely come about in the foreseeable future. Such a loss of network advertising revenue was inconceivable during a period of economic crisis in which even the CBC's basic parliamentary allocations were under threat. On the other hand, the Corporation is still required to justify its use of that parliamentary allocation in some way, and that measure is often the size of the CBC audience; it is certainly the measure employed by the CBC's advertisers. At the same time, the CBC

found its audience increasingly eroded by cable penetration and the pending arrival of pay television, as well as the not too distant prospect of DBS, all of which posed a serious competitive threat to the already fractured CBC audience, a threat that could only become more ominous in future.

In light of these market realities the decision to "specialize" in news and current affairs was a forced one. It was expressed by the Vice-President and General Manager of ESD as follows: "We'll be facing increasing competition in the next decade - more channels, maybe pay-TV. News is one of the areas (where) we really have it over everyone else" (cited in Bawden, 1981: F7). The CBC News Managing Editor echoed the rationale and added another:

We've got more reporters, bureaus, stations than any other Canadian service. We can't be touched and we should be utilizing the service at this time to grab the maximum number of viewers. People may tune elsewhere for specialized channels, but they'll tune to us for the most comprehensive news (cited in Bawden, 1981: F7).

The air time of the new newscast was also carefully weighed. THE NATIONAL had appeared in the 11:00 PM time slot since it was first broadcast in September of 1952. Canadian television news seemed to follow the American precedent, whereby prime-time entertainment ended at 11:00 and thereafter news was offered. In the early 1960s, CTV originally scheduled its newscast at 10:30 PM in order to compete with THE NATIONAL, and yet the time conflicted with the network's American programming

and consequently it was soon re-scheduled for 11:00. The Global network, too, originally scheduled its newscast at 10:00, and due to the same commercial considerations later changed it to 11:00. Plagued by a state of perpetual financial crisis, Global quickly learned that more revenue could be gained by entertainment programming at 10:00. The CBC found 10:00 PM to be the only practical time slot. At 6:30, the American networks report about many stories that are still developing, and it was considered too early for Canadian news to be prepared. Indeed, the traditional late evening time period of Canadian network news is directly the product of its dependence upon the American network news supply. At least one hour of processing time is required after the American network news feeds. Moreover, popular wisdom among broadcasters holds that younger viewers (i.e. improbable news watchers) control the television dial during the early evening, and in any case such a time slot would make it well nigh impossible to co-ordinate the production of the newscast in light of Canada's seven time zones. At 8:00 and 9:00 PM there would be too many pre-emptions for sports coverage, notably hockey and the spring play-off season. However, at 10:00 PM pre-emptions are limited and that time period had always been problematic for the network (with the extraordinary exception of DALLAS on Fridays).

Final approval of the NATIONAL-JOURNAL package was granted by the CBC board of directors in March of 1980. To

finance the new JOURNAL, major alterations in the news and current affairs budgets were required. Three current affairs programmes - OMBUDSMAN, NEWSMAGAZINE, and THE WATSON REPORT - were cancelled and their budgets channelled into that of THE JOURNAL. The budgets of other current affairs programmes were also reduced and the monies drained into the new programme unit, including that of the fifth estate which lost approximately 30 per cent of its annual operating budget.¹⁶

A major obstacle to the implementation of the new programme plans was the network's contractual obligations to its affiliates. The twenty-six private affiliates which distribute the bulk of the CBC's programming were alarmed about the potential loss of advertising revenue, and agreed to the new package only in exchange for written guarantees of financial protection. The agreement guaranteed that their collective advertising revenues would not decline from the previous year, 1981 (Stephens, 1982: 2; cf. Kieran, 1982: 3). The affiliates also obtained another concession from the network. To compensate for the loss of two hours of local programming time (10:00 to 11:00 PM Thursdays and Fridays), the CBC forfeited its network time (8:00 to 9:00 PM) on those days. The affiliates were also concerned about possible losses of advertising revenue from their own local programmes, convinced that viewers would not stay tuned to local newscasts at 11:00 PM after a full hour of network news and current affairs. Finally, at a meeting in

April of 1980, the affiliates were also offered a free package of American programming. The stations would collect all of the advertising revenue that derived from these series and yet would not be required to pay for them. In addition, the affiliates could carry one additional minute of commercials on all American programmes carried by the full CBC network (Bawden, 1981: F7).

The debut of the new programmes in January of 1982 was preceded by what was claimed to be "the largest promotional campaign in Canadian broadcasting history" (Herrndorf, 1982). Apart from the promotional campaign, however, the decision to change the hour of THE NATIONAL occasioned a major re-assessment of the news operation. A new executive producer was recruited in the fall of 1980 and more than 80 per cent of THE NATIONAL's journalistic and editorial staff were changed during the process. The new executive producer was quoted as saying: "The decision to change the hour was only part of it. We decided that if there was ever a time to re-assess the show, it was now. The presentation was old-fashioned" (cited in Globe & Mail, 31 December 1981: E1). Internal studies and reviews of THE NATIONAL's operation were by no means unknown in the past, yet the scope of the 1981 re-assessment was indeed unprecedented. Moreover, unlike many of the earlier, small-scale reviews, the burden of the re-assessment was left almost exclusively in the hands of members of the programme unit itself. The CBC News Managing Editor was plainly influential in

the early formulation of the re-assessment, and was later called upon to expedite the decisions that resulted, yet the bulk of the responsibility fell to the executive producer, who in turn decided, quite early on, to render the process a collective one, in which all members of THE NATIONAL's staff would participate.

Weekly staff meetings to re-assess the "old" NATIONAL started in January of 1981, in preparation for the original network "launch date" of Monday, 14 September 1981. Attendance at the meetings (normally scheduled Fridays at 2:00 PM) was in theory open to everyone, although in practice they were most often attended by the senior editors, the director and associate director, the chief news reader, the senior producer, and, of course, the executive producer, who chaired. Minutes of the meetings were compiled by the executive producer and distributed throughout the Toronto newsroom and to all domestic and foreign bureaus. On the basis of these "Weekly Updates" and interviews with those who participated, it is possible to summarize the principal targets of the re-assessment and the major changes that were instituted during the period. Along the way, the remarks of the executive producer and others who contributed reports to the weekly updates provide revealing illustrations of their commitment to professional journalistic practices and ideologies (cf. Chapter 8).

The first of the regular weekly sessions about the September preparations was held Friday, 9 January 1981.

According to the executive producer, "it was a general discussion and was very well attended (standing room only)" (Weekly Update #1, 15 January 1981: 2). It was agreed that subsequent Friday meetings would address specific areas of THE NATIONAL's operation. For the purposes of our discussion, the specific areas identified can be grouped under broader categories as follows: (i) form and content of THE NATIONAL; (ii) facilities, including the new newsroom and additional editing facilities; (iii) promotion of the new programme; (iv) liason with THE JOURNAL; (v) the new UPDATE; (vi) review of weekend production; (vii) review of relations with the regional newsrooms; (viii) review of the nightside desk system; and (ix) general effects of the earlier NATIONAL on existing production practices. A summary of the progress of the re-assessment in each of these areas follows.

(i) Form and Content of THE NATIONAL

A total of eighteen staff members, representing "a cross-section of editors and producers" met Saturday, 17 January 1981 to evaluate the "content, format, presentation, and organization" of the existing NATIONAL programme (Weekly Update #2, 22 January 1981: 2). Through the course of what became a whole series of meetings designed to fundamentally re-structure its appearance and its substance, all members of THE NATIONAL's

news staff contingent, in addition to many news workers at the regional newsrooms of the CBC-owned stations, were offered the opportunity to voice their criticisms of the programme and their suggestions for its improvement. Space limitations preclude detailed discussion of those views here, which, in their totality, offer a fascinating trek through the ideological web of professional television journalism. We may simply summarize the resultant changes to the structure of the programme, finalized in November 1981, and slightly modified in the period up to January 1982.

The programme would open with a highlight of the two to three major news stories and the lead item of THE JOURNAL, and would be divided into three segments, distinguished by "stings" (à la the American network pre-commercial promotions) that would bridge the segments together. The first segment would be dedicated to a comprehensive treatment of the top two to three stories. It would be followed by a brief sting that would include elements of the animation and theme, financial statistics, and a short preview of forthcoming stories. The second and third segments would encompass the remainder of the news, separated by a second "sting" that would preview THE JOURNAL's documentary item. "Special Reports" would continue and every effort would be made to integrate them more solidly into the flow of the newscast. Other periodically featured items might include a "Follow-Up" series, an "Issues" series,

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and a "Solutions" series. To date, of course, none of these proposed series have appeared, nor are plans in place for their production. In terms of the substance of the news stories, the writing of the programme was subjected to a rigorous review. In the 49-page "Handbook" which assembled the conclusions of this area of the re-assessment, the executive producer reiterated the purpose of the writing improvement exercise:

The aim has been to make it more conversational, less bland. We need to be warmer, friendlier, in our writing. Short, simple, clear sentences. One idea each sentence. No dead institutional language. Pauses for breathing space, words that act as signals of what's coming up, or that indicate something important, interesting, or colourful is ahead. We should write the same way we talk (CBC, 1981: 30).

The fundamental underlying imperative, i.e. to retain the news audience, is fully evident in his entreaty. It will recur throughout our discussion of the programme unit re-evaluation.

A major portion of the "Handbook" is dedicated to the explication of the new "news philosophy" to guide the production of the "new" NATIONAL. It will be examined further later during our discussion of professional journalistic ideologies (see Chapter 8). At this point, we may simply note the seven major "areas of emphasis" determined by the group:

1. Our news coverage must be sharper, faster, tougher. We must be first, and best, on all stories of consequence no matter what effort it takes.
2. THE NATIONAL must more actively search for news that is interesting and important to people. We must break stories ourselves from every bureau, every area.

3. We must provide more news and insight that is valuable and interesting and useful to people; less news that is institutional and irrelevant. The purpose of our journalism is to serve the interests of people, not institutions.
4. We must be more comprehensive in our coverage of Canada. Canadians from every region should more easily recognize themselves in our treatment of Canadian stories and issues.
5. We must more effectively project a Canadian perspective and Canadian interests in our coverage of the world. Foreign networks and news agencies, in spite of their size, should not set the news agenda for us.
6. Our reporters must be more creative in their news treatment. We must report stories in terms that people can understand, using analogies that people can relate to, with a style of television that is both imaginative and compelling.
7. THE NATIONAL, as a television news programme, must be more exciting, easier to watch. We should be warmer in our presentation, more inviting, and more familiar (CBC, 1981: 2-3).

Much less difficult to implement were the changes to the appearance of the newscast, including the new animation and theme, new graphics, and the new set. During the first month of preparations, a meeting was held with a CBC animation artist, the same artist who had designed the existing NATIONAL animation in 1973. A first meeting was also held with a CBC music consultant to discuss a new theme for the programme. After weeks of discussion and experimentation, the basic sound of the new theme was tentatively decided in mid-March. At the same time, two possible designs for the new animation were "put to film" (Executive Producer, Weekly Update #10, 19 March 1981,

p.4). At the end of April, four separate composers completed their demonstration tapes of their respective theme proposals, and the final selection of both the new animation and theme was made early in May. The executive producer described the new imagery as follows:

In our animation and theme, we are abandoning a style that has been with THE NATIONAL since the 1960's. The [new] animation is a contemporary, three-dimensional, state-of-the-art design. The music is powerful, distinctive, and full of energy (CBC, 1981: 28).

The decision to modernize the system of graphics design, creation, and storage (then based on traditional film projection) originated in 1979 when the executive producer and director agreed that there were too many different styles and sizes of graphics used on THE NATIONAL. Consequently, the director introduced the "box" style of graphics, which was soon felt to be "boring" to the viewer. In November 1980, the two NATIONAL representatives visited all three American networks, to observe their operation and specifically to investigate their mode of graphic design. Both were much impressed by the newer electronic systems of graphic storage and retrieval utilized by the American networks, although the cost of leasing such units was prohibitive. At the 27 February weekly meeting, tapes were played to the group "to illustrate what the Americans are doing with their graphics and technology" (Director, Weekly Update #7, 26 February 1981, p. 3). Apart from the problem of a new retrieval system, a major focus was the search for a new

graphics style; in the words of the executive producer, "our feeling is that it has to be more compelling, more imaginative than at present" (Weekly Update #7, 26 February 1981, p. 2). Tests of various styles and methods were undertaken during the month of March, and ideas were solicited from NATIONAL staff members. Early in April, it appeared likely that a new system of electronic graphic storage and retrieval would be approved by the network. Later that month, a second graphic artist was hired (initially on a temporary basis), to assist the chief designer with the production of a library of new graphics. During the first week of May, the CBC's intention to purchase a new electronic cell system was confirmed. It would be the "ADDA" system (used at NBC), which carries the capacity to create, store, and retrieve graphics electronically and therefore much more efficiently than the old film projection system. Use of the new equipment, however, would require greater access to both studio and VTR facilities. Once the decision was announced, the director and executive producer made a second visit to NBC, this time to WRC WASHINGTON, the NBC affiliate which produces the Roger Mudd portion of NBC NIGHTLY NEWS, in order to observe the ADDA system's uses more closely. The tour "was useful in that it revealed the multitude of ways the ADDA system can be of use" (Executive Producer, Weekly Update #15, 7 May 1981, p. 2).

Attitudes regarding the ideal design of the new set

again illustrate the "news philosophy" of THE NATIONAL's staff, and their keen attention to the imagery it projects. Key extracts from their submission to CBC Set Design appeared in the Weekly Updates as follows:

1. We would like to break with the past in our design for September. At present, THE NATIONAL projects a sterile, studio look which is both cold and formal. Set design up to now has been determined by the fact (that) we share our studio with other shows, imposing a need for a simple, mobile set. We expect this will not be necessary starting September 19.
2. We had hoped for the opportunity to originate from outside a traditional studio setting. We wanted to place our anchor in a natural newsroom/control room setting that would ensure much of the visual energy we are looking for, but the budget for this is not available.
3. In Studio Two, therefore, we want to duplicate this setting as much as possible. We wish to project an exciting, active, 'news centre' atmosphere, where access to information is immediate and unpredictable. We should look like, sound like, and be like a control room at the centre of a universe that can, and will, take you anywhere at a moment's notice. We should see, hear and use TV monitors, wire machines, and telephones....
6. The relationship between our anchor and the news should be dominant throughout our design: (Surname of news reader) responding to monitors, reaching for bulletins, pointing to maps or models, talking with reporters on the telephone, on the set or on location. The set should be uncluttered and functional, but not bare. It should include the essential equipment of 1980s news gathering, and this equipment should be used.
7. However highly-charged the atmosphere may become, the anchor should be relaxed, and be seen to be relaxed. This is a crucial element of the design. The design should be warm, inviting, and intimate. Viewers should feel they are sharing the experience with (the news reader), looking over his shoulder.

They should be on his side, no matter what the development. The programme should appear spontaneous, not pre-packaged, but the anchor should look comfortable so that our viewers feel comfortable...(Weekly Update #8, 5 March 1981, p. 3).

It can be seen that the submission (only a small section of which is cited above) was indeed elaborately specific about the desired "look" of the new set. The initial plans to broadcast out of the newsroom, or to at least to be granted a dedicated studio, were both ruled out by budget considerations, yet the other ideas were, in the main, incorporated into the new design to the satisfaction of most staff members.²⁰

(ii) Facilities

In addition to the new graphics equipment and the new set, two other principal changes fall under the category of facilities proper: the new newsroom and changes to existing editing facilities. As discussed, a completely new wing was added to the old fifth floor which in itself, along with the extensive change-over in staff during and after the re-assessment (see later discussion), served to substantially revitalize the thirty-year operation of THE NATIONAL in what was formerly a "crowded and unpleasant work area" (Executive Producer, Weekly Update #2, 22 January 1981, p. 3). The senior producer agreed to supervise a study of how the new space might

be most effectively utilized. He consulted newsroom workers and prepared a tentative outline for discussion at the weekly meeting of 23 January 1981. The outline was titled "Space Wars and the New Wing: Will the Needs of the News Service Triumph Over the Forces of Bad Planning and Bay Street?"²¹ and it summarized the preliminary suggestions of the news workers. At the meeting, agreement was reached about the following: (1) that the new wing should be designed in the open-concept format with a minimum number of partitions; (2) ENS and the graphics department should remain in the old wing, and the area occupied by assignment and nightside should be used to provide additional office space; (3) a large conference room should be situated in the rear of the old wing; (4) some wire machines could remain in the old wing, since it would be rather impractical to transfer all of the machines to the new newsroom; and (5) a totally new desk configuration should be designed for both the dayside assignment and nightside editorial groups.

The transfer to the new wing was officially approved in early April 1981, and scheduled to take place early in August. At the same time, it was learned that the ENG editing operations would be moved from their location at 100 Carlton Street to the third floor of the television building, and that the requested access to additional editing equipment had been granted, much to the relief of the editorial and production staff. These decisions also served to significantly improve staff spirits.

(iii) Promotion of the New Programme

Early in January 1981, THE NATIONAL's executive producer and a member of the NEWSMAGAZINE staff met with the CBC's promotion department to discuss "the atrocious treatment (that) the news department gets " (Executive Producer, Weekly Update #1, 15 January 1981, p. 2). The promotion group responded that, effective June 1981, all of the network's promotional activity would be directed towards the earlier NATIONAL and THE JOURNAL. Later in January, more meetings were held with CBC promotion staff, who indicated a possible network interest in a six-week "blitz" that would highlight THE NATIONAL, NEWSMAGAZINE, and News Specials. The campaign was later extended to seven weeks, and scheduled to start in mid-March of 1981. At that time, discussions began regarding the complete summer-autumn promotion of THE NATIONAL and THE JOURNAL. Ultimately, of course, NEWSMAGAZINE was cancelled by the network (its budget appropriated by the JOURNAL unit), the air date of the new programmes was delayed, and the promotional campaign was accordingly postponed.

(iv) Liason With THE JOURNAL

During the week of 2 February 1981, the executive producers of THE NATIONAL and THE JOURNAL met for a period of

five hours to discuss (for the first time) "a complete range of issues" that would affect the operation of the two programme units (Executive Producer, Weekly Update #5, 11 February 1981, p. 2). Among the issues raised at the meeting, THE JOURNAL's executive producer requested that NATIONAL reporters be available to produce "pocket documentaries" (see Chapter 5) for THE JOURNAL, and expressed concern that the "extra energies" of NATIONAL reporters would be directed towards the early weekend programmes rather than towards THE JOURNAL. During the third week of March, a second meeting took place between THE NATIONAL's senior producer and the senior editorial producer of THE JOURNAL, and on Thursday, 16 April the "first full session"²² of NATIONAL and JOURNAL staff was held. JOURNAL staff in attendance included the executive producer and the two senior producers, who outlined the goals and structure of the programme to THE NATIONAL's dayside and nightside groups. Other topics included the use of NATIONAL staff, notably reporters, by the JOURNAL unit; the impact of THE JOURNAL's existence upon (already strained) regional editing facilities; and the potential conflict between THE NATIONAL's Special Reports and THE JOURNAL's pocket documentaries. The JOURNAL representatives, for example, expressed the hope that THE NATIONAL would not change Special Reports into (shorter) pocket documentaries, to which the NATIONAL editors responded that THE JOURNAL would hopefully not change their pocket documentaries

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into (longer) Special Reports. Like most of the (few) subsequent meetings between the two units, the discussion thus centred upon the boundaries and the potential conflicts between the programme units, and excluded any consideration of the substance of each programme or of how the two operations might interact more fully. (The jurisdictional conflicts posed by the traditional "news" and "current affairs" rift within the CBC are discussed at length in Chapters 4 and 5).

(v) The New UPDATE

At the 6 February weekly meeting, the topic of the discussion was the proposed UPDATE or NEWSCAP programme (its alternative working title) and the earlier NEWSBREAKS. The development of the programme prior to and after that date is briefly traced in the outline of its production which appears in Chapter 4. Shortly after the weekly meeting that assessed the programme plans, the NHL All-Star Game provided the opportunity to undertake a first "dry run" of the production routine. A 4 1/2 minute newscast, constructed in accordance with the proposed UPDATE framework, was aired during the CBC's broadcast of the game. Nine visual stories, stripped of the reporters' voice-overs, filled the 4 1/2 minute programme. At the meeting which reviewed the success of the exercise, it was generally agreed that the brisk pace worked without the usual return to the

studio anchor between items, although the total absence of "wild sound"* would require some editing adjustments and the wipes between items would need to be more distinctive (Executive Producer, Weekly Update #6, 19 February 1981, p. 1).

Additional, subsequent "run-throughs" (where the programme would be produced but not aired) would help determine the visual style, and actual "dry runs" (scheduled to start in late May of 1981) would help determine the best procedures to deliver the newscast nightly.

(vi) Review of Weekend Production

At the weekly meeting of 13 March 1981, the staff met to consider ways to improve the weekend news programmes. It was unanimously agreed that the news service should operate "at full tilt" seven days a week and that, at present, the weekend programmes did not reflect a fully operational weekend news service. The executive producer suggested that there ought to be more news on the weekend NATIONALS; news that is available and yet not included in the weekend line-ups. Several editors perceived a duplication in the use of both news and features between the early programmes (then SATURDAY and SUNDAY EVENING NEWS) and the later NATIONALS. One of the more serious problems

* "Wild sound" refers to the background or "actuality" sound of a visual, e.g. crowd noises at a demonstration.

observed was the closure of most regional newsrooms during the weekend, which made it "virtually impossible, or a least very expensive, to cover stories in some major centres" (Executive Producer, Weekly Update #10, 19 March 1981, p. 1). Others observed that NATIONAL reporters were not called upon as frequently during the weekend, or expected to produce the same volume of news as during the weekday period. It was also agreed that the Ottawa bureau might make a greater contribution to the weekend programmes, including "more end-of-week situationers* that do more than merely recap the previous week's stories" (Weekly Update #10, 19 March 1981, p. 2). It was further suggested that the feasibility of "covering" Vancouver and Montreal with the co-operation of their regional newsrooms during the weekend should be examined. Specialist reporters might also contribute more to the weekend rostrum of stories, and foreign correspondents might increase their visible presence as well, perhaps through the "protection" of stories that would otherwise be broadcast on the weekday NATIONAL. (Formerly, foreign correspondents appeared solely by way of the "Notes From Abroad" segment of SUNDAY EVENING NEWS, which was re-broadcast to close the Sunday edition of THE NATIONAL). Above all, it would be necessary to change "traditional attitudes" towards weekend news,

* "Situationers" are stories akin to progress reports of developing events, submitted by a reporter who is (permanently, or more often, temporarily) posted in a certain location, e.g. Buenos Aires during the south Atlantic war.

and to treat the weekend NATIONALS and weekday NATIONALS as equally important productions.

It is important to note that, prior to a major weekly meeting, a preliminary paper, written by a senior staff member and distributed throughout the newsroom, often provided the framework of discussion at the session. The weekend producer, for example, prepared a discussion paper titled "The Saturday and Sunday Evening News Broadcasts: How Do We Get There from Here?" that was distributed with the Weekly Update of 19 March 1981, and which set the agenda of the 20 March meeting. The paper identified problems with the existing broadcasts, including a lack of "distinction, clarity, and outline" and poor co-ordination between weekend production and the overall assignment group, and suggested quite specific means of improvement, including that the Saturday programme should be a strongly regional newscast of 75 to 80 per cent regional news and the balance "hard" news stories. The Sunday programme was particularly felt to lack distinction, and consequently "radical surgery" was proposed. The new programme would be a "critical, analytical, reporter's news broadcast" and would "provide the CBC news service with its first original new broadcast in several years" (Weekend Producer, Weekly Update #10, 19 March 1981, p. 7, original emphasis).

At the meeting itself, "there was general acceptance of the outline proposed by (the weekend producer)" (Executive

Producer, Weekly Update #11, 26 March 1981, p.1). SATURDAY EVENING NEWS would feature the best regional stories, and SUNDAY EVENING NEWS (perhaps to be re-titled "CBC NEWS-SUNDAY REPORT")²⁴ would be a reporter's newscast, stressing analysis and criticism. One editor proposed that both programmes open with a visual "billboard" of forthcoming items, prior to the reading of the day's "hard" news. On an experimental basis, one editor might write the news segments, another would handle the remaining items, and a third might be responsible for the VTR editing. It was also suggested that both shows might be more "personalized," perhaps to include a "letters" segment at the end. A tentative format for SATURDAY EVENING NEWS was proposed as follows: the opening "billboard," a hard news segment of approximately eight minutes duration, followed by a well-integrated 20-minute segment featuring the major regional stories (Weekly Update #11, 26 March 1981, p. 3). SUNDAY EVENING NEWS or SUNDAY REPORT would also start with a visual billboard, followed by a four-minute hard news segment, a "Weekly News in Review" (strictly visual) highlight of one or two major stories, and a reporters' roundtable discussion of those stories (or, alternatively, two to three "talkbacks" between the news reader and a single reporter). These in turn might be followed by a variation of the existing "Notes From Abroad" segment and a concluding "Week Ahead" section. Perhaps the most telling aspect of the exercise was its outcome: in spite of the broad range of ideas offered

at the meeting, the eventual form of the new weekend programmes remained remarkably true to the original outline of the weekend producer.

(vii) Review of Relations With the Regional Newsrooms

During March and April 1981, a three-man team composed of the assignment producer, a domestic assignment editor, and one of the weekend line-up editors conducted a telephone survey of the regional television newsrooms across the country, in order to determine how their relations with the Toronto news centre might be improved. Their report was distributed 9 April for discussion at the 10 April meeting. The first major finding of the study reveals much about the nature and closeness of story supervision at THE NATIONAL:

Every newsroom has reporters anxious to work for THE NATIONAL and we should capitalize on their enthusiasm. But treatment of these reporters should be more sensitive. Many are not used to our degree of script and story guidance and often find it bewildering. There is a feeling that the reporter on the scene knows what his/her story is and what pictures can sustain it and resents being dictated to by someone thousands of miles away. THE NATIONAL must use guidance and negotiation with regional reporters, not edicts ("THE NATIONAL and the Regional Newsrooms," Weekly Update #12, 9 April 1981, p. 3, added emphasis).

The report proceeded to identify other "sources of irritation" on the part of regional news producers including their unfamiliarity with THE NATIONAL's editorial and production requirements, and, likewise, the Toronto staff's failure to

appreciate the facilities problems in the regions, which often created frustration for both groups. Finally, regional workers expressed a third major thorn in their relations with Toronto:

A major source of irritation is that too often THE NATIONAL sees regions in stereotypes or as a source of quaint features: all B.C. people are eccentric; Newfoundlanders are fishermen; Westerners are farmers, oil barons, or right-wing cretins. This reaction comes from every level in virtually every newsroom.

Very often national issue stories come from central Canada, e.g. interest rates, housing costs, various human rights, etc. If they are truly national concerns they could be done from any major Canadian city. If Canada's a country of diversity, it's also a nation of similarities. What happens in Toronto also happens in the rest of the country ("THE NATIONAL and the Regional Newsrooms," Weekly Update #12, 9 April 1981, p. 4).

Accordingly, there was a strong feeling throughout the regional newsrooms that the Toronto nightside group should be staffed by more regional representatives, or at least writers and editors with greater knowledge and some understanding of regional issues and concerns. It will be seen later that, in fact, a major nightside staff change-over did result from the re-assessment of Toronto-regional relations. Moreover, a deliberate campaign was launched to ensure that, effective 11 January 1982, THE NATIONAL would begin to display a marked increase in its regional content.

(viii) Review of the Nightside Desk System

The subject of the 30 January weekly meeting was a

possible revised nightside desk system, including the option of a four-day work week and a separation of the writing and editing functions, with one or two "continuity writers" to be designated. THE NATIONAL's weekday line-up editor was asked to prepare the preliminary report. Under the existing nightside system, editors were assigned to individual stories or specific beats (Ottawa, Foreign, Business, etc.) and handled virtually all aspects of story production apart from their original assignment; including approval of the reporters' scripts, supervising the editing of tape and film, and writing introductions and related copy. It was suggested that the system might be improved by a separation of the writing and editing functions; i.e. that one or two dedicated writers would be responsible for all of the copy for the programme, while "story editors" would handle all of the production and other editorial dimensions of the work. It was felt that such a change would contribute to the continuity and uniformity of the newscast, and above all to the flow of stories. Writers, without the regular interruption of telephone calls to and from reporters, would be free to concentrate upon the production of "readable and effective copy." Similarly, story editors would be free to concentrate upon scripts and "the production values required to make items better" (Weekday Line-up Editor, "Some Notes on a Restructured Nightside Desk and a Four-Day Week," Weekly Update #3, 29 January 1981, p. 2).

The new system would require that writers work closely

with the line-up and story editors, that writers read the scripts, and that writers discuss the key points of the stories with the story editors and, if necessary, with the reporters. The system might also "increase the checks and balances in our procedures and minimize mistakes" (Weekday Line-up Editor, Weekly Update #3, 29 January 1981, p. 2). The line-up editor noted that the present number of weekday nightside editors (five) could still be maintained, yet two of these would become the dedicated writers. One might handle domestic stories while the other would write the international items, although such an "arbitrary breakdown" was felt to be unessential. Two story editors would handle all of the reports; again, with a possible division between domestic and international news. The fifth person would be a "swing editor," prepared to "fill in where required," perhaps to edit AMNETS material, supply shot lists to the designated writers, or write copy as well. The line-up editor concluded:

We should be concerned about creating too rigid and inflexible a system. Our writers and story editors should be interchangeable, as they basically are now. They should be strong in as many areas as possible. At the same time, by setting up distinctive roles for writers and editors, we could (be) playing up our individual strengths by having people who "want" to write or "want" to produce items. That should be encouraged (Weekly Update #3, 29 January 1981, p. 2).

The proposed system, however, would preclude the implementation of a four-day work week for nightside editors, since the expected improvement in continuity would be defeated by

a four-day schedule, and since nothing would be gained if writers were to start their shifts earlier in the day (i.e. in the morning). Story editors, on the other hand, might beneficially start work earlier, in order to "work more closely with assignment and have a much better idea where the potential trouble spots are and which reporters will require most attention that day" (Weekday Line-up Editor, Weekly Update #3, 29 January 1981, p. 3). In terms of the line-up, there would ideally be two designated line-up editors: one who would work weeknights (though not necessarily all five), and one who would work weekends and at least one weeknight. This in turn raised the question of whether and how often the two jobs should be rotated.

With regard to the proposal for a four-day work week, "a quick survey of news clips" revealed the results of similar experiments in other industries. The advantages (more productivity, less absenteeism, higher staff morale, etc.) and the disadvantages (fatigue, lack of long-term continuity, social dislocation, etc.) of the scheme were each itemized in the report, with clear weight towards the disadvantages. The line-up editor added that such a scheme would likely pose additional problems peculiar to THE NATIONAL, since it is a seven-day-a-week operation, and since "many newsmakers and events operate on a Monday to Friday schedule" (Weekly Update #3, 29 January 1981, p. 4). Thus the line-up editor's preliminary presentation of the potential changes (first suggested by others in informal surveys)

assumed the form of a thinly veiled argument against them. In the end no changes resulted from this area of the re-assessment.

(ix) General Effects of the Earlier NATIONAL on Existing Production Practices

At the 20 February weekly meeting, the pit producer and two VTR technicians joined the session to discuss the impact of the earlier NATIONAL on VTR work patterns. The earlier air time of the programme would mean that both the intake and editing of feeds would be compressed within a shorter time period. Access to more VTR machines was also deemed vital to accommodate the changes; at the time, five machines were available to THE NATIONAL, and two of these were used to actually record the programmes. Editing would need to start sooner in the day, and thus greater reliance might be placed upon the early (5:00 PM) AMNETS syndication feeds, with the later (6:30 PM) programme feeds used only as a back-up. Editing could therefore begin at 5:30 PM, rather than (the present time of) 7:30. The true effects of the earlier air time on work routines, it was felt, could only be determined after a "run-through," and a two-week early dry run would be scheduled in June of 1981.

Whereas prior to January 1982, Studio Two was available to THE NATIONAL only after 8:00 PM, permission was sought to access the studio at 2:00 PM each weekday. Two additional VTR machines were also requested for the period 2:00 to 10:30 PM, and

two of the existing machines were requested to be made available at 4:30 PM rather than 7:30. These arrangements to provide greater access to VTR and studio facilities would make possible: (1) the use of the new Squeezoom for the packaging of items; (2) the intake of certain feeds during the afternoon (e.g. weekend news items, Special Reports, etc.); and (3) the recording and editing of Visnews, American syndication feeds, and ENS, at the same time that ENS is on the air (Weekly Update #10, 19 March 1981, p. 3). The requests for additional facilities, however, were not easily accommodated, stirring considerable debate,²⁵ and culminating in a "high-level summit meeting" held Wednesday, 20 May 1981 (Weekly Update #16, 14 May 1981, p. 1). Ultimately, a compromise was reached such that Studio Two was reserved for the use of THE NATIONAL from 2:00 PM Monday to Friday, although only one extra VTR machine was made available, and the existing machines could still not be accessed until 7:30 PM.

Perhaps more severe were the implications of the earlier air time for THE NATIONAL reporters based in the regions and in other bureaux. In Ottawa, for example, House of Commons night votes are held at 10:00 PM, and budgets are presented at 8:00; therefore the new 9:00 PM time of the Maritime pre-feed would create "tremendous time pressures" upon the production of these stories. A separate crew would be required to prepare the ENS and NATIONAL items, since there would not be sufficient time for a single reporter to prepare a new story for THE NATIONAL.

This in turn would call for "much earlier decisions from Toronto on needs and desires" and might also require more careful selection of (i.e. fewer) ENS stories (Senior Assignment Producer, Weekly Update #1, 15 January 1981, p. 4). Fewer reporters would be available for Special Reports; overtime costs would increase, due to disrupted meal breaks for the Ottawa VTR editors; and the Ottawa feed line, which is shared with Montreal, might well become "jammed up on busy nights" (Senior Assignment Producer, Weekly Update #1, 15 January 1981, p. 4).

Due to the time zones, the most severe problems would be experienced by the regional bureaux in the West. The Regina-based NATIONAL reporter, for example, observed that "late-breaking" stories would be literally impossible to cover, although, in the words of the reporter, these are "as rare as high hills" in Saskatchewan (cited in Weekly Update #1, 15 January 1981, p. 5). In Edmonton, the new feed deadline imposed by the earlier NATIONAL would be 7:00 PM local time. No stories would be shot, even in the urban Edmonton area, after 3:30 PM. The reporter uses film, and the film lab is located two miles from the station, which means that stories which occur outside Edmonton or after 3:30 would simply miss the feed deadline. Moreover, the reporter has no access to a film editor until after the Edmonton station's local newscast, which would reduce editing time by one hour. A director and crew are not available to handle the "mix" of the film until after 7:00 PM, i.e. the point

at which the first edition of THE NATIONAL is broadcast (9:00 PM Toronto time). In light of the additional constraints posed by the use of film rather than ENG equipment, then, the senior assignment producer concluded that "with the anticipated news coming from Alberta in the months and years ahead, if ENG is needed next in any one location, Edmonton is it" (Weekly Update #1, 15 January 1981, p. 5).

The Vancouver reporter would encounter the worst of all the complications, since it is only 6:00 PM in B.C. when THE NATIONAL first goes to air, and local news is broadcast at that time. No in-town Vancouver shooting could be done after 3:00 PM, and local news requirements would make feeds impossible after 5:50 PM local time. Stories for THE NATIONAL would therefore need to be transmitted by means of a "live" feed directly into the newscast,²⁶ and "same day stories outside Vancouver would be extremely difficult" (Vancouver NATIONAL reporter, cited in Weekly Update #1, 15 January 1981, p. 6). The reporter also pointed out that the Victoria legislature does not meet until after 2:00 PM (i.e. 5:00 PM Toronto time). The Vancouver bureau would therefore require: (1) new ENG equipment to replace film; (2) more money to feed from points outside Vancouver itself; (3) more money to charter faster aircraft from the B.C. interior; and (4) a designated producer to handle such material if it is unaccompanied by the reporter. While the installation of new ENG equipment in the Alberta and British

Columbia bureaux eventually alleviated some of these difficulties, it is clear that the earlier NATIONAL deadline nonetheless served to compound the existing logistical constraints of the production process.

"Practicing" Production: The Dry Runs

A tentative schedule was established for dry runs of NATIONAL and UPDATE production during the period March to September 1981 (recall that Monday, 14 September was the original start date of the earlier NATIONAL). Cell, set, and colour tests were carried out in the studio as early as the first week of April. A complete dry run of the two programmes was undertaken for a two-week period effective 25 May (weekdays only). In other words, THE NATIONAL was ready to air at 9:00 PM Toronto time, and yet not broadcast to the Maritimes until the usual time (10:00 PM in Toronto). Once the problems encountered in the first set of dry runs were "smoothed out," a third week of dry runs was scheduled during the first week of July. The new set was expected to be complete by the first of August, and the first three weeks of the month would be used to experiment with the new set (in fact, however, the new set was not complete until late September 1981). Effective 31 August for a period of three weeks, a complete set of dry runs, including UPDATE and THE JOURNAL (yet see Chapter 5), would be undertaken, and would

involve all staff throughout the national system: reporters, editors, producers, and so forth. According to the executive producer, who outlined the dry run schedule in the Weekly Update of 19 March 1981: "The aim is that by Monday, 14 September, we can do it in our sleep" (#10: 3).

The eventual postponement of the start date for the new programmes was due largely to the NABET strike of the summer of 1981 and related delays in the installation of the new equipment and the construction of the new set. These delays effectively lengthened the rehearsal period by several months, such that, by Monday, 11 January 1982, the routines of the new productions were indeed well lodged in place. In the following chapter we begin to examine those production routines more thoroughly.

Conclusion

The unique structure of the Canadian broadcasting system and the peculiarities of its historical development represent one of the most important contexts of network television information production, and hence the five major programmes of the two networks need to be considered in this light. What might have been a sharply uneven development of broadcasting, under a system of strictly private ownership, was circumvented by the very early intervention of the state and the introduction of a formally "public" enterprise (first the CRBC and later the CBC) which

could be seen to serve the "public interest" through its delivery of those services which private broadcasters could or would not offer, yet which practically, ultimately, and historically has served the interests of private capital and incidentally those of the state itself. Gramsci's concept of the compromise equilibrium thus is well adapted to the historical peculiarities of the industry's development and the actions of the state within it (see also Clarke, 1978 and 1979). The establishment of the CBC served to legitimate the activities of private media capitalists, to protect their long-term interests, and in fact to complement their operations by filling those "gaps" - such as the hinterland areas, indigenous Canadian programme production, and original newsgathering and information production - where private capital could not lucratively operate. Through the CBC, the state has effectively underwritten for private capital the more prohibitive costs entailed in the operation of broadcasting in Canada, yet only to a degree: while private stations reaped the benefits of CBC's programme output, the Corporation itself remained dependent upon advertising revenue and therefore bound by the same market requisites which face the private broadcasters. As Smythe points out, the CBC "contained from the start the base for its own erosion as a public agency in the original commitment to produce audiences for advertisers and [became] an indispensable adjunct to the profitable operation of private stations by 1948" (1981: 290). Boyle adds that:

As a public broadcasting entity the CBC has always been an anomaly because it was never fully funded nor physically completed as a network. It began by blending domestic and foreign commercial programs with public service broadcasting and has always had to depend on a number of private stations for distribution. Since the private stations depend solely on commercials, the CBC has therefore had to adjust its service to support them...

Attacked at first by private broadcasters as an interloper in the golden pastures of North American commercialism, the CBC is now more often seen as an ally of the private system. In effect, the CBC has carried the brunt of public service programming and costs, allowing private broadcasting to concentrate on more lucrative fields (1982: 135).

In actuality, then, the relationship between "public" and private enterprises in Canadian broadcasting is complementary, if not symbiotic, and one of the greatest benefactors is CTV. Among other things, without the CBC's programme output in news and current affairs, the minimal offerings of CTV would be uncomfortably conspicuous. At the same time, it is precisely this ownership structure which enables the bulk of CTV's revenues and all of its profits to be channelled to its affiliates, which collectively (albeit unequally) share ownership of the network, and which effectively deny the network itself any resources to produce programmes other than the mandatory network news and the obligatory W5. In fact, for almost half of the network's programme schedule, advertising rights continue to rest with the affiliates and not with the network, which therefore retrieves only a portion of its production costs, and which leaves little to invest in original programme production (Greenspon, 1986: B2).

These organizational parameters of the networks represent another important context of network television information production, a context which constrains the availability of the resources required to produce, for example, solid investigative journalism of the type which might meaningfully and critically assess developments in Canadian society. On the one hand, CTV is reduced to shoestring productions and smoke-and-mirror techniques by the drain of revenues to its owner-affiliates, while the CBC is increasingly threatened by the fiscal crisis of the state and its successive slashes of the Corporation's production budget. Under these circumstances, and particularly in the context of the contemporary economic crisis, network policies can be readily traced to their material genesis in the political economy of broadcasting. In turn, these policies and practices themselves pose obvious constraints and establish frameworks within which information is packaged and presented. The same forces likewise underlie the attempt to revitalize THE NATIONAL and the introduction of THE JOURNAL, processes thus very strongly influenced by developments in the political economy. The results of these processes are detailed in the chapters which follow.

NOTES

1. The following outline is compiled from Clarke, 1978 & 1979.
2. See the Aird Report (1929), Appendix IV: 26. No records are available for the period prior to 1922.
3. Public Archives of Canada, Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, Files (Aird Commission Files), RG 33/14, Vol.1, 227-9-9, page 10 of the booklet (cited in Clarke, 1979).
4. PAC Aird Commission Files, page 13 of the booklet.
5. Ashcroft was the vocal manager of CKGW who advocated the creation of a subsidized private network that could co-exist with a public one; see Peers (1969: 81-82, 139-140).
6. Statutes of Canada, Broadcasting Act (1968), Part I, S. 2(a). The full clause reads as follows: "Broadcasting undertakings in Canada make use of radio frequencies that are public property and such undertakings constitute a single system, herein referred to as the Canadian broadcasting system, comprising public and private elements."
7. The speech is also cited by Weir (1965: 133-134), who describes it as "one of the most notable documents in the history of national broadcasting"; by Peers (1969: 101-102), who refers to it as "a most important statement of policy"; and by Hardin (1974: 256-257), who describes Bennett as "outspokenly nationalist and, necessarily, outspokenly in favour of a public system." All emphases are added.
8. However, even the CBC, with its guaranteed annual access to large amounts of capital, has encountered innumerable difficulties in providing service to the hinterland areas. Radio service in the North was not introduced until 1958, twenty-two years after the CBC first began operations, and thirty-nine years after radio was introduced in the rest of Canada. The Corporation's Northern Television Service (NTS) originally offered only taped programmes in 1967 (fifteen years after television was introduced in the rest of Canada) and later live satellite transmission in 1973. It was not until 1974 that the CBC initiated its Accelerated Coverage Plan (ACP), designed to extend radio and television coverage to previously unserved communities

with a population of five hundred or more.

9. Figures represent the year ended 31 March in each case, based upon the Davey Report (1970), Vol. II, Table "E" (1970: 534), Table "H" (1970: 537-538), and the CBC's 1976-77 Annual Report (CBC, 1977: 36), with calculations.
10. Various dates; the Red Book is a loose-leaf publication, revised sections of which are periodically distributed throughout the Corporation. The section containing the quotation is dated July 1980.
11. The definition of "controversy" is part of the CBC's commercial acceptance code, which it was called upon to defend in light of the network's broadcast of the federal government's constitutional ad campaign in 1980 (see Westell, 1980: B4).
12. For example, the watchful eye of the Standing Committee on Broadcasting was at work on one occasion when a Tory MP charged that the CBC had failed to properly introduce the director of McGill University's Centre for East Asian Studies, who was invited to act as a commentator and yet not identified as a Maoist ("PC MPs Are Concerned Pro-Maoists and NDP Lurk Under CBC Covers," Globe and Mail, 5 November 1980: 9).
13. Yet, in the case of THE NATIONAL, bumpers or stings were inserted into a programme without commercials.
14. A year earlier, for example, Smith wrote "The Small World of NBC News" for New York (1981: 24-28). His research for these articles is made easier by his long-standing relationships with many of the key figures at the American network news organizations (Smith worked successively for NBC News, ABC News, and CBS News from the mid-1950s until he re-joined the CBC in 1973).
15. See Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of the construction of THE JOURNAL's production unit.
16. Interview, Executive Producer, the fifth estate, 25 February 1982.
17. The series were described by the executive producer as follows:

"Follow Up" would be a return visit to a story we had already covered and to which considerable prominence had been given. It could be a human interest item or a story

of substance, depending on the new development. It would be an attempt to provide continuity in a medium that has no memory.

"Issues" would be an attempt to lay out, in a clear and dispassionate way, the principle [sic] arguments in an emotional debate. It could be helpful to viewers in the heat of the moment when wildly differing claims and counter-claims dominate the news reporting of an ongoing story.

"Solutions" would be an examination, from time to time, of some of the proposed remedies to our ongoing problems, such as the dollar, interest rates, unemployment, etc. It could add depth to our continuing news coverage of these stories and, as an ongoing series, it would give better exposure to the widest range of possible views (CBC, 1981: 31).

18. One of the most fascinating documents appended to the Weekly Updates is their report of the observations (Weekly Update #11, 26 March 1981: 3-9). See Chapter 8.
19. Formerly, the studio was shared with a wide range of programmes, including THE FRIENDLY GIANT, WHAT'S NEW?, and PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS (THE NATIONAL only had access to the studio after 8:00 PM). The studio continues to be shared with other (yet fewer) programme units, e.g. the fifth estate, and the set is no longer mobile.
20. Some compromises were effected, however, due to CBC Set Design's insistence that the same designer be used for both THE NATIONAL's and THE JOURNAL's sets, in order to ensure compatibility. The relationship between the two sets was described by the executive producer in the following manner: "THE NATIONAL is the cockpit of the airplane, THE JOURNAL is the cabin" (CBC, 1981: 29).
21. "Bay Street" signifies (the location of) upper levels of CBC news and current affairs management. The phrase is common to other programme units as well.
22. Several smaller meetings between the two production units continued throughout the re-assessment period.
23. At a later meeting, it was agreed that both formats could co-exist in the same hour.
24. In fact, this became the formal title of the new programme.

25. The Toronto plant or facilities department and the news division reached an "impasse" about THE NATIONAL's request for additional VTR and studio access: "They term our requests unacceptable; we term their response unacceptable. It is being kicked upstairs for an attempt at resolution" (Executive Producer, Weekly Update #15, 7 May 1981: 1).
26. "Live" feeds, for obvious reasons, are considered legitimate or warranted only in exceptional situations; that is, a very major late story.

CHAPTER 4: THE PRODUCTION OF CBC NEWS

Although the wartime overseas unit began operations in 1939, the domestic CBC News Service was not officially opened until 1 January 1941. Prior to that date, all CBC news bulletins were prepared by CP. CP, of course, continued to be one of the principal news sources, but in 1941 the Corporation created its own central and regional newsrooms. Toronto became headquarters for the English service and Montreal became the centre of the French-language news service. Policies regarding accuracy and objectivity in news reportage, simplicity in writing style, and the decision to allow no commercial sponsorship of news programmes, were all set forth at that time. By the autumn of 1941, more than 20 per cent of the CBC network radio schedule was dedicated to news (CBC, 1976: 8).

Despite the distributive nature of the Canadian news industry - that is, its dependence upon the international news agencies - there have been at least several, perhaps many, moments in its history at which these foreign sources have proved inadequate or unsatisfactory, including, for example, the period of U.S. engagement in the Vietnam war, the "hostage crisis" in Iran,¹ and recent coverage of U.S. activity in Central America. At such times the (largely) American reports seemed "biased" to Canadian newspeople. At other times the American services were silent on questions of interest to the Canadian market, particularly with respect to

coverage of the British Empire and its affairs. Perhaps the first such instance was that of the 1939-41 period, in which Canada was formally at war while the United States had yet to officially enter. The need for some sort of original Canadian newsgathering about the activities of the Canadian contingents overseas suggested, for apparently the first time, the need to develop a radio news service that would do more than simply reproduce CP wire copy (cf. Stewart, 1975: 68). Hence in 1941 regional news bureaus were established at Halifax, Montreal, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, and a central newsroom was created in Toronto. The news schedule called for two regional bulletins (morning and early evening) and two national bulletins at noon and at 11:00 PM Eastern Standard Time (EST) (Stewart, 1975: 68). The 11:00 PM broadcast soon came to be referred to as THE NATIONAL. BBC news was also broadcast by the CBC twice daily, in addition to a thirty-minute newsreel in the evening.

During the war, at the request of the state, the CBC moved THE NATIONAL from 11:00 to 10:00 PM EST in order to encourage earlier bedtimes and thereby reserve power and fuel for the war campaign. Accordingly, "it became a fixed habit for most Canadians to listen to Lorne Greene read the news and then trot off to bed" (Stewart, 1975: 68). Significantly, the CBC broadcasts were made available to all radio stations in Canada regardless of affiliation, including those privately-owned. Stewart explains it as follows:

Many stations took the national and regional newscasts because the censorship regulations were so complex that it was safer to let the CBC worry about censorable national news and continue to use only local and 'safe' news from their own newsrooms. Even local news was rigidly controlled however, and certain types of news were classified in parts of Canada at that time, including weather forecasts, transportation information, crop reports, and even, on occasion, news of disasters (1975: 68).

Canadian overseas news was broadcast through the facilities of the BBC (Stewart, 1975: 71). The news was cabled from the CBC's central newsroom for a weekly fifteen-minute broadcast in addition to ten-minute sportscasts the following day, which included hockey scores for the Canadian troops. In addition to supplying the regular newscasts, the overseas unit also produced programme material for two or more broadcasts weekly. WITH THE TROOPS was broadcast in England each Monday, while ENGLISH NEWSLETTER TO CANADA reported each Thursday about the activities of the Canadians stationed overseas (Stewart, 1975: 71). The CBC war correspondents developed a considerable stature both inside and outside the profession, bringing to the Corporation the prestigious Ohio Award for news coverage in 1943 (Stewart, 1975: 72).

The first CBC television newscast on the English network was aired in Toronto on the eighth of September, 1952, shortly after CBLT (the network's Toronto station) signed on the air with its station identification slide upside down. The newscast was part of the first NEWSMAGAZINE, also narrated by Lorne Greene. Through the course of the next thirty years,

newscasters, reporters, and producers would come and go, but the form of the early newscasts, their essential mode of news delivery, and the practices underlying their production; would change little. In sharp contrast to other forms of television programming, television news forms and practices sustain themselves amidst long years of change and struggle in the social world around them. The extent to which this is true of CBC television news may never be certain: few outside the relatively limited group of its producers ever bore witness to the first three decades of CBC television news production. Our sociological knowledge of the news of that period is not simply limited; it does not exist. The kind of careful reconstruction required to produce that knowledge is well beyond the parameters of this project.² We begin instead with the present: a uniquely tumultuous moment in the history of Canadian television news, the entry of THE NATIONAL into the heretofore closely guarded terrain of prime time television; not just with an earlier model, but with a programme ambitiously intended to exhibit a trait historically unknown to either THE NATIONAL or its private counterparts -- that is, fundamental change.

The study of THE NATIONAL thus presents the opportunity to examine a news production unit in flux. Comparable studies of television news production in Ireland, Nigeria, and Sweden (Golding and Elliott, 1979), the United

Kingdom (e.g. Schlesinger, 1978), and the United States (e.g. Epstein, 1973) all point to the strongly patterned regularities and routines that characterize the process, and to the professional ideologies or "news values" that steer the decisions about form and content. Barring minor variations in detail, all of their observations apply to the organization of news work at THE NATIONAL, and that in itself suggests some intriguing implications for the emerging picture of global uniformity in news practices, news definitions, and news forms. What renders the case of THE NATIONAL different in one important respect is that its entry into the arena of prime time occasioned a major re-assessment of the seemingly impermeable patterns by which the work of its production had traditionally been organized, and of the form that its product had traditionally assumed. The degree to which the exercise managed to substantially re-structure its production and its product remains to be seen, but in the process, and in our discussion of it, a whole range of historically entrenched journalistic notions and practices were exposed and expressed in clear, specific, and certain terms. It presents, therefore, a unique opportunity to examine not just the work of newsmen (and yes, they are still predominantly men), but also to examine, in effect, newsmen's examination of their work.

This chapter introduces our discussion of the

Throughout almost a decade (1952-1961), CBC television news operated in the absence of network level "rivals," which alone meant that the Corporation contributed, in very large measure indeed, to the development of standards of television journalism in Canada. Yet, while other news operations may well have adopted and incorporated its standards, none can replicate the tremendous store of resources available to the production of CBC news. By most, if not all measures -- budgets, facilities, technological resources, and sheer volume of staff -- the CBC's preparedness for the activity of news³ production is unparalleled in this country.

While the facilities at the television building are used for the production of other programmes apart from THE NATIONAL, at any one time there may be NATIONAL production activity underway on at least four levels of the structure. Indeed, it would be possible to follow the production of the programme sequentially by proceeding downwards through the building: from the fifth floor newsroom, where it all begins, to the VTR editing suites on the third floor, to the control room at the mezzanine level, and finally, to the studio on the ground floor. Trueman's recollections of "the fifth floor" refer to the old part of the building. One of the changes that accompanied THE NATIONAL's move to 10:00 PM was the newsroom's move to the new wing that was added to the fifth floor. The old wing, which continues to house the Evening

News Service (ENS) operation, the news graphics department, and the offices of some weekend staff, featured a "cubbyhole" design of numerous partitions that divided the work space of groups of staff (e.g. assignment and editorial) and individual staff members. In contrast, the new newsroom features a large, open-space design with separate offices reserved only for the executive producer, the senior producer, and the senior assignment producer. The arrangement of furnishings, all relatively new and contemporary in their design, is uncluttered and highly functional. Surrounded on three sides by large windows, the new newsroom is considerably more spacious and offers a reasonably extensive view of the immediate urban Toronto area. The layout of the new newsroom is displayed in Figure 4.1. Similarly, the VTR editing suites, the satellite feed intake and recording suites, the control room, and the studio all feature the contemporary equipment of 1980s news gathering and production. The purposes and uses of these resources will become evident in later discussion of the production process.

A further component of the programme infrastructure is constituted by the network of external news sources. While some observers take seditious delight in the discovery that "news" is rather old by the time it reaches the airwaves, pointing to organizational necessities and refuting the claims of journalists who insist that news "breaks" quite

FIGURE 4.1: Newsroom Layout of the National

spontaneously, THE NATIONAL's senior producer not only admitted, but volunteered that "most news is, of necessity, pre-planned" (Interview, 24 February 1982). There must be a continuous, assured supply of potential or actual news stories. Despite access to what is by far the largest reportorial network in the country, a wide range of outside news sources feed into THE NATIONAL's regular news supply. International news agencies are represented in the newsroom by Reuters (the most important and most heavily used of these services), AP, UPI, the international newsfilm agency Visnews, and the larger Eurovision news exchange. Among the domestic news wires, CP, BN, and the Canada News Wire are the key suppliers.⁴ Perhaps most important are the CBC's contractual agreements with the American networks CBS and NBC, which entitle the Corporation to the use and/or re-broadcast of material from (a) their respective evening newscasts, (b) the syndicated features "feed" supplied by each network nightly, and (c) each network's early morning news programme (i.e. CBS MORNING NEWS and NBC's TODAY programme).⁵

By way of other broadcast sources, the newsroom television monitors (see Figure 4.1) are able to provide any channel available to the Toronto cable audience at large (itself among the best served of Canadian audiences in terms of channel availability). During the observation period, greatest attention was directed at the CBS evening newscast,

the NBC evening newscast, the local CBLT early evening programme, and the ABC network news programme, in addition to other offerings such as CITYPULSE NEWS. Due to its long-standing and strong relationship with the CBC, the CBS network is generally more important as a news source than NBC, and there is a clear tendency within the newsroom to regard the former as a more credible and reliable, "higher quality" source. CBC Radio News is also monitored, particularly THE WORLD AT NOON, and a complete print-out of its line-up is circulated throughout the newsroom.

With respect to print sources, most major daily newspapers are reviewed and copies are well distributed around the newsroom, notably the Globe & Mail (by far the key print source), the Toronto Star, the Toronto Sun, the New York Times, and the Wall Street Journal. Approximately nine producers also subscribe directly to the "quality" British Sunday papers. Specialist reporters subscribe to trade periodicals addressed to their particular fields (e.g. science and medicine). In addition to these sources, daily logs of forthcoming events are maintained by both the general researcher (to which reporters contribute) and the foreign assignment editor. The latter log details mainly foreign events that are forthcoming or anticipated, as well as the daily and weekly plans of the foreign correspondents.

"Internal" sources include the network of regional

radio and television newsrooms across Canada, linked to the national newsroom by means of the teletype machines situated in the new wing. Included in this set of machines are: the UPI wire; "the internal wire" which links CBOT OTTAWA, CBO (Radio) Ottawa, CBMT MONTREAL, CBM (Radio) Montreal, and the network television and radio newsrooms; the CP wire; the ENS wire, which links every CBC station (radio and television) in Canada, including the private affiliates, yet with no on-line capacity; and the INFOMODE machine, which links CBC owned and operated ("O & O") television affiliates only, and is equipped with a talk-back capability or conversation mode - according to one of the domestic assignment editors, "it allows you to chat about stories done elsewhere, especially local O & O supper hour news shows" (Interview, 25 February 1982), whereas the internal wire is used mainly "to see what Radio's doing." The other teletype machines are situated in the old wing of the fifth floor and cleared regularly by the copy clerks.

The Division of Labour

The work of producing the CBC's national news broadcasts is carried out by a staff that numbers more than eighty, a figure which excludes those shared by other programme units (notably some technical workers). Among the total contingent of exclusive NATIONAL staff, three key staff

groupings are at the helm of the operation: the "dayside" assignment group, the "dayside" production group, and the "nightside" editorial group. The types of labour required to produce the programme may be broadly classified as follows: editorial work, technical work and administrative work. A brief outline of the organization of each of these three fundamental tasks follows.

(i) Editorial Workers

Those responsible for the editorial aspects of production include the senior managerial group, the "dayside" assignment group, the "nightside" staff, the network of domestic and foreign reporters, and others responsible for the auxiliary news productions, including the weekend news workers and the staff of UPDATE, ENS, and the News Specials Unit. The three key managers include the Managing Editor of CBC News, the executive producer of THE NATIONAL, and the senior producer. The Managing Editor, appointed in 1979, is in effect the chief administrator of the news division, responsible for overall administration, the news budget, and other long-range matters that affect the news division at large, including THE NATIONAL, UPDATE, ENS, and News Specials. The executive producer is the chief person responsible for THE NATIONAL as a programme unit, as opposed to the general news

division of the CBC. The current executive producer was promoted from the position of senior producer in 1982, having worked at THE NATIONAL since 1977. Unlike earlier executive producers of THE NATIONAL, both he and the former one (who occupied the position from 1980 to 1982) assume(d) a direct and active role in the day-to-day administration and production of the programme, particularly the crucial "nightside" end of production. The senior producer is principally responsible for the "dayside" end of production, and specifically the dayside assignment group.

It is the dayside assignment group which sets the wheels of production in motion at the start of the news day. The group includes a senior assignment producer, a senior/foreign assignment editor who handles the foreign bureaus, and two domestic assignment editors. One domestic assignment editor is responsible for ENS in Quebec, Ottawa and the East, in addition to the NATIONAL reporters based in Toronto and the East; a total of eighteen NATIONAL journalists report to him. The other domestic assignment editor is responsible for all other ENS points, the four NATIONAL reporters based in the four western provinces, and the Windsor, Toronto and Ottawa local newsrooms. The assignment group also includes a night assignment editor, a weekend assignment editor, a Special Reports assignment editor (who originates ideas for the Special Reports series and also

researches the series items), and a separate researcher. Assignment editors are responsible for both the logistics of story coverage and the editorial content or substance of stories. The senior/foreign assignment editor and the first domestic assignment editor (assigned to Eastern and Central points) each work from 7:00 AM to 3:00 or 4:00 PM; the second domestic assignment editor arrives at 8:00 and works until 4:00 or 5:00 PM; and the three others arrive at 10:00 AM and work through to 6:00 PM. The night assignment editor works the first half of his shift at ENS (2:00 to 6:00 PM) and continues with THE NATIONAL from 6:00 to 10:00 or 10:30 PM. The hours of the senior producer and senior assignment producer are irregular, yet both are normally at the assignment desk by at least 8:30 AM and remain in the newsroom until 6:00 PM or later.

During the second half of the news day, the editorial counterpart to the assignment group is the "nightside" editorial group, the major players in the final determination of the newscast. The executive producer of THE NATIONAL is also "producer" of the weekday programme and therefore the chief manager of the nightside editorial group. As producer, he bears ultimate responsibility for the daily product and is concerned with the "overall look" of the programme, there to provide a long-range perspective upon the rushed pace and minute details of programme packaging. Next in line is the

line-up editor, whose principal task is to assemble and "line up" the stories that will appear, and in the process, to attend to all of the logistics of programme production as well as its editorial substance and flow, making all of the immediate, short-range decisions about its content. The line-up editor arrives at the newsroom shortly before the 1:30 PM production meeting (sometimes earlier) and remains until at least 10:30 PM.

The core of the nightside group consists of the five senior editors, who maintain regular contact with the reporters in the field, direct both the substance and the logistics of story coverage, write the introductions or "intros," and are otherwise responsible for the individual stories to which they are assigned. Two of the nightside editors start work at noon, the one a designated "copy-taster" and the other assigned to review newspapers and other print sources. The remainder work from 1:00 to 9:00 PM. In all, there are five exclusive NATIONAL writer-editors (two ENS writers work 7:00 to 10:00 PM for THE NATIONAL) who operate with what one termed a "loose beat system:" one editor, formerly with the CBC's London bureau, "tends" to write stories about Europe and Africa; the designated copy taster is responsible for stories regarding the United States, Central and South America; a third editor, originally from Winnipeg, is responsible for the prairies and sometimes eastern Canada

as well; a fourth edits domestic stories that originate mainly in Ottawa and Vancouver; and the fifth handles Montreal and Quebec generally, Ottawa, and "economics" in the sense of "fiscal and monetary issues" (Interview, Nightside Editor, 15 March 1982). The designated copy-taster pointed out that she also tends to handle the stories of the special business reporter - "business" in the sense of "more humanized"⁶ economic stories.

Apart from the large number of CBC regional employees who occasionally contribute stories to THE NATIONAL, there are a total of twenty-nine journalists exclusively assigned to the programme unit: nine in Toronto, eight in Ottawa, eight based across the country at the regional bureaus, and four foreign correspondents. The nine Toronto reporters include five generalists and four "official"* specialty beats: "Business," "Science and Medicine," "Social Affairs," and "Ontario." The Ontario reporter, who is effectively the regional NATIONAL reporter for Ontario, would otherwise be based at the CBLT TORONTO newsroom, but nonetheless works out of THE NATIONAL's offices. Therefore, only the three other beats are officially acknowledged. According to the domestic assignment editor responsible for the Toronto reporters, the five generalists

* "Official" refers to those formally classified as Group 9 specialist reporters in accordance with the Guild contract, and who accordingly receive a higher wage. The fact that some other NATIONAL reporters are specialists in practice, yet without a Group 9 classification, is a source of some tension in the newsroom.

include one unofficial "Labour" reporter, one unofficial "Education and Entertainment" reporter, and one unofficial "Economics" reporter (Interview, 26 February, 1982). The eight Ottawa reporters are officially specialized in the following areas: the "Chief Political Correspondent" responsible primarily for coverage of the party in power; the "Economics" reporter; the "External Affairs" reporter; the "Energy" reporter; the "Legal Affairs" reporter; and the reporter principally responsible for the programme THIS WEEK IN PARLIAMENT. The two other Ottawa reporters each "tend" to cover the activities of the Progressive Conservative party and the New Democratic Party respectively, although these specialties are not officially sanctioned.

Categories of reporter specialization have evolved rather osmotically, in response to news developments and external pressures. For example, according to one of the domestic assignment editors, the origins of the "Labour" specialty lie in the "widespread labour unrest" of the early 1970s which, combined with overt pressure from the Canadian Labour Congress directed at upper levels of CBC management, led the Corporation to designate a special Labour reporter in 1974, although the reporter still lacks official status. Later in the 1970s, amidst the developing economic crisis and its emerging complexities, a special "Economics" reporter was appointed in Ottawa, yet his Toronto counterpart remains

unofficial. The "Science and Medicine" category was created in 1975, and the "Legal Affairs" category was established in 1978, presumably in response to the early stages of the constitution debate, which preoccupied the reporter until 1981 (the post is currently vacant). The origin of the "Social Affairs" category is uncertain, and the domain of coverage is even more ambiguous. According to the editor who assigns stories to the reporter, it includes stories about housing, immigration, refugees, etc., (his examples) from a "social perspective." The reporter has a special mandate to report about "the bottom third of the social scale" (Interview, Domestic Assignment Editor, 26 February 1982). The assignment editor was quick to point out, however, that all NATIONAL reporters are in principle mandated to report about "ordinary people" both as sources and as subjects of news stories.

The division of labour among the NATIONAL reporters based in the regional newsrooms is considerably more straightforward, founded upon simple geographic boundaries. The eight reporters include two in Montreal and one each in Vancouver, Edmonton, Regina, Winnipeg, Halifax, and St. John's. The territory of the Halifax-based reporter includes New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Foreign bureaus are located in Washington, London, Paris, and Beijing. The Washington bureau is also staffed by a "researcher," whose duties, according to the foreign assignment editor, more closely approximate those of

a field producer; she books crews for the bureau correspondent, for example, and oversees the other logistical details of his stories. The London bureau is staffed by the correspondent, a researcher, a production assistant, and a producer who, although based in London, also acts as the producer for the Paris correspondent.⁷ The Beijing bureau is also staffed by a separate producer.

The chief reader of THE NATIONAL "anchors" the weekday productions of THE NATIONAL and UPDATE, while a second news reader hosts the weekend programmes and the intermittent News Specials. A third, non-exclusive, reader presents the ENS news feeds and is available to replace the regular news readers when required. The chief reader often attends the 1:30 PM production meeting at the start of his work day, yet his participation in the writing and editing of stories is strictly forbidden by clauses in two distinct union contracts: those of the writer-editors, the (Canadian Wire Service) Guild, and of the staff announcers, the Association of Radio and Television Employees of Canada. Nonetheless, his official title is "Chief Correspondent" of THE NATIONAL, and the Corporation continues to obscure his (actual minimal) editorial role through misleading press releases and other publicity (cf. Chapter 8).⁸

Four auxiliary production groups must also be included in the editorial staff: the weekend news workers, the UPDATE group, the ENS group, and the News Specials Unit. The executive

producer of THE NATIONAL is ultimately responsible for the weekend programmes as well as the the weekday programmes, although his role in the production of the former is minimal.⁹ A separate weekend producer is actively responsible for the weekend NATIONALs in addition to SATURDAY REPORT and SUNDAY REPORT, the early evening network newscasts. He works from Thursday through Sunday inclusive. A separate weekend line-up editor works Wednesday through Sunday inclusive, and his duties are comparable to those of the weekday line-up editor. He is the line-up editor for SATURDAY REPORT and SUNDAY REPORT only. Another staff member acts as a nightside editor for several days during the week and as line-up editor for the weekend NATIONALs. There is also a separate weekend director and a separate weekend assignment editor.

The responsibilities of the executive producer also extend to the programme UPDATE. In practice, his active role in its production is secondary to that of the UPDATE producer, who single-handedly determines its line-up and content, in a process that is quite distinct from NATIONAL production activity. The job of the UPDATE writer-editor, who rarely partakes in the decisions, is rotated among NATIONAL and ENS writer-editors. The producer works from 3:30 to 11:30 PM, while the editor's shift extends from 5:00 PM to 1:00 AM (the latest newsroom shift).

ENS is the network's own internal syndication service

to its affiliates, which supplies three daily news feeds to both owned-and-operated and privately-owned affiliated stations. While the ENS operation is formally separate, it overlaps with THE NATIONAL's operation at least to the extent that ENS writers assist in the production of THE NATIONAL, and NATIONAL reporters supply stories to ENS. Hence a thorough discussion of THE NATIONAL should include consideration of the ENS operation as well. Situated in the old wing of the fifth floor, the ENS staff includes the producer, the line-up editor, the line-up editor's assistant, three writer-editors (two full-time and one half-time), one sports editor, and one syndication editor, for a total of eight exclusive ENS workers. The syndication editor is responsible for the production of the noon "syndication newscast" broadcast out of Studio Twelve on the second floor of the building. At 6:30 AM, he is the first to arrive on the fifth floor and, although the shift formally extends to 2:30 PM, he normally leaves at the end of the noon broadcast, at which point his work is complete. The line-up editor and his assistant (who is essentially a senior writer-editor) each work from 10:30 AM to 6:30 PM. One of the ENS writers works for ENS from 3:00 to 6:00 PM and then acts as night assignment editor for THE NATIONAL from 6:00 to 10:30 or 11:00 PM, taking his meal break at 6:30, once the reporter feeds for THE NATIONAL are fully co-ordinated (see later discussion). Two other ENS writers similarly work a swing shift with THE NATIONAL, from 2:00 to

6:00 with ENS and from 6:00 to 10:00 with the latter, while the ENS sports writer works from 10:00 AM to 6:00 PM. The production staff for ENS, rotated among other programme units, includes two producer-directors (one is responsible for the 12:00 and 4:30 feeds, the other for the final 5:30 feed), a full-time and a half-time script assistant, and one production assistant.

Like ENS, the News Specials Unit is a formally separate yet integral component of the news operation. Also situated on the fifth floor, the group is responsible for the production of all news programming other than the regular daily newscasts; including, for example, year-end news reviews, pre-election background specials, and coverage of royal visits. The unit otherwise operates as the "emergency team" of the news division, which must be prepared to "go live" in the event of a sudden major story, such as the attempted assassination of U.S. President Reagan. The unit includes a separate executive producer, a senior producer, a producer, a director, and a separate reporter. The weekend NATIONAL news reader is formally "on call" to host news specials once the need for a special programme develops.

(ii) Technical Workers

Since a number of technical staff work for several

different programme units, just two main groups are exclusively responsible for the technical facets of THE NATIONAL's production. The first of these is the "dayside" production group, which includes the programme director, the associate director,¹⁰ three graphic artists, and the studio crew: three camera operators and the studio (or "floor") director. The programme director is the immediate overseer of the group, responsible for all visual material and all technical aspects of production. He is also the technical producer during the broadcasts at 9:00 and 10:00 PM, directing the studio production from the control room. He and the associate director work exceptionally long hours, commonly arriving for the first production meeting of the day at 11:30 AM and remaining until some time after the 10:00 PM edition of THE NATIONAL is broadcast. The graphic artists work between eight and ten hours daily in their offices in the old wing of the fifth floor, while the studio crew start work at 2:00 PM preparing the studio and remain until after the 10:00 PM newscast.

The resources group provide their services to the news division at large. The weekday resources supervisor arranges feed lines, studios, and other facilities for the News Specials Unit at CBC and non-CBC locations, and carries out similar tasks for other weekday news productions, such as ENS. Two assistants rotate the work of co-ordinating similar facilities (booking VTR machines, etc.) for the weekend programmes including SATURDAY

REPORT and SUNDAY REPORT.

(iii) Administrative Workers

Administrative workers include the receptionist/switchboard operator, the executive producer's assistant, the editorial assistants, the copy clerks, and a full-time publicist appointed to THE NATIONAL in 1981. The receptionist and executive producer's assistant each work regular business hours. The first editorial assistant starts work at 7:00 AM, largely to assist the assignment group (e.g. to locate journalists, confirm their availability, make travel arrangements, etc.), while the second undertakes miscellaneous newsroom tasks and assists with the intake of feeds during the evening. The three copy clerks are busily occupied with the reproduction and distribution of the voluminous pages of wire copy and the successive chain of production documents (the tip sheet, the outlook, the feed list, etc.) that appear throughout the day. The publicist's hours are somewhat irregular, including many evening functions that must be attended and tours of THE NATIONAL's facilities that may be conducted at any time.

Figure 4.2 plots the organizational structure of THE NATIONAL's total labour force. The existence of a distinct News Specials Unit points to the tightly structured division of

Figure 4.2: The Division of Labour at THE NATIONAL

Managing Editor
CBC News

Exec. Producer
THE NATIONAL

News Readers

ADMINISTRATIVE

EDITORIAL

TECHNICAL

Exec Prod/Producer
Nightside
Editorial Group:

Line-up Editor
Senior Editors

Senior Producer
Dayside

Assignment Group:
Sr Assignmt Producer
Sr/Foreign Assignmt Ed
Domestic Assignmt Eds
Night Assignmt Editor*
Spec Rpts Assignmt Ed
Researcher

Director
Dayside

Production Group:
Assoc. Director
Graphic Artists

Studio Director

Studio/Control Rm
Technicians and
Maintenance

Service Producer *
VTR Technicians *
and Maintenance *

Resources Group: *
Resources Super *
Resources Assts *

Reporters

AUXILIARY EDITORIAL

Weekend Producer
Weekend News
Staff

UPDATE Producer
UPDATE News
Staff

ENS Producer

Evening News
Service Staff

Exec Prod/Specials
Specials Unit
News Staff

Publicist

Ed Assts

Copy Clerks

Admin Clerks

* indicates non-exclusive staff

labour among those who produce THE NATIONAL proper, which offers little space for work outside the immediate tasks of daily production. It precludes, for example, the long-range investigation and preparation of news stories, which more often entail less than a single day's work. The exceptions are the Special Reports which, again, are the onus of a distinct assignment editor and which, in every case, take second or last place to the daily production of the regular, abbreviated news items. Not coincidentally, there are no designated reporters assigned to the production of Special Reports and therefore such work in progress must always be temporarily "shelved" once a "spot news" story arises; their significance succumbs to the much greater priority vested in the daily, immediate flow of "breaking" news. The rigors of that daily flow, and the limitations that it places upon the production of alternative news forms, even those as mildly irregular as the Special Reports, are readily apparent in the outline of the production procedure that follows.

One additional aspect of the division of labour is important to observe at this point. Despite the plethora of workers engaged in NATIONAL production, each with their own clearly specified tasks, three key groups in particular hold the reins of direct control over the construction of the daily product: dayside assignment, dayside production and, above all, nightside editorial. These three groups in turn are subject to

the direct supervision and active presence of the senior producer, the director, and the executive producer respectively; each of whom plays his own deceptively central part in the construction, as the following discussion also makes clear.

The Production Process: The Weekday NATIONAL

The early morning NATIONAL staff (6:30 to 9:00 AM) includes the senior/foreign assignment editor, one domestic assignment editor, one editorial assistant, two copy clerks, and one ENS editor. At 6:30 AM, the ENS editor is the first to arrive in the newsroom. He records both the CBS and NBC morning news programmes (7:00 to 9:00 AM), notes any potential items that might be used for the ENS feeds and/or THE NATIONAL, and thereafter proceeds to prepare the noon ENS syndication newscast (see ENS Production). The assignment editors arrive at 7:00 AM and start "copy-tasting." The senior/foreign assignment editor screens a cassette of the previous night's NATIONAL, scans Eurovision and Visnews copy, and contacts the foreign bureaus to determine what foreign stories are anticipated or in progress. The domestic assignment editor reviews overnight wire copy and proceeds to contact the newsrooms within his territory, which consists mainly of Quebec and the eastern provinces. Later, the other assignment editors arrive and follow the same procedure. Still later in

the morning, between 10:30 and 11:30 AM, the senior producer compiles the "tip sheet," a tentative list of the top seven or eight stories of the day, which also notes any special graphics that will likely be required (see the sample tip sheet, Appendix II).

At 11:30 AM, the senior producer meets with the dayside production group - the director, the associate director, and the three graphic artists - to discuss graphics requirements, based upon the tip sheet that he has prepared. At the meeting, the senior producer outlines the substance of the probable stories, and notes those that will require a new or special graphic. The director, who is responsible for all graphics, plays a major role in the determination of what graphics will be used and what form the graphics will take. He assigns the graphic work to the three graphic artists present at the meeting, who each offer ideas and suggestions about what might be used to illustrate the story and how it should be portrayed. The senior producer and the director contribute heavily to the discussion, yet, once the senior producer reviews the tip sheet, it is the director who leads the discussion and completes the final "cell list."

There is little doubt that the director is keenly aware of the ideological implications of his responsibilities. During one of our conversations (25 February 1982), for example, he spoke avidly of the "power" of graphics and their contribution to the overall ideological impact of the news programme at

large. He indicated that, with a few exceptions, he always attempts to present individual subjects in their most attractive light (in stating this, he used the example of the Prime Minister). Accordingly, he will visually search through file footage of the PM (or whoever the subject is) in order to get the best "DFS" shot,* which will form the basis of the still visual. The exceptions to this practice are the "bad guys" (his phrase) like Clifford Olson (his example), convicted of several child murders in British Columbia. The director spoke of the need to "drive the point home" in cases like Olson's; it was he who personally designed the recurrent graphic which depicted Olson in the centre foreground of the shot, surrounded by portrait photos of the dead children. The director was particularly pleased that the American networks had copied his graphic for use on their national newscasts in their coverage of the Olson case. After many meetings, however, it soon became apparent that there are more than a few exceptions to the rule.

The preliminary Visnews line-up is available shortly after 11:30 and, together with the information he has culled from the foreign bureaus, the senior/foreign assignment editor will use it to compile a list of the available foreign stories of the day. The two domestic assignment editors are also ready to compile their lists of the potential domestic stories. As

* A "DFS" or Digital Frame Synchronizer is used to create a "freeze-frame" or still shot extracted from a motion visual (video tape).

each editor starts to type, the activity and noise level at the assignment desk heightens. Copy clerks scurry about the desk with yet more piles of wire copy to distribute; editors flip quickly through the pages of the newspapers (once again); telephones ring with progress reports of stories underway; queries are directed back and forth across the desk; and the din of the typewriters seems incessant. After little more than an hours, however, it ends.

The end result of this activity is the "outlook" (see the sample, Appendix II), which provides the starting point of discussion at the major production meeting of the day at 1:30 PM. The meeting is held in the conference room adjoining the newsroom, and is attended by all members of the assignment group and the nightside editorial group (just arrived to start their work day), in addition to the director, the executive producer, and (often) the news reader. The principal purpose of the meeting is to literally "hand over" or transfer the work of the dayside assignment editors to the nightside editors. The senior/foreign assignment editor introduces the foreign stories listed on the first page of the outlook, one of the domestic assignment editors outlines the national stories listed on the second page, and the other domestic assignment editor outlines the regional bureau stories listed on the third and fourth pages of the outlook. All three briefly explain the substance of the stories and indicate their perception of the strongest stories

available. Nightside editors question the assignment group about the logistics of story coverage - what "pictures" are likely to be available, what time the feed might be expected, etc. - and debate the relative strengths of the stories available. Interestingly, however, a consensus about the most likely stories is easily reached, such that the duration of the meeting rarely exceeds thirty minutes.

No formalized decisions are made and no list is compiled at the meeting itself; it is not until after the meeting, i.e. at around 2:00 PM, once everyone has returned to their desks, that the line-up editor compiles the list of "possibles and probables" (also referred to as "the pink sheet"), which lists approximately fifteen stories and the editors he has assigned to each (see the sample pink sheet, Appendix II). Three to four stories are assigned to each nightside editor, who at this point start to telephone reporters to check their progress.

The relationship between editors and reporters merits some discussion at this point. While all of the editors insist that reporters exercise a considerable degree of autonomy in their coverage of a story, there are continual checks on reporters' progress throughout the day, and it is apparent that not only the progress of the story but also its specific form and content are closely monitored by the dayside and nightside editors. The assignment editors will suggest

stories to reporters, if not assign them directly; suggest appropriate visuals, subjects who should be contacted and perhaps interviewed, and script content; and proceed to follow the story closely as it develops throughout the morning, if only in order to provide a complete progress report at the production meeting. After the meeting, the night-side editors virtually "take over" the supervision of the journalists in the field, and at that point the tenor of the supervision becomes, in effect, even more direct. Reporters must formally obtain script approval in the early afternoon and telex their scripts to the newsroom as early as possible. The actual feed of the story is not likely to arrive until 7:30 or later,¹¹ although such late feeds are strongly discouraged. The editors await the telexed scripts and write the intro to the item once it arrives. Since the editors prefer to get started at the intros as early as possible, they probe the reporter extensively about the content of the visuals. By the time of the early afternoon telephone call to obtain script approval, the journalist has (usually) already shot the visuals and gathered at least the rudiments of the story, which means, in effect, that both components of the item (audio and visual) can be closely screened and checked. At that rather early point in the news day, editors are responsible to ensure that the visuals are good and important to the story and, if not approved, the story may be re-shot the following day.

At 2:00 PM, the studio director and crew arrive at Studio Two on the ground floor and begin to prepare it for taping during the period 3:00 to 4:00 PM. During that hour THE NATIONAL is granted access to the "Squeezoom," a new and costly piece of equipment that makes possible the "stings" that are part of the new programme format.¹² Following the session, the crew breaks briefly and returns to undertake the production of the cells or graphics according to the cell list. Graphics production will continue through to 8:00 or 8:30 PM, at which point the studio will be readied for the first (9:00 PM) edition of THE NATIONAL.

At 2:00 PM in the newsroom, once the possibles and probables list or pink sheet is complete, the line-up editor discusses the cell list or graphics sheet with members of the dayside production unit, notably the director and associate director, to check the progress of their production, identify any problems or possible delays, and confirm the stories (and therefore the graphics) most likely to "go to air." Generally, the period between 2:00 and 4:30 PM is a slow or quiet one in the newsroom. All is calm at the assignment desk, where the remaining editors work towards the planning of the next day's stories. The nightside editors, disturbed only by the occasional telephone call from a reporter or regional editor, spend the period perusing newspapers, scanning wire copy, reviewing the available scripts, and sometimes commenting about the day's

developments. Starting at 4:30 however, the level of activity and noise begins to accelerate as a succession of feeds arrive for viewing on the newsroom television monitors, including: the second ENS feed of the day at 4:40, the Visnews feed at 4:45, the CBS and NBC syndicated feeds at 5:00, the third and final ENS feed of the day at 5:30, and most importantly, the CBS and NBC programme feeds at 6:30 PM.¹³

The American network feeds, or "AMNETS" feeds as they are referred to in the newsroom, will be monitored by the whole night-side group to identify and select stories with "good pictures" and preferably little (essential) sound that THE NATIONAL's news reader can more readily "voice-over." At this point the line-up editor often selects some additional AMNETS items to add to the line-up, especially those that may not have been listed on the preliminary AMNETS line-up at 5:30. The editors will monitor AMNETS items about the stories that have been assigned to them, and proceed to "shot-list"* each visual piece. The line-up editor suggests a rough figure of item length to the editor before the item is shot-listed. Editors are also responsible to select the "supers"* required,

* To "shot-list" is, in effect, to itemize the visual shots and match the words to the pictures that appear in each, in order to avoid the serious error of "cross-scripting," i.e. where the words of the script fail to correspond to the succession of shots that appear in the visual. As the night-side editors readily acknowledge, it often means that words must be added and the script expanded to, as one put it, "stretch across good pictures."

although it is the line-up editor who determines their placement on the screen (e.g. "upper left").

It is important to point out that, in addition to the large wall-mounted monitors, each night-side desk is equipped with its own individual desk-size monitor and headset, which enables each editor to screen individual AMNETS and other items that pertain to their stories. For example, no CBC reporter was present at the Von Bulow trial in the United States. It was listed on the possibles and probables sheet of 16 March 1982 with the notation "AMNETS standby and possible voice-over." In other words, it was the editor's responsibility to screen the CBS and NBC reports of the trial and select the one most suitable for a voice-over by THE NATIONAL's news reader. In light of the extensive system of wall and desk monitors, it can be seen that all of the night-side editorial staff are able to (and normally do) screen the same item at the same time that it makes its first appearance. Thus, decisions about the relative merits of the CBS coverage versus the NBC coverage can be made, and tend to be made, after due consideration and commentary by at least several members of the group, including the line-up editor and (executive) producer.

* "Supers" are the super-imposed titles which identify subjects, locations, etc., featured in news visuals.

Indeed, throughout the preparation of intros and stories, nightside editors are surrounded by the reinforcements and supports of professional journalistic codes and perspectives. The newspapers and wire copy at their desks, the reports that appear regularly on the wall and desk monitors, and the suggestions of their fellow editors, all form the framework of their point of reference in the determination of not just the general treatment of events, but the very specific details of story content and coverage. During the course of preparing intros and editing reporters' scripts, for example, the editors frequently consult with each other, often with the line-up editor and producer, to question or confirm the use and spelling of particular words, toss around phrasing ideas, the need for particular supers, and so forth. Given the seating arrangement and design of the nightside desk (see Figure 4.1), these discussions tend to be group discussions rather than conversations between two editors, and therefore the writing and editing of stories assumes a collective dimension in which the content of the newscast is continually subject to group professional standards and practices of television journalism. Not surprisingly then, a consensus about story treatment and coverage is, in most cases, easily reached. On those relatively rare occasions in which a decision cannot be reached, the line-up editor or producer is called upon to render the final verdict. On one such occasion, for example, a nightside editor, in determining the super for an item, questioned whether the

Canadian director of the UAW should be identified as "Robert" or "Bob" White. The question was called out to no one in particular as he typed the story script. Opinions were offered by several of the editors, yet no firm agreement could be reached. There was some effort to recall past practice, which only produced further disagreement. The line-up editor asked if the reporter might be contacted to see if the subject had specified a preference,¹⁴ and, failing this, it was the line-up editor who made the ultimate decision, after consultation with the producer.

It would be foolish to suggest that these subtle nuances of tone and wording escape the attention of the night-side editorial staff, as the example above illustrates. On the contrary, editors are acutely sensitive to the connotative significance of choosing particular words and phrases over others and, accordingly, each word and each visual image is (at least potentially) the object of careful scrutiny, discussion, and meticulous attention, underlined by a special sense of responsibility to the CBC news audience (see later discussion). The story of Gilles Villeneuve's death is a case in point. The race driver was killed on a Saturday (8 May 1982) and, in the absence of the two NATIONAL reporters in Montreal, a Montreal regional reporter submitted the story of the family's response. The line-up editor personally called the reporter to thank him for doing the story, and at the same time suggested a re-cut of the close of the item. The reporter was asked to re-tape the

last twenty-five seconds of his voice-over to evoke a more emotional, reverent tone, and to pause between his name and "CBC News." As it turned out, however, the reporter was ultimately unable to re-cut the item: the Montreal newsroom was preoccupied with the production of their own local programme, editing facilities were at a premium, and, despite the personal intervention of the weekend producer, a re-edit of the piece could not be done. Nonetheless, the Villeneuve story, first reported midway through the line-up of SATURDAY REPORT, was "promoted" to the lead item of the later NATIONAL; in the words of the line-up editor, the story "got better," i.e. the Montreal reporter's item about the family reaction became available (CTV, incidentally, also led with the Villeneuve story that night).

Back at the assignment desk, at the close of the 10:00 AM to 6:00 PM shift, the "assignment overnight look" is prepared, which lists the following day's activities and planned stories of all staff reporters under five categories: the East, Ottawa, Toronto, the West, and Foreign. At 6:00 PM, the night assignment editor assumes the role of "feed co-ordinator" to arrange the arrival of stories by the NATIONAL reporters based in the regions. He first consults the NATIONAL line-up editor and the UPDATE producer to determine what feed items are required and expected, after which he proceeds to telephone the assistant editor (in most cases; the line-up editor in others) at each of the regional newsrooms concerned, to determine when

the items will be ready to feed. Satellite facilities are then arranged through the CBC's duty manager,¹⁵ and a "feed list" (see the sample, Appendix II) is prepared and distributed throughout the newsroom.

The feeds arrive between 7:30 and 9:00 PM in a third floor VTR suite familiarly known as "the pit." The suite is equipped with three ACR (Automatic Cassette Recorder-Reproducer) machines labelled VTR 13, VTR 14, and VTR 15. Workers on hand to receive the feeds include the "pit producer" or (more formally) the "service producer," two to three VTR technicians, a script assistant, and a production assistant. The pit producer co-ordinates the reception and recording of all the feeds, in communication with CBC Master Control, the Studio Two control room, and other ENG (Electronic News Gathering) suites in the building. As a precautionary measure, the items are commonly double-recorded: VTR 15 is the primary recorder, and either VTR 13 or VTR 14 is used as the back-up recorder. The production assistant¹⁶ communicates with each feed origination point by telephone, acknowledging the receipt, start, and end of each feed (there is normally a ten-second cue at the start of each item). As each feed appears on the ACR monitors, the script assistant times it and makes note of the "in and out cues," the first and final words signifying the start and end of the feed. Sometime during the session, usually around 8:15, a copy clerk

will deliver the final split NATIONAL script to the script assistant in the pit, at which point she enters the individual feed lengths and re-calculates the script's total duration. The pit producer must ensure that the quality of the transmission meets regulatory standards, and will therefore direct the production assistant to advise the feed origination point of the necessary "levels" (the transmission quality and volume of the audio), which will be adjusted at the reception point (i.e. in Toronto). The production assistant is also in contact via telephone with the night assignment editor on the fifth floor, who in turn advises the nightside staff as each reporter feed makes its simultaneous appearance on the newsroom monitors. Meanwhile, in the newsroom, as each reporter feed appears, the editor responsible times the item (again), notes the in and out cues (again), and completes the introduction.

After the AMNETS feeds are over at 7:00 PM, the final NATIONAL line-up is prepared by the line-up editor in the newsroom (see the sample, Appendix II). Basic stories are locked in at this point, within five to ten seconds of what will be their ultimate length. Story intros are typed on six carbon copies, passed to the line-up editor, reviewed (perhaps for a second or third time), and deposited in a file box at the centre of the nightside desk. At 8:00 PM, the news reader arrives at the newsroom from the studio and starts to read through the

intros, and at 8:15 the script is formally "split," i.e. story copies are split to form a single, complete programme script. Copies are distributed to the producer and line-up editor, the news reader, the director in the control room, the studio director, and the script assistant in the pit.

At approximately 8:30 PM, one of the editors types the separate supers list and it is delivered to the control room; if time is short, the line-up editor telephones the director in the control room and reads him the supers list directly. One of the editors will then "backstop" the script, i.e. double-check the time of the individual items and the total time of the script, which must not exceed twenty-two minutes. At approximately 8:40, the script assistant arrives in the newsroom from the pit and, again, times the total script.

At 9:00 PM, the first edition of THE NATIONAL is broadcast "live" to the Maritimes, where it is now 10:00 PM. Seated in the control room, facing the large bank of monitors, are the line-up editor, the script assistant, the director (who in this capacity is more properly the "technical producer"), and the switcher. The auto cue operator stands at a level slightly below them, under the bank of monitors, and remotely operates the teleprompter, which is mounted on Camera Two in the studio. The audio operator is situated in the audio booth which adjoins the control room to the right. At the left, three technicians face their machines and await the director's cues and

instructions. These include: the CCU or Camera Control Unit operator; the ADDA or ESS operator (ADDA is the brand name of the Electronic Still Storage machine, which, as its name suggests, stores the still graphics or cells that will appear on the screen to the rear of the newscaster); and the Video 4 or CG operator (the Video 4 or Character Generator is the electronic typewriter which creates the supers and other visual effects).

The script assistant makes the final count to air time, and throughout the broadcast advises the line-up editor at regular intervals of the time remaining. She also advises the studio director (and all others equipped with headsets) of the time remaining to the end of each item and the out cue for each. Based upon the script assistant's notice of the time elapsed and remaining, the line-up editor makes final cuts to the script (i.e. during air time), and advises the news reader of the changes by telephoning him in the studio during off-camera periods. The total script is timed to allow a ten-second "pad," the leeway that enables the news reader to either speed or slow his reading pace in order to precisely meet the twenty-two minute slot. If the programme is less than ten seconds "heavy," for example, the script assistant advises the studio director, who in turn advises the news reader to speed up his reading of the script.

In the studio, the news reader is seated at his desk on the set; the three camera operators, equipped with headsets, are

positioned at their respective cameras; and the studio director, whose headset is equipped with a talkback capacity, roves the floor between (presumably the basis of the alternate term, "floor director"). The position of the three cameras is fixed, and the three camera angles are invariable: Camera One faces the far left of the news reader, Camera Two provides a full frontal shot of the news reader, and Camera Three, which faces the far right of the news reader, displays the full bank of (unused) monitors behind him. The cell list, which was used for graphics production during the day, remains posted on each camera. The studio director receives time cues from the script assistant through his headset and other instructions from the director in the control room. During voice-overs, the studio director alerts the news reader to the elapsed time of the visual by counting out the remaining seconds on his hands in the view of the news reader. During off-camera periods, the news reader will often rehearse his reading of the upcoming item, unless interrupted by a call from the line-up editor, who will notify him of the script changes that must be made during the broadcast (most often, lines or sentences that must be deleted if the programme is "running heavy"). Headset directions flow largely from the control room to the studio, to CBC Master Control, and to various VTR suites in the building, as each individual segment of the programme (including the pre-taped "sting" segments and the individual reporter feeds) is summoned and

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aired. At precisely 9:22, the broadcast ends.

The 9:00 PM Maritime edition (or "pre-feed") of THE NATIONAL is in effect a "rough draft" of the programme that will be seen later by the rest of the Canadian audience. One nightside worker referred to it as "THE NATIONAL's dumping ground," while another suggested that it effectively (and usefully) served as a live rehearsal of the more truly "national" 10:00 PM edition, which is broadcast to Quebec and Ontario, and later relayed to the West. At the end of the first edition, the line-up editor returns to the fifth-floor newsroom where he and the producer (who has watched the programme on the newsroom monitors) direct the changes perceived to be necessary to improve the programme. Others on hand at this time, mainly due to their need to be advised of the changes, not with any authority to suggest them, include: the news reader, the studio director, the script assistant, one nightside editor (available to re-type intros as required), the director, and often the associate director as well. It is also during this period that the first edition of the following morning's Globe & Mail becomes available and is delivered directly to the nightside desk. Its front page is scanned and, in the (rare) event of a major new story, a "straight copy" story may be written by the nightside editor to be read during the 10:00 PM NATIONAL. Late reporter feeds that failed to make the 9:00 PM edition may also be incorporated into the revised script. Otherwise, revisions

to the early programme are insubstantial, consisting largely of corrections to supers and changes to particular lines or phrases. Clearly, changes any more fundamental are quite literally impossible at this late point.

At 10:00 PM, the entire control room/studio sequence is repeated, and the producer again observes the programme on the newsroom monitors. Once the broadcast is completed, he types the final production document of the day, the "overnight note," which summarizes the evening developments and lists any perceived "flaws" in the programme. Next morning, the assignment editors will arrive to find it on their desks and the whole process starts again.

Figure 4.3 charts the flow of news throughout THE NATIONAL's newsroom. At this point we briefly consider the secondary productions that derive from it.

Weekend Production

During the weekend, four programmes are produced in THE NATIONAL's newsroom: the weekend NATIONALS, broadcast at 11:00 PM EST; SATURDAY REPORT, broadcast at 6:00 PM; and SUNDAY REPORT, which appears at 5:00 PM. While SATURDAY and SUNDAY REPORT are not formally included in the present analysis, a consideration of their production is important. The programmes

FIGURE 4.3: THE FLOW OF NEWS AT THE NATIONAL

were described by their line-up editor as follows:

SATURDAY and SUNDAY REPORT are two very dissimilar programmes. SATURDAY REPORT is more of a conventional newscast. The top third, sometimes the top half, of that programme is the news of the day, spot stories, which you'll see later on THE NATIONAL. The latter half or two-thirds are the pick of regional features from the past week, which we have gathered on the preceding Thursday, Friday, and on Saturday morning on special feeds from the regions. Sometimes we take them as they are, sometimes we have the regional reporters re-jig them to update, advance, or just give them a more national flavour.

SUNDAY REPORT is a showcase for our NATIONAL reporters and foreign correspondents. The mandate of that programme is to take a look at the stories of the preceding week from the reporter's point of view. We try to advance those stories, but more than that we try to enrich them with insights as to how the reporter has covered them, why they've covered them in a certain way, whether the story has been covered adequately - not just by our own correspondents, but by the media in general.

Usually the programme will consist of the top story of the week, for example, for the past few weeks it's been the Falklands. We've gone very heavy on that, with talkbacks, satellite links with our reporters in Buenos Aires, London and Washington - the three world centres most involved with that story. Then we will look at other stories and go for the 'one-night-wonders': the story that was big, say, on Wednesday night and has been forgotten for one reason or another, because of pressure, other daily news, or just because the story hasn't advanced that much. So it's a different concept in broadcasting, and it's done quite well (Interview, 5 May 1982).

The bulk of SATURDAY and SUNDAY REPORT's content, then, is planned and gathered during the weekday period, and finalized at the Saturday morning production meeting. Otherwise, the production of the two programmes follows the same routine as that of the NATIONALS. At 3:00 PM, the SATURDAY REPORT "sting billboard," which introduces the "top" regional features, is

written and pre-taped in the studio, which means that by that time the line-up of the programme is well secured in place. By 4:30 PM, the story intros are ready to be reviewed and rehearsed by the news reader, and at 5:30 the script is split for the 6:00 PM broadcast (there is no Maritime pre-feed of SATURDAY REPORT). Some reporter "talkbacks" for SUNDAY REPORT will be pre-recorded Saturday, but otherwise the Sunday pattern is identical, distinguished only by the earlier deadline for the broadcast.

The most visible difference between the weekday and weekend productions of THE NATIONAL are the later air time (11:00 PM for the final, Central Canada edition), the shorter duration of the programmes (thirteen rather than twenty-two minutes),¹⁸ and the fewer resources available to the production of the newscasts. All but a few of the regional newsrooms (Vancouver, Edmonton, Montreal) operate with a skeletal staff of one reporter and a crew, sometimes a news editor, who are in any case preoccupied with their own local stories. Other news sources, including the NATIONAL reporters, are not fully operational and hence the available news supply is considerably reduced. Satellite feed arrangements are precarious; international and national lines are heavily booked with the weekend sports feeds (of the CBC and other networks) and, during¹⁹ the long hockey season, can be virtually impossible to access. In effect, observation of weekend production affords the opportunity to witness the logistical constraints of production

at their peak. The implications of these limitations are specified at greater length in Chapters 9 and 10.

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UPDATE Production

The concept of the programme UPDATE was devised in 1979 in the midst of discussions about the new 10:00 PM NATIONAL. The idea of the programme and its format arose directly out of a concern to minimize as much as possible the loss of the CBC's 11:00 PM news audience to other channels, and to prepare that audience for delivery to advertisers on local affiliate newscasts.²¹ The original scheme called for "a visual extravaganza" (the phrase of the UPDATE producer) that would attract those viewers tuned to (largely American) non-news programming on other channels during THE NATIONAL and in the market for Canadian news at 11:00. Thus, despite its misleading title, which suggests that viewers of THE NATIONAL at 10:00 will receive a more current version of the news at 11:00, UPDATE is designed to be a "summary" of the day's news, not a summary of THE NATIONAL, much less a true "update" of THE NATIONAL. In fact, the UPDATE line-up is locked in some time before the final preparation of THE NATIONAL gets underway.

The original UPDATE programme outline included a plan to produce "NEWSBREAKS" throughout the day and evening, culminating in the final UPDATE programme at 11:00 PM. The programme would

operate out of its own separate studio on the fifth floor, and would feature a separate news reader who would "anchor" the new visually exciting format made possible by promised new one-inch tape editing equipment. Cost estimates mounted, however, and as a result the original plans for UPDATE were considerably modified in August 1981 to delete both the promise of a special studio and a special news reader.²² The decision to use the same news reader for both THE NATIONAL and UPDATE, apparently borne out of concerns to minimize costs and maximize continuity, shaped the production and content of UPDATE in a number of critical ways.

First, since the news reader cannot be physically present for the 10:00 PM pre-feed of UPDATE (at 10:00 PM, of course, he is reading the final edition of THE NATIONAL in the studio), nor is a studio available, the bulk of the programme must be constructed without studio shots and without the on-camera presence of a newscaster. The newscaster, in fact, appears only at the opening and closing of the programme, in segments that are pre-taped in the studio at 7:30 PM or earlier. For the body of the programme, the news reader voices over visual material (also pre-recorded by 7:30 or earlier); items that are separated by special "wipes," i.e. visual effects that signify the end of one item and the start of another. Hence the lack of a separate studio and news reader means that: (1) the form of the programme is unique in that the news reader appears on-camera

only briefly and the remainder is totally non-studio visual; (2) access to one-inch video tape editing equipment is vital to the creation of the visual effects that separate items, since the news reader is unavailable to perform this function; (3) stories without visuals cannot be reported; (4) stories that "break" after 7:00 PM cannot be reported; since (5) the newscast must be ready for editing and taping while both the studio and the necessary editing suite are unavailable.²³ The last result means that the content of UPDATE must be decided at a relatively early point, considerably before THE NATIONAL's final line-up is established.

As discussed, UPDATE staff include the producer, who works from 3:30 to 11:30 PM, and the writer-editor, who works from 5:00 PM to 1:00 AM. These two persons, particularly the former, are responsible for the production of the four minute and forty second programme (twenty seconds at the outset are provided to the affiliates to "tease" or introduce their local newscast following UPDATE). These four minutes and forty seconds will be filled with four to eight "hard" news stories; first selected in the late afternoon, written and edited by approximately 6:30 PM²⁴ and lined up after the end of the American newscasts at 7:00. Thereafter the line-up is telexed to the affiliates, and at 7:30 the one-inch tape editing suite becomes available for the final editing and packaging of the programme. At the same time, the voice-overs are read in the studio and recorded in the third-

floor editing suite. The complete UPDATE tape is ready by
approximately 9:30 PM, and broadcast to the Maritimes at 10:00. ²⁵

In terms of the substance of the programme, viewers are offered a short, fast-paced, and highly visual package of "hard" news. Individual items are necessarily much shorter than NATIONAL items, and the news reader reads the usual three-second lines of his script at the faster rate of two seconds per line, which also contributes to the appearance of a speedy pace. Sources of the stories are identical to those of THE NATIONAL, derived mainly from the NATIONAL journalists based in the regions and from the American networks. Where the same story is reported by both THE NATIONAL and UPDATE (that is, in almost every case), the UPDATE item will preferably be somewhat different and always shorter. Under ideal circumstances, the reporter will submit a separate UPDATE feed, although at least twice nightly it is necessary to edit a NATIONAL item down to a suitable UPDATE item. To account for this, one needs to recall that a NATIONAL reporter based in the regions is accorded the lowest priority in terms of access to editing facilities. The regional newsrooms are concerned first and foremost with the production of their own newscasts, which means that NATIONAL reporters often encounter difficulties getting their stories edited on time or sometimes getting their stories edited at all. It is even more difficult to be assured of getting a separate UPDATE item

edited and fed by the reporter, who will give preference to the NATIONAL version of his or her story. The problem is aggravated by both the time zones (notably in the case of the West) and the earlier deadline for UPDATE preparation, which means that the line-up must often be re-arranged to
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accommodate late feeds.

Of all the programmes studied, including those still to be discussed, UPDATE is perhaps most clearly and most directly the product of real and practical economic and consequent organizational constraints. The very origins of the programme concept, the process of its production, and the form and content of its ultimate screen appearance, are all quite explicitly shaped by these underlying imperatives. We conclude the discussion of current production practices with a brief outline of yet another auxiliary production of CBC News.

ENS Production

Three daily (weekday) news feeds are supplied to the affiliates by ENS: the noon newscast, the 4:30 PM syndication feed (mainly directed to the East, yet received by all affiliates), and the 5:30 PM syndicated features feed. The ENS news day begins at 6:30 AM, when the syndication editor first arrives at the newsroom. Between 7:00 and 9:00 AM, both the CBS (CBS MORNING NEWS) and NBC (TODAY) programmes are

recorded (also for the potential use of THE NATIONAL), and this material, along with the American newscasts of the previous evening, will form the basis of the noon programme. In the case of major events after 9:00 AM, such as U.S. space launches, the live coverage of the American networks will also be recorded for possible use. The syndication editor readily admits that the "Canadian content" of the programme is minimal (sources of Canadian news are simply not available before noon), consisting mainly of unused (or "holdover") items from the previous night's NATIONAL. Few affiliates, however, re-broadcast the feed directly to their local audiences; most use it instead as an early indication of potential stories for their local supper-hour newscasts, since no other network feeds will be transmitted until 4:30 PM. In the words of the ENS producer, it "gives them (the affiliates) something in hand" with which to carry on the preparation of their evening programmes (Interview, 31 March 1982).

Shortly after the noon broadcast, the outlook for THE NATIONAL becomes available, and a production meeting (the only ENS production meeting) is held in the ENS producer's office. It is attended by the producer, the line-up editor, the line-up editor's assistant, and THE NATIONAL's two domestic assignment editors. One of the latter reviews the portion of the outlook that he has prepared, i.e. stories expected from NATIONAL reporters, and the second outlines those stories expected from

the regional bureaus. After some brief discussion, the ENS line-up editor selects those stories of greatest interest and advises the domestic assignment editors, who will in turn advise the reporters concerned that they should prepare a separate (and earlier) version of their stories for use by ENS. On average, ten to twelve items are selected from THE NATIONAL's outlook for the 4:30 and 5:30 ENS feeds to the regions. The 4:30 feed is a twenty-nine minute succession of syndicated items in no particular order and without written introductions.

Copy-tasting, newspaper reading, and intro writing are the mainstay of early afternoon activity in the ENS newsroom. The line-up is established at 2:30 PM, and the feed list is compiled by one of the writers at 3:00. By 3:30 PM or sometimes earlier, the script of the 4:30 ENS newscast is split. Reporter feeds start to arrive at 3:30 or 4:00, followed by the Visnews²⁷ feed at 4:45, and the CBS and NBC syndication feeds at 5:00. On the basis of these sources, the 5:30 ENS feed is prepared and transmitted to the affiliates.

Conclusion

Throughout the observation, the staff of THE NATIONAL persistently maintained a perception of their work as sporadic, chaotic, and incapable of prediction, and often jokingly remarked to the effect that "if you can figure out how all this works, let

me be the first to know." Yet, in the words of Golding and Elliott, "if news is about the unpredictable, its production is about prediction" (1979: 97). While the content of news may indeed be unpredictable, and certainly variable, organizational exigencies and the daily regularity of its appearance demand that its supply and its production follow a predictable, well-ordered routine. The movement of THE NATIONAL into an earlier time period posed a rare, yet by no means insurmountable challenge to the established routines of its production. Once the necessary variations to the pattern were in place, the lengthy dry run period effectively served to "smooth out" the disruptions that had been created, and to reinstate order to the daily production process.

Not so readily "smoothed out," however, are the less malleable "constraints" that are seemingly intrinsic to the production of television news, many of which are in evidence at THE NATIONAL. Epstein, for example, in his seminal study of American network news production (1973), found that the nature of news was the direct outcome of organizational needs and the underlying economic logic of news production, concluding that original network news "is not the product of a group of willful or biased or political men, but of an organization striving to meet the requisites needed to survive in a competitive world" (1973: 267). Others have since elaborated upon the specific organizational requisites common to network news production.

Tracey (1978) identified the triplet of "time, money, technology" as a source of recurring constraints faced by both news and current affairs producers in the course of their everyday work, and which considerably affect the ultimate content of information programming. Schlesinger (1978) observed the effects of the time constraint as well as the ways in which professional news values and organizational controls shape the production of radio and television news at the BBC. Similarly, Golding and Elliott (1979) discovered that all of these constraints were operative in their three-nation study of broadcast news production in Ireland, Nigeria and Sweden.

If "constraints" are broadly conceptualized to encompass any facet of the labour process which in some way affects the nature of the news commodity, it can be seen that these production constraints assume two main forms, following the typology set forth in Chapter 1. The first type consists of the more immediate, logistical constraints of production: the limitations of time, and in Canada at least, of time zones; technological constraints, such as those associated with the use of film versus ENG, the use of two-inch versus one-inch video tape editing equipment, and so forth; and not least of all, budgetary limitations which constrain the availability of facilities, the number, placement, and movement of reporters, the transmission of their stories, and the ways in which these stories are committed to film or tape. The second type

includes the broader, less directly visible "social" constraints which underlie the whole organization of the labour process: historically derived news practices and the professional ideological principles of television journalism; the relative dependence of most network news organizations - certainly those in Canada - upon the global infrastructure of news supply, especially the reportage patterns of the "big four" international news agencies; and other economic imperatives which derive from the market context in which Canadian television journalism is produced. In later chapters we investigate more fully the means in which all of these constraints shape the form and content of THE NATIONAL itself.

NOTES

1. The problem of inadequate foreign coverage by Canadian (as opposed to foreign agency) journalists remains, of course, and has only been somewhat ameliorated since the introduction of original CBC newsgathering. As recently as 1981, THE NATIONAL's (then) executive producer implored his staff to resist the powerful influence of American networks and news agencies:

In our day-to-day work, we have to be vigilant about the influence of the American networks and news agencies. We must not allow them to set the news agenda for THE NATIONAL.

There are crucial differences in the way each country views the world, and THE NATIONAL shouldn't lose sight of this. The American preoccupation with communism and the Cold War isn't our preoccupation. Our relations with China, Cuba, and many Eastern European nations have traditionally been good. We have traditional ties with the United Kingdom and France. Our Commonwealth link has resulted in close relationships with African countries. Our approach to Third World problems has always been more sympathetic.

This has influenced, as it should, our handling of many stories. We kept up coverage of the independence of Zimbabwe, and the war in El Salvador, long after the American networks lost interest and ignored them. In 1979, we devoted a Special Series to an independent examination of the situation within Chile, and in 1980, we provided comprehensive and fair treatment of the so-called Cuban exodus. Our coverage of Poland, Iran, and Mitterand in France has been markedly different in emphasis than the American and British networks. If anything, we should be doing more of this (CBC, 1981: 21).

2. However, the CBC Oral History Project, currently in progress, offers considerable promise in this direction.
3. Nonetheless, news workers continually bemoan "the poor state of the plant," using the American networks as their point of comparison.
4. Greater use is made of CP copy than BN; most editors agree that the former service is faster, more up-to-date, and provides more detailed information.

5. CBC holds exclusive national broadcast rights to CBS material in Canada, and shares national rights to NBC material with CTV, which in turn holds exclusive rights to ABC material.
6. In practice, these "tendencies" are extremely broad. The ratio of story topics to nightside editors affords little opportunity for true specialization. Editors do, of course, maintain preferences for particular topics (and particular reporters) which, if time and the line-up editor permit, can be accommodated.
7. At the London bureau, the researcher and a two-member ENG crew are hired locally. The Paris bureau, at least CBC English, is equipped with a single film camera only.
8. As a former director of CBC news and current affairs, the news reader himself propagates this image. In a recent article, for example, descriptions of his daily "tasks" were carefully hedged: "Afternoons are spent in editorial meetings and some production ... He watches film feeds come in, helps shape stories, and works with writers" (Joanne Strong, Globe & Mail, 3 July 1982: ET 10). To be precise, his afternoons are spent in studio production, i.e. taping THE NATIONAL's stings, UPDATE segments, etc., strictly in the role of news reader. He often attends the 1:30 PM production meeting first, but his participation in the discussion is limited to occasional comments about the day's events, not the day's stories. Like everyone else in the newsroom, he is free to watch the feeds that appear on the television monitors, but he plays no part in their editing or any other aspect of editorial production. When he rehearses his reading of the intros at 8:00 PM, he may question an editor about the choice of a particular word, but rarely; he is surely aware that such comments provoke a mood of subdued antagonism among the editors, who are fully familiar with the contract clauses. And of course, like everyone else at THE NATIONAL, he is literally correct to say that he "works with writers."
9. While his appearance in the newsroom during the weekend is infrequent, his presence is nonetheless strongly felt. Each Monday the executive producer reviews cassettes of all four weekend programmes and prepares a critique of the productions. His evaluation is then photocopied and distributed throughout the newsroom, to both weekend and weekday staff. It is always the object of serious attention by weekend news workers and others.

10. His official title is "producer-director," yet his duties more closely approximate those of an "associate director," which is how he described his position in practice (Interview, 26 February 1982); that is, he directly supervises all special graphic and other (e.g. Squeezoom) effects, and assists the director in his charge of the visual and technical aspects of studio production.
11. The "normal" (that is, desired) satellite feed period is between 7:45 and 8:30 PM, and the absolute deadline for reporter feeds is officially 8:45 PM, in order to allow time to prepare the machines for the 9:00 PM broadcast. Late feeds, however, were actually very common throughout the observation, and reflect the difficulty reporters faced in breaking their former schedule patterns, as well as the special constraints experienced by the regional bureaus. The situation finally prompted the executive producer to issue an "urgent" memo to NATIONAL reporters in all of the domestic and foreign bureaus, declaring that:

"The feed situation to THE NATIONAL is getting out of control. Too many items are being fed late or even live into the newscast ... The deadline for everyone, including Ottawa and Toronto, is 8:45 PM EST and this deadline must be respected. If this means scaling down items, writing or editing faster, or other shortcuts, then do so ... Nightside is also being advised to consider dropping late items that may jeopardize the newscast. Our interests in this are all the same: to deliver as high quality a NATIONAL as we can" (Executive Producer, CBC Internal Memo (telexed), 16 March 1982).
12. The associate director estimated the cost of the Squeezoom at US \$350,000. It is used, however, almost entirely by THE JOURNAL, accessible to THE NATIONAL only between 3:00 and 4:00 PM weekdays and for a somewhat longer period on weekends (which explains the greater "visual sophistication" of SATURDAY and SUNDAY REPORT). The issue of Squeezoom availability, then, is a source of considerable tension between the two programme units.
13. Other supper hour newscasts that appear on the newsroom monitors include the ABC network news programme, the programme of the local Toronto O & O station CBLT, and CITYPULSE NEWS, produced by the "independent" CITY-TV.
14. One suspects, however, a possible "observer effect" here.

15. The night assignment editor is the only NATIONAL staff member authorized to order satellite feed facilities. He is also the person responsible to answer general newsroom calls during the evening, including calls from viewers.
16. The following CBC locations are equipped to transmit satellite feeds: Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Windsor (satellite or land line), Montreal (equipped for satellite transmission although feeds are usually transmitted by means of A3R land lines, which route from Montreal to Ottawa to Toronto), Halifax, and St. John's. Calgary is without a direct satellite transmission capability; feeds are transmitted via microwave links (which must be booked well in advance) to Edmonton and from there via satellite to Toronto. Feeds that originate in Regina or Saskatoon are transmitted via land lines that must also be booked well in advance, at an additional cost. There is no additional cost for the land line from Ottawa, which is billed to the general Corporation budget at the basic rate of \$100 to \$110 per ten-minute block of satellite usage. Quebec City feeds travel via land lines to Montreal and from there to Ottawa and ultimately Toronto, just as Maritime points outside Halifax and St. John's submit their feeds via land lines to Halifax for relay to Toronto. While satellite usage costs are not billed directly to the news division, there is no question that news workers are highly sensitive to the consumption of satellite time, even more so in the case of overseas lines. Above all, the geographic pattern of the satellite links very largely determines the points from which news stories may originate; a constraint well recognized by THE JOURNAL (see Chapter 5).
17. During the broadcast, CBC Master Control makes a complete (i.e. single) tape of the programme, which is then relayed to Newfoundland at 9:30 (10:30 PM Newfoundland local time).
18. Extensions of the weekend NATIONALs, however, can be arranged with the network in the event of a major weekend story.
19. Furthermore, if a game runs into overtime, THE NATIONAL must follow within three minutes and five seconds of the end of the hockey broadcast, which allows precious little time to receive and prepare reporter feeds.

20. Note that the UPDATE programme has been cancelled since the time of this writing.
21. Although designed largely to benefit the affiliates, their response to the programme concept was mixed. It provoked, in fact, considerable hostility and debate, with the result that network concessions to a number of their demands were granted. While all fifteen O & O stations are required to broadcast the programme, the privately-owned affiliates may opt to either not air the programme at all (as many did at the outset, yet their numbers are decreasing) or it can be "off-scheduled" at 11:30 PM local time. As of June 1982, ten of the twenty-six affiliates had opted to include UPDATE in their programme schedule.
22. The UPDATE producer prefers to regard his privileged access to the new one-inch video tape editing equipment as "compensation" for these broken promises. However, use of the equipment (a fully computerized editing system) is absolutely vital since it carries the capacity to produce the "wipes" between items, which in turn are required since the news reader is not there to separate them by means of intros. It is technically possible to create the wipes with two-inch machines, but only in a studio-control room setting, where at least three such machines are available. UPDATE, of course, cannot access a studio-control room at the time that it needs to create the wipes.
23. The lack of studio access (at least at 10:00 PM) also means that supers cannot be produced for the Maritime edition of UPDATE; it is therefore impossible to identify the subjects and locations of stories by means of a visual display.
24. The UPDATE writer thus has little to do after 7:00 or 7:30 PM, and yet is officially on duty until 1:00 AM. Since the production of the programme is completely taken over by the producer and the VTR editors at that time, the writer is simply required to sit in the newsroom and remain alert to any major late stories, which may (rarely) be incorporated into a new Central Canada or Western edition. Of all the jobs in the newsroom, it is considered a "slow shift" and therefore frequently rotated.
25. The early completion of the UPDATE tape was not seen as problematic by the UPDATE producer, who pointed out that there is little "hard" news after 7:00 PM since (a) there is no European news due to the time differences, and (b)

there is no Canadian news "because the government is closed." He also expressed concern about how he might "fill the show" in the coming summer months when little "hard" news is available (Interview, 30 March 1982). His comments illustrate some very traditional news values; see Chapter 8.

26. Due to the extra deadline pressures upon UPDATE, the programme is already precisely timed at the line-up stage, whereas many reporter feeds arrive well after that point.
27. The American network syndication feeds, which include weather and sports items, are simply a succession of visual items in no particular order and without accompanying introductions. Visnews, CBS, and NBC are the major suppliers of ENS sports stories.

CHAPTER 5: CBC CURRENT AFFAIRS: THE JOURNAL

The distinction between "news" and "current affairs" is by now a firmly entrenched orthodoxy with respect to the division of journalistic labour in broadcasting (cf. Schlesinger, 1978: 247). It is a widely adopted distinction in countries where state ownership is the dominant or singular basis of property rights in the broadcasting industry. Golding and Elliott argue that, by virtue of its centrality, its close relationship to the state, and its constitutional mandate, broadcast journalism was forced to heed the highly regulated distinction between fact and comment, a distinction institutionalized in organizational form by the separation of "news" and "current affairs" (1979: 216). Schlesinger adds that "the fact that the separation is not simply conceptual, but one institutionalized in the form of distinctive production teams, creates a social reality which cannot be ignored" (1978: 248). A complete reification is at work and is fully concretized in both the institutional arrangements and ideological principles of the broadcast journalism¹ profession.

While the absolute distinction between fact and comment is philosophically dubious, at the least, Schlesinger discovered that "its institutional reality at the BBC is inescapable. The outsider entering the world of BBC journalism cannot fail to be schooled in its significance by those he [sic] encounters" (1978: 247). Traditionally, the

distinction has been honoured in similar ways by the CBC: formalized in the corporate organizational structure, reified in the differential attributes of "news" and "current affairs" as understood by its journalists and managers, reflected in distinctive production units and programme forms, and the source of traditionally heated rivalries within the Corporation. In effect, CBC journalists find themselves pitted competitively against not only journalists at other networks, but also against their "fellow" CBC journalists formally ensconced in the separate institutional realm of CBC Current Affairs, a curious enigma which contributes to a range of sundry conflicts, and which poses a whole host of practical production problems. During one exchange with a CBC news worker, for example, the inaccessibility of a particular type of editing equipment was explained by reference to the classic tensions, described as follows:

Well, you've got News and you've got Current Affairs, and there's always been a rivalry - most of the time it's friendly - between the two divisions. We go at information in different ways. I see the news division as, primarily, we write the first draft of history. That's maybe too grandiose a phrase, but we get what we can as quickly as we can, and once we're sure of it, we put it on the air. Current affairs, on the other hand, tends to filter events more, it's more point-of-view journalism than the news is. The news ideally shouldn't have a point of view. I mean, objectivity is like the perfect triangle: it exists only in your mind. But we certainly strive to be fair and balanced, and that is our aim. Anything less is unsatisfactory. With current affairs, you can take a point of view on a particular story, you can make a judgement and proceed from that point. So you have two, not contrary editorial foci, but

(pause) we march to different drummers.....

...Except that we're all part of the same organization in many ways. If you look at a newspaper, you've got the front page, which is hard news, and then you get into the innards of the newspaper and you have long features. Well, basically, THE NATIONAL is the front page of the CBC information service and THE JOURNAL and the fifth estate and MAN ALIVE, all of those, make up the inside pages, the editorial and op-editorial pages (May 1982, original emphases).

The introduction of THE JOURNAL during the period of the present study rendered it especially urgent to be keenly aware of and sensitive to the "institutional manifestations" of the news/current affairs distinction at the CBC. Indeed, the addition of a new young rival in the competition for increasingly scarce CBC resources once again reared the delicate issue to its head, and sharply revealed the distinctions and conflicts between the two in the CBC case. We proceed, then, in this and the following chapter to consider the very separate world of CBC Current Affairs, through the study of its two "flagship" programmes: THE JOURNAL and the fifth estate.

THE JOURNAL: Conceptualization and Design

In Chapter 3 we discussed the economic and organizational contexts that spawned the "idea" of and the rationale for THE JOURNAL. Our concern here is to trace the specific formulation of the programme concept, the detailed

design and construction of the programme unit, the elaborate division of labour and production process that resulted, and the production constraints that emerged inextricably as part of the programme's production. The executive producer first began to design the programme unit in July of 1980, and later that year produced the programme outline. The mandate of the new programme was set forth in the following way:

The central goal of THE JOURNAL is to create a daily vehicle in which the central figures in Canadian and world political and social events can be seen, in which the daily issues that affect our viewers are debated and analyzed.

THE JOURNAL's purpose is to become, together with THE NATIONAL, the principal journalistic arena for political, social, commercial and cultural affairs...

The objective is a full plunge into the issues, controversies and events that swirl around the Canadian audience. The operational objective of THE JOURNAL, then, is to design a series of methods that ensure: maximum access to all parts of Canada; speed, mobility, simplicity of operation; and maximum possible access to international events (THE JOURNAL, Programme Outline, prepared October 1980, revised January 1981: 1).

In order to attain the central operational objectives of access and mobility, a number of methods were proposed: first, a strategy based upon extensive use of Electronic Field Production (EFP) crews,² which would reduce and/or eliminate a³ dependence upon studio availability and circuit schedules; secondly, studio-to-studio live satellite links, engaging both CBC and non-CBC studios (access to the latter to be obtained through ad hoc rentals); thirdly, a portable microwave capacity, which would further extend the range of transmission

beyond a dependence upon existing CBC circuits and CBC studios; and finally, a rapid and mobile "pocket documentary" capacity, i.e. the capacity to produce short field documentaries at short notice and with relative speed. Hence the ability to purchase and/or access some of the most contemporary and innovative technologies of broadcast transmission, and the capacity to utilize a transmission network beyond the existing CBC network of land line, satellite and microwave links (thereby free of the traditional dependence upon studio and circuit availability), became a foundation of the new programme format to be offered by THE JOURNAL. In essence, it called for a significantly large outlay of capital directed towards the creation of a technological infrastructure that would enable the production of the new programme's three major segments: "topical" interviews, "pocket" documentaries and "diaries."

Other dimensions of the programme concept were conceptualized and formulated as follows. The set would be dominated by one to three large screens, similar to the use of screens in THE MACNEIL/LEHRER REPORT (now THE MACNEIL/LEHRER NEWS HOUR), ABC's NIGHTLINE, and the early appearances of NBC's PRIME TIME, in order to "convey the idea of an active centre" (THE JOURNAL, Programme Outline, 1981: 2). The programme would be hosted by a man-and-woman team based in Toronto: one host would be the principal interviewer, while

the second host would handle the continuity of the programme, the introductions, and act as the secondary interviewer. Interviews might be produced by any of three means: first, live by satellite or microwave studio-to-studio links (for example, where two interview subjects are simultaneously presented from two separate studio locations); secondly, live by portable microwave to receiver dish to live on air from a remote (i.e. non-studio) location (for example, where a politician is interviewed in his/her office); and thirdly, field recording by an EFP crew at a remote location, to be fed from the nearest accessible feed facility to Toronto for editing. The third method is referred to as the "double-ender" formula, and is described in further detail at a later point.

The programme would therefore be distinguished by "a strong sense of location" (THE JOURNAL, Programme Outline, 1981: 3, original emphasis). Interviews, originating from a broad range of national and international locations, would constitute at least 60 per cent of the programme format. Potential interviewees would be "chased" throughout the day by a contingent of central Toronto "chase producers" (later re-titled "daily producers") and by producers based at the Ottawa bureau, assisted by a system of regional and international contributors. The second component of the programme format, approximately 30 per cent of its average content, would be the

"pocket documentaries" or field reports. As a new story form, the pocket documentary derived directly out of: first, economic requisites to the survival of the CBC in the contemporary (and anticipated future) broadcasting market; and relatedly, the specific tradition of field production represented by the soon-to-be-replaced NEWSMAGAZINE:

With the creation of THE JOURNAL, this [pocket documentary] unit assumes the role currently played by NEWSMAGAZINE. Our intention is to build on this role, and enrich it. We believe that the topical news/current affairs documentary tradition of the Corporation must not only be continued, but capitalized on. In the days of Michael Maclear and Bill Cunningham in Southeast Asia, Norman dePoe in the field across Canada, and correspondents of the level of James M. Minifie, there was a clear image of what and who the CBC was. That same talent exists today within the News Service, the Current Affairs department, within the television information system across the country. The tradition of the CBC journalist in the field, the CBC cameras in the political arena and on the perimeter of the world, does not disappear as NEWSMAGAZINE gives way to THE JOURNAL format (THE JOURNAL, Programme Outline, 1981: 4).

With respect to their concrete appearance, the pocket documentary would be approximately ten minutes in length, topical, and able to offer depth and intelligence in the analysis of complex issues, in addition to visual richness and excitement. Pocket documentaries would also make it possible to feature the five journalists who would comprise the documentary unit, and who, in addition to the two studio hosts, would rapidly form part of the central identity of the programme. The pocket documentaries would also be the

principal vehicle of story contributions from the CBC's regional centres.

The third and final nightly component of THE JOURNAL would consist of a "Diary" segment under the categories "Business," "Sports," "Arts and Entertainment" and "Science and Medicine," alternating five- to six-minute items that would survey the day's events in these fields, complemented by a three-minute field report by one of the four columnists to be assigned to these areas. If, for example, the "Arts and Entertainment" area happened to be dominant in the news on a particular day, the Arts and Entertainment columnist would assemble a field report to be presented on the air by THE JOURNAL's secondary host (later titled "Co-Host"). The purpose of the survey dimension of the "JOURNAL DIARY" would be to ensure that developments in these fields are scanned daily, since there was no existing daily network presentation of national sports, scientific or medical information. Each respective columnist would be expected to prepare pocket documentary and interview material related to their field as well, and thereby to rapidly develop a high profile as one of THE JOURNAL's "specialists."

Additionally, it was anticipated that the breaks between interviews and documentaries would be punctuated by daily information about stock market quotations, national weather patterns, a survey of newspaper editorial opinion

across Canada, and other material in brief, graphic form, i.e. ten- to fifteen-second "bridges" that would contribute to the pace, flow and visual composition of the programme and "reinforce the image of an end-of-day survey to the nation" (THE JOURNAL, Programme Outline, 1981: 6). Other segments might include a weekly "Media" column to critically assess both other broadcast and print media coverage of Canadian news events, which would feature different contributors weekly along with clippings and other "generous illustrations" (THE JOURNAL, Programme Outline, 1981: 7).

Despite the specification of these particular story or segment forms to comprise the new JOURNAL programme, it was stressed that the unit should studiously avoid the "trap" of other CBC production units which tended to become rapidly enslaved to a rigid programme format. On the contrary, the format of THE JOURNAL was designed to be "intensely flexible" (Programme Outline, 1981: 7), making it possible to set aside formally scheduled pocket documentaries, interviews, etc., and replace these with spontaneous satellite links in the event of a major national story, a special presentation, or a rare interview with a major political figure. Thus the novelty of the programme, and therewith its capacity to attract a new and large audience to the CBC, was understood to hinge upon the flexibility of format, the greater depth of coverage (particularly by means of the pocket documentaries), the

greater level of visual sophistication (by means of new visual production techniques), and above all, the greater access to the sites of national and international news events.

Moreover, the programme would offer greater scope and visibility to CBC journalists and producers; including, perhaps most importantly, those of the News Division and those based at the CBC's regional offices. Its potential to ameliorate the traditional tensions between News and Current Affairs and those between the Toronto centre and the regions served, therefore, some not incidental internal corporate purposes as well. Still, the centrality of "high profile" individuals, whether in terms of CBC journalists or their interview subjects ("names in the news"), was understood to be the principal means to propel the programme into a national spotlight of professional respectability and public prestige:

The faces of the national and international political figures, artists and average citizens will combine with images of our journalists on the Atlantic drilling rigs and in the Straits of Hormuz to present the definitive nightly portrait and analysis of Canada and the world (Programme Outline, 1981: 7, added emphasis).

Although the form of THE JOURNAL originally set forth in the programme outline was modified somewhat in the period that followed, it is nonetheless a crucially significant document in that: first, it represents a thoughtful and carefully crafted response to the programming needs of the CBC at a particularly tenuous juncture of its development; and,

as such, it also served as the principal basis of the design and construction of THE JOURNAL as a new production unit within the Corporation. The executive producer, along with his two senior producers (one assigned to develop the unit's "Editorial" capacities, the other charged to develop its "Production" capacities, including technical and other functions), made constant reference to the outline in their creation of the unit throughout the period prior to THE JOURNAL's actual debut. In August 1983, the Senior Producer (Editorial) reflected upon its significance:

My interpretation of the programme outline is that there were three essential threads in it. There were documentaries, there were topical interviews, and there were the JOURNAL diaries. Those three forms were a response, a statement of philosophy, a statement of intent, about the editorial heart and soul of what this thing, this thirty-five minutes at the end of THE NATIONAL should be about and what its role is in the spectrum of television journalism in Canada. Those three things defined it, made it absolutely, completely clear. You could determine the programme's philosophy from those three formats. You could determine its presentation values, its energy levels, its biases, its political considerations were all imbedded in that too. The response to the CBC's needs, certain kinds of needs that the CBC had as well, and those things embodied that.

It [the programme outline] defined the programme as a daily, topical programme. It wasn't going to be TAKE THIRTY and long chats with authors and lifestyles. Daily hard news, current affairs was its bread and butter. We also wanted to do documentaries and the documentary was an expression of a need in the CBC. It was two things actually, one of them was because NEWSMAGAZINE was being kicked off the air, and there was a need to maintain (this is what I mean about some of the politics of it), a need to maintain the image of the CBC doing documentaries.

But we didn't include documentaries because, hey,

we've got to maintain the CBC tradition of documentaries; it is one of the highest forms of expression of the medium. And that meant a real commitment on the programme producers' parts to do fantastic, well done documentaries but in a topical vein as well. We'd be on all the news fronts of the world. Our Canadian journalists would be in Nicaragua, would be in Medicine Hat, would be at Stratford, would be in the Middle East, bringing those places to Canadians' living rooms. And the diary concept was an expression of faith in the fact that our life is rich beyond earthquakes and revolts and coups and civil war; that art, culture, history, science, medicine, religion, all those things, are part of our cultural life in Canada, too. The CBC mandate is to reflect the diversity of life in Canada, and that was meant as a vehicle to show that we were going to be seen to be fulfilling that aspect of the CBC mandate as well.

Apart from problems with the implementation of the
⁴
 diary concept, the design and construction of the unit proceeded largely in accordance with the parameters established by the programme outline. One important thrust of the design, first envisaged in the programme outline, was the attempt to decentralize the existing structure of network current affairs production. Acknowledging the "economy of scale in joint production," the need to address (or attempt to redress) regional hostilities, and the need to encourage editorial input from outside of Toronto, the executive producer argued the preliminary need for a basic national teletype system to provide a supply network comparable to those of Television News and Radio Current Affairs:

We are proposing to construct the same basic "railroad" grid linking the local Current Affairs departments of eight to ten principal locations...Such a teletype system, linking regional

Current Affairs departments, would not only give all points a continuing idea of what is being planned or debated, but the instant opportunity to comment and contribute added information, an angle, a better idea for an interview. It is also an indispensable tool for instantly gathering national editorial opinion from the papers, and getting a national survey of information (e.g. transit rates) literally within minutes (Programme Outline, 1981: 9).

The traditional metropolis-hinterland relationship between the Toronto production centre and the regions, in terms of CBC Current Affairs, had long before deteriorated to the point where the regions were no longer even a supply source to the Toronto centre. While the problem was also common to other English-language divisions to a great extent, it seemed particularly grave in the case of Television Current Affairs at the time of THE JOURNAL'S introduction:

Current Affairs in the regions up to that point had been kind of cut off from mother ship, sold into slavery or bondage to the news departments, cut adrift, neglected, didn't belong to the CBC. Al Johnson [former CBC president] signed their paycheques but that was their only contact with the CBC, with the national broadcasting system. It was pitiful. It had been neglected for years and there was a legacy of anti-Toronto resentment (Senior Producer [Editorial], August 1983).

Ostensibly, the design of THE JOURNAL was intended to incorporate the interests of the regions and to revitalize regional contributions to network current affairs production. In practice, the national teletype system was never introduced (nor is it likely to be), and the centre-region relationship extended only to the co-ordination of "joint productions" in which the Toronto centre derived the greatest economies of

scale and exercised its usual degree of editorial control.⁵ Noble aspirations aside, THE JOURNAL's infrastructure and production arrangements remained highly concentrated in Toronto, where the technology, labour-power and editorial power continues to be based. According to the programme outline, outside the Toronto metropolis, a unit was to be situated in Ottawa only, to include a location producer, two "interview people" (i.e. general producers assigned to schedule interviews) and the corollary technical and administrative staff. There would be "no documentary or features component in this small 'chaser' unit; it reports directly to the National Editor on the rim of the Desk in Toronto" (Programme Outline, 1981: 9). Much greater attention and resources were directed to the co-ordination of the international infrastructure of material (content) and technical (facilities) supply. Access to foreign studios, foreign shipping and editing facilities would be arranged by means of contracts, retainers and ad hoc rentals. Editorial "representatives" would be required at three foreign sites: in London, to handle material from the British Isles, the European continent, the Middle East, Africa and Asia; in New York, which would be "the principal foreign source of interviews in politics, business, sports, arts and science, the major area of liaison with American networks for film, and a staging base for incoming shipments" (Programme Outline,

1981: 9); and in Washington, largely to oversee the scheduling of interviews with American political figures and analysts. Based upon the programme outline, projected labour requirements for the foreign bureaus were as follows: London would require one journalist/field producer to oversee European items and produce pocket documentaries in the field, in addition to one editorial worker to book guests and replace the producer while s/he is in the field; New York would require one producer to schedule guests, conduct research, rent facilities, handle film and other shipments, and liaise with the American networks; and Washington would need one editorial worker to supervise research and the scheduling of interviews and facilities. Nationally, by far the greatest majority of JOURNAL staff would be situated in Toronto (including editorial, technical and administrative workers), with no formally designated JOURNAL "representatives" at any of the CBC's regional locations.

The use of EFP technology, and the potential use of portable satellite uplinks and mobile microwave units,⁶ further contributed to the centralization of THE JOURNAL's production arrangements. The implementation of these technologies served to limit journalistic labour requirements and to concentrate editorial power at the Toronto centre. Field producers and journalists are effectively supplanted by the nine EFP crews, equipped with the basic EFP system (soon

to be augmented by mobile microwave units and short-distance laser links) which enables the crew to shoot and ship interview material from virtually anywhere, limited solely by the length of time required to reach the interview site and the length of time required to return to the nearest feed or air-freighting point. Specifically, it is the EFP system which is the foundation of the "double-ender" technique of interview production.

Just as Schlesinger found that the outsider entering the world of the BBC "cannot fail to be schooled" in the significance of the news/current affairs distinction, the outsider entering the world of THE JOURNAL "cannot fail to be schooled" in the wonders of the double-ender. Considered a major breakthrough in televisual technology, a rudimentary form of the double-ender technique was actually created in the 1950s by Edward R. Murrow for the programme SEE IT NOW (see Knelman, 1983: 60). The executive producer of THE JOURNAL had originally developed a radio counterpart to the technique during his tenure at the CBC Radio programme SUNDAY MORNING. Rather than record off telephone lines (à la AS IT HAPPENS), and to escape the costs of dispatching a journalist and field producer to interview sites, he would locate someone at a local radio station "who for fifty dollars would be willing to take a tape recorder to the interviewee's house, turn it on during the phone call from SUNDAY MORNING, and then take the

tape to the airport and air express it to Toronto" (Knelman, 1983: 60).

As it is applied at THE JOURNAL, the double-ender technique may be simply described as follows. A two-person EFP crew (one camera operator and one audio operator) is dispatched from the nearest CBC location to the home or office of the interviewee. Take the case, for example, of one such interview scheduled at 2:00 PM EST in Camrose, Alberta with former Canadian diplomat Chester Ronning. At 2:00 PM, in THE JOURNAL's Toronto studio, the host sits on the set facing the screens. The EFP crew in Camrose has mounted its camera on a tripod and has set up the lighting of Ronning in his den at home, after which the crew telephones the Toronto studio. This telephone link acts as the audio cue circuit through which the interview is conducted, yet telephone-level audio quality does not appear on the air. The crew is equipped with a small inexpensive box which connects to any telephone in the world and terminates in an earpiece for the interviewee and in headsets for the crew. Ronning, the interviewee, hears the hosts's questions through his earpiece. The video and audio portions of Ronning's responses are recorded by the EFP crew in Camrose. THE JOURNAL's studio workers in Toronto record the host, who faces the blank screen where Ronning's image will ultimately appear. After the interview is recorded, the EFP crew in Camrose takes the tape to Edmonton and feeds it to

Toronto. As the feed is received in Toronto, it is recorded on THE JOURNAL's one-inch VTR machines. Within a half-hour of the feed's arrival, it is ready for editing and mixing, which simply requires that the tapes which make up the interview be synchronized and that the Camrose image be chroma-keyed into THE JOURNAL's studio screen. High quality audio results, and in video terms, three shots are possible: a host over-the-shoulder shot which displays the interviewee on the screen, a full face shot of the host, or a full face shot of the interviewee.

One less apparent advantage of the technique is that chroma-keying, editing and mixing can be completed in one of THE JOURNAL's editing suites, as opposed to the studio, which thereby increases the availability of the studio for the production of additional interviews. The more important advantages of the technique were explained at length by the executive producer in the following exemplary discussion:

A substantial economy of scale and efficiency of operation comes from the use of the EFP crews for both 'double-enders' and for topical documentary production. Take for example the controversy in British Columbia surrounding BCRIC and the purchase of Kaiser. A crew dispatched to Vancouver would be one end of a Monday interview with the head of BCRIC. It would be the Vancouver end of a Tuesday interview with Premier Bennett. But it would also be the crew that spent the rest of the time Monday and Tuesday shooting the pocket documentary history of BCRIC scheduled Friday for THE JOURNAL. This would be a classic example of when THE JOURNAL would assign a pocket documentary overview - a complicated situation with a rich history; it requires not only interviews, but exposition. Therefore, one of THE JOURNAL's

documentary journalists has also been sent to Vancouver. The documentary, and all the interview requirements, utilize the same crew. For the cost of that crew in the field in British Columbia THE JOURNAL is able to obtain a substantial amount of air time: the BCRIC interview, the Bennett interview, the documentary report Friday, not to mention the possible availability of its crew in Vancouver should the requirement arise to do a 'double-ender' on another unrelated subject. While such a load would not always be practical, of course, it's important to note that the number of 'air minutes per crew dispatched' can probably be higher, and hence more economic, than for any other programme in the CBC (Programme Outline, 1981: 12, original emphases).

The implementation of Electronic Field Production, designed to be "the basic building block of THE JOURNAL's operation" (Programme Outline, 1981: 13), offered, in summary, the following advantages: light and completely mobile equipment; speedy and economical travel, limited to two-person crews; theoretically unlimited access to all parts of Canada, which would ensure "that THE JOURNAL is not tied to interviews in major urban centres only" (Programme Outline, 1981: 13); freedom from the traditional dependence upon regional studios and facilities; a technology conveniently and simply operable at virtually any international location, and at a cost substantially lower than the cost of foreign studio rental and international satellite transmission; the potential of co-operation with the CBC News Division, including co-productions and shared facilities usage; and finally, not least important, a potential reduction of News-Current Affairs and centre-region conflicts. The only significant

disadvantage is that the EFP method still requires the intermediate stage of a satellite or microwave link in order to transmit the field-produced portion to Toronto; in other words, it still ties field production to the existing geographic pattern of satellite/microwave linkage points, although to a lesser extent than traditional field production methods.⁷ This limitation, however, might be completely eradicated through the more extensive use of transportable satellite units in the future.

The principal benefits of the EFP method, from the perspective of THE JOURNAL's executive producer, derived from its capacity to guarantee a "topicality measured in hours or minutes" and its capacity to achieve "complete geographic reach" (Programme Outline, 1981: 15). The centrality of EFP technology to the design of the new programme production unit was both an acknowledgment of, and a concerted attempt to overcome, a number of the logistical and social constraints of televisual information production. Of the latter, the advantage of complete geographic reach meant that THE JOURNAL could feasibly expand its range of presentation to regularly feature "ordinary Canadians" and thereby avert what was seen to be a major pitfall of mainstream television journalism, which relied too heavily upon institutional sources and official spokespersons not representative of the Canadian population at large. The example cited in the programme

outline is that of "the Digby fisherman" who, thanks to the use of EFP technology, could now be interviewed directly from his boat, against the backdrop and in the comfort of his own environs, and express his views directly to the Canadian audience. The greater mobility and access afforded by EFP technology would therefore, in theory, lend a markedly different character to the form and content of the new programme (yet see Chapter 10).

Construction of the Programme Unit

A detailed outline of the organization of tasks required to construct the production unit appears in Figure 5.1. The execution of many of these tasks was made more difficult by indecision and ambiguity on the part of network executives, who delayed and frequently changed decisions about the programme budget, the site of THE JOURNAL's offices, and the air date of the new programme. Throughout the period of construction, the triumvirate of JOURNAL creators used the programme outline both as a basis of defence against network management and as a basis upon which to determine the unit's division of labour:

Development Task Area

CBC Television Current Affairs

CBC Television Current Affairs									
Editorial									
Program Design	Editorial Organization	Editorial Development	Editorial Facilities	Editorial Liaison	Audience Relations	Administration	Finance	Administrative	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish objectives, target audience, program purpose - Obtain & extend editorial assignment, production, timing, & field support - Plan required work, group, & communication processes - Develop planning for start-up staffing - Develop detailed editorial positions recruiting list - Secure approvals for staff positions and direct dollars 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish training & professional development plans, programs, & schedules - Design handbook & other documentation systems, & sub-contracting plans - Prepare, issue, & update development project outline - Design & prepare editorial directories - Begin item development - Interviews - Documentary pieces - Features/columns - Packaging - Light items - Specials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identify space requirements & gain approval of interim & permanent space plans - Develop requirements & detailed plans for: - Monitoring systems - Screening systems - EFP support - News services - Telephone services - Communications services - Library - Photo library - Furniture & office equipment - Develop VTR library & archiving plans - Develop stock shot, film & VTR library, & archives access plans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Develop general liaison/communications approach - Identify required work groupings - Develop all systems schedule - Establish editorial liaison processes, encompassing: - Key CBC areas (TV News, MCA Office, TV Mgmt, Sr Mgmt, Regions & Ottawa Area) - Other CBC areas (eg- Other TV departments, foreign offices, CBLT, NS, FSO, Radio, Training, Station Relations) - Other broadcasters (eg- PBS, US networks, Visnews, Internatg, European broadcasters) - Other journalistic organizations (including wire services & papers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assist in development of EFP, VTR, Studio, & Maintenance - Time phased recruiting - Tech Ops training plans & schedules - Presenting & interviewing schedules & procedures - Tech Ops standards, procedures, operational aids, & fallback plans - Tech Ops Journal Handbook & directory - Develop plans & schedules for Tech Ops training & editorial & production personnel - Plan & execute Tech Ops development activities: pilot production, shake-down, dry runs, fallback plan testing - Assist as required in Tech Ops recruiting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Develop administrative facilities, processes, systems, & documentation plans - Establish administrative liaison, encompassing: Current Affairs, MCA Office, Accounting, Purchasing, Talent Contracting, Program Clearance, System, Travel, Transportation, Airport Office, Office Services, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish interim secretarial arrangements - Develop administrative functional & organizational design 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish budgetary decisions - Prepare budget - Secure approvals - Start-up - 8/82 - 82/83 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish budgetary decisions - Prepare budget - Secure approvals - Start-up - 8/82 - 82/83 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish interim secretarial arrangements - Develop administrative functional & organizational design
Production									
Package Design	Production Design	Prod Ops Design	Prod Organization & Development	Engineering	Tech Ops Development	Fax Ops Development	Production Liaison		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish timetable for overall package design - Define look & feel of overall package or individual pieces - Establish criteria for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Individual pieces - Overall package - Ascertain detailed format, including length and position, for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Newsbreaks - The National - Morning - Local/Regional - Packaging - Commercials - Station time - Promos - Establish general design guidelines for integrated packaging 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish timetable for studio production design - Complete design research - Off-air monitoring - Previous Design work - Complete overall package design with News - Script Design - Studio 1 & 2 - Other locations - Special effects - Graphic Design - Title Op, VTR, Taldon - Conventional graphics - Video Design - Including fly effects - Lighting Design - Including 12-47 tests - Audio Design - Including procedures - Standby - Ensure on-going design packaging for integrated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Research current prod ops studio production design constraints - Plan daily schedules for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Editorial, Support, Fax Ops, & Prod Personnel - EFP, VTR, & Studio fax personnel - Shared fax (eg- VTR, VTR) - Maintenance - Item production processes - Weekend & special ops - Design daily Prod Ops scheduling systems - Refine & test sample EFP interview design (1 film) - Ascertain presentation/MCC/Day Transmission patterns - Plan & arrange on-air item pilot operations - Establish timetable for pilot operations, shake-down, & dry runs of EFP, VTR, Studio 1, Fax Ops, & combined operations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish Prod Ops organization structure & reporting lines - Plan & establish field support operations - Establish Prod Ops training plans & schedules - Design & prepare Prod Ops Handbook & directory - Establish Prod Ops survey planning processes - Plan & execute production development activities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Item development & experiments - Pilot operations - Shake-down operations - On-air item pilot ops - Dry runs - Production Recruiting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish availability/Completion Schedules: - Pilot fax - Permanent fax - Complete specifications & monitor EFP 2163 - Studio fax, including telephone interface - VTR fax, including phone patch & radios - Complete specifications & monitor EFP 2163: - Fixed site microwave - Portable microwave - Arrange for or monitor other fax projects: - Slide store fax - Video BO enhancements - Antenna - EFP interconnect - Studio lighting - Taldon interface - Systems interface 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Design fax Ops directory & working relationships - Develop fax Ops directory, handbook, & scheduling system - Explore & develop Fax Ops arrangements with CFC for EFP, Studio, VTR, & Mobile/Cruiser fax & personnel - Determine availability & rates for contracted & occasional use: - domestic & international - Satellite channels & transmittable terminals - Domestic & international - EFP lines - EFP logs - Determine IR constraints, availability, & rates for additional domestic & intl prod fax & special fax - Conduct fax Ops ICRH 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identify required Design, Prod Ops, & Fax Ops personnel - Establish production processes encompassing: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - TV News - Toronto Plant - Management - Scheduling - TV Engineers - Maintenance - Design - Program Clearance - Network Scheduling - CBLT - Ottawa Area - Regions - Foreign Offices - Northern Service - TV News - Engineering Head - Training Department - FAX units - Fax Ops support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish budgetary decisions - Prepare budget - Secure approvals - Start-up - 8/82 - 82/83 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish budgetary decisions - Prepare budget - Secure approvals - Start-up - 8/82 - 82/83 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish interim secretarial arrangements - Develop administrative functional & organizational design

That programme outline was the one constant in everyone's life. We questioned it, we challenged it, we fought about it, but it lasted, it survived, and it became the one constant theme throughout. Even though we deviated considerably from the programme outline when we first went on the air, I think the direction we're heading as a programme is back to the programme outline again. That thing is getting harder than stone practically; it has proven in a way, through time, that it had the right menu, the right ingredients for what we were going to do and what could be done. I'm actually impressed by that fact.

But it was, it truly was the one institution which was a solid guide, and out of that came, we said, okay, we're going to produce mini-docs [pocket documentaries], we're going to produce longer docs, we're going to produce these kinds of things and in roughly this kind of format. We started having discussions. How many field producers does it take to produce how many docs, and we averaged it over a season. What is the turnaround time? We did all these little blackboard models and discussions and, yea, we should be able to produce, by and large, ten days out [in the field], ten days in, editing, every twenty days a documentary. Our budget allowed us nine field units with cameras and journalist-producer pairings, times X number of working days, minus vacation, minus a week off sick, this and that. We can produce forty documentaries a year. Okay, that's not enough to last a season; we've got to procure documentaries...okay, there's ten docs basically we think we can count on buying every year. That takes care of that, forty of our own plus ten, yea, it just works. It was just that sort of constantly going back and forth at it (Senior Producer [Editorial], August 1983).

By February 1981, the core staff of THE JOURNAL consisted of the Executive Producer, the Senior Producer (Editorial), the Senior Producer (Production), and the (Acting) Business Manager, who was assigned to create the administrative wing of the unit (see Figure 5.1). The programme's director and technical producer had been hired by

the Senior Producer (Production), although no other technical staff nor any editorial staff had yet been recruited.

Nonetheless, applications had been gathered and screened, and some interviews had been conducted. Recruitment delays were due to delays in obtaining the authority for particular postings, which could only be granted by network management, and to a decision by the three unit managers (the executive producer and the two senior producers) to staff the programme during a concentrated period. A six-week period of intensive interviewing began in late February, after which most of the recruitment decisions were rendered and finalized.

Illustrations of the progressive evolution of THE JOURNAL's division of labour are provided in Figures 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4.

Documentary topics were discussed and assigned in the late spring, and by October producers in the documentary division undertook the final editing of items that had been researched and produced during the summer. Regular daily production of interviews began the following month as the official "Shakedown" period was underway (effective 2 November 1981), in which both documentaries and interviews were edited into final form but not assembled into full-length programmes. At the same time, attempts to produce the Diary segments, fraught with serious difficulties, led to a temporary
8
desertion of the Diary format.

FIGURE 5.2: THE INITIAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE DIVISION OF LABOUR AT THE JOURNAL, 1981

FIGURE 5.3 : PRELIMINARY FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE JOURNAL, JUNE 1981

Text incomplete; leaf 307 omitted

The formal dry run period began in December 1981, little more than a month prior to the scheduled debut date of the programme, 11 January 1982. Mock programmes were produced at 9:22 PM nightly in order to rehearse the production routine, despite the fact that the music for the programme was not available until after the new year and that the set remained incomplete until one week prior to the air date. Most staff are agreed that it was an extremely frenetic time, and it was not until some months later that a practicable and regularized production process was fully worked out.

Current Organizational Structure

Direct observation of THE JOURNAL's production, for the purposes of the present study, could not begin until several months following the programme's debut (see Appendix I), at which point the organization of the unit was complete and the essential framework of its production was established. (Developments to that point were reconstructed through interviews with the staff and through perusal of internal documents made available by the executive and senior producers). Throughout the period of direct observation, the operation of THE JOURNAL remained remarkably loyal to the original programme design. In order to outline the current operation, its three dimensions will be discussed as follows:

the programme infrastructure, the division of labour, and the production process.

The Programme Infrastructure

The offices of THE JOURNAL occupy the third floor of a building in downtown Toronto, a short walking distance from the building where its principal editing suites, control room and studio, and the facilities of THE NATIONAL are situated. The third floor area contains the offices and work areas of most JOURNAL staff, the research library, the graphics department, the conference room, and a few additional editing suites. Prior to THE JOURNAL's occupation of the space, the floor was divided into a multiplicity of offices and small cubicles. These cubicles were dismantled and the entire space renovated in accordance with a new "open space" design. The effect was to create a massive span of unobstructed work space, occupied largely by row upon row of producers' desks, where, as one observer has noted, "one gets the sense of being in one of the largest newsrooms in the country" (Knelman, 1983: 62).⁹ A complete layout of the third floor area is displayed in Figure 5.5.

The entire north wall of the newsroom consists of whiteboards, interrupted only by the bank of television monitors positioned directly in front of the main editorial

"Desk" where the senior producers and editors are seated. The whiteboards are used to record and display the following: graphics required and/or in progress, the tentative programme line-up, the activity in each of the VTR editing suites, feeds due or expected and scheduled feed times, and double-ender assignments, which indicates where THE JOURNAL's own nine crews are positioned at any point in time. In addition, a large world map indicates the location of CBC News crews, foreign network news crews, and free-lance crews temporarily engaged by THE JOURNAL. The sixteen monitors include: the three American network monitors, the CBC monitor, the CTV monitor, the PBS monitor, the Global monitor, two Studio One monitors (i.e. THE JOURNAL's studio), one Studio Two monitor (i.e. THE NATIONAL's studio), the local cable channel monitor, the CBLT monitor, the news feeds monitor (which enables those at THE JOURNAL's "Desk" to see THE NATIONAL's incoming feeds), and three non-designated feed monitors (used to display THE JOURNAL's own incoming feeds).

Adjacent to the wall of whiteboards and monitors, at the northwest corner of the newsroom, are the nine wire and teletype machines, including: the ENS wire, the UPC wire, the Reuters wire, the CP "A" and "B" wires, the internal Infomode system (which links all regional CBC television newsrooms), the domestic and foreign teletype machines, and the "Dex" machine, which is used to transmit printed information in

paper form to CBC bureaus in London, New York, Washington and Ottawa. Along the northwest side of the floor are the desks of most administrative staff and the separate offices of the programme hosts and the business manager, while the southwest corner features a lounge area used mainly by guests. The east side includes the offices of the executive producer, senior producers and senior editors; the conference room; two 3/4" VTR editing suites; and the graphics department situated in the southeast corner. At the centre of the floor space, near the elevators, is the reception area and a small screening room.

In addition to the 3/4" VTR editing suites at THE JOURNAL's third floor offices, there are a total of four suites containing a total of nine one-inch tape editing machines at the building where the studio and control room are located. All of these machines are reserved for the exclusive use of THE JOURNAL.¹⁰ Studio One, formerly used by a number of CBC programmes, was completely reconstructed for THE JOURNAL's exclusive use; including, of course, the installation of the new set in the studio, but also the expansion and renovation of the control room and the addition of a newly-equipped audio room. It should also be noted, as a further indication of the relative wealth of THE JOURNAL's technological resources, that the unit makes exclusive use of ENG (Electronic News Gathering) equipment. Film is not

utilized at all. All JOURNAL items are shot on 3/4" video tape and all are transferred to one-inch video tape for broadcast.

Apart from technological resources, many sources of content supply are similar to those of THE NATIONAL, including the international news agencies, Canadian Press, and the American television networks. Documentary material may be procured directly from the BBC (particularly the BBC's PANORAMA programme, which most closely approximates THE JOURNAL's programme style), from Intermag, or from other comparable programme exchanges. Staff-produced documentaries and interviews are often based upon sources found in the unit's own research library, situated at the south end of the third floor. The research library contains several hundred books, a large rack of magazines and newspapers, and two large study desks at which reference books can be consulted. Clippings files, maintained by the research librarian (a half-time field producer), are drawn from three major sources: The Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star and the New York Times. The library is also equipped with five on-line data bases: the New York Times service, Info Bank, Info Globe, Dialogue, and the most heavily used service, QL Systems, provided by CP. There is also a "Source" service based upon the UPI wire, which is used mainly for documentary production. In addition, the complete editions of the New York Times published since

1979 are available on microfiche. The most important and most frequently consulted component of the research library is the Resource Unit Contacts Index, a large card catalogue which holds some 5,000 listings of potential contacts and interview subjects. The foundations of the contacts index were compiled by a team of women, many of whom were former journalists who had left the paid labour force to care for their children full-time, and who monitored all Canadian and American network information programmes throughout the period June to December 1981. Journalists recruited to THE JOURNAL often added their personally accumulated lists of contacts to the index as well.¹¹ Each index card lists the following details regarding the contact: the name of the individual, the date of the entry, the contributor (if a JOURNAL staff member), the programme where the contact first appeared, the details of the contact's position, affiliation, and ideological sentiments, and other characteristics such as the individual's qualities as a "talker" - brief comments like "good talker," "okay talker," and "heavy accent, use as source only" appear commonly. The contacts index is a revealing indicator of both the means of locating and selecting subjects who appear on THE JOURNAL. Above all, the sheer existence of the index and its extensive use suggests the reproductive nature of the practice of guest selection.

The impressive spectrum of sources and resources

which support THE JOURNAL's production should not lead one to conclude that the unit is therefore free of some of the constraints experienced by other production teams, which remain dependent upon a narrower array of source material. In practice, it will be seen that a few key sources supply the bulk of the unit's story ideas, not least of which is the all-critical Globe and Mail, perhaps the single most important source to all of the five network programmes.

The Division of Labour

As Figure 5.4 indicates, the current division of labour at THE JOURNAL is classifiable according to the three fundamental production tasks: editorial work, technical work and administrative work. The respective contingents which perform these three basic requirements can be briefly outlined at this point.

The editorial contingent is plainly the largest of the three and is the responsibility of the Senior Producer (Editorial), who recruited the editorial force in close consultation with the executive producer. At the upper echelons of the editorial hierarchy are the five senior editors, whose formal division of responsibilities is as follows: science, sports and relations with the regions; the presentational aspects of the programme; assignment; arts,

business and the procurement of documentaries and other items; and the production of field documentaries by JOURNAL staff. Together with the Senior Producer (Editorial), these five senior editors are the occupants of the main editorial "Desk" which is the decision-making centre of THE JOURNAL's day-to-day operation. Holding successively lower positions in the editorial prestige order are the nine field producers (who co-ordinate the production of the field documentaries), the nine journalists, and the fifteen chase producers, eventually re-titled "general" or "daily" producers. Chase producers were so named for their major task of "chasing" and booking guests for the interview segments of the programme, in addition to their responsibility for contributing story ideas and conducting research.¹² Editorial workers at THE JOURNAL's bureaus include a senior editor and two field producers in Ottawa, a producer and part-time assistant at each of the two American bureaus (Washington and New York), and a producer and journalist in London.

THE JOURNAL's technical staff, recruited and supervised by the Senior Producer (Production), are divided into three basic groups: the "Technical" group proper, the "Operations" group, and the "Presentation" group. The first group, which includes the studio technicians, the studio maintenance staff, two VTR supervisors, three VTR technicians and the VTR maintenance staff, does not work exclusively for

THE JOURNAL. The Operations group is directed by the production manager and includes: two production co-ordinators, two facilities co-ordinators (one schedules the satellite feeds while the other books studio facilities), the satellite operations officer, two ENG editors, the ENG maintenance staff, and the field operations supervisor, who supervises the ENG crews which report directly to him and his assistant. Nine ENG crews are based in Toronto and a tenth crew is based in Vancouver. Two additional ENG crews are based in Ottawa, along with a microwave technician and one ENG maintenance worker. At the Washington, New York and London bureaus, there is no permanently-based JOURNAL crew; instead, the crews are hired locally.

The third category of technical workers, the "Presentation" group, is supervised by the programme director, who in turn reports to the Senior Producer (Production). The group includes three presentation producers, three production assistants, three script assistants, two production secretaries, and the three graphic artists. The presentation producers are responsible to supervise the production of graphics, direct the editing, and supervise the studio operation during the programme; these three tasks are rotated regularly among them. Production assistants and script assistants perform duties akin to those of their counterparts at other programme units, while the production secretaries

handle the correspondence generated by the field producers, general producers, and other editorial staff.

Administrative staff include the business manager, the secretary of the business unit, the unit manager, the cost clerk, the travel clerk, one full-time and one half-time receptionist (the other half of her work time is spent as assistant to the programme's publicist), the research librarian (who is also a field producer) and his two assistants, two "communications clerks" who perform the functions of copy clerks, and the programme publicist. The switchboard, which is not integrated into the CBC's main Toronto switching system, is operated by the receptionists from 9:00 AM to 11:00 PM weekdays. The business unit operates from 9:00 AM to 5:00 PM weekdays and the clerks also work these hours, with the exception of one senior member of the business unit who must be available until air time (10:22 PM EST). The communications clerks work successive eight-hour shifts.

Excluded from the three groups outlined above are the programme's host and co-host, whose role in the production of the programme is neither administrative nor technical nor predominantly editorial. Opportunities for their editorial input are largely limited to the formulation of questions during the taping of interview segments, although these questions are more often determined by the producer of the

interview (i.e. a general producer) in close consultation with the Desk. By virtue of her long-standing professional relationship with the executive producer and her high prestige among the staff, the host nonetheless exercises a significant amount of "informal" editorial authority vis-à-vis the programme at large.

The Production Process

In contrast to the production of daily news, the production of current affairs stories, which need not be "up-to-the-minute," may extend beyond a single day to weeks and perhaps months of preparation. A major difference in the organization of work is thus the longer "lead time" available to the producers of current affairs items, which in turn permits greater flexibility and alleviates many of the most severe constraints experienced by news producers. At the level of unit organization, it means a much less ordered and routinized daily ritual than is found in news production units. Since the production of most JOURNAL items extends beyond the parameters of a single day, the daily requisites of the production schedule are much simplified, organized around three central activities: the generation of new story ideas, the ongoing production of stories in progress, and the studio assembly of completed stories which have been selected for

inclusion in the programme.

JOURNAL stories originate almost exclusively in stories already produced by other media, a pattern of dependency and "reproduction" institutionalized in the morning production routine. Early morning activity is directed towards the study of stories produced by The Globe and Mail, the wire services, and the morning television news programmes of the American and CTV networks, which together comprise the basic "stock-of-knowledge" from which JOURNAL stories derive, and which constitutes the raw material of discussion at the mid-morning "story meeting." The meeting is held daily in the conference room and is attended by most staff who are on hand on any given day in the Toronto office, including mainly the general producers, the senior editors, and the senior producers. At the head of the centre conference table is the executive producer, who summons the staff to the meeting each morning, chairs it, and "calls the shots" throughout. The senior producers and editors join him at the centre table, while the general producers (and others who choose to attend) are seated around the perimeter of the room. A discussion of one such meeting, Thursday 20 May 1982, will suffice to illustrate the group dynamics and journalistic values typically at work.

The Senior Producer (Editorial) first outlines the major stories in progress and the strong possibilities for

that evening's programme, including the interviews scheduled for the day. Following his brief outline of the stories, some logistical details are checked and confirmed, such as anticipated feed times and the scheduled times of the interviews. General discussion of the stories in progress follows, after which each person at the meeting is called upon to offer story ideas, starting at one end of the room and proceeding until all those present have contributed to the pool of potential stories. In the case of the sample meeting, only two of the twenty-six producers and editors present were unable to offer a story suggestion.

By far, the great majority of these story suggestions derive from stories originally produced by other media. There are frequent and regular references to stories by The Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star and the New York Times. Many general producers prepare for the meeting by copy-tasting and bring wire copy directly into the meeting to refer to while proposing their story ideas. As a matter of course, one general producer regularly monitors CANADA AM and the American network programmes and, at the meeting, summarizes their stories, identifies the principal guests, and assesses each guest's qualities as a "talker." Other producers suggest stories produced by kindred current affairs vehicles, such as Maclean's or ABC's NIGHTLINE.

At the sample meeting, for example, one story idea

concerned the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto. A general producer raised the case of Susan Nelles, pointing out that a decision would soon be rendered as to whether she would be held for trial. A senior editor noted several similar recent cases at the hospital, including one in which a young boy was left with a pin in his stomach after surgery.

Considerable discussion ensued, through the course of which the idea of producing a comprehensive, generalized documentary about the hospital evolved. The key factor which shaped the evolution of the story idea was legal: how and what could be produced with the least likelihood of legal repercussions. It was precisely the concern about possible legal repercussions that led to the decision to produce a "broad overview piece" about the hospital rather than a specific examination of the recent cases. The group agreed that the story would need to be produced with great care, that it would be the basis of a summer project, and that it would be undertaken in close consultation with the CBC's legal department.

Other story ideas raised at the meeting provide further illustrations of the operation of journalistic values together with other production constraints. One producer suggested a story to mark the anniversary of Amelia Erhardt's solo flight (the idea was quickly dismissed), while another suggested a story about a psychologist in Ireland whose research indicated that Japanese IQ scores had been steadily

increasing since the Second World War (again, quickly dismissed and considered not worth the cost of travel to Ireland). A number of women producers made a case for a story about the Equal Rights Amendment in the United States, noting that a group of women in Illinois had announced plans to deny themselves solid foods until ratification. This idea was debated at some length. The executive producer finally intervened to ask what THE JOURNAL had previously produced regarding the ERA, and was advised by a senior editor that a number of ERA-related stories had appeared. The senior editor successfully argued that the ERA was by now a "dead" issue, which abruptly concluded the discussion. A proposed "signs of the recession story" met a similar fate. The story concerned the shutdown of a fish processing plant in New Brunswick which had left most of the community population unemployed and forced many third- and fourth-generation residents into exile. The story evoked little enthusiasm among the group. The executive producer, who most often renders the final pronouncements, felt that in the absence of a particularly appealing, dramatic or provocative element to the story, it was the kind of story that "has been done and done and done" and need not be done again by THE JOURNAL.

Compared to such story discussions at THE NATIONAL, the visual imperative was not a predominant factor in the discussions at the early JOURNAL story meetings. The

substance of the story tended to override consideration of the availability of "good pictures," although later greater attention began to be directed to the visual component in response to frequent criticism by other journalists and critics who described THE JOURNAL as "radio with pictures." Sensitivity to the visual composition of the programme has not undermined the preferred attention to the substance of a story, particularly its novelty and the extent of its potential impact. Another important factor is the "quality" of a guest or interviewee: their credibility, their affiliation, and the degree to which the guest can be expected to be concise and articulate. At the sample meeting, for example, a proposed interview with a key Argentinian negotiator in the south Atlantic crisis was keenly debated and finally rejected, since he was known to speak English fluently but with a very thick accent. Major production factors discussed at the sample meeting included the legal constraints, the choice and availability of interviewees, the availability of crews, and the adaptability of the story idea to THE JOURNAL's programme format. While the visual potential of a story was deemed less significant, there was always discussion of how the story could be shot in conformity with the established story forms. It was the executive producer who most commonly determined the form that a story would assume (whether a full-scale documentary, pocket documentary,

interview, or some other form that he considered appropriate to the nature of the story) and its length. Some story ideas were rejected by the executive producer out of hand as "news" stories, judgements that are difficult to reconcile with the fact that most of THE JOURNAL's "current affairs" stories originate as news stories. Indeed, it is apparent that the sources of JOURNAL stories are similar, often identical, to those of THE NATIONAL's stories: paramount among them are The Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star, the New York Times, the international news agencies, and the American television networks. Later discussion will show that these same sources are vital to other production units as well.

One exception occurred at the sample story meeting. A general producer had been contacted by a staff member at the Soviet embassy, who suggested that an interview might be conducted with a Soviet official currently visiting Canada, on the topic of Soviet arms production. The embassy offered the use of a film illustrating recent refinements to the SS-20 missile. The executive producer expressed an interest mainly in the film, inquiring whether it would be exclusively available to THE JOURNAL and whether it had been previously broadcast by any other programme or network. His interest was directed towards the exclusivity of the film and not towards the substantive topic of the Soviet side of the arms race, the focus suggested by the embassy contact.

Once all those present had been polled for story ideas, the meeting proceeded to a discussion of stories in progress. In each case, the executive producer inquired whether the item was yet available to be screened and, if the general producer had screened a rough cut, he asked the producer's judgement of the item's merits. After a final call for additional matters of business, the meeting was adjourned and the staff returned to their desks.

It is important to point out that programme line-up decisions and many story assignments are not determined at the story meeting. Immediately following it, a much smaller meeting of the executive producer, senior producers and senior editors (i.e. the "Desk") decides these more significant matters. The senior editorial meeting, however, is not accessible to other staff or outside observers, whereas all staff members (including the technical and administrative groups) and many outside observers are not only welcomed, but strongly encouraged to attend the story meeting. Inside and outside observers often conclude that the meeting represents "a marvelous and impressive display of real democracy in action" (JOURNAL General Producer, May 1982). Another insider generalized its democratic character to the operation of the production unit at large:

The unit is a democratic sort of operation to an extent that I haven't seen anywhere else that I've worked in a broadcast journalism situation. The editorial meetings in the morning involve input from

anyone on the staff, from the receptionists to the, you know, I think probably to the office cleaners; if they happened to be passing by and had an idea, their ideas would be heard at the meeting and considered ...I understand that the same sort of thing exists in the editorial decision-making when the senior editors meet and in the daily operation of the main desk, in deciding the presentation or how to edit interviews or what might be done to shorten or lengthen a documentary or in the line of attack to be taken in questioning in the interviews, and so forth.

The same sort of democracy is extended into the field. It manifests itself in different ways, depending on the personalities and the background of the crew and the type of story that's involved (JOURNAL Field Producer, June, 1983).

Outside observers, such as journalists Knelman and Groen, are similarly impressed:

... the producers and editors assemble in a large, glass-enclosed office to discuss ideas for upcoming items and review the previous night's show. [The executive producer] sits at one end of a large table, flanked by his top lieutenants. Thirty or so other people sit in the outer circle around the room. At a typical news conference, the mood is buoyant, the banter fast and brittle, as if this were an updated version of THE FRONT PAGE (Knelman, 1983:62).

A daily ritual, and a very impressive one. Well over two dozen in number, with a high proportion of women, the group is distinctive for its comparative youthfulness and its collective intelligence. No mistaking it, this is a bright crowd. Pumped up by a weekend's worth of reading and listening and watching, they're primed with ideas ...

The conversation is animated and eclectic, hopping swiftly from country to country and topic to topic - the battling Ghandis, Hitlermania, the Cruise controversy, the UN debate on Nicaragua, the medical definition of life's beginnings. The overriding philosophy, common coin within journalistic circles, is liberalism rimmed with a protective edge of cynicism. The overriding emphasis is on substance, albeit tempered with a keen awareness of the tube's audio-visual imperatives ('He's not a strong talker

but he's good on analysis' is a typical comment).

Everyone is asked to contribute, almost everyone does. Clearly, the spirit is democratic. Just as clearly, there is a first among equals. In their brisk insights, even in their clipped syntax, the participants take tone and cue from the dark-eyed man at the head of the table (Groen, 1983: E1).

The "spirit" of democracy at THE JOURNAL is in reality just that and no more. Story ideas, while contributed by many, derive from a limited range of sources (essentially the same limited pool from which other programmes draw) and, less often, from a limited demographic circle of friends and associates. These ideas appear to be debated vigorously at story meetings, yet, as elsewhere, the crucial and final decisions are strongly guided by and ultimately rendered by the programme managers. More broadly viewed, THE JOURNAL is, at the very most, a small, local "democracy" among a very select group of people. We will see in Chapter 8 that the social composition of the group is such that their use of the word "democracy" to describe themselves and their operation mocks the kind of genuine democracy that one might imagine. Yet their perception of the unit as "democratic" is in itself significant in that it shows the limited conception of democracy in their world-views, one according to which decision-making input is accepted as "the real thing," as impressive, and as the most that one can expect or strive towards.

Following the story meeting and the meeting of senior

producers, story assignments are distributed throughout the newsroom. General producers proceed to "chase" prospective interview subjects by telephone and, where the subject can be contacted and agrees to be interviewed, studio scheduling arrangements and other logistics of interview production are co-ordinated. A research outline, including background information about the topic of the interview and the guest, and a list of questions to be addressed to the guest, is prepared by the general producer assigned to a scheduled interview. The outline and interview questions are then discussed at and approved by the Desk, at which one of the senior editors will be designated the main editor in charge of that evening's programme. The general producer later reviews the background information and questions with the host or co-host scheduled to conduct the interview, normally during the early afternoon when the hosts arrive to begin the studio tapings. The general producer will also write the first draft of the introduction to the interview and submit it to the Desk, where the final draft of the introduction is completed.

At the studio, morning activity consists mainly of graphics production and the creation of other visual effects, which shifts to the recording of interviews and the assembly of programme segments in the afternoon. Since live interviews are exceptionally rare, most interviews are recorded by one of two methods: either "live-to-tape" (e.g. where the

interviewee(s) is present in the studio and the exchange is simply pre-recorded) or by means of the double-ender technique described earlier. Throughout the observation, it was apparent that the double-ender method is less frequently employed, and that, when it is employed, its use is not always directed towards the grand objectives of the programme design. This apparent tendency was confirmed by the Senior Producer (Editorial), who explained that:

The double-ender was designed to do two basic things. One was very much that it was very attractive to be able to, for example the Digby fisherman, rather than getting the guy to dress up in a suit which doesn't fit him and go to a Halifax studio where he's uncomfortable under the lights and intimidated by everything, ask him about fisheries policy, and he looks like a NERD, [instead] interview him on the dockside in his element, in his milieu, where he'll be more comfortable and certainly more passionate and more articulate about his problems.

We've actually done that. We didn't do the Digby fisherman, but we've done truck drivers in a truck stop, we've done things like that, we did a guy on a snow-capped mountain in British Columbia who was complaining about something, I forget what the hell it was, the story was insignificant. [The point is] to try to bring some of those voices and those people and those faces and those places and give them access to the air waves and, yea, the CBC. You CAN go and talk on the CBC, and tell the Prime Minister what you think about his stupid policy on this or that.

I've got to admit that we've kind of fallen behind on that practice. And we don't use it enough. We're not clever enough about finding ways of using that. We tend to use a double-ender a lot now for, uh, oh Jeez, it's six o'clock already and this fell through and that fell through, well, quick, we've got to, uh, something happened in Poland today, get Adam Bromke to drive from Hamilton and sit in our office and point the camera at him; you know, a quick little hit like that. It [the double-ender] tends to be used more as a sort of expediency device, a device

for the sake of expediency (August, 1983, original emphases).

The explanation also rather powerfully illustrates the way in which simple logistical constraints can account for the predominance of Adam Bromke-type "experts" over Digby fisherman, a recurrent characteristic of information programming which clearly holds tremendous ideological significance. The predominance of "experts" and the general under-representation of the working class is not, however, simply reducible to the logistical factors of production. For example, the same pattern often appears in the documentary story form, where the production process is extended over a much longer period and where consequently a number of logistical constraints are absent or at least ameliorated.

Of all story forms, the documentary offers the greatest scope and latitude to current affairs producers. Earlier it was noted that the longer "lead time" afforded by documentary production tends to introduce greater flexibility into the production routine of current affairs organizations in contrast to those of news. To THE JOURNAL, however, it is a mixed blessing since, unlike many current affairs programmes which appear weekly, it must produce a daily product, by virtue of which it is expected to satisfy the demand for "topicality" in its subject matter. The production of JOURNAL documentaries, however, follows the same traditional process and consumes the same time-span as that of its weekly

counterparts in current affairs (see Chapter 6 re the production of fifth estate items). The supply of full-scale documentaries often, therefore, far outweighs the demands imposed by THE JOURNAL's daily appearance.

Through the course of the unit's evolution, the need for a daily supply of items has increasingly eclipsed the opportunity to undertake the long-term production of field documentaries by means of traditional current affairs production procedures. One attempt to overcome the conflict has been the introduction of a new story form referred to as the "issue-pack," a quickly assembled and much abbreviated "documentary" intended to supply visual accompaniment to the interview segments, yet without the lengthy period of production associated with full-length field documentaries. Relatedly, the demands of daily production have also spawned the introduction of much shorter field documentaries than were originally envisioned in the form of "mini-docs." Whereas originally it was anticipated that the interview segments would satisfy the topicality requirement, since interviews are more closely "pegged" to the day's news stories, the introduction of these additional story forms has tended to subvert many of the benefits that might otherwise be gleaned from longer-term productions. A full-scale documentary came to be defined as any item which exceeded eight minutes and which had been produced in the field by a field producer,

journalist and crew; items produced in the same way yet shorter than eight minutes came to be referred to as "mini-docs." Moreover, three varieties of mini-docs evolved: topical items which could be prepared for broadcast in a single day or no more than two days, "feature" items produced by free-lancers over a somewhat longer period, and items co-produced with CBC regional staff.

Unlike mini-docs, the anticipated utility of "issue-packs" failed to materialize. Issue-packs were composed almost entirely of stock footage, sometimes supplemented by original graphics, and narrated by a host's voice-over. The stated purpose of the issue-packs was to introduce the issues raised by interview segments, while the unstated purpose was to quantitatively increase the visual composition of the programme in a rapid and relatively cheap manner. At least in part, the introduction of issue-packs was a response to early widespread criticism of the programme's visual weakness. As the attention of journalistic critics gradually turned from mockery of THE JOURNAL's strongly narrative style to praise for its visually strong documentaries, issue-packs seemingly lost their usefulness.

The evolution of THE JOURNAL's documentary style was described by one senior editor as follows:

A couple of basic decisions were made off the top. It would be reporter-intensive or journalistically intensive; in other words, the reporter, somewhat like the fifth estate, would lead you through the story. Even more than the fifth estate, the reporter would lead you through a JOURNAL documentary. And there would be stand-ups* by the reporter in the piece. There was even a rule for awhile that the stand-up should appear within the first forty to sixty seconds, and that there should be another one somewhere down the line; it may be an ending one, or may not be.

There were a lot of decisions made about documentaries early on, and, God help you, if you have to watch THE JOURNAL from the beginning programme to today, you will see the evolution of the documentary. It started out very stiff and formal and not very well crafted, which was partly to do with a rather staid rigidity of what they (the executive and senior editorial producers) wanted to see on the air. And everyone was a little afraid of that format with a capital "F". And then everyone relaxed, including [the executive and senior editorial producers], and someone would try something new and they would say, 'hey, I like that' and it wasn't really new, it was stuff they had been using all the way along. It's just that suddenly they felt confident enough to use them, they felt confident enough that it would be recognized that it was a good technique. It worked before and it would work again.

So you can see that the documentaries now are very much like the fifth estate's documentaries, in style and technique and creativity, and that sort of thing (JOURNAL Senior Editor, July 1983).

Ultimately, then, the form of the JOURNAL documentary (not outstandingly innovative at the outset) assumed a form comparable, if not identical to that of the dominant documentary form. As the same senior editor pointed out, such "reporter-intensive" documentaries are common to most current

* A "stand-up" is where the reporter faces and speaks directly to camera, usually in order to introduce the story, provide the narrative links between visual segments, and/or conclude the item.

affairs programming, at least in the North American case. Likewise, the process of documentary production was and is identical to the existing means of organizing field production in the realm of current affairs, a production process institutionalized at more established units like the fifth estate and W5 (see Chapters 6 and 7 respectively).

The final aspect of JOURNAL production is the stage of programme transmission. Unlike THE NATIONAL, the control room/studio sequence occurs only once nightly, at 9:22 PM EST, when the programme first appears to the Maritime audience. No subsequent changes or revisions are made to the programme, which is simply re-broadcast to Newfoundland, Central Canada and the West in their respective time zones. During the initial broadcast, the control room is fully occupied by the two senior producers, one production secretary, two production assistants, two script assistants, the director (whose functions here are similar to those of THE NATIONAL's line-up editor in the same context), the technical producer, the switcher, the auto cue operator, and the supers operator, in addition to the staff of the adjoining audio room (i.e. two audio console operators). The varied individual components of a single programme are assembled here for the first time. As many as fifteen to twenty individual tapes may be summoned by the technical producer to appear sequentially, including the opening sequence, the introductions, the interviews, the four

minutes of commercials which appear in two-minute blocks during the body of the programme, the stings, the documentaries and mini-docs, the sign-off, the closing sequence, and finally, the copyright logo. A sample programme line-up is included in Appendix II.

Conclusion

Of all the major network information programmes in Canada, THE JOURNAL is distinguished by its relative youth and newness. The creators of the programme were granted a rare opportunity to develop a new national information vehicle "from scratch" and, in order to fulfill that assignment, were endowed with exceptionally rich resources. The abundance of resources made available to THE JOURNAL was in itself sufficient to free the new unit of many of the limitations shared by the established programmes, notably in the crucial realms of finance and technology.

However, THE JOURNAL was not, of course, created in a vacuum. Journalistically, it was born into a pre-existent professional tradition. It inherited, of necessity, a legacy of practices and ideologies with respect to the production of current affairs, and its production team was peopled by those well-schooled in these practices and ideologies. More importantly, THE JOURNAL inherited at its birth the severe

constraints experienced by the CBC at a critical juncture in Canadian broadcasting history. Foremost among these was the CBC's own "crisis of legitimacy," the pressing need to justify the sheer existence of the public corporation at a time of severe economic crisis and swift change in the nature of the broadcasting market, a time in which public enterprise was under threat and public broadcasting was once again in disfavour, while at the same time the privatizing recommendations of Applebert lurked darkly in the wings. Compounding the sense of crisis and urgency was the impending fragmentation of the CBC audience, its gradual yet steady erosion by, successively, cable, pay television, and satellites. Against these threatening forces, the Corporation's defence arsenal stood equipped with a solid reputation of excellence in information programming and the knowledge that the audience for such programming, rapidly and consistently rising since the early 1970s, could be safely expected to maintain itself or even increase further. It offered, therefore, the potential of a secure market for at least one tried-and-true specialty of CBC production.

Translated into the design of the new JOURNAL, these underlying imperatives became manifest in a number of specific programme objectives. First, the programme would quickly and boldly assert itself as "THE principal journalistic arena for political, social, commercial and cultural affairs" (added

emphasis). Alongside the newly re-vamped NATIONAL, and reaping the continuity benefits of THE NATIONAL's securely established audience, THE JOURNAL would appear as THE pre-eminent national forum for the discussion of Canadian social issues. In turn, this would necessitate "maximum access to all parts of Canada" with ease, with speed, and not least of all, cheaply. The goals of access and immediacy could be attained by means of EFP technology and the existing satellite network, yet not without a substantial initial expense. To ensure that the access principle, once realized, was highlighted, the programme must be seen to display "a strong sense of location" - hence the prominently featured identifications in the final programme form. Finally, and most remarkably, THE JOURNAL would practice its own brand of populism by featuring, in unprecedented numbers and with unprecedented regularity, the faces and voices of the commonfolk, the "ordinary people" of Canada, and not in a studio context, but in their "natural" milieu.

The last objective, plainly the least successful, was to be implemented in several ways. First, rather than the traditional journalistic dependence upon "experts" and other official spokespersons, much greater attention would be directed to the opinions of "ordinary" Canadians. Secondly, wherever possible, stories would be approached from the perspective of the way in which the event or issue affected

"ordinary" Canadians. Referred to as "the human element" of a story, JOURNAL producers are regularly encouraged to incorporate it into their work, and in such a way that "the human element" is revealed by an "ordinary" human being, not interpreted by a journalist. Thirdly, whole groups of "ordinary" people might be assembled in the local "town hall" (the term that came to identify the new story form) of a Canadian town or city (preferably far from Toronto), in order to take part in a live or live-to-tape forum, moderated by a host or journalist. The "town hall" format was in fact attempted during the first year of THE JOURNAL's appearance, although it has appeared only infrequently since. The Senior Editorial Producer's explanation neatly illustrates the editorial image of the programme at the top:

We would like to do more of the 'town hall' kind of story: going to a place, getting a group of people together, farmers in Bent Elbow, Saskatchewan or miners in Sudbury, doing forums with these people ... not like Phil Donahue, you know, what do you think about sex, not something stupid like that. But I mean when a town has a mine closing down, and that's the only industry in town, shit, THE JOURNAL should BE THERE.

We are not good at dealing with that. [Yet] 'town halls' are those kinds of things where those voices, those people are facing their concerns, and can be heard ... I am not the instrument of social change, but we should somehow find more ways of being the vehicle where people can express that type of sentiment to their friends, relatives, others across the country ...

We don't do the Digby fisherman as much as we should. Maybe the double-ender is not the best way to do the Digby fisherman (but) the concept of the Digby fisherman is the right concept. That's going back to the programme outline. Some of the

principles in there were absolutely dead on, more valid now than they were then even, and we kind of got away from it ... the logistics and the daily pressure force you away from ideas. The momentum carries you away from that ...

It will be a terrible tragedy if we become only the programme of Guatemala, superlative Guatemala shows, superlative Ottawa politics shows. That we've GOT to do. That we WILL do. We're closer to that than to the other aspect which is that WE ARE THE PROGRAMME OF THE PEOPLE. And we are not so good at that, at being the programme of the people (August 1983, original emphases).

These seemingly revolutionary ideas are not unprecedented in current affairs broadcasting. A decade ago, similarly grand designs were envisioned by the creators of the fifth estate (see Chapter 6). The inescapable discrepancies between programming ideas and programming realities, despite the earnestness of the more progressive-thinking broadcasters, are due only in part, albeit a significant part, to "the logistics and the daily pressure" of production. Preoccupation with the logistics of production is a constraint symptomatic of the larger, more long-term, and more impermeable structures of information production: the temporal frameworks of televisual information, the fundamentally commercial basis of the activity and therewith the need to obtain and sustain audiences, the dependence upon existing supply infrastructures, and the pressure to conform to existing production practices and programme forms. All of these interrelated requisites produce and reproduce a sameness, a near-perfect homogeneity, in the way in which the

social world is re-constructed and re-presented through the medium of television news and current affairs.

Some additional forces are at work in THE JOURNAL's case. Here, the demands of daily current affairs programming are aggravated by the absence of a solid current affairs supply infrastructure organized to produce daily sources of programme material. It is a factor which distinguishes THE JOURNAL from both its weekly counterparts in current affairs and the case of news.

One of the things that News can always do, if News can't get their piece out or something, News can always crib the NBC report. they can get something on Guatemala, they can get something on the Middle East. One of the American networks will cover every story on the planet that day. If news can't get their guy on the story, they don't have a problem filling air time, because they've got the story too, as good if not better than what the CBC guy can do.

Almost every frame of pictures on THE JOURNAL is shot and produced by a JOURNAL person. There are no other Barbara Frum look-alikes who are doing those interviews that we've got. (We can't say) 'oh well, Barbara did lousy in that one, we'll just take Ted Koppell's and put it on the air.' We get and do, buy and pay for and hustle and steal every, practically every image that goes on the air, on THE JOURNAL, we got it, we did it ourselves (Senior Editorial Producer, August, 1983).

The absence of a daily supply source means that THE JOURNAL's labour force is almost three times that of either the fifth estate or W5 and more than 60 per cent larger than that of THE NATIONAL. Even such a large staff of producers, however, is insufficient to guarantee the required volume of content. While interviews must be generated internally by THE JOURNAL's

own producers, documentaries may be procured elsewhere in order to supplement the internally produced items. Through the course of the programme's evolution, the need to purchase documentaries externally has increased, along with the realization that its own contingent of documentary producers is too small to supply a full annual 260-day schedule of documentary items produced in the traditional long-term manner. "Mini-docs" offered only a partial solution and, since the commitment to traditional full-length documentaries remains strong, the unit must increasingly rely upon material produced by other current affairs organizations, notably Intermag and the BBC.

What is most significant about this development is that the increasing need to procure documentaries elsewhere in turn poses the need for a compatibility of programme formats, and consequently the need to conform to the dominant documentary form, adopting, as well, all of its intrinsic limitations. The limitations of the dominant form of the current affairs documentary are introduced by the following study of the production of the fifth estate.

NOTES

1. See Schlesinger's tabulations of the attributes of "news" and "current affairs" according to BBC journalists (1978: 249) and compare with those enumerated by Canadian journalists in Chapter 8.
2. EFP crews are essential to the "double-ender" technique, which is described at a later point.
3. The creators of THE JOURNAL acknowledged a number of the key logistical production constraints traditionally experienced by THE NATIONAL (see Chapter 4), and attempted to overcome these in their design of the new unit.
4. These problems were rooted in the absence of a national supply network comparable to that of CP in the case of news. The diary segments would require a regular national stock of specialized information as well as "pictures" or visuals to accompany the material, yet:

...the picture sources do not exist. We couldn't find them, and if they existed and we found them, they were too expensive to buy, or if we could buy them and afford them, they couldn't get here on time (Senior Producer [Editorial], August 1983).

The Senior Producer (Production) pointed out some additional problems that arose during the experimental production of the diary segments:

[The diary segment] was just a nightmare, it kept coming off like really bad school broadcasts ... There was a lot of searching out of visual material for them, and the stuff always felt dated. If that wasn't the problem, they were visually not very satisfying, not very exciting, and so on. It was an enormously time-consuming process. There was a belief in some quarters that, depending on how well a stock shot library is organized, it's often cheaper to go out and shoot the shot from scratch than it is to find one that's in storage someplace ... We found that the effort that was going into digging the stuff up and writing it represented about 40 per cent of the effort of the whole unit, and these things were scheduled to constitute one or two minutes of the show each night! There was something REALLY wrong.

The other thing was that we couldn't find the writing style for them, and we ended up sounding like we were talking down to people (May 1982, original emphasis).

5. Nonetheless, during the first year of THE JOURNAL's operation, no more than thirty such co-productions were undertaken with the regional current affairs departments.
6. Portable satellite uplinks to Anik B became available to THE JOURNAL on a rotational basis in June of 1982.
7. Two much less significant disadvantages are that the EFP equipment is not adaptable to Contempra-style telephones nor can it be used with interviewees who wear hearing aids.
8. See Note 4 above. A much extended and weekly version of the "Arts & Entertainment" diary has, however, since been introduced.
9. The executive producer once described the task of creating the unit as a matter of "editorial civil engineering" and explained the design of THE JOURNAL's facilities as follows:

A programme should be designed so that it's never jeopardized by somebody having the flu. We're all interchangeable parts; otherwise, you start erecting a bureaucracy. Hence our open newsroom concept instead of the usual CBC arrangement of 200 little cubicles (cited in Czarnecki, 1982: 43).
10. Access to one of these one-inch suites was provided to UPDATE for specified weekday hours (see Chapter 4).
11. According to the research librarian who is responsible for the maintenance of the Contacts Index, by May of 1982 the original contacts contributed by the team of women comprised approximately 60 per cent of all entries at that point, whereas the remaining 40 per cent represented contributions by JOURNAL staff members who brought their personal contact files to the new programme.
12. In fact, their job functions are identical to those of current affairs researchers (see Chapters 6 and 7 re the responsibilities of researchers at the fifth estate and W5). One senior editor pointed out frankly that their position was formally titled "producer" in order to

preclude their qualification for membership in CUPE, which would have required, among other things, the payment of overtime wages. In light of the phenomenal amount of real overtime worked by the general producers (and others), such a requirement would have quickly exhausted the programme budget.

CHAPTER 6: CBC CURRENT AFFAIRS: the fifth estate

Traditionally, the audience for CBC information programming has been predominantly composed of older and rural sectors of the population. The introduction of the fifth estate in 1975 reflected the Corporation's efforts to attract a different audience segment to its journalistic offerings. The fifth estate's target audience was a "younger, better educated and more urban" group which might be won "without completely alienating the traditional CBC audience that has supported most information programmes" (CBC, 1973). The objective was:

To produce a weekly current affairs magazine whose journalism is distinguished, professional, aggressive, candid and iconoclastic; whose subject matter is wide-ranging and provocative; and which is consistently interesting and entertaining to a large and broadly-based audience (CBC, 1973).

A number of features would distinguish the new programme from existing programme offerings, and these were delineated as follows:

1. The magazine should not attempt to be a 'Journal of Record' - compulsively covering the major stories of the week. While it should be topical in a broad sense, it should not be a slave to this week's front page headlines.
2. The magazine should avoid a traditional preoccupation with politics and politicians.
3. The magazine should not be tied to a studio - and should concentrate its production value on film production. The studio should be used only when it provides specific advantages for a particular story, and for packaging.

4. The magazine should avoid the superficial or highly impressionistic treatment of stories - and avoid the easy or simplistic value judgement.
5. Individual items should be carefully researched prior to production; enough time should be allocated to a story so that complex issues can be dealt with in a comprehensive and comprehensible way for the audience; effective story construction should be emphasized in every item; and stories should be introduced or 'set up' in such a way that the audience understands the context and the setting for each of our items.
6. The magazine and its individual items should be tightly (and sometimes) ruthlessly edited (CBC, 1973).

A wide range of topical subject matter would be included, yet particular attention would be directed to the following "story values" (cf. Chapter 10). The fifth estate would tell stories:

- (a) that give some particular insight into the situations, personalities, issues and institutions that touch most people's lives;
- (b) that tell us something about the way power and influence is exercised - and about the way decision-making (both public and private) really takes place in Canada;
- (c) that expose individuals, companies and institutions who are involved in illegal or irresponsible activities;
- (d) that examine public policy or governmental behaviour in a critical way;
- (e) that anticipate major Canadian stories, emerging personalities - or changes and trends in life style, behaviour or social patterns;
- (f) that deal with the off-beat, poignant, or the humorous aspects of Canadian life;

- (g) that tell us something about the way Canadians live and behave (the Canadian Experience);
- (h) that deal with the personalities, events and institutions in the United States which have a direct influence in Canada;
- (i) that deal with international personalities and issues (CBC, 1973).

These stories would constitute the bulk of the programme's content other than a "mailbag" segment which would feature a selection of viewers' letters to be read on air by one of the programme hosts. Stories would be punctuated by "de-brief" segments in which the hosts would engage in a short, unscripted conversation after the presentation of each filmed story. According to one of the original programme producers, it was felt that such a segment would create a sense of informality and intimacy between hosts and viewer, that it "brought the viewer into a conversational circle" (Interview, March 1982).

Other "distinguishing" characteristics of the programme were specified as follows:

1. The magazine should consider areas such as science; medicine; money; behaviour; life style; sports; entertainment; film; theatre and the arts; business; work; crime; the law; bureaucracy; as important as politics, economics and social issues - and as primary sources for stories;
2. The magazine should attempt on a regular basis to balance its harder, investigative pieces with softer material - particularly those pieces concentrating on the most interesting Canadian personalities in a variety of sub-cultures;

3. The magazine should be prepared to spend an average of three weeks on most of its stories - and should be prepared to spend up to seven or eight weeks on a major story;
4. The magazine should develop a tone that is comfortable, relaxed and good-humoured;
5. The hosts on the magazine should work as reporters on many of the stories and do much of the interviewing and voice-over on those stories. We should get away from the 'marionette' hosts of the past few years - and make sure that our hosts are working journalists and are highly believable as such to the viewers;
6. The magazine should incorporate elements of ADRIENNE AT LARGE from last season. These segments should be more focussed and specific, and should concentrate more on Journalistic pieces than on essays;
7. The magazine should be structured in such a way that the Executive Producer can remove himself to some degree from day-to-day operations and can delegate these responsibilities to a senior or 'line' producer of his choice (CBC, 1973).

Each programme would consist of three stories ranging in duration from fifteen to twenty minutes. The basic unit of story production would be composed of the (field) producer, the journalist/host, and the camera operator (sound and light technicians to be contracted as required). Story production teams would be supported by a group of researchers, who would undertake the preliminary investigative work, and by a group of story editors, who would undertake the writing and final editing of the story. Other supporting staff would include a film researcher (to identify good sources of stock footage and negotiate its use by the fifth estate), a separate film co-

ordinator, a production manager (to co-ordinate field production schedules, book crews, etc.), a unit manager (in effect, the chief accountant of the programme unit), a travel clerk, a graphic artist, a technical (or service) producer, a production assistant, and two script assistants.

At the managerial level, the programme would be directed by the executive producer, who would be responsible for the allocation of the programme budget and the overall administration of the programme unit, and two senior producers, who would be more directly responsible for the journalistic dimensions of programme production. The senior producers would initiate story ideas and approve those initiated by others; review story proposals, research summaries, and shooting schedules; and guide the production of stories. The executive and senior producers would in turn be supported administratively by a three-person clerical group.

The programme premiered in 1975, at which point its contingent of exclusive staff amounted to almost fifty: the executive and senior producers, the three clerical workers, the three hosts, one graphic artist, the film researcher and the film co-ordinator, the production manager and the unit manager, one travel clerk, three camera operators (two contract and one staff), six film editors (five contract and one staff) and one assistant film editor, six researchers and one research assistant, two designated "investigators," five

story editors, four field producers, one designated "special projects" producer, one producer based in Quebec (i.e. Montreal), and a two-person crew based in Paris. At other foreign sites, arrangements were made to utilize existing CBC staff crews (and facilities). Non-exclusive staff included the technical producer and other studio workers, two script assistants, one production assistant, and a free-lance field producer, camera operator and film editor.

Organization of the Programme Unit

Table 6.1 compares the original division of labour at the fifth estate and its current structure. Numerically, only a very slight increase in the size of the labour force occurred during the period 1975 to 1983, from forty-eight to forty-nine exclusive workers. More substantive changes are evident at the managerial level and among the editorial group. In the case of the former, one of the original "senior producer" positions became the position of "co-ordinating producer," one who supervises the editing, assembly, final packaging, and studio production of the programme, whereas the senior producer exercises a more strictly journalistic authority vis-à-vis the approval of story ideas and their editorial construction.

The second major area of change is the editorial

TABLE 6.1: THE DIVISION OF LABOUR AT THE FIFTH ESTATE, 1975 AND 1983

<u>Managerial:</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1983</u>
Executive Producer	1	1
Senior Producer(s)	2	1
Co-ordinating Producer	-	1
<u>Administrative:</u>		
Unit Manager	1	1
Clerical	2 secretaries	1 secretary
	1 receptionist	1 receptionist
	1 travel clerk	1 travel clerk
<u>Technical:</u>		
Production Manager	1	1
Technical Producer*	1	1
Script Assistant(s)*	2	1
Production Assistant(s)	1	1 full-time
		1 part-time
Graphic Artist**	1	1
Film Researcher	1	1
Film Co-ordinator	1	1
Camera Operators	2 staff	1 staff*
	2 contract	2 contract
	1 free-lance	
Sound Technician(s)	1 staff	3 staff
Film Editors	1 staff	1 staff
	5 contract***	4 contract***
	1 free-lance	
Assistant Film Editor(s)	1 contract***	2 contract***
<u>Editorial:</u>		
Journalist/Hosts	3	3
(Story) Producers	5 contract	11 contract
	1 free-lance	
Associate Producers	-	5
Special Projects Producer	1	-
Story Editors	5	-
Investigators	2	-
Researchers	6	6
Junior Researcher	1	1
Total Exclusive	48	49
Total Exclusive and Non-Exclusive	52	54

* denotes non-exclusive staff
 ** non-exclusive in 1983
 *** employed by a private company, yet their work is exclusively directed to the editing of fifth estate stories

division of labour proper, which was both simplified and expanded to incorporate more story producers. The five original contract producers (four based in Ontario and one based in Quebec) now total eleven (seven based in Toronto and one each in Ottawa, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver), in addition to five associate producers (four based in Toronto and one in Montreal). The associate producers are effectively "junior" field producers who perform the same functions yet lack the higher wages and more prestigious title of their senior colleagues. Associate producers occupy the intermediate stage between producers and the research staff, which includes six senior researchers and one junior researcher. This four-tier hierarchy of senior and junior producers, senior and junior researchers simplifies the original division of editorial labour, and its increased size is a response to the story supply requirements of a full programme season.

Presently, the number of exclusive fifth estate workers amounts to forty-nine, an increase of one over the 1975 total. One production assistant is counted as exclusive while another works at the programme only two days per week. Included in the total are the three full-time contractual camera operators or "cinematographers" and the three sound technicians. While only one film editor is employed by the fifth estate directly and therefore considered a "staff

editor," the four other film editors and their two assistants are employed by a private independent company, Film Arts Limited of Toronto, and are contracted by the CBC to provide their services exclusively to the fifth estate.¹ Other than the part-time production assistant, all of the above are part of the exclusive staff. Non-exclusive staff include the studio technicians and the studio or floor director who, like the technical producer and script assistant, are engaged by the unit for two days weekly; that is, for the purposes of studio production only.

Since the basic components of the programme are the (average) three stories, the most important production sub-unit is the field production team, which consists of the producer, the host, and the crew (one camera operator and one sound technician). Of these, the producer occupies the most important and most authoritative post. Despite the declarations of the programme proposal cited earlier, which warned against the use of "marionette" hosts, fifth estate hosts tend to play a minimal role in the editorial production of stories, largely limited to interviews and voice-overs, and only rarely extending to such activities as script writing or editing. Rather, since the hosts must appear on-camera and guide the viewer through the story in accordance with the "reporter-intensive" format, and since many stories are in progress simultaneously, the bulk of their time is consumed by

travelling from one shooting site to another, as interviews and narrative links (e.g. stand-ups) are shot. Hosts, then, are more often "parachuted" into a story as required, and quickly briefed about the story topic in order to conduct the interview or narrate the stand-up segment. Hence, although the final on-screen appearance of the story suggests otherwise, their actual contribution to its production is negligible at best. Likewise, the more senior and well-experienced camera operators may offer editorial input from time to time, but in general their concerns are limited to the techniques of filming, and their actions, along with those of the sound technicians, are at the behest of the producer, who remains the final arbiter of decisions about the filming and who enjoys a semblance of autonomy and authority in the field.²

Below the managerial level, the organization of the fifth estate is somewhat decentralized and story production individualized in the hands of the field or story producers. A few field producers are directly employed by the Corporation, yet most are contracted to the unit for renewable periods of one to three years. The camera and sound operators are less directly tied to the programme unit. Two camera operators are under contract and with the third there is "an informal understanding" (Interview, Production Manager, January 1982). Under the contracts, each camera operator is

assured of a minimum of 135 to 150 days of work yearly. The third camera operator is assigned periodically to the fifth estate and otherwise shared by other CBC programme units. In the event that additional camera operators are needed, the production manager must negotiate with the CBC's film department. Camera operators are not bound by any collective agreement. Sound technicians are assigned to the programme by the CBC's sound department for rotating one-month intervals, and all are members of NABET.

Individual field producers are therefore the "anchors" of story production, supported by a periphery of administrative and technical workers and supervised at the top by the executive and senior producers. Internally, it makes for a loose assemblage of quasi-independent workers who hold varying relations with the unit and who are co-ordinated only at the top, not united or integrated at the centre, in contrast to THE JOURNAL for example. A further indicator is that there are no regular staff meetings that join the staff together. The only occasion at which all members of the unit meet collectively is the annual end-of-season party. Otherwise, co-ordination takes place only at the top, through the periodic (again, irregular) meetings of the executive and senior producers in order to review story proposals and establish the programme line-ups.

The production of stories may extend from a few days

to a few months, and tends to proceed through five basic stages:

(i) The Proposal Stage: The producer formulates the story idea, conducts some preliminary research either independently or in co-operation with a researcher, and prepares a proposal, including a tentative budget estimate, which is submitted to the executive and senior producers for approval.

(ii) The Planning Stage: Once a story is approved, the producer prepares a story outline, which details the visual and narrative sequences. The visual requirements will in turn determine the necessary shooting schedule and the actual costs of producing the story. The shooting schedule is submitted to the executive producer, who finalizes the story budget, and to the production manager, who assigns the crew and the host. Subject to their availability, the hosts and crews are rotated randomly among the field producers. Producers, however, are often able to specify their preference to work with a particular host and crew.

(iii) The Field Production Stage: The producer and crew travel to the shooting sites in accordance with the shooting schedule, and film the necessary interviews, stand-ups and background shots. The host assigned to the story joins them in the field as required.

(iv) The Initial Assembly Stage: Upon his/her return

to the fifth estate offices, the producer completes the script of the story (some, however, actually write it at the planning stage), screens the raw footage, conducts the preliminary editing, and produces a "rough cut" of the story.

(v) The Final Assembly Stage: The rough cut is screened by the executive and senior producers and, on the basis of their response, the producer proceeds to the final editing and assembly (including a number of miscellaneous tasks such as the preparation of the still visual slide which will appear during the introduction), arriving ultimately at a final "fine cut" of the story.

These five production stages apply to stories produced internally by the programme's own producers. In the case of externally-procured items, a producer may simply be assigned to re-edit the story and/or incorporate a voice-over by one of the programme's own hosts. Fifth estate management have traditionally attempted to minimize the use of externally-produced items. On the one hand, their use is undesirable since such stories are often incompatible with the programme's format; specifically, their mode of presentation tends to be reporter-intensive and is likely to prominently feature a non-fifth estate journalist or host, rendering re-editing difficult if not impossible. On the other hand, steadily rising production costs and steadily declining budgetary allocations have combined to increasingly force the

unit to make use of stories produced by others. Whereas traditionally the unit purchased items from Intermag or the BBC's PANORAMA programme in order to extract footage of remote international locations, it is more and more faced with the need to re-broadcast the stories in their entirety, and therefore with the problem of attempting to re-present the stories as "original" fifth estate productions.

A more practical alternative is that of co-production with other broadcasting organizations. Some co-productions have been organized with PBS, in which PBS underwrote approximately 40 per cent of the production costs and the fifth estate supplied the remainder as well as the labour necessary to produce the story. For example, a story regarding illegal arms shipments from the United States via Quebec to South Africa was co-ordinated with two other broadcasting organizations: the BBC, which contributed the South African footage,⁴ and PBS, which supplied the American shots. The story was later broadcast in all three markets by the public broadcasting company in each case. The executive producer, however, continues to be reluctant to pursue co-production arrangements with other networks or with the CBC's own regional current affairs producers. Unit management always insists that the production partner supply the capital only or some portion of it and that a fifth estate producer carry out the actual production of the story. Such was the

case, for example, with the "Torture" story (broadcast 23 March 1982), a co-production with the American station WGBH-TV BOSTON, which provided the much-needed financing that made possible the production of the costly item.

The greatest proportion of production activity is therefore directed to the three stories to be featured on any given programme. Final assembly becomes a straightforward and routinized aspect of production, in which the studio portions are recorded and combined with the filmed stories to produce the completed programme. These include the story introductions and the "mailbag" and "de-brief" segments, which serve as the "pads" for editing purposes, i.e. provide the time flexibility needed to meet the precise 56-minute time allotment.⁵ The studio recording session takes place each Tuesday morning at the same studio/control room suite where THE NATIONAL is assembled. The control room is occupied by the executive producer, the co-ordinating producer, the technical producer, the script assistant, the switcher, the audio technician, the lighting director, and the Video 4 operator. Present in the studio are the hosts, the studio director, three camera operators, the staging crew leader and the two-to-three person staging crew, and one or more audio assistants. Although the suite is reserved for the use of the fifth estate from 7:00 AM to noon, the session typically lasts no more than two or three hours, in which the in-studio

portions of the programme are recorded along with any additional work that requires studio/control room facilities.

During the afternoon, the final editing and assembly of the programme is completed by a video tape editor and two production assistants under the direction of the co-ordinating producer. The work is carried out in a VTR editing suite, where the production assistants identify the location of each programme segment on the tape and time each segment to ensure that the total duration of the tape does not exceed fifty-six minutes. Most often, it is the mailbag segment that is lengthened or shortened; the filmed stories, of course, are "pre-packaged" units and are rarely if ever adjusted at this point. In all, the session typically lasts about two hours. The co-ordinating producer selects cuts from one of the stories over which the closing credits will appear and, if available, he also selects cuts from forthcoming stories to appear in network promotions; indeed, three promotional tapes, all of differing lengths, will be prepared. These will be broadcast at the discretion of the CBC's promotion department, perhaps twenty to thirty times throughout the week preceding the next programme's air date. Additionally, the senior producer writes short abstracts of the stories which are forwarded to the TV Current Affairs publicist and which appear in various television guide publications.

Telling Stories: The Production of fifth estate Items

Of the nine story values outlined in the programme proposal, most stories produced by the fifth estate fall into categories "c" and "i": stories about "victims" or instances of injustice and violations of civil liberties, which are most often produced by the programme's own staff, and stories about international "personalities and issues," often purchased from the BBC or other organizations. The other notable tendency that recurs throughout the stories pertains to the origins of story ideas. The most common are: first, ideas derived from newspaper articles, particularly from The Globe and Mail; secondly, ideas initiated by the executive or senior producer; and thirdly, ideas initiated by a field producer, which in turn commonly derive from friends and colleagues, the limited circle of the producer's primary group. These two patterns can be demonstrated by a close examination of the types and origins of fifth estate stories. Table 6.2 outlines the stories broadcast during the first stage of the programme sample, January to June 1982.⁶ A review of the origins and evolution of some of these stories will illustrate the nature of the items produced by the fifth estate and the production constraints affecting weekly current affairs producers.

TABLE 6.2: FIFTH ESTATE STORIES, 1982 SAMPLE

<u>Air Date</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length*</u>	<u>Air Date</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length*</u>
Jan 5	1. Skagit Standoff	15:34	Feb 2	1. Home Sweat Home	19:37
	2. In the Red	16:34		2. Making the Grade	12:24
	3. Neilson of the Herald	15:43		3. Allah's Warriors	15:52
	TOTAL	47:51		TOTAL	47:53
Jan 12	1. Dreams For Sale	19:00	Feb 16	1. Storm Warning	15:32
	2. Getting Their Kicks	11:03		2. Bounty Hunter II	8:07
	3. After Somoza	19:09		3. The Plot	25:48
	TOTAL	49:12		TOTAL	49:27
Jan 19	1. Bounty Hunter	19:37	Feb 23	1. I.U.D.	18:22
	2. The Winner Is	17:08		2. Home Run	18:35
	3. Trail Raiders	12:57		3. Lady in Waiting	14:06
	TOTAL	49:42		TOTAL	51:03
Jan 26	1. Let Us Prey	27:43	Mar 2	1. Two Faces	25:54
	2. Mandela	22:21		2. Precious Friends	11:38
	TOTAL	50:04		3. Land Rich, Farm Poor	11:49
				TOTAL	49:21

TABLE 6.2: FIFTH ESTATE STORIES, 1982 SAMPLE (continued)

<u>Air Date</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length*</u>	<u>Air Date</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length*</u>
Mar 9	1. Foam Warnings	20:17	Apr 6	1. Wasteland	18:29
	2. Brill-o	15:26		2. Dream Horse	29:42
	3. A Striking Force	14:12		TOTAL	48:11
	TOTAL	49:55	Apr 20	1. The Cole Case	29:16
Mar 16	1. Disbarred	17:49		2. Levesque	19:32
	2. Cracks in the Watchtower	17:56		TOTAL	48:48
	3. Guns For Ireland	15:33	Apr 28**	1. Not So Grande Prairie	20:04
	TOTAL	51:18		2. Making Ends Meat	10:47
Mar 23	1. The Hooded Men	51:00		3. Going Broke	17:05
	TOTAL	51:00		TOTAL	47:56
Mar 30	1. Boosting	13:52	May 5	1. The Cruel Camera	51:00
	2. Post Mortem	18:05		TOTAL	51:00
	3. Troubled Turkey	12:59			
	TOTAL	44:56			

TABLE 6.2: FIFTH ESTATE STORIES, 1982 SAMPLE (continued)

<u>Air Date</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length*</u>	<u>Air Date</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length*</u>
May 19	1. Wrung Out	15:31	May 26	1. Season Retrospective	51:00
	2. Island Still Life	12:16		TOTAL	51:00
	3. Will Power	21:58			
	TOTAL	49:45			

* Story lengths exclude studio introductions.
 ** The programme air date was changed from Tuesday to Wednesday for the remainder of the season due to the NHL play-off schedule.

Note: The programme was pre-empted on the following dates: February 9 (NHL All-Star Game), April 13 (NHL play-off game), May 12 (ACTRA Awards).

(i) "Skagit Standoff"

The story titled "Skagit Standoff" ran fifteen minutes and concerned a dispute between a conservation group and the British Columbia and federal Canadian governments on the one hand and the Seattle City Light Company, the U.S. Federal Power Regulatory Agency and the U.S. State Department on the other hand, with respect to the latter's plan to raise the Ross Dam in Washington state and consequently flood most of the Skagit Valley in British Columbia. While the source of the story idea could not be determined, the producer indicated the basis of its appeal and its intrinsic story values in the story proposal:

Aside from the regular environmental concerns, this dam story has a couple of things that makes [sic] it more interesting - an international angle and a nice little bit of history thrown in ... I don't know if we can make enough of the historical, political and nationalist angles to dress up what is basically a fairly routine environmental story (although it is pretty galling that Seattle saves four million dollars a year on electricity and its citizens pay one-third of what B.C. citizens do because we are letting them flood Canadian land for a paltry \$7 per acre per year).⁷

In the same proposal, the producer identified the key protagonists of the debate in clear and straightforward terms:

The good guys are (of course) a group of environmentalists and conservationists with the rather quaint name of Run Out Skagit Spoilers (ROSS for short). On their side is the British Columbia government and, in a rather half-hearted fashion, the Canadian government.

The bad guys are Seattle City Light, whose engineers seem to keep themselves busy by thinking up inventive ways to redirect the rivers and streams in the area ...8

The proposal included a detailed historical outline of the dispute by the Toronto-based producer. Later in the month, the ROSS group organized a series of events to publicize their objectives, and the Vancouver-based producer was authorized to take a crew to the valley to shoot some scenes and cover the planned events. The Vancouver producer and crew filmed scenic shots of the valley amidst their filming of the ROSS tour, which included lunch by the river and a canoe trip. Two interviews were also filmed with the following subjects:

The first, Lindsay Thacker, lives in Hope, the closest settlement to the valley. He walked through the area in 1939. He didn't work as well as I'd hoped, but he does talk a bit about coming through the country years ago. The second, Wilfred 'Curly' Chittenden, was far better. He worked for Seattle City Light in 1952, clearing debris from Ross Lake. But his friends criticized him for working for a company that planned to flood even more of the valley. He quit in 1969 and now devotes his time to fighting Seattle City Light. 'Curly' works, because he surveys the stump-filled lake (his handiwork) and walks up to rest against a stump before telling us his story.9

No other interviews were filmed since time ran out and others with whom the producer talked informally "didn't seem to enhance the issue."¹⁰ The purpose of both the scenic shots and the interviews seemed to be to portray the sincerity of the environmentalists against the background of the valley's

natural beauty. That the requisite shots of the valley area should be portrayed in such a way as to "enhance" the arguments of the environmentalists is apparent in the producer's report to the executive and senior producers:

...considering we had only one day in the valley, we shot some very pretty footage and, hopefully, some film that can be used to illustrate the story. It was also lucky that we went on Saturday. The day began with clear, blue skies but clouded over by late afternoon. When we left it was raining. Sunday (today) would not have given us the sparkling pictures because it has poured all day. The valley amid the clouds would hardly show any majesty or grandeur.¹¹

Note the significant influence of a factor as incidental as the weather in shaping and "enhancing" the treatment of the story pre-determined by the field producer. What is exceptional about the production of this story is that the story outline was written after some footage had been shot, in November 1981. Additional footage was required of the dam itself and of interviews in Seattle and Vancouver. The producer also proposed to take the International Joint Commission on a tour of the valley by helicopter, or, alternatively, to film the Commission at a scheduled hearing in December. These proposals were submitted to the senior and executive producers for their consideration and approval, presumably to obtain permission to rent the helicopter, which alone would cost an estimated \$2,500.¹² In the end, the IJC refused to take the valley tour or even speak publicly of the dispute to the fifth estate.

The story was completed in December and scheduled to air 5 January 1982. The senior producer's promotional abstract of the item read as follows:

The Skagit Standoff: The twelve-year battle over plans to flood 5,200 acres of British Columbia recreational land to bring additional cheap electrical power to residents of Seattle, Washington. Bob McKeown examines the role of the International Joint Commission in grappling with an emotional Canada-U.S. border issue.¹³

The basis of the dispute, the definition of the "issues" (Canadian sovereignty, environmental protection), the identification of the "good guys" (Canadians, environmentalists) and "bad guys" (Americans) and the means to present the good guys as good guys had all been pre-determined before production of the story began, and it was according to and within this framework that production proceeded, right through to the preparation of the audience and the introduction of the final completed story.

(ii) "Bounty Hunter"

The story of the kidnapping of Sydney Jaffe is now well-known, although at the time of its initial broadcast by the fifth estate (19 January 1982) it had not been widely reported. The idea derived from a short newspaper article which first reported the original kidnapping incident. Read by one of the hosts and brought to the attention of the senior

producer, it was assigned to a field producer in November 1981 to investigate further. The producer provided a "preliminary report" about the story dated 23 November 1981 and further reports to the executive and senior producers dated 25 and 26 November. On the basis of his early reports at the pre-planning stage, it is evident that from the outset Jaffe was to be treated as the "victim." After a lengthy meeting with Jaffe's Toronto lawyer, the producer described Jaffe as follows:

Jaffe seems to have committed a technical violation. Jaffe has no criminal record, is well known and respected as a Toronto entrepreneur (one friend is Jim Peterson, the Liberal MPP). He became a Canadian citizen within the last two years and recently bought a condo with his wife Ruth at 110 Bloor Street West (from which he was kidnapped). He has no previous history of illegal activity.¹⁴

The producer's interpretation of the incident and the story values that it offered to the fifth estate were summarized in the following way:

What we have here is an incredible story of a flagrant violation of Canada's sovereignty by an American thug operating in concert with State of Florida officials with phony official-looking identification papers and badges.¹⁵

A list of possible interview subjects included: the bounty hunter; the security guard at Jaffe's Toronto residence; Jaffe's wife, listed as "wife of victim"; his Toronto lawyer; an External Affairs official (to discuss their protest to the U.S. government); an investigator for the State's Attorney's office in Florida, who allegedly provided

Jaffe's address to the bounty hunters; Jaffe himself; an official of the Ontario Attorney-General's office (to discuss their reaction and their investigation of the event); Jaffe's Florida lawyer; the Florida police captain who had been quoted that "he didn't care how Jaffe was brought back, he was just happy to have him back;" and lastly, the Florida land registrar, to discuss the land fraud allegation.¹⁶ The producer added that the kidnapping incident might be dramatically re-created, that parallels might be drawn with the recent bounty hunter kidnapping of Biggs, the Great Train Robber, from South America, that "we might debunk the myth of the heroic bounty hunter depicted in such TV series as HAVE GUN WILL TRAVEL and in a famous Steve McQueen film," and that, given these possibilities, there would be "lots of visual material" (i.e. the dramatic re-creation, clips of the South American kidnapping, footage from the television series and/or film). He also suggested the following "treatment:"

I would avoid going into the land fraud aspects except to say that it was a technical violation of a new law which is non-extraditable.¹⁷

While a latent purpose of the proposal is to suggest its "treatment" (story proposals and outlines are also referred to as "treatments" by some), the manifest purposes are to justify story values, present preliminary research, and demonstrate that sufficient evidence is available and accessible to proceed with the production of the item.

Jaffe's Toronto lawyer supplied the necessary evidence in this case, in a letter dated 24 November 1981, which indicated that there was police evidence of the activities of the Florida State's Attorney's office and the bounty hunter prior to the kidnapping. The letter included excerpts of testimony and other evidence presented at the October 1981 trial of Jaffe in Florida.

The bounty hunter was contacted in Florida by the field producer early in December, and expressed a willingness to be interviewed. In the producer's words, "he actually wants to tell his side of the story, now that he is facing serious charges."¹⁸ This development fulfilled the requirements of the balance principle and confirmed the viability of the story. Three days later, the senior producer prepared the promo for the item, which was forwarded to the TV Current Affairs publicist with copies to the executive producer, the field producer and his associate producer, and the host. Once again, it adhered loyally to the pre-formulated "treatment" of Jaffe which had been determined at the outset:

A Toronto real estate executive is kidnapped in his apartment lobby and hustled off to Florida in a private jet by modern vigilantes: Eric Malling reports on the bounty hunters who ignore Canadian frontiers to collect their reward money on the shadowy side of the law.¹⁹

(iii) "Let Us Prey"

The title of this story changed from "The Jesus Hucksters" to "Video Vicars" to "Let Us Prey" through the course of its evolution, and its eventual broadcast on 26 January 1982 evoked a massive and unprecedented audience response in the form of letters and telephone calls.²⁰ The original story proposal, dated 7 October 1981, identified the injustice component of the story:

More than 90 per cent of today's religious TV time is purchased, mostly by right-wing, fundamentalist groups. In the view of the mainstream clergy, this is a distortion of the medium and a great injustice to the majority of North Americans.²¹

The producer included a lengthy discussion of the right-wing activities of Ken Campbell of the Moderate Majority organization, and noted his recent investigations by Revenue Canada. Under the subtitle "Some of the Victims," the producer (formally an "associate" producer) indicated that his sources of information included another fifth estate producer and the religion editor of the Toronto Star. His opinion of the "video vicars" and his feelings of repugnance towards one in particular, Don Stewart, were made plain at the proposal stage:

I've attached copies of a small sample of Stewart's letters so you might understand the type of scum we're dealing with. What it amounts to is emotional blackmail.²²

The following day he issued a memo which more fully articulated his perception of the story and the treatment it called for:

I think we must stress the importance of the pending court cases and hearings on religious television's future in Canada. Then we illustrate just how big a business it's become in North America; demonstrate the evangelists' hard-sell methods; and reveal the false hopes and real hardships they create.

When we get into the fund-raising aspects it would be effective to run a series of short clips of several of the big-game evangelists making their pitch. Then we could go from the sparkle and glitter of, say, the 100 Huntley Street studio to the frail form of 71-year old Charlotte McPhee sitting sad and penniless in a Sudbury old age home where she fled for refuge from the continuous onslaught of at least one evangelist who conned and cajoled her (albeit through the mail) into sending him thousands of dollars over the years. That particular evangelist, Don Stewart, should be hit in depth as well as David Mainse and his 100 Huntley. We should also centre somewhat on Ernest Angley when we get into the healing aspects of evangelism ... (the producer) agrees with me on the general thrust of the item and we think Adrienne Clarkson would be best suited as host.²³

These early discussions of the story reveal the degree to which visual imagery is pre-planned and thoughtfully plotted to maximize the effectiveness of the victimization theme, a theme common enough to fifth estate stories that the focus upon victimized individuals as the centrepiece of the item found the ready agreement of the producer. Likewise, the choice of host corresponded to their consensual perception of the thrust of the story and its most significant elements. The pursuit of that direction in turn required a considerable amount of research in the field (five days of research in

Sudbury; two days in Phoenix, the home of Don Stewart; and one day in Brantford), which escalated the usual travel costs to include those for a researcher. An exceptional range of filming was also required: in Phoenix, in Sudbury (of Charlotte McPhee) and Espanola (of her family and others), of an elderly couple on Manitoulin Island who had been victimized by Oral Roberts, of another victim in Brantford, and of several sequences in Toronto (shots of the 100 HUNTLEY STREET studio during a taping and interviews with "healed" believers, with a psychiatrist on the subject of psychosomatic healings, with a representative of the mainstream churches, with David Mainse, and with Ernest Angley, who visited the city in October). Considering the comparatively high research, travel and film costs, it was understood that "Let Us Prey" should be a lead item and should consume a larger than average share of air time. With respect to its thrust, the senior producer expressed only "reservations, not prohibitions" about the discussions of Campbell, attacks upon 100 HUNTLEY STREET, and "imposing good taste on others."²⁴ Although a far from dependable indicator, the written responses of viewers suggest that the sharp criticisms of television evangelism were indeed the most dominant and most provocative elements of the final item.

(iv) "Storm Warning"

The story of the east coast scallops industry was first suggested by a producer at CBC Halifax, who submitted a detailed outline of what he called "a great 'men of the sea' story."²⁵ The idea had originally derived from the Anglican Arch Deacon in Halifax, a well-experienced seaman, who expressed two related concerns about the operations of Scotia Trawler Limited, a subsidiary of National Sea Products; namely, the safety of their vessels and the arbitrary firing of captains who refused to go to sea under severe weather conditions. The Halifax producer had already spoken with a large number of seamen, seven of whom were quoted in his outline, and he indicated those who were willing to discuss on-air their experiences and the poor condition of the boats. Like most proposals, it specified very precisely those who could be expected to appear in the item and what these subjects could be expected to say. These functions may otherwise be performed by a researcher, whose main responsibility is to assemble the "backgrounder" to the story, largely on the basis of newspaper clippings, i.e. other media reports, and to conduct pre-interviews with the subjects in order to determine what is likely to be said. Time and budget limitations both contribute to the need for stories to be planned in detail well in advance of filming.

The producer noted that some shooting problems would arise in this case; for example, it would not be possible for the field crew to film aboard any National Sea vessel, although it might be possible to film one of their vessels from another company's boat. Lastly, he summarized the essence of the story in this way:

National [Sea Products] is in serious financial trouble. The scallop fishery is the cream of the crop. Unsafe vessels are being sent to some of the worst seas in the North Atlantic. And the firm is flouting the law of the sea - the captain is the man responsible.²⁶

The fifth estate's senior producer replied that he was "very impressed" by the story proposal. Indeed, he responded by formulating his own vision of how the story would appear:

I see a gathering of trawler captains in a maritime-looking bar or pub in Lunenburg. They are swapping tales of misadventure, of survival and fortitude in the roughest waters of the North Atlantic. Then we reveal that these men all have one thing in common: they've all been fired by the largest and most successful fishing company in Atlantic Canada.

Then we go to Georges Bank, we describe the boundary dispute with the Americans, the intense competition with the Americans, the pressure to bring back this seven dollar-a-pound delicacy.

Then, of course, we describe the unsafe boats, the orders to sail regardless, the apparent failure of government.²⁷

There remained, however, "the essential problem of illustration,"²⁸ i.e. the need for "evidence" of unsafe boats. Since the central thrust of the item was to be the safety theme, and since it was not possible to actually see and film

the evidence of unsafe boats, the senior producer suggested that perhaps a trawler captain who planned to quit anyway would allow a fifth estate crew to board his boat.

Alternatively, the producer might persuade the steamship inspectors to allow a crew to accompany them on an inspection tour. The Halifax producer was advised that, if the problem of illustration could be resolved, filming could begin immediately.

The senior producer instructed one of the researchers to gather information about the scallops industry and the recent financial history of National Sea Products. At the same time, he tentatively scheduled the story to air 16 February and forwarded the following promo to the publicist:

The story behind the scallop. This delicious and expensive delicacy of the sea means incomes reaching six figures for the tough skippers who harvest Nova Scotia's Georges Bank, but many of these skippers complain they are too often forced to sea in unsafe ships and unsafe weather. The highly-regarded skippers are called 'highliners', and Bob McKeown explores the risks they run to bring the subtle flavour of the scallop to the finest restaurants of the world.²⁹

The researcher produced a detailed "backgrounder" which assessed the state of the scallops industry and the financial state of National Sea Products. During January, the story blossomed outwards, to the extent that it appeared on the fifth estate's "work in progress" list, transmitted across the wire to CBC News in Halifax, which produced a story, which in turn apparently caught the attention of the Halifax

correspondent of The Globe and Mail, who wrote a story which in turn attracted the attention of a JOURNAL producer. For the fifth estate, a serious complication entered the production of the story just five days prior to its scheduled air date, when the legal firm representing Scotia Trawler forwarded a letter by courier to the president of the CBC. On the preceding Friday, the host assigned to the story had conducted an interview at Scotia Trawler. Prior to the interview, Scotia Trawler had forwarded a letter to the host expressing concern about "lack of fairness" by the fifth estate. Company officials ran their own audio tape of the interview and, based upon their review of the tape, cited five "examples of substantial unfairness" in addition to accusations that crew members had trespassed on company property.³⁰ Short of any actual threat to initiate legal action, the letter concluded with the observation that the fifth estate had been found liable "for slandering other Atlantic Canada citizens" in the past.³¹

The CBC's legal department responded that the matter would be taken into consideration by the producers of the story, adding that the trespassing accusation was unfounded, since permission to film on company premises was granted by Scotia Trawler employees who ostensibly held the authority to grant such permission. The company again disputed that point and others in their telexed response, received one day prior

to the story's air date, which concluded:

...we will look forward with interest tomorrow evening to the steps taken by such producers to counterbalance [the host's] approach and to seek to present the matter in a manner consistent with CBC's mandate and objectivity.³²

However, the final item which appeared makes it apparent that the effects of this final source of intimidation were redundant. The potential legal ramifications of the story had already circumvented any serious critique of Scotia Trawler's operations, and in any event, it had long before been determined that the essential problem was one of "the apparent failure of government."

(v) "Foam Warnings"

The story proposal of 12 February 1982 suggested the following:

We could do an item describing how the whole mess over formaldehyde insulation came about. We could make the point that the federal government usually does a fairly good job in protecting the public from foods, drugs and products that are unsafe and then explain why it is that there are now at least 80,000 homes in this country insulated with an inherently unstable chemical foam that causes cancer in lab rats and makes people sick with eye, nose and throat irritations, coughing, headaches, dizziness, nausea, vomiting, nose bleeds and asthma-like wheezing.

It seems obvious that something went drastically wrong with the normally painstaking and methodical testing and approval procedures of a number of federal agencies including health and environment departments, the National Research Council and the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.³³

The producer pinpointed the root of the problem as improper installation of the foam insulation, which was in turn the result of the introduction of the CHIP programme by the state which had the effect of bringing "all kinds of hustlers into the home insulation market."³⁴ The senior producer replied that:

We're very much impressed by the possibilities for a tough, retrospective, historical account of foam: What went wrong! The insider warnings and the employees quitting are good, strong material. How available are such people? ...As painful as it may be, CMHC and the others should agree to a tough, fair, comprehensive review of the past. The project should get top priority ... How soon can we see a treatment?³⁵

The 6-1/2 page treatment was submitted two days later. Again, like most story treatments, it was extensively detailed in its planning of the story construction, including the identification of subjects who would appear and the anticipated content of their statements. The item was produced within three weeks and aired 9 March 1982, at a time when UFFI stories were featured frequently in other news and current affairs programmes and in the printed press. The predominance of these reports in the news media at large contributed to both the origins of the fifth estate story and to the "pack value" which re-affirmed its legitimacy.

(vi) "Boosting"

The idea for this story about shoplifting was submitted to the executive producer by a producer of THIS LAND in November 1981. The THIS LAND producer advised that two security officers, a Toronto police specialist, and seven professional shoplifters or "boosters" were willing to appear in the item (the shoplifters appeared in silhouette and their voices were modified). The shoplifters were described by the producer:

All are pros who work both retail and industrial. They tend to be charming, articulate, funny and take pride in their work. They live a perpetual life of cowboys and Indians, always (mostly) one step ahead of the posse. They also cost us hundreds of millions of dollars a year.³⁶

Twelve organizations were contacted to discuss the topic, among them major department stores, the Retail Council of Canada and a sociologist at York University (all in Toronto). Twelve shooting locations were also listed, all in Toronto. Some boosting routines would be re-created dramatically by a man-and-woman team willing to demonstrate the scams on-air. A statistical outline of the scope of the practice was also offered, in which the producer stated that it was difficult to obtain national data directly related to shoplifting, since the police do not distinguish between types of theft and retail associations do not distinguish between internal losses (shrinkage and employee theft) and external

losses. Nonetheless, he suggested that:

...it is possible to extrapolate from our Metro Toronto figures a national estimate, since there is no reason to believe that any area of the country is immune, or would vary significantly either upwards or downwards, except for perhaps Vancouver, which has a high percentage of the nation's drug addicts.³⁷

Again, the producer in this case supplied a detailed, clip-by-clip outline of the narrative-visual sequences that would appear in the item, including a verbatim script. Quotes from the pre-interviews and other notations about the interview subjects were also included; for example, two of the professional shoplifters (a married couple) were described as attractive, in their early thirties, free of any convictions, owners of a beautiful home in Rosedale, and "very middle class."³⁸ The principal attraction of the story, apart from its novelty and the opportunity to feature shoplifters on-air, was the ability to shoot the entire item in Toronto, thereby eliminating any travel requirements (typically one of the highest production costs) and yet offering a story of general, national appeal.

(vii) "Wasteland"

This story, concerning the South Bronx area of New York City, was initiated by the fifth estate's senior producer who, in a memo dated 19 January 1982, described the thrust of the item as follows:

Canadians make millions of trips into the United States every year. Ordinarily, they pass through bustling airports, stay at efficient Hilton hotels and see a nation that is modern, prosperous and welcoming. They do not see the abandoned rubble of Bedford-Stuyvesant; they do not see the hopelessly unemployable blacks and Puerto Ricans who, in any other country, would be called landless peasants. This is Third World America.

Our problem, in exploring this tragic failure of a wealthy nation, is to decide what we have to learn from it. Our examination must pass beyond voyeurism...

At its heart, this is an essay on inter-governmental relations. We may actually have to use the words 'transfer payments.' My premise is that Canada does a better job than the United States in taking the broad tax base of the entire nation and redistributing that income for effective local use.³⁹

A few weeks later, one of the CBC's New York producers responded with a story outline, which identified the "victims" in this case and specified the major story values that it offered:

The South Bronx - with its crime, poverty, building abandonment, drug addiction, vandalism, gang warfare and welfare dependency - has become a national symbol of urban decay in America ...

For the victims, deprivation is worsened by despair; the problems of the South Bronx are enormous, and no dose of medicine tried so far has reversed the trend to destruction of this once-stable, working class community...

We will meet the occupants and landlord of a building in decay, see squatters in half-destroyed buildings and hear from neighbourhood cops about the drugs and crime that afflict the residents. This will be some of the most dramatic footage seen outside the Third World.

This is not, however, simply a human interest story. We will put the problems of the South Bronx into a national, topical perspective ... This is a powerful story that will require twenty minutes to tell properly.⁴⁰

The senior producer replied with a list of specific

comments that included the following:

1. We agree that a detailed examination of the South Bronx can provide the sinew for a despairing essay on the failure of government. (...)
5. Please keep in mind that this is a report for the Canadian (underline Canadian) Broadcasting Corporation, and the dramatic situation we encounter in the South Bronx must be made meaningful and relevant for Canadian viewers. Not everyone in Edmonton is fascinated by the political intricacies of the City of New York.

In this connection, I am particularly concerned about the role of Mayor Ed Koch. He will, of course, appear in the programme; he is, after all, the mayor. I am not anxious, however, to provide Mayor Koch with yet another platform for the further dissemination of his political ambitions.

Mayor Koch will attack the current administration in Washington. In the context of this film, such talk is hopelessly irrelevant. The South Bronx was not created by Ronald Reagan; the South Bronx was created by liberal Democrats. We must face up to that reality. Convenient attacks on Republican administrations in Albany and Washington by two ambitious Democratic office-holders do not provide a sufficient intellectual base for this important film.⁴¹

The recurrent theme of "government failure" and the simplistic theory of causality evident in these production documents is consistent with the "journalistic view of politics" outlined by Golding & Elliott (1979) and others. According to that view, politics is equated with government rather than power and is "a system of administration manned by individuals ... and thus judged as the acts of individuals (are) judged - in terms of integrity, efficiency, administrative skill, guile, charm and intelligence" (Golding & Elliott, 1979: 197). It is a particular explanatory framework devoid of any conceptualization of social process

and dependent upon a view of history as a succession of random, disconnected events highlighted by the noteworthy actions of celebrated individuals. Topics such as urban decay, therefore, become practically investigable and most expeditiously handled by illustrating the circumstances of individuals victimized by incompetent or blindly partisan government administrations. The degree to which such a framework pervades the final product will be illustrated by the analysis which appears in Chapters 9 and 10, yet what is significant to note here is the way in which such a framework defines the initial approach to the topic and establishes the parameters of the story at the outset, i.e. at the planning stage, and continues to guide the evolution of the story through to its final appearance on-air. In this case as in others, the theme of individuals victimized by incompetent governments carries through to the preparation of the audience for the completed work:

Third World New York - Adrienne Clarkson visits an area of the South Bronx, where arson, decay and crime make this section of New York City as bleak as the worst sections of the Third World. New York's Bronx-born mayor, Ed Koch, describes the failure of national governments to deal with America's hidden victims.⁴²

(viii) "The Cole Case"

This story was first proposed in August 1981 and concerned a Toronto college student of Jamaican origin who spent three years in prison after a wrongful conviction of murder. The student, Derek Cole, was described in the story proposal as "a victim of the criminal justice system."⁴³ The story was a "co-production" with Reader's Digest, which agreed to pay fees in return for an air date that would correspond to their publication date. At the time that it was assigned to a fifth estate field producer, the senior producer had determined that "the story will have two major points: Derek Cole, a man who can't find work because he needlessly spent three years in penitentiary; Derek Cole, victim of a failure by court and Crown to invoke the most elementary rules of jurisprudence."⁴⁴

The field producer consulted the author of the Digest article yet was instructed to "trace the chain of events himself from original sources."⁴⁵ Subsequently, the producer studied the trial transcripts and the notes of the Digest contributor. His impressions of the story were duly recorded as follows: "I see the Cole story as a simple miscarriage of justice story with possible racist elements."⁴⁶

A major impediment to the production of the item was the inability to fulfill the requirements of the balance

principle; specifically, a repeated refusal of comment by the Attorney-General's office, accused in the story of bypassing traditional rules of evidence in order to obtain a conviction. By April 1982 it was still not possible to arrange interviews with any representatives of the Crown in the case, a source of some frustration for the story producer:

To my mind this lack of co-operation seems unfounded and regrettable, especially in light of the fact that they (the Crown participants in the case) are aware that an underlying thesis of the show is that our judicial system does indeed work.⁴⁷

After a series of further contacts by the producer, the Attorney-General's office issued a formal letter specifying the procedures and conditions under which an interview could be carried out: among them, that no more than four questions be posed, to be pre-determined and mutually agreed upon in advance; that the interview be of no more or less than four minutes' duration, excluding the time required to ask the questions; and that the fifth estate provide written assurance that the full four minutes would appear in the item. The senior producer, in his written response, agreed to the conditions and offered "the services of our experienced film director Mr. _____ to advise and assist you in the most effective presentation of the information you wish to impart in the time available."⁴⁸ Needless to say, these services were not offered to Derek Cole, nor to any other subjects who appear in fifth estate stories, and the

consequences for the presentational legitimacy of those so prepared are self-evident.

(ix) "Levesque"

The purpose of this story idea was to present a featured interview with the Quebec premier on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the PQ electoral victory. The premier's office had originally agreed to allow the interview in November 1981, although it was later cancelled in the wake of the Radio-Canada strike. The interview could not be conducted until April of the following year, broadcast live during the programme of 20 April 1982, a rare occurrence at the fifth estate. Levesque was advised by the senior producer that "we expect new insights - a newsmaking interview - or else we're not interested."⁴⁹ As an indicator of both the assured newsworthiness of interviews with government leaders and of news media interdependence, it can be noted that the following arrangements with other news organizations were made in advance. First, a free-lance photographer was hired to shoot still photographs of the premier in conversation with the fifth estate host. The photos were delivered to Canadian Press, along with a prepared press release. A CP news editor had assured the CBC's TV Current Affairs publicist that the story of the fifth estate interview and the photos would be

released over the CP wire. The publicist also arranged transcripts of the interview for CP, Le Devoir, La Presse, the Montreal Gazette, and the reporter at THE NATIONAL who reported the interview on that evening's edition. Finally, an audio tape of the interview was made for CBC Radio and aired on THE WORLD AT SIX the following day.

Conclusion

Of the forty-four stories which appeared during the 1982 sample period, the origin of the story idea could be traced for thirty-eight. Of these thirty-eight stories, thirteen originated with friends or colleagues, seven were initiated by the senior or executive producer (more often by the former), a further seven were procured from other broadcasting organizations (most often from the BBC), and two stories were inspired by letters from viewers. Nine stories derived directly from newspapers and other media, and it seems reasonable to suspect that at least some of the stories initiated by friends, colleagues and the senior managers derived indirectly from other media. These patterns of story origination and the apparent patterns of story content are the outcome of two forces; namely, the need to attract a particular target audience and the demographic characteristics of producers.

Like most other CBC television programmes, the fifth estate is directed to a specific target audience. The economic need to attract and sustain that audience initially shaped the format of the programme, and produced a particular set of formulations about the type of stories that the programme would feature. The parameters of the programme were established by the inescapable economic constraints under which the Corporation at large, and all of its production units, operate. The programme outline dictated a set of principles pertaining not just to story topics but also to the procedures of story construction. As Tracey observes, "programmes other than news programmes also operate with clearly specified identities, existing editorial briefs, which indicate what they can and cannot do" (1978: 62).

At the fifth estate, stories are indeed crafted in accordance with the requisites of the programme outline and hence in accordance with corporate need. Stories are also constructed in advance (at the planning stage) in the mind of the producer, some time before field production actually begins, and based upon the expectations and assumptions of producers, who occupy a limited social world and represent a small and insular professional circle, based overwhelmingly in Toronto. Two points of reference, then, guide the production of fifth estate stories: reference to the target audience and reference to the professional cultural world of current

affairs journalism. Stories are germinated, as it were, in the petty bourgeois world (culturally and professionally) of broadcast journalists, and are formed out of the concerns and "issues" of that professional culture; among them, for example, libertarian concerns about victims of corrupt personalities or ineffectual governments operating within an imperfect yet essentially sound social "system" subject to the whims and transgressions of the particular party in power. These concerns and issues are at the heart of fifth estate stories, stories that are virtually constructed in advance, carefully planned in the interests of expediency and efficiency, well before producers enter the outside world to shoot the first roll of film.

It is important to clarify, however, that the construction of stories in accordance with these parameters is not a function of willful crafting by producers who share a common class heritage or location, but rather a function of the requisites of the labour process. The need for detailed advance planning arises quite simply from the need to produce stories in a manner that makes the most effective use of time, money and other production resources. One producer, for example, asked how extensively she plans a story before shooting, provided the following straightforward explanation:

... it varies. I've just done one where I did no planning at all, because I was just put on a plane and I went. But, if I can plan, I plan very carefully, and I think it saves - it saves money, it

saves film, it saves lots of interviews that you're not quite sure what to do with. If you can plan it and plan right down to the nitty gritty details of how you want it to look, you get a much better story (March 1982).

There are additional constraints found at the fifth estate unit. Production is highly centralized in the Toronto region, more so than is true of either THE NATIONAL or THE JOURNAL. Relations with the regional centres or other affiliates are minimal, and little use is made of regional production facilities or regional producers. A critical manifestation of the tendency is the centralization of story locales in the Toronto metropolis, rarely extending beyond Central Canadian boundaries, more often confined within the provincial boundaries of Ontario. The precise scope of its reflection in the actual content of fifth estate programming is examined in Chapter 9.

In addition, economic constraints increasingly propel the programme unit towards two phenomena which undercut original production: procured stories and co-productions. Each of these tendencies creates a pressure to conform to dominant modes of story production and to align subject matter more closely to global norms, not to mention production techniques; in other words, a movement towards standardization which eclipses the uniqueness or non-conventional character of the stories that might otherwise be produced. Concrete budget constraints are a real and ever-present fact of life at the

unit, and their ramifications increasingly extend to all facets of production. The fifth estate was in fact conceived during the first wave of severe cutbacks at the CBC in 1975, the year that the programme first appeared. During the intervening years, the programme's senior managers successfully struggled to resist the worst of these ramifications and to defend the unit's allocation. In 1981, however, the programme budget was cut by a full 30 per cent and the funds channelled into the creation of THE JOURNAL, a decision well beyond the control of fifth estate management, and the first of a series of network-level decisions that were to seriously erode the cohesion and stability of the programme production team. In October 1982, further widespread and severe cuts to the Corporation budget were announced, which, in terms of the fifth estate, meant the elimination of two complete programme installments from the annual season (cf. Fulford, 1983: 15). The programme was originally launched with a budget of approximately \$1.5 million yearly, a figure that rose to only \$2.5 million by 1983, despite spiralling inflation which exploded both the fixed and variable costs of programme production. In October 1983, three additional installments were cut from the season, leaving just twenty-six programmes to be produced in 1983-84 (cf. MacGregor, 1983: D1).

With respect to its effects upon content, the

spiralling increases in variable costs are the most readily apparent, placing severe limits upon the availability of travel funds and thereby contributing to the ongoing, progressive centralization of story locales. The result is that stories originate from a limited geographical area, a more and more narrowly defined "production metropolis," as it were, and stories are about or at least occur in that more and more narrowly circumscribed metropolitan region. Moreover, story ideas originate from a narrowly circumscribed demographic circle, are framed by a limited set of historically specific production practices, and are further framed by the need to reach a specified target audience. The range of fifth estate production is thus progressively narrowed. What it all means for the character and content of fifth estate stories will be explored in greater depth in the final chapters.

NOTES

1. The practice is common at other programme production units in the CBC as well. The Corporation is the largest client of Film Arts.
2. See, however, Chapter 8.
3. Indeed, there are clear patterns whereby a number of sub-unit production teams are identifiable, founded upon personal preference, compatibility, familiarity and experience.
4. The BBC's contribution of the South African footage was required since the fifth estate is officially barred from entry into South Africa, the result of conflicts which erupted over the filming of a previous story.
5. The other four minutes consist of commercials, which appear at the start and end of the hour. There are no commercial interruptions during the programme itself.
6. See Appendix II. The second stage of the sample covers the same six-month period (January to June) of 1983. The fifth estate sample includes virtually all programmes aired during the season, which ended in May in the case of 1982.
7. "Skagit Standoff" Story Proposal, CBC Internal Memo dated 9 September 1981.
8. Ibid.
9. Vancouver Field Producer, Internal Memo to Executive Producer and Senior Producer, 27 September 1981.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid, added emphasis.
12. Vancouver Field Producer, Internal Memo to Executive Producer and Senior Producer, 17 November 1981.
13. Senior Producer, Internal Memo to TV Current Affairs Publicist, 13 December 1981, added emphasis.
14. Field Producer, Internal Memo to Senior Producer and Executive Producer, 26 November 1981.

15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Field Producer; Internal Memo to Senior Producer and Executive Producer, 4 December 1981.
19. Senior Producer, Internal Memo to TV Current Affairs Publicist, 7 December 1981.
20. Stories about religious topics tend to provoke the greatest viewer response at the the fifth estate. "Let Us Prey" drew far more letters than any other story of the 1981-82 season, more than 400 compared to the typical average of twenty letters in response to each story that appears. Whereas the executive producer makes it a practice to answer all viewers' letters personally, in this case it was plainly impractical to do so. Many of his letters were personalized, although the majority received one of two standardized responses - one "guarded" and one "positive." Positive responses were posted to the 149 viewers who commented favourably upon the item.
21. Field Producer, Internal Memo to Senior Producer and Executive Producer, 7 October 1981.
22. "Let Us Prey" Story Proposal, CBC Internal Memo dated 7 October 1981.
23. Associate Producer, Internal Memo to Senior Producer and Executive Producer, 8 October 1981.
24. Senior Producer, Internal Memo to Field Producer, 27 October 1981.
25. CBC Halifax Producer, Internal Memo to Senior Producer and Executive Producer, December 1981 (not dated).
26. Ibid.
27. Senior Producer, Internal Memo to CBC Halifax Producer, 29 December 1981, added emphasis.
28. Ibid.
29. Senior Producer, Internal Memo to TV Current Affairs Publicist, 13 January 1982.

30. Scotia Trawler Limited, Letter to CBC President, 11 February 1982. The five examples were as follows:

(i) The company disputed the reported weather conditions on the day that a captain was fired for refusing to sail, citing the Environment Canada forecast which predicted a wind velocity below that which qualified as "gale force winds," the phrase used by the host in the interview. The company added that, even if the forecast had predicted gale force winds, the captain "was scheduled to sail on a 125-foot steel boat which was fully capable of sailing safely in winds even stronger than gale force winds."

(ii) The host referred to the use of turnbuckles to secure Scotia Trawler fishing vessels as a "binder twine solution" to the problem of depreciating boats. The letter pointed out that there were no turnbuckles on the captain's vessel and that, in any case, turnbuckles are designed to protect the boats and to evenly distribute stress throughout the hull. According to the company, their use had been recommended by a reputable Boston shipbuilder and approved by Canadian steamship inspectors. Therefore the host's "phraseology is obviously misleading, unfair and unfounded." All references to turnbuckles and the phrase "binder twine solution" were subsequently deleted from the item.

(iii) The company argued that the basic manual steering system on the captain's boat worked perfectly, that the boat lacked an automatic steering device which is not essential to its operation, contrary to the "false and misleading" impression created by the host.

(iv) The company noted that the host had mistakenly identified a piece of equipment which had been out of order for some time as fire-fighting equipment.

(v) Finally, an objection was raised to the host's use of the phrase "risking men's lives." The letter noted that "Scotia Trawler has never had any loss of life on its fishing vessels as a result of sailing in bad weather, in the 20-year history of the company."

31. Ibid.

32. Scotia Trawler Limited, Letter (telexed) to CBC Legal Department, 15 February 1982.

33. "Foam Warning" Story Proposal, CBC Internal Memo Dated 12 February 1982, original emphasis.
34. Ibid.
35. Senior Producer, Internal Memo to Field Producer and Executive Producer, 16 February 1982.
36. Field Producer, Internal Memo to Senior Producer and Executive Producer, 4 November 1981, original emphasis.
37. "Boosting" Story Proposal, CBC Internal Memo dated 24 February 1982.
38. Ibid.
39. Senior Producer, Internal Memo to Executive Producer, CBC New York Producer, and Host, 19 January 1982.
40. "Wasteland" Story Outline, CBC Internal Memo dated 12 February 1982.
41. Senior Producer, Internal Memo to CBC New York Producer, 17 February 1982, added emphasis.
42. Senior Producer, Internal Memo to TV Current Affairs Publicist, 19 February 1982.
43. Senior Producer, Internal Memo to Field Producer, Associate Producer and Executive Producer, 28 August 1981.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Field Producer, Internal Memo to Senior Producer, Executive Producer and Associate Producer, 5 April 1982, original emphasis.
47. Ibid.
48. Senior Producer, Letter dated 16 April 1982. A summary of the story's content was enclosed with the letter.
49. Senior Producer, Internal Memo to Executive Producer and Host, 2 November 1981.
50. Cf. Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 7: CTV NEWS AND CURRENT AFFAIRS

A cursory glance at the structure of the Canadian broadcasting system, with its mixed public and private components, might lead one to assume that the two networks operate along different principles and seek different objectives. Likewise, one might proceed to logically infer that their news and current affairs operations are organized in different ways, and strive towards different objectives, motivated by a different set of interests. Such inferences are dependent upon a belief that the CBC is a truly public corporation, organized along different principles than a private enterprise and operating under different market circumstances. As discussed earlier, however, the CBC is at best a "quasi-public" corporation which, more accurately, is "structured along the lines of a private corporation" to cite the Broadcasting Act which created it. The interests of the Corporation, the structure of the Corporation, and the production practices of the Corporation are strikingly similar to and not fundamentally different from those found at both public and private broadcasting corporations elsewhere in Western capitalist economies.

Similarly, in the Canadian context, CBC and CTV share and face the same market, the same market conditions, and many of the same imperatives. Both are dependent upon advertising revenue, and both must therefore direct their operations and their programming towards the creation and maintenance of

general and specific target audiences. It is contingent upon both to produce a requisite amount of Canadian programming, and therefore to confront all of the barriers to that indigenous production that are intrinsic to the broadcasting marketplace; in both cases, all the while attempting to meet these requisites while surviving a profitable, or at least deficit-free, existence. These common outer contextual constraints outweigh any superficially apparent differences between the two broadcasting organizations, and that in turn is reflected in their respective information programming operations. Essentially, as the following discussion illustrates, the differences between information production at CBC and CTV are differences of degree, not differences in kind.

These differences of degree pertain largely to reduced quantities and not to differential qualities that can be attributed to the programming offered by each. At CTV, it means fewer facilities (and often poorer facilities), fewer production workers and fewer programme offerings in the field of news and current affairs. At the network level, the flagship information productions are the daily network newscast, CTV NATIONAL NEWS, and the weekly current affairs vehicle, W5. In this chapter the specifics of the two productions are detailed.

The Production of News

One noteworthy difference between the two corporations is that the officially "private" one is not formally accountable to its audience, nor need it be accessible, particularly to those who wish to investigate its private operations. That difference posed real barriers to the undertaking of the present project, such that access to the network news production unit was granted only after many months of negotiation and formal correspondence and only then was granted under restrictive conditions, notably a limited¹ observation period. Once access was gained, the reasons for the unco-operativeness became evident. Nonetheless, despite these limitations, it is possible to present a basic outline of CTV's network news operation.

The world of CTV News is indeed a private world. Under the network charter, programmes produced by and for CTV must utilize the production facilities of its owner-affiliates. In the case of the network newscast, it is produced using the facilities of the network's core station, CFTO-TV TORONTO. The CFTO operations are situated in a suburb of Toronto, alongside a busy expressway and on a plot of land surrounded on all sides by a tall steel fence topped by barbed wire. At the entrance to the site is a kiosk manned by an armed security guard who must clear access to all those who

wish to enter the property through the steel security gate. Once through the gate, the two entries to the main building, one for staff and one for visitors, are both manned by more armed security guards: Once through the doors, visitors must sign in and register their comings and goings with yet another security clerk, who maintains a daily log at his desk in the front lobby. Once inside the complex, one locates the CTV network news operation in a small room inside.

The room is perhaps one-third the size of THE NATIONAL's downtown Toronto newsroom, including a separate enclosed office for the executive producer in addition to assorted open cubicles and desks. A small bank of television monitors and a small glass-enclosed teletype room in one corner distinguish it as a newsroom (see Figure 7.1). Indeed, the dimensions of the newsroom rather symbolically and graphically portray the level of CTV's commitment to indigenous programme production, and dramatically express the differences of degree between the CBC and CTV network news operations. The news set is located on a lower floor of the same building and shares the studio from which the local CFTO news programme is broadcast. It is the same set used for the network's only other major information programme, CANADA A.M. The relatively new set was installed in December 1981 in order to revitalize the on-air appearance of the programme, in readiness for the competition of the new NATIONAL and JOURNAL

FIGURE 7.1: THE CTV NETWORK NEWSROOM

* Note that four of these are unassigned, while the two open cubicles at the rear of the newsroom are usually unoccupied.

the following month.

The copy room in the corner of the newsroom contains six teletype machines that represent the principal basis of the CTV news supply. These include the CP "A" wire (provincial news) and "B" wire (national and international news, including relays of the AFP supply, the AP supply, etc.), CP's Broadcast News wire, the United Press of Canada (UPC) wire, the UPI/ITN wire, and the Reuters wire, identified as one of the most important sources by the line-up editor (Interview, June 1982). Apart from Reuters, the most crucial sources of international news are the two American network news feeds available to CTV: namely, those of ABC (including its news programme feed and its syndicated DEF or Daily Electronic Feed service) and NBC (likewise, including its newscast feed as well as NPS or the News Program Service).

These stories may in turn be relayed to CTV affiliates by means of DNS, its Daily News Service which both transmits stories to the affiliates and gathers potential news material for the network programme, thus serving as a further source of national news. Other national news sources include the other broadcasting organizations monitored in the newsroom, and stories that may be derived from the co-operative exchange relationship with the staff of CANADA AM, based in the same building. Major print sources are the three Toronto dailies: The Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star and the

Toronto Sun. The final and not necessarily least important source of CTV news is its own core of national and foreign-based reporters.

The contingent of domestic reporters includes three in Toronto and one each in Halifax (where the reporter is assigned to "cover" all of Atlantic Canada), Montreal, Winnipeg (where the jurisdiction is all of Manitoba as well as Saskatchewan), Edmonton and Vancouver. By a large margin, the greatest concentration of CTV reporters is found in Ottawa, where five reporters are under the supervision of the Ottawa bureau chief. Outside of Canada, a reporter is based at each of the three foreign bureaus, situated in Washington, London and Beijing. There are no producers based at any of the three foreign sites, although the foreign assignment editor will occasionally travel from Toronto to act as producer for reporters who may be needed to cover stories in "difficult" locations.² Indeed, a restraint measure instituted in 1982 proposed that CTV should not in future undertake original coverage of any foreign events with the exception of wars. The period of observation, June 1982, was considered exceptional with respect to the amount of original foreign coverage, much of which was directed to the conflicts in Argentina and Lebanon. Since there are just three foreign-based reporters, during such periods of a large volume of foreign news the domestic reporters are called away from their

Canadian posts and sent to report at foreign sites as required. At the time of the observation, the domestic assignment editor stated that the use of several domestic reporters to cover foreign stories was not problematic since "fortunately, there is little going on in Canada now" (Interview, June 1982). A final and least important source of news input is the CFTO reportorial staff who are, however, rarely called upon to report network stories, ostensibly because the unit makes exclusive use of film, which offers a poorer quality than the ENG equipment available to network journalists.

Although not formally reporters, other key contributors to the editorial effort include the Ottawa bureau chief and the two news anchormen. The Ottawa chief writes and delivers a 1-1/2 minute editorial commentary which appears two to three times weekly in the body of the newscast. Through a direct personal contract with the network, his commentary cannot be changed or edited in any way by any other CTV employee. Under special circumstances (e.g. in the event of a large volume of news or a major story), it may be omitted in its entirety; however, in light of his considerable authority at the network, it is, in the words of the senior writer-editor, "simply not done" (Interview, June 1982). Likewise, the news readers, unlike their counterparts at the CBC, are not restricted from participating in the writing and editing

of news stories. The former main news reader, who held the position for more than twenty years (the longest tenure of any network news reader in North America), exhibited minimal interest in the writing of stories. He vacated the position in April 1984 (cf. Adilman, 1983: D1). From 1975 to 1984, the newscast was co-anchored by a former reader of THE NATIONAL, who is now the chief CTV news reader, who in contrast is active in story writing, and who in fact specializes in stories pertaining to the British monarchy. Similarly, the weekend news reader is free to engage in editorial work, and, considering the scant number of weekend workers, his services are undoubtedly essential.

Other members of the editorial contingent include the three line-up editors (weekday, weekend, and a weekday/summer line-up editor), three assignment editors (domestic, foreign, and a weekend line-up editor who works Wednesday through Sunday inclusive, acting as a writer Wednesday through Friday), one writer-editor and a senior writer-editor, and one editorial assistant. Technical workers include the director, the technical producer, the feed co-ordinator, the two graphic artists, three camera operators, and three VTR editors.³ Administrative staff include the production manager, the unit manager (who, in addition to the usual duties of a unit manager, also assumes the duties of a facilities co-ordinator and travel clerk), and the production secretary.

Outside of Toronto, the largest number of CTV news staff are found in Ottawa, including the bureau chief, five reporters, one writer-editor, the technical supervisor, three camera operators, and two VTR editors. A two-person crew is available to the reporters in Halifax, Montreal, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver, Washington, London and Beijing. These crews, however, are not necessarily exclusive to CTV.

The unit is managed by the executive producer, who is also the day-to-day producer of the programme and who reports directly to the network's vice-president of news, features and information programming, based at the downtown Toronto building where the network is headquartered. Needless to say, this represents a much more simplified management structure than that of the CBC, providing a direct reporting link between the day-to-day producer of the newscast and the CTV board of directors. Figure 7.2 displays the division of labour at the network news production unit.

The production process follows a routine comparable to that of other news production organizations. The production staff work two basic shifts: 9:00 AM to 4:30 PM and 4:00 PM to 11:30 PM. During the overlap period (4:00 to 4:30) the editorial meeting is held, and it is akin to the "handover" process at THE NATIONAL's daily 1:30 PM meeting. The first or day shift is worked by the two assignment editors (one domestic, one foreign), a writer-editor, the feed co-

FIGURE 7.2: THE DIVISION OF LABOUR AT CTV NATIONAL NEWS

Executive Producer

TECHNICAL

EDITORIAL

ADMINISTRATIVE

Director	Domestic Assignmt Ed	Weekday Line-up Ed	Production Mgr
Technical Producer	Foreign Assignmt Ed	Weekend Line-up Ed	Production Sec'y
Feed Co-ordinator	Weekend Assignmt Ed	Wkday/Summer Line-up Ed	Unit Manager
Graphic Artists (2)	Senior Writer-Editor	Chief News Reader	
VTR Editors (3)	Writer-Editor	Weekend News Reader	
Camera Operators (3)	Editorial Assistant	Ottawa Bureau Chief	

Domestic Reporters:

Vancouver (1)
Edmonton (1)
Winnipeg (1)
Toronto (3)
Ottawa (5)
Montreal (1)
Halifax (1)

Foreign Reporters:

Washington (1)
London (1)
Peking (1)

Abbreviations: Assignmt = Assignment, Ed = Editor, Wkday = Weekday, Mgr = Manager, Sec'y = Secretary.

ordinator, the unit manager, the production secretary, and a copy clerk. The two assignment editors review the overnight wire copy, consult with the CANADA AM editors about that programme's line-up, contact the network reporters at each CTV bureau, and set in motion the co-ordination of satellite feeds, travel arrangements and facilities usage.

From 10:00 AM onwards the producer-executive producer is present in the newsroom and directs the production in close co-ordination with (and supervision of) the assignment editors. He remains until well after the programme line-up is established, commonly until the newscast is packaged or near completion, perhaps as late as 10:00 PM and no earlier than 7:00 (after the AMNETS feeds). Also at 10:00 AM, the first edition of the Toronto Star is delivered to the newsroom and, along with that morning's Globe and Mail and Toronto Sun, it is carefully perused by the assignment editors. Other sources of news arrive at noon, when the preliminary ABC line-up becomes available, and at 3:00 PM, when the UPITN preliminary line-up becomes available. Based largely upon these sources, the domestic assignment editor prepares the outlook in close consultation with the producer-executive producer. Not only is the line-up largely reactive and reproductive in its strong dependence upon the ready-made stories of other media, but it is also already established, at this early point in the CTV newsday (the programme will not be broadcast until 11:00 PM),

in its anticipated programme order. The line-up simply remains to be reviewed at the editorial meeting with the evening shift of news workers. The outlook and tentative line-up, then, are one and the same document, prepared and complete by mid-afternoon.

At 4:00 PM the evening shift arrives, including the line-up editor and two to three writer-editors, and these people join the day staff at the daily editorial meeting, which is held in the producer-executive producer's office. At the meeting, the outlook (which, since it is already tentatively ordered, is in effect the tentative line-up) is reviewed by the writers and editors present. The news readers also attend the meeting and, unlike their counterparts at THE NATIONAL, do make substantive contributions to the discussion of the day's stories. In addition to the examination of the day's line-up, there may also be discussion of future stories based upon the "weekly look-ahead" sheet, prepared by the domestic assignment editor each Thursday⁴ and circulated among the writer-editors in order to solicit their comments and their story suggestions. The "look-aheads" are assessed on an ongoing basis at the daily editorial meetings. The meeting is chaired and very much directed by the producer-executive producer, who has already followed and guided the development of the line-up through the course of the day, and who at this point strongly influences the final determination

of its composition.

While the meeting is in progress, the Daily News Service (DNS) producer transmits the outgoing DNS feed to the CTV affiliates across the country, which indicates to the affiliates the tentative stories available, on the same principle as the CBC's ENS operation. The DNS feed is not a packaged programme, but a list of items in no particular order, preceded by a cover shot which specifies the story "slug" or title, the origin of the story (e.g. CTV Ottawa), and its duration. Meanwhile, a copy clerk logs the incoming UPITN feed, noting the topic, length and location of each item, and it is reviewed by the line-up editor after the editorial meeting.

At this point story writing - or, to be perfectly accurate, story re-writing - gets fully underway. The senior writer-editor usually prepares the top five stories, while the other writer-editor handles the remainder. The exception is where the special interests of the writer-editors can be fulfilled; for example, one writer-editor who is Jewish and once lived in Israel writes all stories about the Middle East. Also, the chief news reader is a keen monarchist who likes to personally prepare all of the stories about the Royal Family. There is some effort to achieve continuity in the editing of ongoing stories such that, for example, the same writer-editor prepared all stories about the Falklands/Malvinas war

throughout the approximate 2-1/2 month period in which the story was prominent. The top five stories are considered the most important, feature longer introductions, and accord greater prestige to the senior writer-editor who is responsible for them. The longer intros to the five leading stories are also intended to highlight the news anchors, according to the line-up editor, who indicated that he prefers more on-camera time for the readers and is therefore not hesitant to include straight copy or non-visual stories, since the men are "so believable" and "the reason we're number one" (Line-Up Editor, June 1982).⁵

At 5:00 PM NBC's News Program Service (NPS) feed is transmitted to the CTV newsroom, at the same time that the same feed is received by the CBC and all other Canadian subscribers to NPS. The line-up editor prepares a tentative line-up based in part upon the feed, although the final line-up will be based more upon the two feeds which arrive at 6:30: that is, the NBC and ABC newscasts. The writer-editors log and time the pertinent items on each feed. Greater emphasis is placed upon the NBC material, which is received in common with the CBC. That the NBC feed is considered the more important source is indicated by the fact that audio is operative on the NBC feed monitor only (it should be noted that, unlike their colleagues at THE NATIONAL, CTV news editors are not equipped with individual desk monitors).

Incorporating the AMNET feed items, the line-up editor completes the final line-up of the newscast at approximately 7:10 PM.⁶ While there is no established formula dictating the line-up criteria, there are nonetheless some informal practices and some specific objectives which guide the judgements of the line-up editor. In terms of commercial placement, CRTC regulations stipulate that there must be a minimum of ten minutes of uninterrupted news at the start of the programme. The line-up editor attempts to link stories geographically, and to position the "strongest" stories in the first (pre-commercial) block. At the end of the first block of items, the bumper shot or sting promotes the first story that will appear following the commercials. The line-up editor also attempts to link stories by subject matter. Examples that he cited were "economic stories," "war stories" and "crime stories," which would be linked together in that order of priority for the sake of the programme's "flow" (Line-Up Editor, June 1982). The director also stressed the need to assure the smooth and proper "flow" of the programme, and pointed out that, in terms of his responsibilities, this means that, once the final line-up is available, he and the graphic artist always wait to see the story scripts or speak to the reporter before decisions about the graphics are made. Graphics must be directly tied to and integrated with the script to avoid "distracting the viewer"

and to further contribute to the programme flow (Director, June 1982). By 7:30 PM, the graphics are determined.

At 8:00 PM, the intro writing and final editing of stories is at its height. Any and all of the following staff in the newsroom may be called upon to assist with the writing: the producer (who may write stories himself, although he more often tastes copy and distributes wire service updates to the writers), the line-up editor, the writers themselves, and the news reader. The feed co-ordinator and the production assistant swell the labour ranks in the newsroom and by their presence and activity contribute to the appearance of hectic activity and frenzy at this time. At approximately 8:30 PM, the newsroom workers are joined by the auto cue operator, who begins to type the auto cue script of the programme. He operates the treadmill manually and must constantly adjust its speed, sensitive to the reading pace of the news anchor. Since it is difficult to be precise, the news anchor will also work with a written script and make reference to it on camera in the event that the auto cue pace is inappropriate.

At 10:00 PM the script is split and the news reader proceeds downstairs to the studio where there will be a rehearsal of the newscast. Present in the control room are the technical producer, the director, the line-up editor, the producer-executive producer, the senior writer-editor, the production assistant, and the audio operator. Since there

is no pre-feed of the newscast to the Atlantic provinces (where the programme is broadcast at midnight local time), it is first aired at 11:00 PM EST to Central Canada, and later replayed successively to each of the Western time zones.

The patterns, routines, and "even" the sources of news production at CTV are more or less identical to those of THE NATIONAL. Production is organized along strikingly similar lines, and hence gives rise to the same underlying production constraints. Differences between the "public" and private production of television news are, as the discussion above demonstrates, simply differences of degree; that is, quantitative and not substantive differences in the way that the labour process is structured or even in the daily routines that are followed or the practices and policies that are carried out. At CTV, these quantitative differences are reflected in a smaller newsroom, fewer facilities, and a smaller force of news workers. The much reduced size of the work force means that the division of labour is more "fluid" than at CBC, that there is less scope for specialization, and a greater overlap of responsibilities. News workers must work harder and longer and acquire a number of diverse skills; that is, be prepared to write, edit, and perhaps co-ordinate feeds and travel arrangements if necessary. The smaller reportorial contingent means that there are fewer potential stories from which to select the CTV news line-up, although the sources of

the stories are largely the same as those of CBC news items. The quantitative differences in the resources available to the production of CTV NATIONAL NEWS (both in terms of human labour-power and physical facilities) do not, therefore, amount to a substantial distinction in either the nature of news production or the nature of the news programme. Rather, where such considerations contribute to the effects of production constraints, the fewer resources of CTV merely aggravate the effects of the constraints that are, at root, common to both.

The Production of Current Affairs

W5 is investigative journalism at its best. Now in its seventeenth season, W5 is Canada's longest-running television newsmagazine programme. It has earned a reputation for journalism that helps people, gets things done, and exposes bungling.⁸

Like the network newscast, CTV's weekly current affairs vehicle, W5, has appeared on the air for many years, making its original debut in 1966. At the time, the idea of the programme was not initiated by the network so much as conceived in a reactive manner, in a direct response to the extraordinary success of CBC's THIS HOUR HAS SEVEN DAYS. In fact, following its cancellation by the CBC, W5 captured many SEVEN DAYS "refugees" for its own production force. W5 remained on the air yet lost much of the competitive impetus

provided by its public network rival in current affairs and shortly became "little more than an obligation to the CRTC" to cite the words of one long-time staff member (Field Producer, May 1983). It would seem that the network's commitment to the programme (monetary and journalistic) soon evaporated and its obligatory production became the norm. The obligatory nature of the programme's existence and the absence of a strong network commitment to its production create a number of consequences for the organization of the production unit, for the quantity and severity of production constraints, for relations between network management, programme management and programme workers and, inevitably, for the form and content of the programme.

The "tokenness" of CTV's current affairs production is reflected in many dimensions of W5's organization and that of the network at large. First, as noted earlier, the network is not and does not regard itself as a production centre, and it has few production facilities of its own. Were it not for the handful of editing rooms found in the building, CTV's network offices in Toronto would be indistinguishable from those of Metropolitan Life or the Royal Bank. There is little about the physical structure which signifies that it is the headquarters of a major television network engaged in the production of television programming, unlike any of the many Toronto buildings of the CBC. W5's offices, situated on the

second floor of the building, could easily be mistaken for the offices of a private insurance company or almost any other enterprise. Evidence of equipment expenditure by the network is scarce. Two suites on the second floor make it possible to edit film using outmoded and well-worn equipment which has not been replaced or modernized in some time, and, in the absence of a studio, the non-film portions of W5 (i.e. the story introductions and the letters segment) are shot among the vacant desks of the researchers after 5:00 PM Fridays, using a makeshift black screen and a specially contrived lighting scheme to disguise the actual background of the shots.⁹

Needless to add, the programme operates with a skeletal budget that affords little room for equipment purchases, studio rental, or significant amounts of travel. Least of all is there any commitment to the promotion of the programme. A formal network policy prohibits the advertising or promotion of the programme through any media other than the network itself, and the programme is frequently pre-empted in favour of "blockbuster" American films, pre-emptions that are beyond the control of even the programme management. Despite it all, W5 continues to solicit a consistent and seemingly loyal audience of 1.3 to 1.5 million weekly.¹⁰

The paucity of resources available to the production of W5 is likewise reflected in the size and fluidity of its labour force. Although similar in structure and outline to

the division of labour at the fifth estate, the W5 production group is much smaller and tasks are (not unrelatedly) less specialized; that is, the production workers are required to be more diversified in their skills and to assume greater responsibilities. There are just six field producers, excluding one woman producer who acts as a field producer and yet is without the title and higher salary; she is paid the lower wage of a researcher. Otherwise, all of the field producers are men and all of the four researchers are women. These comprise the non-management component of the editorial group. The administrative group consists of the three programme hosts, the unit manager, and two production secretaries or clerical workers. One is secretary to the programme managers and also serves as the film researcher, while the other doubles as the travel clerk. Technical workers include the programme director, four male film editors and one female assistant film editor, and the three crews which are contracted to the unit for a seven-month production season. Crew members required after the seven-month contract period expires are paid a daily rate that is much higher than their regular season rate, a factor which becomes a serious production constraint during the spring of each year. The film editors work under a forty-week contract with a twelve-week summer hiatus and, like everyone else at W5, are not members of any trade union. Other than these technical

workers contracted directly to the unit, non-exclusive contributors to the production include the network's four film librarians and two research librarians, all of whom are women. There are, therefore, twenty-nine exclusive non-management staff members in total. Figure 7.3 summarizes the W5 division of labour.

At the management level, there are three main actors: the associate producer, the producer and the executive producer. Prior to 1980, programme management traditionally consisted only of a programme producer and his half-time associate producer who spent the other half of his time as a field producer. With the arrival of a new producer in 1980, the contemporary triumvirate of management was set in place. Some more recent changes affected the programme's management structure in mid-1983. The executive producer joined the three existing programme hosts on the air as a fourth host. He still, however, retains his editorial role under the title "Managing Editor," while the network vice-president of news and information programming is simultaneously the new executive producer of W5, thus forging a direct link between the CTV board and W5 management (who are, in any case, just one floor apart in the same building).

The network vice-president and W5 executive producer is also responsible for CTV NATIONAL NEWS, CANADA AM and LIVE IT UP, and therefore oversees each of the CTV news and current

FIGURE 7.3: THE DIVISION OF LABOUR AT W5

Executive Producer*
 Producer
 Associate Producer

TECHNICAL	EDITORIAL	ADMINISTRATIVE
Director Film Editors (4) Assistant Film Editor Camera Operators (3) Sound Technicians (3) Film Librarians (4)**	Managing Editor/Host Hosts (3) Field Producers (6) Researcher-Producer Researchers (4) Research Librarians (2)**	Unit Manager Production Secretaries (2)

* CTV Vice-President of News, Features, and Information Programming (see Figure 3.3)

** non-exclusive workers

affairs offerings, in addition to his more direct supervision of W5. A graduate of the University of Toronto, he began his career as a reporter for his home-town newspaper, the Cornwall Standard-Freeholder, and later worked at newspapers in Detroit and Watertown, New York. He occupied management posts at NBC News in New York and the CBC prior to his recruitment by CTV in 1972.

The former executive producer, now "Managing Editor" and host, also had considerable experience at the CBC; indeed, a total of seventeen years at the public corporation, during which he reported for THE NATIONAL and served as its Chief News Editor, and also was a field producer for NEWSMAGAZINE. As vice-president of news and information programming at Global, he was instrumental in the creation of the Global news operation when the network began broadcasting in 1974. After a period as the producer of W5 in the early 1970s, he formally re-joined the programme as its executive producer in 1980.

The producer of the programme, who is the one most actively and directly in charge of its day-to-day operations and its editorial content, has held the position since 1981. He was recruited by CTV after five years at CBC, where he held such positions as senior producer of NEWSMAGAZINE, producer of THE NATIONAL, domestic assignment editor and foreign news editor. Prior to his CBC experience, he was the Time bureau chief in Toronto and later in Ottawa, and while in Ottawa he

was vice-president of the Parliamentary Press Gallery. Between 1962 and 1972 he was a foreign correspondent for AP, and also acted as their bureau chief in Bonn and Vienna, later as a foreign editor in New York. A graduate of McGill, he first began his career as a reporter for the Windsor Star, the Vancouver Sun, and CP.

The associate producer was a senior field producer at W5 prior to his promotion in 1982. In his current post, he is assigned responsibility for many of the operational aspects of the programme's production, including the approval of story proposals, and at the same time he continues to intermittently produce stories himself in the field. Like the other programme managers, he may be called upon to produce or supervise news productions, notably the news specials, since no designated Specials Unit exists at CTV. The associate producer, for example, supervised the network's coverage of the Progressive Conservative leadership convention in 1983 and the royal tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales in the same year. He first joined the network in 1976 as a studio director for CTV NATIONAL NEWS, later became the field producer and manager of the CTV news bureau in London and joined W5 as a field producer in 1980, where he was subsequently promoted to his current position.

The fact that three of the four programme managers spent a good portion of their careers at the CBC prior to

their recruitment by CTV may help to account for the essential similarity of the labour process for current affairs production at the two national networks. Both the division of labour and the stages or procedures of story production are identical in outline to those of, for example, the fifth estate. In a number of ways these similarities extend even to technological capabilities and limitations. For example, the continued use of film by both the fifth estate and W5 produces the same constraints at both organizations. In the contemporary broadcasting era, the great majority of television footage is shot on video tape, whereas each continues to depend upon the use of sixteen-¹² millimeter film. Transformation to video tape usage demands a fairly substantial capital investment in a future where the viability of conventional broadcasting, and of conventional network broadcasting, is at best uncertain. Regardless of that uncertainty, neither network can or will access the kind of capital needed to institute the change.

Only a few differences can be noted, and only a few of these are significant for the form and content of the W5 programme. Among the lesser differences, the editing of stories is carried out internally by CTV's own film editors and not contracted out to a private company. The more noteworthy difference between the two productions is, again, largely a difference of scale: that is, the fewer staff and

resources available to the production of W5. The production group is small and, in contrast to their counterparts at the fifth estate, completely unprotected. Not even the crews are unionized, and it appears that discussion of unionization has been rare, provoked only by particular incidents between workers and management, such as when a researcher was abruptly fired after returning from vacation and for reasons that were disputed by the staff. Another incident involved a woman who declared overtime and was not paid. The network disputed her claim and the case progressed to the Labour Board, which ruled that employees should complete time cards to avert any such future conflicts. ¹³ The virtual absence of any trade union presence at W5 might be partially explained with reference to a common distinction made by staff members between their treatment as employees and as journalists/producers. As employees, the staff voice few complaints, pointing to their comparably high wages, extensive benefits, the flexibility of their hours, and the probability that time off will be granted when requested. Although all of these conditions are vulnerably subject to the good will and discretion of management, for the most part the bread-and-butter issues of working at W5 have stirred few major conflicts, and it appears that the traditionally peaceable character of manager-employee relationships has been sufficient to deter any serious organizing efforts.

There is, however, a definite and recurrent "us-and-them" perspective articulated by the staff, where "them" refers to the group of programme managers, a perspective born of the way in which staff members perceive themselves to be positioned and treated as professional journalists and producers. Management authority is much more compact, more visible and more direct at CTV and it extends to all facets of production in a direct and visible manner: from the determination of the programme format to the approval of story proposals to the assignment of researcher, producer, crew and host, to the final approval of the story at the stages of rough cut and fine cut screening. In all of these ways management supervision is not fundamentally unlike that at the CBC; however, there is no pretense of autonomy in the case of W5, where it is all too readily apparent that field producers and others are subject to the control of the managers at all stages of story production. The crux of this subtle difference, then, is that, unlike their public sector colleagues, W5 workers do not perceive themselves as autonomous in the conduct of their work and are much less likely to lay claim to professional autonomy.

In all other respects, the organization of production at W5 is akin to that at the fifth estate. The different character of management-labour relations at the two units does not affect substantially the production process at the former,

although it does make for a different set of relations between management and workers, relations that will be examined at greater length in the next chapter. Otherwise, their organizational structures are remarkably similar and directed, of course, towards fundamentally similar ends.

Shooting "Cocaine": Case Study of a W5 Production

This essential similarity can be illustrated through a close examination of one specific case of story production. The case also illustrates how a story comes to be shaped ideologically through the course of its production, and how its ideological form is determined more by the labour process and its constraints than by any class-mounted conspiracy or by the theoretically detached, "floating" ideological structures of the larger social world. Rather, it demonstrates many of the constraints shared by both private and public current affairs broadcasting.

The idea of producing a story about cocaine abuse originated with W5's executive producer, after he read the¹⁴ cover story of the 11 April 1983 issue of Time. He showed the article to the senior field producer, who was assigned to prepare a rough outline for a story that would need to be produced within a few weeks. The Time article stressed the size and growth of the cocaine trade in the United States, and

it included much discussion of the class basis of cocaine usage. The article, for example, began with the following description of cocaine abusers:

Phil and Rita's life shimmered like an advertisement. Indeed, to an outsider it seemed less a life than a perfect life-style: tree lined California suburban street, tasteful \$150,000 home (with piano), two sunny youngsters. Phil, 37, was a \$30,000-a-year microchip sales engineer in Silicon Valley; Rita, 34, was a \$20,000-a-year bookkeeper. Like their smart, attractive Northern California friends, Phil and Rita played tennis and ate interesting foods and knew about wine and, starting four years ago, sniffed coke.¹⁵

The other cocaine abusers described in the article included a Miami Beach physician who "enjoyed a lucrative practice, a waterfront home on a private island in Biscayne Bay and a prized art collection";¹⁶ "the son of a well-to-do South Carolina lawyer";¹⁷ "socialite William Ylvisaker Junior... a champion polo player and son of a Chicago electronics mogul";¹⁸ a woman who "grew up in the privileged world of trust funds, Virginia boarding schools and Swiss finishing schools";¹⁹ "the son of the former New York mayor and presidential candidate";²⁰ "a Virginia accountant ... an Air Force member of the presidential honour guard ... (a) lawyer and a banker";²¹ a "New York saleswoman";²² "a former social worker";²³ a "white, affluent tradesman from Brooklyn";²⁴ and "a young white couple crouching together in the front seat of a Mercedes."²⁵ In addition, a group of women at a cocaine "shooting gallery" in New York were

described as follows: "Three are attractive professionals in their early twenties: a magazine photographer, a Wall Street secretary and a junior executive at an advertising agency. The fourth is an older woman in a designer suit."²⁶ Moreover, the growth of the cocaine trade in the United States was attributed to its spread to other classes or the "democratization" of cocaine usage, which was identified as a new development, and which therefore formed the basis of the story's newsworthiness:

Cocaine in the early 1980s has become a democratic craze instead of a high society toot. Indeed, it is like the once exclusive vacation resort that the masses discover after its founding trendies have moved on: today, just as a lot of cosmopolites on both coasts are souring on cocaine, the drug is pushing its roots wider and deeper into America's social strata.²⁷

The authors of the article proceeded to cite the results of a national U.S. survey commissioned for Time which found rising "blue-collar" experimentation with the drug. In sum, a major thrust of the article concerned the class basis of cocaine abuse. This emphasis, however, was overlooked by the W5 field producer, who chose to ignore it, as reflected in his story outline and the completed item, which stressed only the increase in usage and assumed that the same general increase was probably true of the Canadian case. Whether or not his assumption was correct, it is indicative of the tendency among Canadian producers to readily assume that American developments are paralleled in Canadian society, a tendency

reinforced by the dependence upon other media, especially American media, as sources.

A related problem arises from the dependence upon official sources; in this case, the RCMP, which published a report in late 1982 that projected a rapid rise in cocaine abuse in Canada, omitting any references to its class character. To the W5 researcher and producer, it seemed to "confirm" the appropriate angle of their story: the rise of cocaine abuse in Canada - without mention of class-based variations in its usage and without attention to the potentially different applications of the problem to the case of Canada. Both of the above problems can be attributed to the sheer absence of resources for original research; instead, "research" is most commonly secondary research based upon other media sources. These sources are predominantly American and other foreign media, or, where Canadian data are desirable, the material typically originates with official information suppliers, from whom it is readily available and where it can be obtained at little or no cost.

On the basis of these sources, the field producer proceeded to construct a draft of the story outline, in which he established the thrust of the story as follows:

This item would look at the spread of cocaine use in Canadian society - why it is becoming more popular - who is using it - what it costs - the effects of it on abusers.

The central element of this item ... is an

interview with a Toronto cocaine dealer, who makes his living peddling the drug and also makes enough on transactions to support his own cocaine 'habit'.²⁸

Following the "Story Line" section, the field producer listed the "Film Elements" and a third section discussed the "Logistics/Cost" of the story. Suggested film elements included: the central interview with the Toronto coke dealer; additional interviews with coke abusers; film related to cocaine arrests in Canada (here, the producer planned to incorporate "shots of some of the cocaine halls by Canada Customs, RCMP and other police forces"); film related to the importation of the drug, such as airport footage of customs officials at work, intended to illustrate "the ease with which a small, but highly potent and lucrative shipment can be brought in" and a possible interview with one or more customs officials; an interview with a doctor at the Addiction Research Foundation to discuss the "increase in cases in Canada, effects on abusers" and, if possible, shots of Canadian abusers under treatment who might discuss the drug's effects on camera; file footage of coca leaves growing in Peru and/or Colombia; a map showing importation routes into Canada and newsfilm of smuggling arrests; a possible interview with a "Canadian law enforcement official" about the increase in importation of the drug; and finally, footage of people
²⁹
snorting and free-basing cocaine.

Thirdly, then, the producer outlined the logistics of

story production, noting that the advantages of the story were that it could be shot largely in Toronto and with relative speed. Only if it proved impossible to locate Toronto abusers willing to appear on camera would it be necessary to go to New York, and, even in this event, no more than two days of shooting would be necessary. The field producer also requested research assistance, and a researcher was subsequently assigned by the executive producer.

Two days later, after consultations with the researcher, the field producer submitted a revised story outline, which indicated "what info[rmation] we have to date, possible shooting sequences, material available and [the] direction of [the] item."³⁰ The revised outline followed the same format as the original, specifying with greater certainty the film elements that would be available and matching each to the series of points that would be made. Finally, in support of the "basic premise" that "cocaine use is on the rise," the producer offered the following evidence to satisfy the journalistic imperative: Canada Customs reports, RCMP arrest figures with respect to trafficking and importing, comments by dealers and abusers, the RCMP "National Intelligence Drug Estimate" projections, and the observations of RCMP officers.³¹

The revised story outline and shooting schedule received approval, and a host and crew were assigned to the

Toronto airport, where a dramatized importation scene would be shot. Later in the same day, interviews were scheduled with an RCMP spokesperson and with a drug treatment specialist at the Addiction Research Foundation. The following day the team would travel to Kingston and conduct a 2:00 PM interview with Steve Durbano, the former NHL player convicted of a cocaine offence and imprisoned at Joyceville Penitentiary, and that night the producer and crew would attempt covert filming of cocaine transactions at a Kingston tavern where drug dealers and their clients were believed to associate. The team would return to Toronto Friday, and fly Monday to New York, where interviews would be conducted at Phoenix House, the drug rehabilitation centre identified in the Time article, and where street scenes of cocaine deals might also be filmed. This schedule was, in fact, followed. The producer and crew returned to Toronto Wednesday, and the following day the producer reviewed the available interview transcripts and began the preliminary editing of the item. A rough cut was completed Friday and screened by the programme producer during the late afternoon. The voice-overs and sound mix were completed Saturday, and the story was broadcast on the next day's programme, Sunday 22 May 1983.

There are a few ways in which the production of "Cocaine" is somewhat atypical of W5 productions, and these should be noted. As the shooting schedule suggests, the story

was produced in considerable haste, covering a period of less than thirty days from initial conceptualization (the reading of the Time article) to final broadcast. Indeed, it was precisely the compressed period of its production and the limited travel involved which made it feasible to closely follow and directly observe each stage of its production, excluding only the two days of filming in New York. These two traits, however, are not uncommon to W5 productions, which tend to be carried out over a shorter length of time than those of the fifth estate, and which increasingly entail a minimal amount of travel beyond Toronto. Secondly, the producer of the item, a senior and well-experienced field producer, tends to assume more of the research responsibilities than is the norm; in this case, for example, he selected the interview subjects and arranged the interviews personally, whereas these tasks are usually undertaken by a researcher. In the case of "Cocaine," the researcher supplied background information about cocaine abuse, consulted the RCMP, and reviewed the RCMP report, in addition to her (also rather extraordinary) role as the "mule" in the dramatized airport scenes. Thirdly, the limited time available for the editing of the story also meant that editing was completed in record time (four days in total) and with exceptional speed. While not uncommon, then, the time constraints were more severe in this case. In that respect, however, their impact

upon the completed item became more apparent and was more plainly observable.

The first day of shooting began at 8:00 AM at the Toronto airport, where film of customs officials and the dramatized arrest was shot. Lull periods between flight arrivals were a source of major delays in the filming, which required a full queue of passengers to stage the "smuggling attempt" sequence most effectively. Additional delays were caused by the refusal of customs officials to participate in the dramatization, which eventually led the producer to pose in the role himself wearing a borrowed uniform, and by airport security regulations, which extended the time needed to obtain footage of a plane landing on a runway. In all, the airport sequences required six hours of shooting, which were then followed by the scheduled RCMP interview at a nearby location, and still later by a ninety-minute interview with the cocaine authority at the Addiction Research Foundation offices in the downtown area. The movement, assembly and disassembly of the cumbersome film equipment make for long and gruelling days in the field. On this, the first day of shooting for the item, the crew had started early in the morning and their work was not finished until after 7:00 PM. The following day, all arose early to travel to Kingston - the producer and host by train, the crew driving a van packed with equipment - for the next round of filming.

The team arrived at Joyceville Penitentiary in the early afternoon for the scheduled 2:00 PM interview with Steve Durbano, who had served four months of his seven-year sentence for importing cocaine. The interview had been pre-arranged by the field producer, although he had failed to specify a preferred site and was refused permission to shoot the interview in Durbano's cell or anywhere other than the specific areas which had been approved by the security director and the prison warden. In the absence of the warden, the security director was reluctant to permit shooting in an area that had not been pre-authorized, and hence the team was denied permission to film in any of the cell areas. The security director explained that the penitentiary was severely overcrowded and many inmates were double-bunked, which had spurred a recently sharp increase in the number of "association problems" at the prison (a euphemism for violent incidents among the inmates). The interview was conducted and filmed, therefore, in the only pre-authorized space, a large conference room used for the meetings of prison and parole board officials. The W5 team argued their case vigorously to the security director, yet ultimately ceded and not without genuine disappointment and frustration. From their perspective, Durbano was, after all, a convicted felon, and a prison cell was the appropriate backdrop for his on-camera appearance. For the purpose of the interview in the board

room, Durbano was at least positioned against a barred window, in order to establish the setting of the film. However, since it was a very sunny day, the drapes needed to be partially closed to permit proper filming, which largely obscured the bars and hence detracted from the desired context.

While the crew assembled and adjusted their equipment, the host outlined the question areas to Durbano, specifying the questions that would be asked and stressing the importance of short, concise answers. Durbano agreed to most of the questions, although he advised the host at the outset that he would not discuss the institution, its staff, other inmates, or the subject of cocaine trafficking in general - only the details of his personal case. Decisions about the length of the interview were rendered by the producer and determined by the constraints of the total length of the story (determined in turn by the programme format) and the availability and cost of film. The producer was aware that the whole story would run twelve to fourteen minutes and would be the lead item of the programme in which it appeared. As a senior field producer, he was able to decide the length of the story himself and to advise the executive producer and producer "how long the item is likely to run" based upon the intrinsic values of the topic. The producer, therefore, had already calculated the approximate proportions of each component of the story. Those calculations, along with the

need to make the most economical use of costly film, determined the duration of the interview and the amount of film that would be used to shoot it; in this case, three magazines or "mags" each consisting of a 400-foot roll of film. The producer had also pre-determined the questions that would be posed to Durbano, which he discussed with the host as the two travelled by train to Kingston. During the interview itself, the producer made extensive notes, noting especially the particularly "good" responses by Durbano - a kind of pre-editing procedure that would save valuable time in the editing room later.

The use of film equipment limits the mobility of the crew during filming and thereby limits the range of possible shots of the host and subject in conversation. Indeed, film practice dictates a few "standard" shots that will appear; for example, the "over-the-shoulder-of-the-host" shot, which assures that the interview subject is featured and at the same time establishes the presence of the host. Simultaneously, it suggests a judgmental, if not condescending, posture on the part of the host, and forces the viewer to perceive the subject from the host's perspective. The host, furthermore, adopts the stance of the viewer (that is, the assumed viewer) in his behaviour during the interview; by, for example, posing questions that he believes the viewer would ask or needs to know, by assuming a posture or attitude that he believes

resembles the attitude of the viewer, and by expressing surprise or disbelief or otherwise responding according to his presumptions about how the viewer would respond. In this case, for example, although the host had been told by Durbano before the interview that at the peak of his cocaine addiction he reached one hundred injections daily, when the statement was made again during the shooting, the host expressed shock and stood aghast as though he were hearing it for the first time, responding with a strong emphasis upon the figure and what appeared to be genuine amazement: "One Hundred injections a day?". In this way, the behaviour and attitude of the host corresponds to the world as he sees it, and is interlocked with perceptions that derive from the cultural world of professional journalists.

The same perspective extends to a hint of sympathy with Durbano, as an individual "victim" of cocaine addiction. It is also apparent in the production team's search for shots that would depict their assumptions and their stock-of-knowledge about what prisons (and inmates) are like. Joyceville officials, however, had not agreed in advance to the filming of any exterior scenes. Permission was granted after some pleading by the host, although only at specified sites on the premises. Exterior shots were needed for filler and as a background to the host's stand-up. For the purposes of the stand-up, the producer had prepared a few

lines of written script about the severity of the penalties for cocaine abuse. Considering the content of the script, the team was concerned to select the appropriate background scenery for the shot. The field producer and crew, unaware that a specifically authorized spot had been negotiated between the security director and the host, roamed the grounds outside the prison buildings seeking a scene that "looked prisony," in the words of one crew member. The producer chose a scene offering a backdrop of tall steel and barbed wire fences, authoritative stop signs, and a view of barred cell windows, yet soon learned that he would not be allowed to film the stand-up at that spot. The team debated the alternative possibility of shooting the stand-up at the larger and older Kingston Penitentiary, which was felt to be "harsher-looking," although it would require additional time to travel there and re-assemble the equipment, and such extra time and effort was not considered worthwhile for the sake of what was, after all, a very brief stand-up segment. In the end, the stand-up was filmed against a long row of barbed wire fencing with a looming (albeit unoccupied) guardtower featured in the distant background.

The security director objected to their attempts to present a harsh portrayal of the prison environment, stating that he and other officials wished to dispel popular images of harsh and unkempt prison facilities. He repeatedly pointed

out that the Joyceville facilities are modern and clean, if not actually pleasant, and that in any case the harshness of prison life is not a function of the state of the buildings, but resides in the fact of the long sentence, in the fact that "the man (Durbano) is deprived of his freedom for seven years," not in the decor of his cell. The W5 team, however, expressed skepticism about his argument (describing it later as "pure bullshit"), just as they were skeptical about many of Durbano's claims during the interview. Durbano, for example, insisted that the cocaine which he carried at the time of his arrest was mainly for his own use and was not intended to be trafficked or sold for profit. He had, in fact, been formally convicted of "importation of a restricted substance", which carries a minimum seven-year sentence and which does not entail a distinction between possession and trafficking. Nonetheless, the team's pre-conceived assumptions about Durbano and their need to maintain a professional distance led them to quickly reject his claims. The host, for example, while rehearsing the stand-up, altered the original words of the script which described how Durbano "began to import his own supply" by adding "and that led to smuggling" which implied that Durbano had eventually begun trafficking the drug. Such impromptu inflections are commonly injected by both news reporters and current affairs hosts during dry runs of stand-up sequences, which, it should be kept in mind, are

the crucial connecting passages that integrate and contextualize the story for the viewers. Through the course of rehearsal, in which the reporter/host repeats the script aloud until it is committed to memory, s/he will often verbally revise the script until the words are those with which s/he feels most comfortable, those which "sound right" to him/her. Invariably, the words and phrases that "feel comfortable" and "sound right" are those that conform to the journalist's class-specific stock-of-knowledge about the social world.

The search for words and images which conform to their assumptions is not always successful, as the team's activities later that evening proved. After carefully disguising the camera in a large shoulder bag, the producer and crew drove to a local Kingston tavern where they had been told (by a friend of the producer) that they might capture a cocaine transaction on film. The tavern is frequented by motorcycle gangs, is the scene of regular assaults and stabbing incidents, and is, in short, a milieu rather far removed from the habitats of the cocaine abusers identified in the Time article. For several hours, the producer and crew attempted to inconspicuously survey the bar in the hope of witnessing a drug deal in progress. Failing that, the producer's inquiries revealed that while marijuana and hashish could be readily obtained, and a purchase of mescaline

might be arranged, cocaine was not ordinarily available there; he was, in fact, referred to a dealer who operated at a bar in the city centre. The producer found this information suspect and, despite the fact that it was a Thursday night and the tavern was filled to capacity, he chose to conclude that it was "probably just a slow night" and that the failure of the venture was therefore simply a quirk of bad fate.

The following week the team flew to New York, where the filming of three further components of the story was carried out: a scheduled interview with a counsellor at Phoenix House, the drug treatment centre discussed in the Time article; interviews with three former cocaine abusers recommended by the counsellor; and film of a cocaine transaction between the field producer and a New York dealer. The latter was shot covertly by concealing the film camera in the van parked on the street and wiring the producer for sound as he purchased the cocaine nearby. A stand-up segment to establish the New York location and introduce the Phoenix House interviews was not shot at Phoenix House, located on a quiet street in the Upper West Side area, but near Times Square, which was judged a "more dramatic" background for the segment. This marked the end of the filming for the "Cocaine" story. Altogether, about twenty 400-foot rolls of film had been expended for the item.

The team returned to Toronto Wednesday, and the

following morning the producer began to assemble the components of the story. Transcripts of the interviews were reviewed and "bites" selected for inclusion. The RCMP supplied still shots of women garbed in body packs to transport cocaine and shots of other cocaine-related paraphernalia. The producer also approached CTV's sports department and the National Hockey League to request some hockey footage of Durbano; however, both refused to supply any footage. The NHL was concerned about the association between its players and cocaine abuse, while the network's sports division was concerned about legal repercussions. Still pictures of Durbano, supplied by his family, were eventually used in the item. The music for the story was selected by the producer for its "suspense value," particularly that which accompanied the staged arrest at the airport. It was obtained at a private audio tape library near the CTV offices, which³³ offers a selection of more than 10,000 audio tapes.

Rough editing of the film consumed all of Thursday and most of Friday. The Durbano interview, the Phoenix House interviews, and the airport shots were the three major segments of the story accorded prominence in the editing process. Relatively little was retained of the RCMP interview, which the producer found "too speculative," particularly the estimates of growth in the Canadian market, which were somewhat inconsistent with other data gathered by

the researcher. Likewise, little was salvaged of the interview with the specialist at the Addiction Research Foundation, which was deemed uninteresting and not sufficiently informative. The producer, moreover, did not consider the doctor's experience with cocaine abusers sufficiently extensive to lend full authority to her statements. Nonetheless, he acknowledged both she and the RCMP official as the representative authorities who should be included in the story for the sake of their official rendering of the extent and consequences of cocaine abuse. Accordingly, during the rough editing, their "ums and ahs" were carefully deleted, a generally common practice in the case of official spokespersons since, first, "ums and ahs" add to the length of the interview bite and thus needlessly aggravate the time constraints, and secondly, in the producer's words, "ums and ahs" are unacceptable "when it's supposed to be the voice of authority."

The script of the item was prepared by the producer during Thursday evening and Friday morning. The twenty-eight hours of editing ended Friday shortly after 6:00 PM, at which point a near-fine cut of the item was ready for viewing by the programme producer. The programme producer had followed the development of the story through his review of the original story proposal, the revised story proposal, and the original and revised editing outlines. His comments after the

screening were as follows: that the music should be "gentler" and not as dramatic and suspenseful; that the airport segment should be more tightly edited and reduced in length or else it should be deleted in its entirety; that the Durbano interview should be more strongly highlighted, since it was something of a "scoop"; that more detailed information should be included about Durbano's case; that it should be made clearer to the audience that he is presently in prison, and stressed that the interview was shot in the prison, since it was not evident from the conference room setting; and that the conclusion of the item should be re-written to create a stronger, more dramatic close. In fact, the programme producer himself re-wrote the conclusion and other portions of the script as well as the studio introduction to the story, which led its title to be changed to "Getting Higher."

The voice-over and sound mix of the item was completed Saturday at the facilities of a private company near the network offices, and the item aired the following day. In a later discussion with the programme producer, he volunteered candid comments about the merits of the story in the absence of the field producer. He judged the item "good" considering the time constraints, yet felt that there was "nothing new" about the story, and he suggested that he would therefore rate it only "five-and-a-half on a scale of ten" (W5 Programme Producer, May 1983). He added that Canadian cocaine addicts

rather than American ones should have been interviewed, noting however that the story producer likes to spend time in New York and the programme managers like to indulge him, since he is regarded as one of W5's best field producers.

The researcher concurred with the producer's assessment, blaming its low level of newsworthiness yet suggesting at the same time some of its compensating story values:

I didn't think it was a particularly good item. It didn't say anything new. To me, it was just a rehash of everything I've already read ... The story came at the end of the season and the time of year determines, I think, the kinds of stories that you can do. You could do it very quickly and very cheaply and that was a big consideration (May 1983).

Conclusion

The production constraints evident at CTV are identical to those experienced by the CBC and are found equally in both the news and current affairs divisions of the private network. The similarities are striking, yet not surprising when one appreciates that these constraints arise from the particular organization of television journalism at two networks sharing a fundamentally similar position in the political economy of information broadcasting. The similarity of their information content can only be understood by reference to these underlying similarities in the organization

of story production. Direct observation of the production processes offers the best means to forge a sound theoretical understanding of the apparent homogeneity of media content in the realm of news and current affairs, and of the limitations common to it all.

The recurrence and repetition of themes and topics across both print and broadcast news media is due in large measure to the interconnectedness of these media and their interdependence as sources of ideas for each other. The dependence is mutual yet unequal. The broadcast media are less capable of originality and equipped with fewer temporal and monetary resources to undertake original story production, finding it organizationally expedient to merely reproduce or at best further develop stories initiated by others, which renders these organizations reactive rather than active in the pursuit of subject matter outside the bounds of what is readily and cheaply available. At all five organizations and both networks, the pool of potential story ideas is tightly circumscribed, dependent upon a limited circle of friends, associates, and other media, especially print. Whether direct or indirect, formal or informal, the pattern of story origination is by now a familiar one. It is, once again, in evidence at W5:

...A lot happens that is not formal - you'll just be sitting around, talking with a bunch of people and 'did you see such and such' in the paper and be

talking about it and sort of put two and two together and start thinking about other questions that that raises and so on, and sooner or later you think to yourself, 'well, gee, maybe we'll do a story on the thing' (W5 Researcher, June 1983).

When I'm looking for ideas, I'll go and read the newspapers, magazines and I find that most of the stories have originated from print media. Now, the other source would be where you might have a contact, and those are very valuable sources; for instance, social workers or people like that, that you know. For instance, recently we were going to do a story on this whole nursing home investigation that's going on right now. Now, that story came to us through someone who works in health care, so I think those kinds of contacts are very valuable. But most of the time I find that you do get it from the media, you pick up something in the paper or in a magazine and pursue it from there (W5 Field Producer, May 1983).

I would have to say that the best ideas have come from just hearing about them: friends, associates, and then, of course, clippings. You see something in the Globe & Mail, a little article in the corner of the page, and say, 'I wonder what's really going on there?' (W5 Researcher, May 1983).

A formidable barrier to any alternative generation of story ideas, or to any form of original investigation, is the scarcity of the requisite resources, a condition apparent at CBC but experienced more severely by producers at the private network.

The whole question about doing original investigations - they scream and yell about that here, but I'm sure other people have told you. In terms of the commitment of time, the money, you can't do it. We're just not equipped here. We don't have the resources and we don't have the commitment (W5 Field Producer, May 1983).

The acceptability of a story proposal, then, such as the "Cocaine" story, is equally if not more likely to be

contingent upon the commitment of time and money that it demands, rather than any of its intrinsic journalistic values.

Can you detect any patterns in terms of the kinds of stories that get accepted? Do you think there is a notion of what a W5 story is?

Not really. Or at least, not that I can put my finger on. I'm sure that other people would have ideas of what that would be, but from my experience I have found a lot of it to be influenced by where the story is taking place; in other words, where would you have to go to do the filming, do they have the money in the budget. Increasingly, money is a very large factor ...

Certainly, the idea of us whipping off to Southeast Asia to do a story is fairly pie in the sky. We could do a trip to Southeast Asia, but it would be one in a season, and they would have to get at least two stories, preferably three, out of it, and they'd have to be really dynamite stories (W5 Researcher, June 1983).

A further noteworthy constraint shared by the two networks yet more visible at CTV is the sensitivity to the legal repercussions of stories, particularly in current affairs. Legal consultation is often sought very early on in the production of a potentially sensitive story, i.e. at the proposal and research stages, yet at W5, decisions to quash a story have been rendered at even later stages. Some remarked that it seemed a more prominent concern at CTV than at other broadcasting organizations in their experience:

I have never worked in a situation where you had to have so much to do with the lawyers. Now, I expected a certain amount of that. As far as I'm concerned, it goes with the territory, and I'm quite happy to talk to the lawyers about what they see as the problems in the stories that we do, but it became quite a concern to me when some of the stories that had been worked on and were filmed even and even edited were shot down. Some of the decisions that

were made I've simply disagreed with. Now, I'm no lawyer, but I've always been interested in libel law and I do a lot of reading on it, and, especially when we saw other stories pop up in other media at a later date, we sort of wondered as to why we couldn't have done it but somebody else could.

But I think it goes back again to money, because I think the situation was one of, even though we have insurance through the network and coverage for lawsuits, I dare say that at this point the network is in a situation where they could not afford to go to court. Even if we were right and would win, we could not afford the legal costs of going to court to defend ourselves (W5 Researcher, June 1983).

They are very afraid of lawsuits here and all they need to hear is that somebody has even threatened a lawsuit and it doesn't matter whether you're right or wrong. This is more of a management fear on the third floor* (*referring to network management) and it filters down here to the point where they (the programme managers) are terrified of litigation.

You can't do serious investigative work if you're afraid you're going to be sued, because you're going to offend somebody and, sure, you'll do everything you can to back it up, but I don't find there's much commitment, although they like to say there is ... You know, it's all very well to say 'we want to do original investigation' but unfortunately, here, ever since the Chinese story, they've been spooked. They're very paranoid about lawsuits. And they really don't care whether they're going to win the suit. Their attitude is, we can't afford to go through the process ...

I remember when we wanted to do a story in which we wanted to name a lawyer who should be thrown out by the Law Society, there was a feeling here that they were terrified of doing the story. It's easy enough to pay lip service to investigative stories, but there also has to be that commitment to stand behind their producers. And we have found out the hard way that it isn't there. If we had been wrong in our facts, we could accept it, but you just wonder how much you want to risk yourself if you're not going to have that backing. That was a very hard lesson to learn. And I won't forget it because, you know, I would just think the next time something like that comes up, do I want to do it?

You'd be hesitant, then, would you?

Definitely. And so would everyone else who witnessed what happened.

Can you be held personally liable?

We have insurance. We (field producers) would be named in the suit. But, if CTV decided to fire you, then you're on your own ...

What we tend to do, I think, is to take pot shots at government - and that's easy. They're not going to sue. Or, do foreign stories, leave the country, go and dump all over somebody and broadcast it here. But if you're going to do things here where you're going to get, you know, get in the wrong way with private companies, individuals, there's a lot of fear (W5 Field Producer, May 1983).

Fear of legal repercussions may be intensified at CTV as a result of still-vivid memories of the Chinese story scandal, but it is clearly interrelated with limited resources of time and money, as well as limited if any commitment to original, investigative journalism. Breed (1955) and others long ago identified the general phenomenon of anticipatory self-censorship among journalists, yet at W5, the proposal of a legally sensitive story means not only an organizational or professional risk, but a personal risk as well, in view of their unprotected, union-free status. Together, these conditions mitigate strongly against the production of serious, well-documented critiques of private sector developments, very effectively deflecting critical attention away from that entire segment of Canadian society.

What further reduces the likelihood of such critical endeavours at CTV is the network's weakly founded, tenuous

commitment to current affairs production of any kind, or, for that matter, to information programming in general.

Summarized succinctly in the recurrent statement that "CTV is not a production house" (an admission freely made by both journalists and programme managers), it is reflected in virtually every dimension of the programming structure: from physical facilities - the cramped newsroom, antiquated equipment, makeshift studios, etc., to the skeletal labour force, to the neglect of still more basic investments required to produce television news and current affairs. Apart from the physical evidence everywhere, the tokenness of information production at CTV is ever-present in the minds of its producers and in their view it affects, in serious ways, the conduct of their work, including, not least of all, their relative work satisfaction:

The producers and researchers here are fairly committed journalists in one way or another. They sort of want to do their own programmes. But I think, because CTV is what it is, and because W5 is basically a token programme, it would not exist if the CRTC did not make it exist. If tomorrow morning the CRTC turned around and said, 'okay, you don't have to do it anymore,' they would drop it like a hot cake, and we would be gone, and that's a reality.

They will tolerate the programme within certain limits; that is, the management of CTV (not W5). Providing that the ratings don't get below some minimum they have, it can just stagger on and do whatever it wants. They're delighted when they go up, and they have been going up for the past few years, but with a pre-emption, if they put a movie on they can double the ratings and double their advertising (revenue), and they know that. So they don't really care about this programme ...

Why should they spend millions of dollars on

equipment and training? There isn't even the space in this building to do it. We would have to go outside [i.e. contract out to other companies]. The feeling has always been that CTV is not a production house, and the frustrations of packaging the show are enormous. They have to do W5, and they have to do news, but they don't really want to do them, so they spend as little money as possible, which makes it very frustrating for the people who work on it (W5 Field Producer, June 1983).

Inevitably, the interests of the network (or non-interests, perhaps, to be precise) open wide the field for real conflicts between, on the one hand, a corporation with inherent structural interests against a strong commitment to information broadcasting and, on the other hand, the professional journalists in its employ. These interests and the conflicts that arise from them are among the considerations of the next chapter, as we proceed to more closely examine the corps of network journalists and the conditions of their work.

NOTES

1. See Appendix I for a detailed account.
2. Interview, Line-Up Editor, June 1982. He cited the examples of Buenos Aires and Beirut. The foreign assignment editor was indeed away in Buenos Aires during the observation period.
3. Two of these work at the network's downtown Toronto offices, where approximately 90 per cent of the VTR editing for CTV NATIONAL NEWS is carried out.
4. CTV's weekly look-ahead list is predominantly based upon the CP look-ahead list, issued at the same time weekly.
5. See Chapter 9.
6. A sample line-up order is included in Appendix II.
7. Supers are added by the VTR editors at the downtown network location.
8. CTV Press Release, July 1983, p. 1.
9. Until a few years ago, these sequences were shot at a CFTO studio. According to the producer of W5, CFTO's owner, John Bassett Sr., steadily increased his charges to the network for the use of the facilities until the amount reached almost 40 per cent of W5's total budget. Since there are no studios at the downtown headquarters of the network, the only option was to tape the programme right in the W5 offices.
10. It seems that the retention of that consistent and steady audience is sufficient to ensure W5's continued existence. A prominent Canadian current affairs producer once argued that W5 had "run its course" and submitted a proposal to the network that it be replaced by a new programme. It was indeed replaced for a period of three months in the 1976-77 season by CTV REPORTS, during which time the audience of that time-slot dropped to a mere 200,000 and the network swiftly revived W5. (See Trueman, 1980: 9077).

11. The lack of organization amongst the technical workers is most extraordinary. One film editor, asked to offer his explanations of the absence of unions, began his response by whispering: "Don't mention the word 'union' around here" (Interview, May 1983). For a discussion of unionization in the industry at large, see Chapter 8.
12. The transformation to video tape usage has been completed by the great majority of American network (information and other) programme units, with the notable exception of CBS' 60 MINUTES.
13. This practice was implemented in 1982-83.
14. "Crashing on Cocaine." Time, 11 April 1983: 18-27.
15. Ibid, p. 18.
16. Ibid, p. 22.
17. Loc. cit.
18. Ibid, p. 23.
19. Loc. cit.
20. Ibid, p. 24.
21. Loc. cit.
22. Ibid, p. 25.
23. Loc. cit.
24. Ibid, p. 26.
25. Ibid, p. 27.
26. Loc. cit.
27. Ibid, p. 19.
28. Field Producer, "Cocaine" Story Proposal, First Draft Outline, 25 April 1983.
29. All quotations derive from the original outline, cited above.
30. Field Producer, "Cocaine" Revised Story Proposal, 27 April 1983.

31. Ibid.
32. Stand-ups provide connecting passages between visual sequences and interview segments. They are also intended to provide background information, which, of necessity, must be brief since the reporter or host must memorize the stand-up script.
33. Music tapes are also available at the network's library, although it is a much more limited selection.

CHAPTER 8: NETWORK JOURNALISTS AND THEIR WORK:
BIOGRAPHY AND PROFESSIONAL MILIEU

The process of producing mass media output is a dual one. For the owners, investors and managers, media products are commodities to be packaged, promoted and marketed in the same way as any other... For many of the people who actually make them, however, media products are not simply commodities but media for creative expression. This balance between commodity production and creativity is a precarious one, however, and one which is ultimately framed and determined by the general economic context within which production takes place (Murdock and Golding, 1974: 223).

Murdock and Golding argue that the economic context of production establishes the limits of creativity, defines the range of autonomy of the communicator, and shapes the organizational climate of media production (1974; cf. Chibnall, 1977). Together with routine news practices and ideologies (also shaped by the economic context), concerns about audience retention, profitability, and more contemporarily, about underfunding, create a tendency "even" among journalists to see news as a commodity, one that must be packaged, promoted and marketed in particular (indeed, often highly specified) ways.

Those journalists who perceive news as a commodity may also tend to perceive themselves as news workers encumbered by the economic constraints of organizational needs and controls imposed upon them, rather than as professional journalists operating somewhat independently and enjoying some measure of freedom in the altruistic production of a creative product or public service. The meaning and purpose of news and current affairs varies according to the definer yet is

always ambiguous. As Chibnall adds, "as far as the defining and classifying procedures of the journalist are concerned, this ambiguity is echoed in his [sic] working conditions, which are a peculiarly blended mixture of freedom and control. These, in turn, find their reflection in the journalist's general ambivalence towards his work" (1977: 222). The journalist may be able to exercise a considerable amount of autonomy in the selection of story topics or in decisions rendered in the field, yet s/he is consistently and inescapably bound by the set of professional expectations, including audience expectations, which circumscribe the form and content of his/her final product.

The economic context of television journalism thus creates a number of "precarious balances" and complex ambiguities: commodity production against creativity or professionalism; news as a commodity against news as a public service; producers as news workers or professional journalists; autonomy versus control in the working conditions of information producers; and the ambivalent attitudes of journalists towards their work. In the Canadian case, it would be tempting to suppose that the line of ambiguity can be clarified if one simply differentiates between public and private sector journalists at CBC and CTV, but the sources of these ambiguities are not that easily traced. Among the Canadian group, perceptions of news as a commodity, of

journalists as news workers, and of journalists as controlled rather than autonomous, are not found exclusively at CTV, nor are perceptions of news as a public service and of journalists as autonomous professionals found exclusively at the public corporation. Indeed, these differing perceptions may be sustained by journalists at either organization, and may even be held by the same journalist. The very finding that these ambiguities supersede the public/private boundary adds further weight to our argument that the formal public/private boundary in Canadian broadcasting is a deceptive one, one that should not obscure the deeper foundations of production constraints in the larger economic context which forcefully creates these contradictory perceptions.

One purpose of this chapter is to explore how these ambiguities are manifest in the perceptions of Canadian network journalists and in the conditions of their work. Many theorists mistakenly target journalist-producers as the sources of witting or unwitting "bias" in news and current affairs programming, failing to look further to the practices and ideologies which direct their activity and still further to the underlying economic forces which shape these practices and ideologies. A subtle yet crucial explanatory difference between such arguments and our own is that journalists are simultaneously producers of, and produced by, the limited conditions of their work - caught between economic forces,

practical production constraints, and professional ideologies - none of which are authored directly by them and all of which are largely beyond their control.

This should become increasingly evident in the following discussion of the characteristics of Canadian network journalists and the conditions of their work. Our procedure will be to pose a full range of questions about network television journalists to better understand their place in the process of new production/ideological reproduction: First, who are the people who produce network information programming in Canada? Where do network television journalists come from - from which classes, from which ethnic groups, from what educational backgrounds, and along what career paths? What are the conditions of their work and how are these conditions perceived? How do journalists perceive their own autonomy and work satisfaction? What is the extent of their commitment to professional practices and ideologies? To these questions we now turn.

Canadian Network Journalists: A Socio-Demographic Profile

Knowledge of the social characteristics of Canadian journalists is virtually non-existent. While data have been gathered regarding print and broadcast journalists in Nigeria, Ireland, Sweden, Israel, the United States, and numerous other

countries, no sustained analysis of the socio-demographic traits of journalists in Canada has yet been undertaken. Regardless of how one might assess the significance of authorship and the character of authors in the reproduction of ideologies, this glaring hole in the literature leaves the question of "who produces our news and information?" desperately in need of response.

In order to redress to some extent the deficiency and begin to build a base of information about their social composition, a short questionnaire, intended to solicit some rudimentary data, was administered to journalists and producers at the five major network information programmes.¹ Altogether, questionnaires were distributed to 214 Canadian-based and foreign-based journalist-producers with an overall response rate of 66.4 per cent. Response rates were higher at the smaller, largely Toronto-based programmes, W5 (95.2 per cent) and the fifth estate (91.7 per cent), and lower at the larger programme units with a significant proportion of their staff based outside Toronto and outside of Canada; namely THE NATIONAL (59.7 per cent) and THE JOURNAL (57.7 per cent), where as a consequence the degree of personal contact and familiarity with the project was much reduced. In some cases, it was possible to supplement the questionnaire data with biographical data obtained from newspaper and magazine articles as well as press releases issued by the public

relations departments of the two networks. Respondents were asked to indicate their year of birth, place of birth, sex, ethnic origin, class origin and level of formal education; their affiliation with professional associations and trade unions; and to provide general information about their previous journalistic experience, in order to tentatively plot the patterns of their career paths.

Generally, the demographic picture which emerges tends to support one's superficial impressions after initial entries into the newsrooms and production offices, i.e. that most of those who produce the major network information programmes in Canada are relatively young and relatively well-educated Anglo-Saxon males of urban petty bourgeois backgrounds. Ages range from twenty-three to fifty-eight, yet half the respondents are in their thirties and 74 per cent are under forty. Eighty-five of the respondents or approximately 60 per cent are male, a suspiciously low figure which may reflect the greater propensity of women to respond. Yet to merely report the gender ratio among the respondents is to skirt past the complexity of the underlying sexual division of labour which has been alluded to implicitly in the discussions of each programme unit. Obviously, it is more important to ask where women are actually located in the journalistic division of labour at the two national networks, and such a question warrants separate analysis at a later point.

A programme-by-programme breakdown of region of birth and ethnic origin appears in Tables 8.1 and 8.2. Over a third of the producers are Ontario-born, the highest ratio at W5 where eleven of twenty producers originate in the Central Canadian province. Respondents also tend to derive from urban, especially large urban, rather than rural and small urban backgrounds. There is a low representation of Quebec-born, where the francophone majority undoubtedly means a greater gravitation towards the French-language networks by those seeking a journalistic career. More remarkable is the exceptionally low representation from the Atlantic provinces (4.2 per cent) at all programmes, a figure much lower than that for the foreign-born (26 per cent of all respondents). The largest number of foreign-born originate from the United Kingdom rather than the United States, a pattern which can probably be explained by reference to the shared public broadcasting tradition (nineteen of the twenty-one British-born work at the CBC) and to those older producers who were imported directly from the BBC during the early phases of television news and current affairs production in the 1950s and 1960s.

The significant proportion of British-born producers is encompassed as well in the very high ethnic representation of the British group, consistently greater than 70 per cent at each of the programmes and 74 per cent overall. In sharp

Table 8.1: Canadian Network Journalists: Region of Birth by Programme Unit

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>THE NATIONAL</u>			<u>THE JOURNAL</u>			<u>fifth estate</u>			<u>CTV NEWS</u>			<u>W5</u>			<u>All Program</u>		
	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>		<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>		<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>		<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>		<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>		<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	
West	20.9	9		26.8	15		22.7	5		-	-		25.0	5		23.9	34	
Ontario	34.9	15		33.9	19		31.8	7		-	1		55.0	11		37.3	53	
Quebec	14.0	6		10.7	6		0.0	0		-	-		0.0	0		8.5	12	
East	4.7	2		3.6	2		4.5	1		-	-		5.0	1		4.2	6	
U.K.	11.6	5		14.3	8		27.3	6		-	-		10.0	2		14.8	21	
U.S.	7.0	3		5.4	3		4.5	1		-	-		0.0	0		4.9	7	
Other Foreign	7.0	3		5.4	3		9.1	2		-	-		5.0	1		6.3	9	
<u>Totals</u>	100.1	43		100.1	56		99.9	22		-	1		100.0	20		99.9	142	

Table 8.2: Canadian Network Journalists: Ethnic Origin by Programme Unit

<u>Ethnic Origin</u>	<u>THE NATIONAL</u>			<u>THE JOURNAL</u>			<u>fifth estate</u>			<u>CTV NEWS</u>			<u>W5</u>			<u>All Program</u>		
	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
British	72.1	31	75.0	72.7	16	-	-	1	75.0	-	1	73.9	15	73.9	105	73.9	105	73.9
French	2.3	1	1.8	0.0	0	-	-	-	5.0	-	-	2.1	1	2.1	3	2.1	3	2.1
W. European	9.3	4	5.4	9.1	2	-	-	-	0.0	-	-	6.3	0	6.3	9	6.3	9	6.3
E. European	7.0	3	3.6	4.5	1	-	-	-	20.0	-	-	7.0	4	7.0	10	7.0	10	7.0
Jewish	0.0	0	10.7	9.1	2	-	-	-	0.0	-	-	5.6	0	5.6	8	5.6	8	5.6
Other	0.0	0	1.8	4.5	1	-	-	-	0.0	-	-	1.4	0	1.4	2	1.4	2	1.4
Unspecified	9.3	4	1.8	0.0	0	-	-	-	0.0	-	-	3.5	0	3.5	5	3.5	5	3.5
<u>Totals</u>	100.0	43	100.1	99.9	22	-	-	1	100.0	-	1	99.8	20	99.8	142	99.8	142	99.8

contrast, French representation is very low at 22 per cent, for reasons already suggested above. Non-charter groups are represented by only twenty-nine people or one in five producers (20 per cent) and this contingent is overwhelmingly European in origin, with minimal representation from other regions of the world (one person is of Chinese origin while a second is of Lebanese origin). With the exception of one black copy clerk at THE NATIONAL, there are no blacks and virtually no native people at any of the five network² production units.

A closely related dimension of the social composition of network journalists is their class origin. Studies of journalists elsewhere consistently find that journalists often tend to share a common heritage in the petty bourgeoisie. In their three-nation comparison of broadcast journalism in Nigeria, Ireland and Sweden, Golding and Elliott observed:

Broadcast journalism is a middle class occupation in the sense that few journalists in any of the countries had fathers who were manual workers...In all countries a large proportion came from what might be termed the educated, literate or professional elite. This was spectacularly true of Sweden, where 45 per cent had professional fathers (1979: 170-171).

Table 8.3 compares the class origins of Canadian network journalists with those of their counterparts in the³ three countries studied by Golding and Elliott. Class origins of the Canadian group were determined by responses to the questions of father's occupation and whether or not he

Table 8.3: Network Journalists in Canada, Sweden, Ireland and Nigeria: A Comparison of Class Origins

<u>Fathers' Occupations</u>	<u>Canada</u> %	<u>Sweden</u> %	<u>Ireland</u> %	<u>Nigeria</u> %
Managerial	27.5			
Journalist/Other Media	2.8	4.8	3.5	1.2
Teacher/Academic	5.6	4.8	7.1	6.0
Civil Servant	7.0	1.6	10.7	16.9
Politician	0.0	1.6	3.5	1.2
Other Professional	21.1	32.3	3.5	4.8
(Sub-Total)	(64.0)	(45.1)	(28.3)	(30.1)
Farmer	4.9	3.2	25.0	24.1
Trader or Small Business	7.0	0.0	14.3	12.0
Other Non-Manual	4.2	38.7	14.3	25.3
Other Manual	12.0	12.9	17.8	8.4
Indeterminate	7.7			
(N)	142	62	28	83

Source of non-Canadian data: Golding and Elliott, 1979: 171.

served as a company officer. In their case, 64 per cent of journalists had professional fathers, almost 20 percentage points higher than the Swedish group and a near two-thirds majority. A separate "managerial" category is added for the Canadian group, which includes occupations presumably subsumed under "other professional" in the Golding and Elliott typology. More than one in four Canadian journalists occupy this category, including the children of: engineers (6), accountants (5), and lawyers (3) who served as company officers; owners of construction (2), insurance (2), and manufacturing (5) companies; a general manager of an auto company; an "airline executive"; a vice-president of a public relations firm; a vice-president of a Crown corporation; and a vice-president of one of the major chartered banks.

As in the other countries, there are very few second-generation journalists; only four Canadians had fathers in the same profession. Canadian network journalists are more likely to be the sons and daughters of: engineers (7), lawyers (7),⁴ accountants (5), military officers (7), university professors (5), and medical professionals such as physicians (7), psychiatrists (1), dentists (1) and neurosurgeons (1). In the non-professional categories, journalist-producers originate from the families of farmers (7) and tradespeople or small businessmen (10), including self-employed shopkeepers (8), a plastering contractor, and a car

dealer. Just 12 per cent are the offspring of manual workers, including nine factory workers or labourers, two mechanics, two bricklayers, a cabinet maker, a railway worker, an upholsterer, and a miner. Most of these class categories are found among each of the programmes, with the exception of W5 where the offspring of manual workers are strikingly absent and where a full 60 per cent of the journalistic staff are of managerial and professional backgrounds.

A further related dimension of journalists' social composition is their level of educational attainment. As might be expected, the vast majority of those in the manual labour category seemingly found university attendance to be a route out of the working class. All but two followed this course, whereas the other fifteen journalists received some university education (3), completed a degree (12), and two of the latter also undertook some graduate work. Virtually all of those from managerial family backgrounds (39) at least attended university; thirty-two completed a first degree, and fourteen of those proceeded to graduate school, where seven of them finished a further degree.

In terms of the group as a whole, 111 respondents or 78 per cent hold a university degree, and a further 15 per cent at least attended university, totalling a full 93 per cent of Canadian network journalists who are university-educated. In this respect as in others, the group is most

exceptional vis-a-vis the Canadian population, and is also much more highly educated than the network journalists in Golding and Elliott's studies, where it was found that "educationally, the journalists tended to be above average, though not spectacularly so" (1979: 171).⁵ Only 11 per cent of their Nigerian journalists were university-educated, while 21 per cent of Irish journalists had a university degree and a further 11 per cent had some university education. Even in Sweden, where 22 per cent of the male population attend university, journalists were somewhat more comparable to the population in that 21 per cent held a degree and 30 per cent had some university education (1979: 171-172). Compared to both their fellow Canadians and their colleagues elsewhere, network journalists in Canada are very highly educated indeed. Table 8.4 summarizes their educational attainment by programme unit, indicating that there is little variation on that basis, although it is perhaps noteworthy that virtually all W5 respondents and all but one JOURNAL respondent are university-educated.

To summarize, network journalists and producers in Canada tend to be young, highly educated men of British ethnic origin and of urban petty bourgeois backgrounds. Each of these traits is widely shared among members of the group, and the degree of similarity is not insignificant. Together, these traits make Canadian journalist-producers rather

Table 8.4: Canadian Network Journalists:
Levels of Educational Attainment

<u>Education Level</u>	<u>THE NATIONAL</u> %	<u>THE JOURNAL</u> %	<u>fifth estate</u> %	<u>CTV NEWS</u> %	<u>W5</u> %	<u>All Program</u> %
Completed Post-Graduate	11.6	19.6	9.1	-	10.0	14.1
Some Post-Graduate	11.6	14.3	22.7	-	10.0	14.1
Completed Post-Secondary	53.5	46.4	40.9	-	65.0	50.0
Some Post-Secondary	11.6	17.9	18.2	-	10.0	14.8
(Sub-Total)	(88.3)	(98.2)	(90.9)	-	(95.0)	(93.0)
Completed Secondary	4.7	1.8	4.5	-	0.0	2.8
Some Secondary	7.0	0.0	0.0	-	0.0	2.1
Public/Primary	0.0	0.0	4.5	-	0.0	0.7
Unstated	-	-	-	(1)	5.0	1.4
(N)	43	56	22	1	20	142

different from the population at large. One suspects that their high level of educational attainment and other characteristics might be less commonly found among other broadcast journalists in Canada, such as those at the local level, since network journalism represents to many in the profession the pinnacle of the field and is much more prestigious, elevating the criteria of entry. That suspicion can be investigated somewhat by a study of the career routes followed by the network group, to be presented later.

As we have seen, Canadian network journalists are also rather exceptional vis-à-vis their counterparts in the three countries examined by Golding and Elliott, tending generally to be of higher class origins and more highly educated. It is important perhaps to offer additional comparisons between Canadian journalists and those of societies more closely aligned to Canada in social structure.

The first national study of a whole labour force of journalists (Gill, 1961) gathered data regarding 370 Israeli journalists in 1955 and 400 in 1959, discovering that (1) in Israel, newspaper journalism was predominantly a male occupation; (2) journalists originated from a range of class backgrounds, yet "the lower half of the population in socio-economic terms was very under-represented;" (3) journalists generally were "older than one might expect in a 'young man's'

occupation;" (4) there was a strong literary element in the occupation; (5) journalists, particularly older journalists, were "rather sensitive about their educational qualifications;" and (6) broadcast journalists included more women, were younger, more highly educated, and of somewhat higher class origins than print journalists (Gill, cited in Tunstall, 1971: 57). Since no Canadian data are available regarding the characteristics of print journalists, that means of comparison remains inaccessible.

Tunstall's own analysis of British journalists (1971) was based upon the results of a mailed questionnaire returned by 207 specialist correspondents.⁶ Again, Canadian journalists are apparently younger and of higher class origins: the mean age of British journalists was forty (Tunstall, 1971: 57) and, according to Boyd-Barrett, most recruits to British journalism in the 1960s derived from "middle and lower middle class families" (cited in Tunstall, 1971: 61). For the case of the United States, Johnstone et al (1976) studied a large sample of both print and broadcast journalists by means of telephone interviews. Their analysis revealed that American journalists, like their Canadian colleagues, tend to be young, male, and 79 per cent were of "middle or upper middle class origin" (Johnstone et al, 1976: 223).

Some additional tendencies in the American

profession are worthy of note. Johnstone et al found a high degree of job or inter-organizational mobility among American journalists, related to a similarly high degree of geographic mobility, particularly among broadcast journalists. Union membership was low, and active participation in professional associations was generally weak. Work satisfaction was lowest among the most qualified and most educated young journalists. Interestingly, dissatisfaction was less a function of purely economic grievances than of "professional considerations" - namely, the discrepancies between journalistic ideals and everyday production practices (Johnstone et al, 1976: 239-45). Such dissatisfaction was likewise expressed frequently by the Canadian journalists in the present study, and it is undoubtedly better explained as symptomatic of the ambiguous conditions of their work, rather than as the ephemeral discontent of "the young and the restless." Other features of their working lives contribute to the dissatisfaction, such as discrimination against women and Draconian management practices, yet these are not, of course, peculiar to broadcast journalism. In the following section, we proceed to examine some of the conditions of both their working and non-working lives.

Conditions of Work

Relative to those engaged in other professions, journalists in most societies work exceptionally long and very irregular hours. Canadian journalists are no exception. The most extraordinary case, and the most unusual one, is that of THE JOURNAL, where television journalism is less a career than a way of life,⁷ preoccupying most of their waking hours.

Certainly during the first two years of its operation, the preliminary division of labour made no allowance for the organization of the work force into shifts, or for the organization of individual workloads into manageable, tolerable work days. This circumstance, along with others affecting the work of JOURNAL producers, was described by one senior editor as follows:

There are no conditions built in for any of these people to take holidays. What happens when they are tired? This show eats people! These people are in here at 9:30 in the morning, and they don't leave, if they've got an item going, they don't leave until 9:30 or 10:00 at night. They eat here, they hardly get out of here, the air is bad, the lights are bad - it really takes its toll.

That is why people keep coming in and out and producers work away, and the Desk is going crazy because they don't have enough producers to do all the things that they want to do, and people are doubling up. But, they did what they could with the money that they had, which was a lot of money. It still hasn't settled down to a system. There are still great huge areas where there is just, just a total misuse of people. Basically, they hire workaholics. Every one of them is a workaholic. They don't punch a clock. They come in, and they work until it gets done, as long as they have to.

If this place was unionized, oh my God! I mean, it just wouldn't work (JOURNAL Senior Editor, August 1983, original emphasis).

The all-consuming nature of work at THE JOURNAL is so striking and pervasive a feature of the operation that, before long, the matter became trite and so taken-for-granted that it was rarely raised explicitly as a complaint by producers - perhaps in part because no one is exempt from the incessant cycle of long, work-filled days. Another senior staff member wished to make the point that senior people, too, are subject to "the burn-out factor":

Something that is talked about and get's dismissed, I think, casually, because it's been made trite, is the burn-out factor. I think the senior end work so hard, we do work hard: we come in at 9:00 and we leave at 8:00 and we go to a bar and sit and have a beer and just talk about the programme. We live and die the programme, weekdays and weekends (JOURNAL Senior Editor, August 1983, original emphases).

THE JOURNAL may represent the extreme case, yet the essential pattern is the same at other current affairs and news units. In his chapter entitled "The Backroom Boys," Trueman begins:

Despite its many charms, network news is a vicious, incestuous, all-consuming business. Most of the men who run television news operations work too hard, drink too much, and live too little. They tend to be totally involved with and absorbed by news. What passes for private lives is also largely news. After work, they eat and talk, drink and scheme with the people they haven't been able to fit in during the day (1980: 101).

Journalists spend most of their time at work, and, even when not at work, much of their leisure time is consumed

by work-related activities, such as reading and watching the work of other journalists. The remainder of their leisure time is often spent in social encounters with other journalists either from their own programme unit or from other media. These work and leisure patterns are reflected in high rates of marital breakdown and alcohol consumption among journalists - what has been referred to as the "booze culture" of professional journalism. Relief from work stress is sought, however, not through drinking among family at home but more often in the company of fellow journalists at restaurants and bars near their place of work. As Golding and Elliott, and journalists themselves, point out, "their odd working hours destroy normal social life, so that they are thrust for conviviality into the company of their colleagues" (1979: 184; cf. later discussion). Compared to those engaged in other occupations, their number and frequency of associations with family members and other primary groups are astonishingly limited. Social interchange with others is almost always interchange with others of the same occupational field. The cultural world of network journalists is thus constituted by a limited professional and social circle, marked by only brief, transitory and restricted exposure to the life experiences of others and other social groups. All of these common features of the life of network journalists lead to a great intensification of the professional environment or culture,

and are significant in suggesting a stronger, regularly reinforced commitment to professional practices and ideologies. In another sense, it further strengthens the interdependence of the information media, by means of the formal and informal interchange between journalists and producers of other, "competing" organizations. As Tunstall suggests, "the greatest significance of colleague exchange lies not in the information exchange on particular days, but in the ongoing 'group culture' which develops over time through such exchanges" (1971: 231). A vivid Canadian illustration is that of the Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa (cf. Siegel, 1983: 199-206), where the strength of the "group culture" is still further enhanced by the close, day-to-day proximity of journalists representing the full gamut of Canadian news organizations. The implications for the homogeneous character of the news and information output of different media are self-evident.

Trade Unions and Professional Associations

Workers at the five network information programmes are variously represented by a number of trade unions and professional associations. The two major professional associations are the Association of Television Producers and Directors (Toronto) or ATPD(T) and the Canadian Television

Producers and Directors Association (CTPDA). The former is somewhat larger with approximately 300 members, all of whom are CBC television producers and directors based in Toronto. Many members are free-lancers who get contract work at the Corporation, and not permanent members of the CBC staff. Likewise, there are many free-lance producers in the CTPDA, which includes approximately 200 members.

The two major trade unions represented at the programmes are the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET) and two locals of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE). NABET members, including technicians, operators and maintenance workers, total 6,500 across Canada, and approximately 2,100 of these work at the CBC. One of the CUPE locals, the Office and Professional Unit, represents 1,500 announcers, clerical workers, and other support staff (e.g. publicists) while the other, the Production Unit, represents 1,200 production workers, such as script assistants, production assistants, and film camera operators. A split among technical workers occurs as ENG crews belong to NABET, while film camera operators (such as some of those at the fifth estate) belong to CUPE.

Two organizations that fall somewhere along the continuum between trade unions and professional associations are the Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA) and the Canadian Wire Service Guild (CWSG).

ACTRA membership amounts to approximately 5,000 members nationally, and is composed predominantly of performers and scriptwriters in all three media (cinema, television and radio). News readers, current affairs hosts, and researchers at the information programmes are represented by it. The Guild is composed largely of reporters and news writer-editors in Canada, and it is telling that almost half (500) of its 1,100 members are employed by the CBC.

Unlike their Quebec cohorts, who are organized under the Inter-Union Cartel of CBC Employees (including producers, technicians, journalists, clerical and production workers), there is no larger umbrella organization to co-ordinate the representation of all CBC workers in the English-language networks. Recently, however, in response to the latest wave of Corporation cutbacks, eight unions and associations joined in a united protest at simultaneous press conferences in Toronto and Montreal, in what was described as "an unprecedented show of unanimity" (Adilman, 1984: C1). Such displays are indeed remarkable in the context of a Corporation where workers are fractured into a grand total of twenty-three different organizations. The fracturing of technical workers into union and non-union, NABET and CUPE members, staff and contract workers, creates several complexities with respect to field production and the payment of overtime wages. For example, staff sound technicians must be paid overtime wages

under the NABET agreement, working in the field alongside contract camera operators who may be either paid less overtime or not paid overtime at all. Crew members themselves, however, tend to see these differences as insignificant:

The CBC is set up in such a way that it doesn't matter what union you belong to; the unions within the Corporation can work with unions outside. The CBC has no freelance agreements with any unions. And it's supposed to be open and you don't have to be union to work freelance for the Corporation at all. Even within the Corporation, the cameramen and the assistant cameramen belong to CUPE and the editors belong to CUPE, but the lighting men and the sound men belong to NABET. So there are slight differences in their overtime out of town and what I get.

Basically, it's not necessarily a consideration - unions as such (fifth estate Camera Operator, March 1982, original emphasis).

Membership in trade unions and professional associations, then, varies greatly from programme to programme and within programmes. At THE NATIONAL, most editorial workers are members of the Guild, including the line-up editors, the dayside and nightside editors, reporters, editorial assistants, the researcher, and the copy clerks. The senior and weekend producers and the producer-directors belong to the ATPD(T), while the ENG editors are organized under NABET.

At THE JOURNAL, most producers belong to the ATPD(T), including the senior producers, senior editors, field producers, and general or daily producers, while some (mostly daily producers) belong to the CTPDA. ACTRA members include

the hosts, researchers and journalist-producers, while NABET members include the VTR editors and the ENG crews. CUPE membership encompasses the publicist and her assistant, the production assistants, the script assistants, the "communications" or copy clerks, and CBC staff announcers who occasionally serve as substitute hosts.

At the fifth estate, producers belong to the ATPD(T), including the executive producer, senior producer, co-ordinating producer (who is also a member of CUPE), and the field producers. The hosts and researchers are members of ACTRA. Technical workers are either non-union or members of either CUPE, NABET or the International Association of Television Sound Engineers (IATSE).

With the exception of W5 hosts who belong to ACTRA, there are no unions represented at CTV. Technical workers, as noted in Chapter 7, are not organized, although several belong to one or more professional associations, including the Canadian Society of Cinematographers (CSC), the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers (SMPTE), and the Canadian Film Sound Society (CFSS).

These membership patterns place Canadian journalists partway between poorly organized industries such as that of the United States (Johnstone et al found only 29 per cent of American journalists to be members of guilds or unions) and the well-organized industries of Sweden and Ireland, where

union membership is virtually total (Golding and Elliott, 1979: 183). Affiliation with professional associations is also higher in Canada than in the United States, where less than half are in a professional organization of any kind, and most of these are small and local groups (Johnstone et al, 1976: 240).

The absence of unions at CTV and the entry of THE JOURNAL, which recruited a large number of journalists and producers into new and largely unprotected positions, considerably reduce the Canadian figures. A simple summary of membership figures, however, belies the actual significance (or lack of it) of union representation for Canadian information producers, as the fifth estate camera operator hinted earlier. A current affairs researcher with experience at both CBC and CTV illustrates:

Well, for example, the researchers at CBC are part of ACTRA, and I've never met anyone who's even gone to a meeting. I don't know whether it is the union's fault, or the union member's fault, but I know they don't. I haven't seen that ACTRA's done very much, since they have a very low minimum wage for researchers, and then there's no upper limit. There isn't any kind of group affiliation to ACTRA amongst the researchers, I don't think (W5 and former CBC Researcher, May 1983).

The same researcher speculated about the level of interest in unions at W5:

I don't think a majority, I think very much a minority of people would even be interested in such a thing.

Why do you say that?

Because people are individualistic, I guess, and people like to be able to go in one-to-one and negotiate their salary, you know, and it's something between you and your boss. I don't agree, but that's the way it is. People don't like to talk about how much they make here, whereas I think that's one of the first things you do: you all sit down and find out how much everyone makes, work out your strategy from there (W5 Researcher, May 1983).

Trade union consciousness has the strongest history at THE NATIONAL, where during the 1960s newsroom editors often called each other "Brother" and sharp inter-union rivalries, such as that between CUPE and the Guild, sometimes sparked emotionally-charged disputes (cf. Peers, 1979; Trueman, 1980). Contemporary evidence of it is rather sparse, limited largely to strict adherence to contract stipulations which ensure the continuing division of labour between news writers and news readers (see Chapter 4). During the course of observations and interviews at other programme units, several ex-NATIONAL workers referred without prompting to a series of "purges" responsible for the change. A former news reader articulated the explanation:

News management in the early 1970s set out rather deliberately to change and to make television news at the CBC more flexible. It was a very difficult battle. It took a long time and sometimes brutally ruthless management techniques, and quite unjust underemployment and termination of employment were used to squeeze people out, to force people to quit. But, the end result is that there is a younger generation that is more broad-minded and is more concerned with product than with union solidarity (JOURNAL Field Producer, June 1983).

The greater concern with product than with union

solidarity neatly sums up the significance of union representation for most contemporary network journalists in Canada. At the CBC, the greater concern with product may partially explain the lesser interest in trade unions (some even failed to identify their union affiliation) and the somewhat greater readiness to identify their professional associations, which are ostensibly more concerned to address the dissatisfaction with product.⁸ That tendency may be significant as an indicator of the underlying sources of work dissatisfaction discussed earlier.

Ironically, the seeds of a trade union consciousness are stronger at CTV, where no unions operate. As we saw in Chapter 7, there is a widely held "us-and-them" perspective among the non-management staff of W5. Here, dissatisfactions with product are more likely to be explained as a function of organizational peculiarities, such as management ineptitude or indifference, and producers are more likely to voice pragmatic concerns about their day-to-day working conditions. These complaints range from low salaries and limited funding to sexual harassment and limited mobility opportunities within the organization:

There has always been a feeling at CTV that there are 'ceilings.' If you talk to any of the cameramen you get this, because they're the people who have been here the longest. They really are the backbone of the unit, in terms of, they know how it works, and they go out and do what they have to do. They've given up asking philosophical questions, which the rest of us still do. If you talk to them and you

say, 'why can't we improve the management, it is just a question of personalities,' they say, 'no, it's not, it has always been like this' - again, because of the attitude of CTV...

There isn't an outlet (for upward mobility), so they lose people very fast, they lose all their best people very quickly. The average that you work here is about three to four, perhaps five years, and then you're gone. Your long-term career pattern cannot be geared to CTV.

We've got some very bright researchers who should be producers, and they're slapped down all of the time, and they won't stay. It's that ceiling again. If they don't get into the producer level quickly, they're gone, because why would they stay? There are researchers here - who are more competent than half of the producers, I would say - who are producing items and are kept and paid as researchers.⁹

Do you think it would be fair to say that there are many people here who perceive this as a temporary career stop?

Yes. It's very sad to say that, because you would think that this is the pinnacle, or one of the pinnacles, of current affairs in this country.

Most people look at it as a fast training ground, which it is. It is a good training ground because you are thrown off the deep end and you either sink or swim. The crews are very good, very professional, and they know the format. You can practically go out, and as long as you know what the story is, they'll shoot it for you, they know what to shoot.

That's why they're the bedrock of the unit. I think that if we had a turnover of crews, there would be big trouble. The turnover of crews is negligible. And they (CTV) keep them because they get paid very, very well. They get a fair amount of freedom in what they do, in terms of hours and things like that. And also, it's a very tough, free-lance market, and an increasingly tough one, so to get a contract here for a year, at the type of money they're paying, is very good (W5 Field Producer, June 1983).¹⁰

Perceptions of Autonomy and Work Satisfaction

Other than the crew members, work satisfaction, measured in these terms, tends to be lower for most CTV journalists. On the other hand, CTV journalists who have experienced CBC express a sense of relief from the entanglements of the larger, more highly bureaucratized public organization, particularly as it impeded or delayed their everyday work. A former CTV journalist, now at THE JOURNAL, described some of the pros and cons of producing at the private network:

CTV as a network, not the CTV news department, does the bare minimum it can get away with in terms of Canadian programmes. The people who run the stations run the network, and all they want to do, as far as I'm concerned, is make money; and they make more money by importing American shows and putting them on the air. All the decisions, all their licence applications to the CRTC, show that clearly. Global is the same way.

Given that there is a CTV network, a little body of about 13 1/2 people - a few more than that, but not very much - and a little, tiny, a couple of floors of offices and a mandate to do some programming across the country, then if you can get a job on one of those shows, it is a delight because it is a small, unbureaucratic, easily manageable operation. I dare say there are probably as many people at THE JOURNAL as there are in the entire CTV network offices. There just aren't any more than that. So if you need a decision on something, you phone the president upstairs, go in to see him, and five minutes later you have a yes or a no. It's that simple (JOURNAL Journalist-Producer, August 1983).

Another concurred with the "cons" of work at CTV:

That's why I prefer to work for the Corporation. I don't like working for CTV. I don't think they

should even have a licence, the way they run it. They really don't do that much that's Canadian (fifth estate Camera Operator, March 1982).

For other producers, the degree of work satisfaction is directly related to the degree of autonomy afforded to them in the conduct of their work:

Here, work satisfaction is tremendous, if you're a producer. I think if you're an associate [producer] or a researcher, it can be less satisfying sometimes, because some producer can come in and trample all over your own ideas about the film and your research and whatever. I would hate to be a researcher on the fifth estate; I really would (fifth estate Field Producer, March 1982).

THE JOURNAL assigns an on-air person like me to a story and you are exclusively on that story until you've finished it. Other programmes will assign an on-air person to several stories. The producers of those stories will schedule their productions so that the on-air person can jump between the three projects and that increases output, but it minimizes the participation of the journalist.¹¹

Here, the journalist is enabled maximum participation, and in most cases the journalist does all the writing here, which is a situation that would not be possible on a show in which you are split and parachuting in and out of stories.

So the journalist generally has a more journalistic role here than in any other programme that I've ever seen, and that I think is good. I think it's important to the integrity of the piece and it's important to the credibility of the individual who is presenting the piece. In the most extreme cases, the presenter is nothing more than an actor. An actor may have journalistic credentials, but [s/he] is basically repeating something that someone else has prepared (JOURNAL Journalist-Producer, August 1983, original emphasis).

Of all the programmes, those at THE JOURNAL most often perceive themselves as able to carry out their work independently and generally free of demands or interference

from "the Desk", i.e. the senior editors and producers. Many find the new programme unit to be more democratically organized than others in their experience (cf. Chapter 5), a factor which figures highly in their sense of autonomy, yet some consider the "democracy" illusory or superficial.

We don't have any final say. It's only democratic to the extent that everybody gets to listen, or to make a pitch, or has the right to be listened to. There is nothing democratic about the decision-making. It's not a vote. They [senior editors] listen to the arguments and say no or yes (JOURNAL Journalist-Producer, August 1983).

The Desk is, of course, the final arbiter of decision. Some documentaries have been produced with great autonomy in the field, but didn't catch the fancy of the Desk, so they sort of 'aged' on the show (JOURNAL Documentary Producer, June 1983).

Others pointed out that, if journalists enjoy any degree of autonomy, it is due less to the goodwill of management than to the simple logistics of managing the larger production units:

The programme places a certain value on its producers, and they know who the producers are. And for that reason, they place a certain trust in you. They have an image, they have an idea that they want translated into a television story. Now, they haven't sat down and worked out the locations, the cutaways, and the principal interviews, but they have a general feeling of a story that will be delivered to them. And when they trust you, they know this guy is gonna deliver, I'm gonna get my story.

Now, they may look at the story and say, 'Gee, I think it ran off the rails here' or 'Why don't you ...' - you know, there is a point where Editorial will come in and if they're not happy with a story, they will ask you to re-arrange it. And I suggest to you that if they do that very often, suddenly you're not going to be feeling as autonomous as you once might have. But I think for the most part, with the

field producers here, they know we deliver ...

You don't have guys breathing down your neck like I suspect you do in some places. They tried that in the beginning: they wanted us to file our on-camera pieces by telex or telephone moments before we delivered them. And they wanted the piece story-boarded before we went out (into the field) and they wanted it papered when we got back.¹² But they haven't got time to do that; they've got a show to get on the air every night. They've got to trust their journalists and their producers that deliver the story (JOURNAL Field Producer, August 1983).

The producer inside the CBC has always had a great deal of freedom. It doesn't matter what programme you're working for. And you can only work that way; I mean, you've just got to give the responsibility to the producer. There's no way that you can follow every movement; you cannot approve every little bill he incurs on the road. You just have to trust the producer (fifth estate Field Producer, March 1982).

From a management perspective, advantages are to be gleaned from such perceptions of democracy and autonomy, as one explained with reference, in this case, to technicians and crews:

They really care, and a lot of the time they wouldn't be caught dead letting anybody know they did, because, you know, you can't take all this too seriously. But - get them alone in a corner and you discover that the technician's mood moves from, 'that was a bad item, this show shouldn't have done that item.' It's none of the technician's business, except that he cares about his part in the show. One of the ways you keep flexibility is, you leave those lines open so those people feel free to comment about that. If they feel they're part of something rather than being used by something, it's amazing the miracles those people are ready to perform (JOURNAL Senior Producer - Production, May 1982, original emphasis).

To what extent, then, are journalists and producers actually autonomous in the performance of their work?

Tunstall resolves the autonomy problematic as follows:

The news organization exercises control by defining the field and its goal, by appointing the [journalist], and by its daily exercise of news processing. The (journalist) maintains a degree of autonomy by emphasizing his newsgathering role, by cultivating personal contacts and personal knowledge which can be shielded from the news organization (1971: 121, original emphasis).

That one source of autonomy, however, is beyond the reach of Canadian journalists, who are not, after all, news gatherers but news writers and editors, reproducing news gathered by others, whether international agencies or Canadian print journalists. It is for this reason that journalists in the Canadian study rarely make reference to personal contacts or personal knowledge in their discussions of autonomy in particular or production in general, since the opportunity to cultivate personal sources is infrequent and, in any case, of little use. Rather, their statements about autonomy and work satisfaction are more likely to include reference to the limitations of time, budgets and other constraints that restrict the realization of their own ideals.

Other sources of "control" limit the autonomy and work satisfaction felt by journalists, including a range of concrete, everyday conditions peculiar to their place of work or sometimes found at other programmes as well. A far more significant source was suggested by Tunstall's early study; namely, "indications that specialist correspondents feel themselves controlled by (and autonomous within the limits of)

broadly held 'news values'" (1971: 173). In other words, journalists are controlled less by their employers or by their organizations per se than by much broader forces; specifically, the broader constraints imposed by professional practices and ideologies. These constraints, of course, transcend the peculiarities of programme unit structures. At a later point, Tunstall continued:

...the autonomy of the specialist is also limited by several factors other than the attitude of his news sources and his employers. One obvious example is the present state of newsgathering technology ... This is not an argument for technological determinism; different social systems manage to produce different kinds of journalism - despite similar technology. But the newsgathering technology - within certain broad social values and certain occupational 'news values' - does strongly shape what is impossible (1971: 204, original emphasis).

For those journalists who entertain notions of the possible, or who otherwise express desires to reform television news and current affairs, recognition of these constraints is likely to further reduce their sense of autonomy and their level of work satisfaction. Before returning to those practices and ideologies, one final dimension of their conditions of work should be discussed.

The Sexual Division of Labour

Schlesinger (1978) found that there were very few women in the BBC radio and television newsrooms - at least,

few who were not clerical workers. The small number suggests not only the underlying structured division of labour by sex, but it also points to the sexual division of editorial labour according to story topics. For example, the three women TV news editors at the BBC in 1976 found that a special category of story was reserved for them: the so-called "soft" news stories. Examples cited by the women included stories about abortion, lost babies, the Royal Family, clothing fashions and dog shows (Schlesinger, 1978: 154-155). Although deeper structural explanations should be sought, Schlesinger argues that:

The existence of a kind of female ghetto has to be explained in terms of the dominant attitudes towards women in the (BBC) News Division. A report published in 1971 ... found that in general women's career prospects in the BBC do not match those of men. News and current affairs were singled out as among the areas in which women had done poorly. The beliefs present then were consonant with those found in my own study (1978: 155, added emphasis).

One senior BBC official quoted newsroom folklore when he expressed the view that "a good reporter needs to have a pair of balls," while a journalist opined that the presence of women in the newsroom merely gave rise to "tampax problems" (cited in Schlesinger, 1978: 155). In the present study, women tended to be less concerned about the sexist attitudes of their male co-workers than about their actual inequality in the journalistic division of labour and its ramifications for their work. The best illustrations were offered at W5:

I've never noticed sexism before to the degree that I've noticed it here [at W5]. It didn't occur to me until five or six months ago. I suddenly stopped and looked at the pattern of what had been going on, who had been getting a lot of support and who hadn't, the kinds of responses that people got when they approached them [management] with ideas and suggestions - and I began to see that you can split it along male and female lines.

Certainly in [an associate producer's] case, there is no doubt in my mind, absolutely no doubt, that what has happened to her has been solely because she is a woman. She has produced some of the best pieces we've done this season. Although I don't say, if pressed, that management would even admit that. On the other hand, they have given her such a rough time, it's absolutely unbelievable.

And it's because she is a woman. I'm not a psychiatrist, but I dare say that there are some very weird things going on to do with attraction between her and senior management that they don't want to appear to be giving her an easy time of it; in other words, that if they were, they could be accused of favouring her. And so they've gone to the other extreme: they've made damn sure that nobody is going to be able to accuse them of doing that. So what you have is a very strange situation where they can absolutely crucify her in the editing room, and then expect at the end of the day to be jolly with her and make all kinds of jokes and make comments about how beautiful she looks and her clothes are great and 'oh, they really like her hair today' and calling her 'Bubbles' and all this business - it's very, very strange ... I haven't seen them being critical of male producers to the extent that they have been of her (W5 Researcher, June 1983).

It is somewhat misleading, therefore, to measure the representation of women on the basis of their formal titles. At W5, all of the researchers are women and all of the field producers are men. The woman described above, like some of her female colleagues at the fifth estate, performs the work of a field producer and receives the wage of a researcher (cf. Chapter 7). Similarly, the one woman film editor assumes the

same editing responsibilities as her four male colleagues, yet she is formally titled "assistant film editor" and is accordingly paid a lower wage. The two clerical workers at W5 are both women, and both perform dual roles: in addition to sharing the clerical load for the unit as a whole, one performs the work of a film researcher while the other carries out the duties of a travel clerk. All three programme managers, all technicians, and all six field crew members are men, while all six network librarians are women. The sexual division of labour is somewhat less sharp at CTV NATIONAL NEWS, where one woman is a domestic assignment editor and one of the eight domestic reporters is a woman. As at W5, the network's understaffing means that some workers must perform more than one job, and these workers are in every case women. The most extraordinary example is that of the production manager, who is simultaneously the facilities co-ordinator and the travel clerk. With the exception of the executive producer's secretary, virtually all other staff members are men.

Women are better represented and hold more editorial posts at THE NATIONAL and THE JOURNAL. At the former, the Special Reports assignment editor and two of the night-side editors are women, along with three Toronto-based and three regional reporters (all of the Ottawa- and foreign-based reporters are men). At the latter, the upper echelons of the

editorial hierarchy are entirely occupied by men, including the executive producer, the senior producers, and the five senior editors. Proceeding downward through the hierarchy, one of the nine field producers is a woman; three of the nine journalist-producers are women; and nine of the fifteen daily producers are women. The Washington bureau producer is a woman, and at the London bureau, the journalist and one of the two producers are women. At both programme units, technical and administrative staff tend to be men and women respectively.

At the fifth estate, all programme managers are men, including the executive producer, senior producer, co-ordinating producer, production manager and unit manager. Two of the eleven story or field producers are women; one of the associate producers is a woman; and six of the seven researchers are women. Clerical workers, script assistants, production assistants, and the film researcher are all women. The three camera operators and the film co-ordinator are all men.

The relative rigidity of the sexual division of labour is a source of concern to many women journalists and producers, and some suggest that it carries implications for the content of network information programming. Women at W5, for example, where sexist attitudes and behaviour are most readily observable, point out that another aspect of sexism

pertains not to the treatment of women as workers, but to the treatment, or rather non-treatment, of women's issues in stories.

We neglect, so far, women's issues here. That's a reflection of, you know, politics: who's in control and what interests they have (W5 Researcher, May 1983).

All of the researchers here are women. It's no accident. One of my biggest complaints about the programme in general is that W5 has problems with sexism, just like everywhere else, but the worst part is that it's reflected in the on-air product as well. For instance, we haven't done a programme, in all the time I've been here, on abortion, not any aspect of it ... Those sort of ideas are harder to get through.

Are those ideas contributed?

Not enough, but they are.

They just tend not to be accepted?

Right. Day care isn't an issue, sexual harassment isn't an issue, abortion isn't an issue, and so forth. I think that's a mistake, because I don't think that reflects our audience ... These are some of the most controversial issues, I think, that can really poke people where they're hurting right now - not hurting personally, but what's important to them. I think that we miss a lot of those because of our sexist bias (W5 Researcher, June 1983, original emphasis).

Practices and Ideologies: "News" Versus "Current Affairs"

The basis of the news/current affairs distinction at the CBC was introduced in Chapter 5. The conceptual divorce between "fact" and "comment," a powerful reification of the products of journalistic labour, is strongly institutionalized

in the organizational structures of both networks, as we have seen. It is further manifest in the distinct programme units dedicated respectively to the production of each, and in the distinct, separable work forces of each programme type as well as the practices associated with their separate production. The conceptual divorce extends still further to the way in which "news" (or "fact") and "current affairs" (or "comment") is woven into the professional ideologies of journalists and understood by them as a real distinction. This reification of the underlying requirements of news and current affairs extends yet further to historically-rooted perceptions of differences between news and current affairs journalists. In simplistic terms, it is understood that "facts" are "just facts" which are simply "out there" and can be gathered by anyone, like berries from a bush; newsgathering, therefore, does not require much skill, let alone "expert" knowledge. "Comment," on the other hand, is understood to require "expert" or at least authoritative knowledge of a particular topic; hence, current affairs people in the early days at the CBC were often recruited from universities and other academic institutions. A CBC news producer, who harks back to the first moments of CBC information broadcasting, recalls:

In the fifties when I was a member of the Current Affairs Department, we in Current Affairs looked upon those half a dozen shabby people in the News Department as a lesser breed: lesser beings, grubby ink-stained wretches who had no intellectual calibre.

There was a great deal of snobbism... You see, Current Affairs in Radio really did have a tremendous tradition of scholarship...

In the beginning, there was not a single journalism school in Canada.¹³ People in Current Affairs came out of history, social studies, out of academia - Canadian academia. And they were literally, to a man and a woman, they were linked to all the major institutions in the nation. And I very well remember that the Canadian Institute of Public Affairs played a large role in many considerations; guests came from these quarters, and so forth (NATIONAL Weekend Producer, May 1982).

The split between news and current affairs along each of its dimensions has remained pre-eminent in the consciousness of Canadian network journalists at both CBC and CTV, where it is so taken-for-granted as to be tacitly yet firmly embedded in their understanding of the journalistic world. Through the course of interviews, it became necessary to actually ferret out implicit references and allusions to the split and make them explicit.

You're jumping ahead a bit because one of my later questions is precisely on those distinctions between news and current affairs. Certainly, in the case of the CBC, there is a long, historical, sharp, institutionalized distinction between the two that's reflected in the organization of programme units and in many other ways. Since you are well experienced in both, can you specify your own sense of what the distinctions are between news and current affairs?

Well, they were and are sort of institutionalized antagonisms, as much the fault of the CBC because of what the CBC is and how it was originally organized. Being molded on the BBC's programme area divisions, CBC has picked up the best and the worst of what the BBC has developed over the years. One of them is a jurisdictional division as much as a difference in the sorts of information programming that were broadcast.

You find it in private broadcasting, too. The people at CTV News have never gotten along all that well with people at W5, for example. There's not enough cross-fertilizing. I can remember back in the sixties when I was at CTV working for News and for W5, when we were just down the hall from each other, there was the same sort of rivalry. Perhaps it was because there were a few who had come from the CBC, where people who worked in Current Affairs were seen by those who worked in News as being less true to the craft and more likely to exaggerate or sensationalize to entertain. The people on the Current Affairs side there, as here, tend to look at the newspeople as narrow-minded, bread and butter, meat and potatoes, simple vendors of information.

The problems at the CBC have been destructive over the years, terribly destructive, and there are still traces of that left. Every so often it flares up, but less so now than during the last fifteen or twenty years, and that's largely because of THE JOURNAL and THE NATIONAL working together in a sort of complementary relationship. Some of that better relationship has come about because it's been forced on the two groups by 1255 Bay [upper management], and some of it's come because there are younger, fresher, more broad-minded people involved in THE JOURNAL and in THE NATIONAL these days than there were even five years ago (14) - more pragmatic, more concerned with information programming as a network product rather than as a divisional product (JOURNAL Documentary Producer, June 1983, original emphases).

In everyday practice, however, the actual complementarity of the relationship between THE NATIONAL and THE JOURNAL extends only perhaps to their final products, and the coincidence of their on-air appearance in the same nightly hour. The continuing rivalry and the absurd heights to which the reification manifests itself can be seen in the hostile conflict between the two programme units regarding the loss of three minutes of THE NATIONAL (formerly twenty-five minutes in length) as THE JOURNAL premiered in its 10:22 PM EST time

slot. Other sources of conflict range all the way from the issue of access to equipment, such as the costly new Squeezoom formally "owned" by THE JOURNAL (cf. Chapter 4, n. 12), to the sharing of field crews, to the more serious matter of budgets. The more contemporary rivalry was expressed by one JOURNAL producer in the following way:

They've never forgiven us for the three minutes. And, they have a fair bit of scorn for anybody who isn't in News ... Current Affairs people would probably return the scorn in spades, you know, and say, 'that bunch of old farts over there have no more idea of how to do news stories than my mother.' But I don't think they really mean it, and maybe the others don't mean it either. THE JOURNAL is understandably the object of a lot of enmity, because it really was understandable. Every one of us understood it; every one of us had worked in underfunded programmes, everybody has. And we all know how it felt, and we all knew how unfair it seemed that money would be stripped from other programmes when they were all just making do as it was. And for that reason I think, we [at THE JOURNAL] all just tried to keep our heads down and do the programme without really taking any of that stuff personally (JOURNAL Field Producer, August 1983).

An additional, possibly the most significant, dimension of the news/current affairs distinction is the way in which it is manifest in different production values, and consequently different notions of form and content, associated with the two programme forms. Such differences have been noted by those studying professional journalistic ideologies elsewhere (e.g. Schlesinger, 1978; Tracey, 1978). Again, these differences are often tacitly assumed by network journalists, so much so that many find them difficult to

specify explicitly (even though the differing assumptions can be easily and regularly observed in their everyday decision-making). The following response was among the more clear and articulate identifications of the differences:

In current affairs, as opposed to news, you can venture farther than the middle of the road. In telling a story, you can turn to any number of traditional techniques to either prompt the subjects that you're covering, or to stimulate the audience, or to catch the audience's attention. Although it's not always respectable, you can use ambush interviews, you can use confrontational techniques, you can use hidden cameras and microphones, you can do all sorts of things... When Dan Rather was caught out for his confrontation and persecution interviews recently, whatever the virtues of the basic story, he was caught out using quite inexcusable news production techniques. If he'd been doing it as a news reporter, he probably would have been taken off the air. But because it happened in current affairs, it's more excusable, and it has been excused...

There's a place for advocacy journalism, which we [at THE JOURNAL] haven't done, I don't think, very much of. But, for example, when Tom Alderman did his sports stories on the Montreal Concorde, and dumped all over them as the worst team in Canadian football, he didn't offer any balance, and we were criticized for it. Some people inside the programme felt it (the criticism) was justified; that he didn't present a balanced explanation ... When he went out and did a little essay piece on curling and the silliness of people throwing granite blocks back and forth, he infuriated people, especially outraged Western Canadians who said it's not an excuse to get drunk and it's not as pointless as he thinks.

On the serious side, we've taken a look at Joe Clark's image problems, and there are some who might say that we were quite unfair in listing his problems of image; the way he walks, the way he talks, the way he looks, the way he projects himself, the way he has related to the Canadian electorate over the last ten years. We have done any number of interviews where Barbara [Frum] may have challenged - stopping short of Mike Wallace-type shouting matches - challenged an interview subject on whether or not they are saying, one, what they believe, or two, what actually

happened. She stopped short of calling them liars, but she has been very firm in pursuing them and making it clear to the audience that she doesn't necessarily believe them or agree with the point that they're trying to make.

You wouldn't, or you shouldn't, necessarily get that in news. In news programming, you ask a question and the person gives the answer, and I don't think there's really all that much room for pursuit or contradiction. You see it. Tim Rafe's famous interview with Trudeau about the War Measures Act in 1970 is a good example.¹⁵ The CBC censored part of that and cut it down to a much shorter version than the original, because it made their reporter look quite a bit less than the 'objective chronicler of events' - he was very much on one side of the story and very much against what the Prime Minister was defending as being necessary for the country... The longer (original) interview was great television, but it made Tim look, well, it made both of them look like fanatics with Trudeau on one side and Tim on the other. It was not the sort of image that a news organization would necessarily want its reporters to have (JOURNAL Documentary and former news producer, June 1983, original emphases).

Generally, then, Canadian network journalists tend to espouse the same differential principles with respect to the two informational programme forms, except that the introduction of THE JOURNAL has blurred somewhat the traditional boundaries. Figure 8.1 summarizes the features which distinguish news from current affairs in the minds of BBC and CBC journalists. To a very considerable extent, these ideological separations and the clearly distinct practices associated with them form one of the greatest constraints upon what can be produced by way of televisual information. As Schlesinger explains:

FIGURE 8.1: ATTRIBUTES OF NEWS AND CURRENT AFFAIRS
 IN BBC AND CBC JOURNALISTIC THOUGHT

News ...

is presented in the form of short bulletins and newscasts.

is "hard" - provides the sheer facts.

is like the front page of a newspaper; it must provide all of the big stories of the day.

is objective, impartial, "straight" and factual.

tells you simply what happened.

is immediate and highly topical.

is concise and short, since it must provide the day's news.

is the most purely informative.

Current Affairs ...

is presented in programme form or in sequences.

follows up a news story; it assumes that the core facts are known by the audience.

is more like a magazine, or feature page articles; it provides interpretation and background.

is more prone to comment and interpretative analysis.

tells you how and why something happened.

is topical, but not necessarily tied to today's events.

has more time (space), is less concise.

is more entertaining, (possibly) educative.

Source: Adapted from Schlesinger, 1978: 249.

The present conceptual distinction has an impressively firm social reality in terms of established production routines. It is not surprising, therefore, that changes in news have taken place largely within existing terms of reference, for these pose definite limits to change (1978: 254-255, original emphasis).

Practices and Ideologies: Levels of Commitment

A discussion of the complete range of news and current affairs production values must await more space in the following chapter, where it will be necessary to determine how these values are manifest in the form and content of the programmes. At this point, however, it is important to consider the degree of commitment to these values among network journalists as a whole. A first consideration is the level of experience and types of experience that these journalists bring to the major network information programmes. Globally, there are some notable differences in the career routes followed by journalists of different countries. Golding and Elliott found that Nigerian journalists, for example, were predominantly spiralists, not tied to a single employer or type of employment and prepared to change jobs frequently, with fewer than a third having spent all of their working lives in journalism; many had worked as civil servants and/or teachers before and between their jobs in journalism. In contrast, two-thirds of Swedish and Irish journalists had

pursued careers exclusively within journalism (1979: 193). Two career patterns were identifiable among the Swedes. A more traditional route began with "volunteer" service at a local newspaper, then to a large regional centre, to a metropolitan newspaper, and then to Sveriges Radio (SR), the national broadcasting corporation. The more contemporary tendency was for SR journalists to be recruited directly from higher education. The career route of Irish journalists was similar, with a smaller proportion experienced at provincial newspapers and almost all experienced at one of the Dublin newspapers (1979: 173-174). Length of time at their present job averaged just under five years in Nigeria and seven to eight years in Ireland and Sweden (1979: 174-175).

By comparison, Canadian journalists tend to be spiralists within the profession of journalism itself. The young mean age of network journalists in Canada may account in part for the large proportion, more than two-thirds, who have worked exclusively in broadcast journalism - including radio and television news and current affairs at the local and network levels. Following that dominant pattern, most began their careers at local radio or television stations; proceeding in some cases to CBC regional centres; including in some cases intermittent periods of free-lance work and/or experience as news reporters successively based in several different cities; leading later to positions in network

television. The remainder tended to launch their careers at local or major urban newspapers, proceeding to local radio or television, and from there to network-level production. Furthermore, the paucity of time-gaps between journalistic jobs listed suggests that few have experienced work outside the journalism profession. Unlike the younger Swedish journalists, very few (only 5 per cent of the questionnaire respondents) were recruited directly from university without prior journalistic experience. Instead, the vast majority were in fact well-steeped in the ways of broadcast journalism by the time of their entry into the network ranks.

Another interesting pattern among the Canadian group is their exceptionally high degree of (mostly lateral) job mobility. The average period of time spent at each of their past jobs is under three years, with time spent at their present network jobs averaging between four and five years. For most, it appears that these job changes usually entailed movement from one production unit to another, and quite often entailed movement from one organization to another. Although not consistently specified by the respondents, there also appears to be very common and very considerable movement between the public and private sectors by individual journalists. Based upon available indications on the questionnaires and informal discussions during the fieldwork period, one can only make the impressionistic observation that

geographic mobility is also high among journalists in Canada. Finally, one can only speculate that these high job mobility rates, which set journalists distinctly apart from those engaged in most other professions, may reflect the tendency of many to perceive the contradictions (and thereby dissatisfactions) of their professional lives as arising out of the specific conditions of a given workplace, whether seen as peculiar to a particular programme unit or to a particular broadcasting organization.

These career patterns are significant in and of themselves, and suggest a varied yet consistent training in the practices and ideologies of broadcast journalism. Another signal of widespread adherence to professional practices and ideologies is the extent to which a consensus is readily attained in everyday decision-making at the network programme units. Indications of the high level of consensus were provided throughout our discussions of the labour process at each of the five programmes. Among many confirmations of the consensus level offered during formal interviews, a JOURNAL producer illustrates the tendencies there:

I don't think that there's ever been a - no, I probably can't say that. There have not been very many situations where there have been decision-making problems in the field in which the producer and the journalist wanted to go in different directions, and a tie-breaking decision had to be made by the Desk. There have been, as I suppose there are in newspaper offices every day of the year, disagreements on whether one element of the story should receive major play and the rest secondary, and about side-bar

aspects of the story, but that's one of the essentials of journalism anyway. Certainly amongst the field crew, it would tend to be agreed, after going out and experiencing the story and taking a look at the raw elements and the interviews, and being that much closer to the story than the people on the Desk who might have assigned it, there'd be a discussion between the field producer and the journalist as to what they really think the story is and how it should be presented. Then, time permitting and if they have the luxury of a consultation again before they start to edit, they may have to convince the Desk, or the Desk may try to convince them, that they'd like it presented in a different way, or that maybe time and events have changed the stress of certain elements of the story and, to make it as fresh as possible, they might suggest coming at it from another direction.

The same thing can happen after a story is edited. We've had documentaries, very good documentaries, sit on the shelf for two or three months, simply because there wasn't an appropriate time-hole in the programme, or there wasn't an appropriate news-peg to tie it to, and the story has aged a little bit and it's had to be re-cut or re-scripted or updated with a bit of shooting or on-camera pieces, or with snow in the background that had to be re-done with green trees.

There have been a very few, maybe half a dozen, documentaries that have - in the post-mortems the next morning - that have sparked controversial editorial debates over whether or not the approach was the right or wrong one, or whether the editorial line was right or wrong, or whether or not the documentary should have been done at all (JOURNAL Documentary Producer, June 1983, original emphases).

Implications: The Significance of Biography and Professional Milieu

In assessing the significance of demographic homogeneity among journalists, Tunstall sets forth the following questions:

What right, if any, do journalists have to speak to audiences of millions? In what sense are they representative of their audiences? Are these specialist journalists cut off from ordinary people? Do they live in an unreal frenetic inside-dopester world whose values are alien to those of the rest of the nation's population? (1971: 255).

Tunstall notes that British foreign correspondents in particular "tend to have followed an elite and precocious career pattern" and he further points to "their higher level of education and more privileged social background" (1971: 256). Journalists clearly form a coherent and insular professional culture, "culture" in Williams' sense of "a whole way of life." The network of contacts between and among journalists operates throughout and pervades both their work and leisure time. Tunstall, like others, found that the non-work part of their lives was spent not just recuperating from the stress of work, but also preparing for work, through voracious reading and by making extra earnings related to the professional field, such as free-lancing "on the side." Few of his journalists cited other interests or engaged in hobbies. Only one in ten claimed to see neighbours more than occasionally. Just over two-fifths of their friends were other journalists. Asked "what are the occupations of your three best friends?," 71 per cent stated that at least one of these friends was a journalist, while 42 per cent of the three best friends of all the journalists were likewise in the same profession

(Tunstall, 1971: 258). Although the Canadian journalists in the present study were not asked about their friends' occupations, evidence of the professional culture and its insularity was everywhere apparent throughout the fieldwork period.

Tunstall concludes that the pattern falls somewhere between two extremes: either (a) that journalists only talk to other journalists, or (b) that journalists are ordinary people who know a cross-section of the population. He finds that neither extreme is actually met, though the pattern of journalists' interchange is much closer to the (a) extreme. Generally, the journalists in Tunstall's analysis offered "a strong impression that their lives are dominated by work" (1971: 259). In sum, he finds that "the correspondents emerge as overwhelmingly middle class - stretching from the upper to the lower middle class" (1971: 260), and yet he doubts the importance of their class composition and their restricted professional and social circulation:

There is the accusation that mass communicators lead work-dominated lives which socially segregate them from ordinary people and reality. But if their friends were not primarily other mass communicators, who else would they be? Can one expect members of these occupations - unlike those of other occupations - to choose their friends on some kind of random sampling basis? Moreover, even if the communicators did meet socially more 'ordinary' or working class people, what difference would this make? ...

Accusations of work domination and social segregation involve two contradictory implications

- first the implication that communicators are sufficiently important or powerful or influential, that their social backgrounds and life styles are of legitimate concern to the general public; the second implication is that people in such important positions should either come from, or be in intimate social contact with, 'ordinary people.' Yet if these jobs are so important, it is naive (in view of the evidence about social stratification in both western and eastern industrial societies) to expect that the people who do such jobs will come from some cross-section of the population (Tunstall, 1971: 260).

One cannot help but concur to a great extent with Tunstall's sensible reasoning. We should not be surprised to learn of the class composition of Canadian network journalists, nor, in Tunstall's view, should we be dismayed, especially in light of what little is already known about the social contexts of media reception, which suggests that the way in which journalistic products are read ideologically is more importantly dependent upon the social class of the reader than the social class of the producer. Nonetheless, the insular professional culture of Canadian network journalism does suggest tremendous opportunities for the reinforcement of professional practices and ideologies, which in turn place severe limits upon journalistic products, and upon the means to change them.

As Tunstall's journalists rightly suspected, the individuals who are part of the process of information production are autonomous only within the limits of these practices and ideologies. The important conclusion and

crucial point is that these individuals are not the "authors" of these practices. Such is the misconception of what Adams calls the "political-attitudinal theory" (1978: 18), which sees news workers as authors of their own practices and which makes a number of other tacit and erroneous assumptions. The first is that news workers as individuals have stable, long-term coherent political values or world-views. Yet again, why should we expect these people to differ from the rest of the population, where such is not the case? A variable yet equally false assumption is that journalists' collective values are distinct from those of the general population, yet these are not "their" values; their origins are better traced to the underlying political economy of information broadcasting and the structural requirements of manufacturing and marketing journalistic products in capitalist societies. Ideas and values alone are not sufficient to motor the whole production of televisual information; one must always ask the important, albeit difficult, question of where these ideas and values come from, and the minds of individual journalists are not the places to look. Moreover, the shift from psychologistic notions of individual and professional "biases" to the notion of class biases deriving from the petty bourgeois location of journalists does not mark a shift in the direction of theoretical progress. Indeed, as Hackett's recent review

suggests, it implies a conception of ideology as "pictures of the world" which serve class or state power and is surely the least removed from traditional "bias" studies (1984: 246).

A second assumption of political-attitudinal theory is that journalists retain personal control over the news/current affairs product, while a third assumption is that journalists are willing and prepared to inject their ideological preferences into news/current affairs content (Hackett, 1984; cf. Epstein, 1974: 45). Evidence to support these assumptions is scarce in the existing literature, and there is little in the present study to suggest that any weight ought to be accorded to them. Hackett cites the contradictory findings of Lichter and Rothman (1981) and those of Epstein (1974: 206-229), where the former found American journalists to the left of their organizational products, and where the latter found no "systematic or consistent ideological commitment" among either journalists, editors or producers by way of personal politico-philosophical perspectives. A further assumption of political-attitudinal theory not specified by Hackett is that broadcasting institutions, and by extension their broadcasters, enjoy some measure of autonomy vis-a-vis other social institutions, making it possible for broadcasters to independently and willfully interject their "political attitudes" into the larger political process. Yet it is often true that the same

people who propound political-attitudinal theory tend to over-estimate the direct intervention of political figures and their control of broadcasting institutions. Two alternative oppositional responses to that assumption are expressed by Hall (1972) and Tracey (1978):

Hall's point that the 'broadcasting institutions exercise a wide measure of editorial autonomy in their programmes' is substantially correct. Hall sees this autonomy as occurring within and ultimately defined by 'the underlying structure of ideological and institutional constraints,' which means that media institutions are both autonomous and constrained - a 'complex formation' indeed. The meaning of Hall's description is obliquely stated - broadcasters and politicians are ideologically in tune; when they are not, conflict is inevitable. When either the purpose of the broadcaster or his overt ideological inclinations lead him onto ground which the politician regards as sacrosanct, the 'real' structure of power, the ultimate subordination to the State, is made apparent. In 'normal' times, though, Hall tells us the reality of this relationship is masked by the operation of a number of key concepts - objectivity, balance, impartiality, professionalism and consensus.

Hall's theorizing has a certain elegance and yet retains a certain explanatory inadequacy. His point is that broadcasting avoids certain fundamental issues and that this blindness to real issues is mediated through the routines which constitute the pretence of objectivity and its attendant codes. That the range of available discussion is limited is clear, but what one would wish to argue is that Hall's formulation of what can be called the determinations of content ignores a number of key elements. Specifically it tends to ignore certain features of programme-making which militate against consideration of what the academic and radical mind might see as fundamental issues. The 'eunuch form' of political television, if eunuch it be, derives to a large extent from a number of features internal to the process of making programmes (Tracey, 1978: 56, added emphasis).

These features include all of the production constraints outlined and discussed thus far in the present study, all of which restrict and militate against individual, willful acts of political communication. From the perspective of most individual broadcasters, the sense of autonomy experienced by them in the conduct of their work is, on the whole, a real one, at least in terms of editorial interference from above and political interference from outside, but it is unreal from the perspective of carrying out their work to the fullest realization of journalistic ideals, least of all their personal ideals of televisual communication. Tracey elaborates upon the actual and more pressing constraints on their autonomy:

Any producer in political television operates with a particular identity for his programme, a limited amount of resources, a series of ground rules with which he must concur, and a series of loosely held ideas about the purpose of political television within the wider purpose of the organization as a whole and the method by which that purpose will be achieved. His life and work is a continuing debate with stylistic, technical, legal-political and ideological structures ... The congruence between the requirements of cultural and political conformities and the mode of political television derives in large part from the unintended consequence of the routines by which programmes are made (1978: 57, added emphasis).

Journalists are not the "authors" of these routines, which survive long beyond the passage of particular individuals in and out of the major network positions. Indeed, journalists themselves are not necessarily oblivious

to - indeed, are often acutely aware of - the degree to which existing production constraints, in the form of existing production practices, preclude the possibility of any meaningful communication between themselves and their audiences. A current affairs producer, for example, expressed this emphatically with reference to television news:

I would not like to have to respond to issues that I consider important or interesting in the classic format of news because it's far too rigid, far too simplistic. I did it for years, and I can look back with dissatisfaction and regret at lots of the things I did. I personally found it less and less satisfying. It was so totally reactive, it is reactive. If I had to go back to news, I would prefer to go back and write for a tabloid newspaper, because the constraints of television news are so mindless. You know, you have one and a half minutes in which to talk about the end of the world. The determinants are such that you are in a straightjacket without the ability to get out. You can't do much about the format: it's there, it is implacable, it's fixed.

You can, with luck and good judgement, occasionally do something that enables you at least to hover above the swamp, but it's an exception rather than the rule. You know, I look at THE NATIONAL, and the NATIONAL people tell me that it's better than it was, and I ask them what is better, and they tell me they like the [electronic] titles. Yeah, I see.

That is about as profound as saying, 'well, Nash has got a new haircut.' What does it all mean? It's just jibberish! Either the information is communicated better or it isn't.

I don't despise people who work for news; half of my friends do. It's just that the format is inflexible and, when you think that the entire contents of THE NATIONAL would not fill one column of The Globe & Mail, and that is the news, that is the world's news in one column, it gives you an idea of the limitations of the news. I just wouldn't go back to it. Better men than I have tried to change it and not succeeded (fifth estate Field Producer, former CBC and BBC news producer, May 1982, original emphases).

It will be our final chore in the remaining chapters to plot some of the exact connections between the limitations of production and the limitations of programme content, as we proceed to examine the products of network information broadcasting in Canada.

NOTES

1. A copy of the questionnaire appears in Appendix 1. Permission to administer the questionnaires at CTV NATIONAL NEWS was denied, and alternative sources of biographical data could be found only for the main news reader, the sole respondent representing that programme unit.
2. It is interesting to note that the CBC introduced a "visible minority" training programme in July 1983, in which six successful applicants were offered a six-week course and eight months of work at the Corporation. The decision to introduce the programme was explained by the Vice-President of ESD Television in this way: "There has been a tremendous change in the multicultural make-up of Canada over the last decade and this simply has not been reflected in the high profile area of broadcast journalism" (cited in Godfrey, 1983: E11).
3. Cf. their Table 7.1: "Journalists' Fathers' Occupations" (1979: 171).
4. These figures exclude those engineers, accountants and lawyers who served as company officers (counted above).
5. Cf. their Table 7.2: "Education" (1979: 172).
6. As in the present questionnaire study, there was a significant difference in the return rate for London-based (76 per cent) and foreign-based (58 per cent) correspondents. The overall response rate was 70.2 per cent (see Tunstall, 1971: 8), and the study was supplemented by unstructured interviews and direct observation at eleven news organizations.
7. The long hours are reflected, for examples, in the CBC's payment of overtime wages. According to a comprehensive audit conducted in late 1982 and early 1983 by the Auditor-General, \$33 million was paid in overtime in the 1982-83 fiscal year and an additional \$3 million worth of time off was granted in lieu of overtime. The Auditor-General found frequent instances of employees claiming more than forty-eight hours overtime in a single week. For THE JOURNAL alone, overtime payments amounted to \$864,000 - exceeding the programme's \$800,000 overtime budget (Emerson, 1984: 1,9). The NABET contract requires time and a half payment for all

hours worked when an ENG crew is out of town on assignment. Such payments are therefore counted in the overtime figures, but the more important implication is the extent to which it serves as a deterrent to extensive travel beyond Toronto and how it affects the length of field production in locales outside the city.

8. Nonetheless, frustrations are expressed about the seemingly ineffectual professional associations as well. The Toronto producers' association, for example, was cynically described by one producer as a "wine and cheese society" (fifth estate Field Producer, May 1982).
9. Recall that all of the W5 researchers are women.
10. The other side of life for field crew members was described by one as follows:

It's a hard life. It's not much fun travelling and carrying all of your equipment with you. You are dealing with people all of the time. When you are out on a shoot, you get up, you talk about it from breakfast until you go to bed, and day after day it's moving and it's working out of cars and vans - it's a hard life.

One one side it seems very glamorous, and in certain instances it is, but it's also a lot of drudgery and a lot of hard work. Sometimes you wonder about you own sanity (fifth estate Camera Operator, March 1982).
11. Such is the practice, for example, at the fifth estate and W5, where on-air journalists are derogatively referred to by others as "parachute hosts."
12. "Story-boarded" means listed or registered on THE JOURNAL's whiteboards at the front of the newsroom, in view of the Desk; "papered" refers to the requirement that field producers provide a full written story outline.
13. The undergraduate journalism programs at Carleton and Western each commenced around 1946, marking the beginning of full-fledged journalism education in Canadian universities, and actually pre-dating the origins of television journalism in the early 1950s.

14. This is not sheer impressionism on the producer's part. As discussed in Chapter 4, there was indeed a massive staff turnover at THE NATIONAL as part of the re-assessment process, which included the recruitment of younger journalists from combined news-current affairs units in the regions.
15. Reference here is to the memorable interview in which Trudeau's infamous "Just watch me" response was made. The interview can be seen in the NFB film, Action: The October Crisis of 1970, produced in 1973.

PART III:

TELEVISUAL INFORMATION AS SOCIAL TEXT

CHAPTER 9: THE CONSTRAINTS OF TELEVISUAL
INFORMATION PRODUCTION

What is the place, then, of producers in the relationship between media production and ideological reproduction, or in the linkages between mass media, audiences, and societies? Elliott suggests that producers are "crucial intermediaries between the society as source and the society as audience" (1972a: 237). Unlike the arguments upheld by "gatekeeper" and "persuasive" models of the communication process and related "bias" studies, Elliott argues that their intermediary role is neither passive nor purposive. Yet the actions of producers do result in the creation of images of social reality, images which include both cognitive and evaluative elements. The cognitive elements are drawn from a limited range of sources in society (and) processed through occupational and technological routines (1972a: 237-238).

What can be observed more directly and demonstrated more firmly is that "there are important limitations on the communicator's ability to elaborate and communicate substantive meaning through television" (1972a: 238). Based upon his study of a British documentary series, Elliott identified three principal "chains" - the subject chain, the presentation chain and the contact chain¹ - which inhibit communication through television. The latter two chains "did more than limit what the producer could achieve. They themselves generated ideas and items for programme content" (1972a: 238, added emphasis).

These "chains" result first and foremost in limitations upon the range of substantive content available for televisual communication. We might add that two fundamental constraints identified and stressed in the present study sustain and reinforce these limitations; namely, the nature of sources and related economic constraints which determine what is available and what can be economically produced. Elliott summarizes the consequences revealed by his case study:

The range of material is heavily skewed towards ideas about a subject, previously elaborated through the culture of the mass media. Television, the press and other media played a large part in making a particular set of people, events and previously prepared material available for the NATURE OF PREJUDICE series. The case.....provides a particularly clear example of the way in which the production team was forced to use media channels and to draw on their experience of a general media culture to find the people they wanted to appear in the programmes. These various mechanisms show the way in which a new production draws on the established culture of the media, thus ensuring similarity and continuity in the view of the world presented (1972a: 239).

While Elliott's findings pertain to just one case study of a particular documentary series about prejudice, his observations are strongly supported by the findings of our larger-scale analysis. He points especially to the redistributive or reproductive nature of information production in the "media culture" or inter- and intra-media perpetuation of journalistic ideologies and perspectives. His major conclusion is that television production is organized in

such a way as to ensure the repetition and continuity of these ideologies, that there are "standard perspectives" with the "media culture" which are reinforced and reproduced by means of the labour process (see 1972a: 240).

Referring also to Rock's notion of "eternal recurrence" (1973), Chibnall observes the same seemingly cyclical process of reproduction:

The economic contexts within which production takes place, the restricted time period within which the [news] must be reproduced, the conventional wisdoms of professional journalism, the largely shared and complementary expectations of editors, sources, colleagues, and readers all work towards the creation of the same type of product, which, in turn, recreates the conditions for its reproduction...The result is a saleable product designed with consumers in mind, yes, but still produced by men who retain a certain kind of integrity, who generally 'believe' in their product and whose allegiances extend beyond their immediate paymasters.

Professional communicators are not simply puppets on strings pulled by capitalists. Nor do they necessarily feel oppressed by the power of the machine they serve. They are men and women who exercise choice and construct their own realities within the constraining parameters set by their ideal and material interests and their professional stock of knowledge (1977: 223-224).

In the apt phrasing of Richard Hoggart, "most popular journalists are not, with cynical and detached intent, peddling a certain view of the world; this is their world" (1973: 214). Their world is perplexed by fundamental ambiguities and overriding constraints which inextricably shape their work and the products of it. It would seem appropriate at this point to begin to review these constraints

and to illustrate some of their consequences for the products of television news and current affairs work in Canada.

Production Constraints

It is important first of all to clarify that the first and primary concern of this analysis is to understand why television journalism is the way it is. Others are concerned first and foremost to ask why television journalism is not what it could be. From this perspective, there are at least two things that it could be: (a) more thorough and investigative, i.e. "bare-knuckled" reporting of the world - a concern voiced by journalists and others, according to which the failure is usually explained in terms of a lack of resources and/or willingness to expend resources; (b) more critical/radical/Marxist - a concern voiced principally by academics, especially radical ones, according to which the failure is usually explained by references to "bias" on the part of individual owners, editors, journalists, or whole classes of the above; at worst, such critics resort to simple conspiracy theory. The following critique by a journalist illustrates the first type of concern. Silburt discusses a few cases of exemplary investigative or "bare-knuckled" reporting by CBC radio journalists, and proceeds to ponder:

So if the CBC can do this kind of bare-knuckled reporting on radio, why won't the private

broadcasters? The obvious point, and the first one raised by private station news directors, is expense. 'Money is a limiting factor,' agreed Don Johnston, news director for Standard Broadcasting's CFRB in Toronto... Johnston went on to tell me how, as he sees it, radio's number-one job is reporting on what's happening now. 'It's nice to be able to do it (investigative reporting) when you have the time and the manpower, but it is not the main job,' he said. 'Most staffs are just big enough to cover the things that are going on.'

Well, as far as staff is concerned, CFRB has five reporters, and CBC radio in Toronto has four. And as far as money is concerned, the CBC is publicly funded, all right. But just out of sheer cussedness, I checked the Globe and Mail Report on Business 1000 magazine to see how profitable Standard Broadcasting is. The most recent figures, for 1983, show that the company made \$5,782,000 profit on revenue of \$89,436,000 and had assets of \$90,318,000 (1985: 2-3).

In his critique, Silburt implies that the difference between the CBC and private stations such as CHUM TORONTO is a difference of "mandates." A CHUM broadcaster expressed the difference in this manner:

According to the good 'Dr. Doom,' as he sometimes calls himself, it is less a question of money than of how a station wants to spend it. 'If I say we're going to spend \$50,000 investigating such-and-such a story, is the \$50,000 going to attract enough extra audience to justify the expenditures?' (cited in Silburt, 1985: 4).

"Dr. Doom" expresses the reality of the foremost, most powerful production constraint and the one which underlies most others: the economic. A recent experience of its direct effect upon programming is witnessed by the November 1984 cuts to the CBC budget, the impact of which was bluntly forecast as follows:

The \$75 million cut in next year's \$906 million budget of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation will be deep and extensive.

And it will show on the air (Adilman, 1984: B1).

At the time, it was speculated that a number of television news bureaus in Canada and elsewhere would be eliminated, including perhaps the Newfoundland bureau, one of the bureaus in the West, and either the Moscow or Beijing bureaus. In Adilman's words, "such moves are common when news organizations face economic crisis" (1984: B1).²

The economics of information broadcasting also necessitate the capture of markets - not mass markets necessarily (witness the case of CITY-TV's tabloid journalists who are just "ordinary folk"), but sustaining markets for the product which is, above all, a televisual product, and hence the visual imperative, which acts as a further constraint deriving out of the economic. Consider a seemingly trite illustration, that of the 1983 "fur coat" incident at THE NATIONAL. The executive producer, horrified at four reporters who appeared in the same newscast each garbed in plush fur coats, issued a memo to all on-air staff forever banning such attire. Interviewed by the Globe and Mail's television critic, the executive producer explained the rationale underlying the ban:

Eager to present a proletarian image in this recessionary age, Owen explains that such furry ostentation conveys 'a message that seems to say

we're rich and you're not... Perception is a reality in this business.' No kidding. Of course, with the swaddled correspondents pulling in a base salary plus overtime of up to \$60,000 a year, the irony shrieks out...

Yet there's also a certain honesty to this little exercise in costume design. It at least recognizes that the electronic journalist is necessarily as much a performer as an informer. Necessarily because, simply by being seen, the on-air newsman is perpetually trapped within the first person, forever precluded from disappearing behind the story. This eliminates one form of bias (the illusion of third-person objectivity fostered by print) but introduces another. On TV, where feelings are as important as facts, our visceral reaction to the reporter becomes bound up with our cerebral response to the report (Groen, 1983: E5).

The "little exercise in costume design" touches upon the complex determining relationships between economic imperatives and the ideological emanations of television news/current affairs, relationships which might be sketched out in the following way. The political economy of information broadcasting spawns (broadly) a set of social relations of production and a set of market imperatives from which devolve a body of production values (including, for example, the visual imperative in the case of television) legitimated by professional journalistic ideologies and operationalized in professional journalistic practices. Among the social relations of production are two other integrated yet conceptually separable structures which create additional constraints and which otherwise shape the informational text: the organization of the labour process (the constraints of time and technology, for example) and the division and

distribution of journalistic labour, which gives rise to the constraints of story geography at the international and national levels. Each of these forms of constraint can now be summarized and their consequences traced to the peculiarities of programme form and content.

Constraints of the Labour Process: The Tracey Triplet

Tracey's (1978) identification of the constraints of time, money and technology exemplify what were earlier referred to as the short-term, logistical constraints of production (see Chapter 4). All three tend to interact with each other and to congeal in their consequences for production. For example, the availability of video tape (versus film), of one-inch VTR technology (versus two-inch), of computerized editing systems and control panels, and of machinery such as the Squeezoom used at THE JOURNAL, is in each case likely to be most contingent upon money, i.e. the production budget. At the same time, if the preferred technology is affordable and available for use by producers, it frequently alleviates many of the constraints associated with time. The earlier, two-inch VTR technology, for example, is without the capacity to visually search the tape in the fast forward mode. Editors and producers at all of the five units are in general agreement regarding the greater benefits

of the newer one-inch video tape equipment.

Can you specify some of the advantages of one-inch over two-inch?

You can go instantly to a freeze-frame; you can rehearse all edits quickly and easily with video or audio advances. It's one-frame-accurate - I actually did an edit and pulled out a single frame, which is what, one-twenty-fifth or one-thirtieth of a second or something, and it just made that edit, that audio edit, perfectly. One-frame accuracy you could never do on two-inch, ever.

So there's a time saving right there.

Time saving and pureness of technology is all there, and it's absolutely amazing. You don't want people to be bogged down by television. It really is a switch. It's on or it's off, it works or it doesn't work, and there's a whole vocabulary that we all throw around, but, essentially, you make the tools work for you.

With one-inch, you can do a lot with those tools, and it's very visible. You can see it in fast forward, and you can slow it down to slow motion, you don't have to rent a slo-mo machine, you can do all kinds of things, you've got the Squeezoom right there in the [editing] suite. But, again, it all comes down to money and funding, and I'm very pleased that there is finally one-inch in the CBC, in the Corporation. It's the only place that has it, but it's in the building...Once it's in the building, people start saying, oh geez, you know, there's a push for it. Now everyone can see what it can do, so if it means pushing your budget one way or the other, you start to see the advantages of it. And the production people become so enamoured with it, it's very hard to tell them to go back to two-inch and, as I say, the edits are done, you punch and pray, you mark the tape and reel back ten seconds, and sometimes the edit takes, and sometimes it doesn't.

It's like going back to a steam locomotive.

Exactly.

Are there any limitations to one-inch, or are there things that you find you'd like to be able to do with

it, but can't?

Well, I think everybody has a doohickey or a gadget that could have done it better, or they're not completely convinced that the computerized system is the best, or that the control panels are the most effective. It's like the kind of car you buy. You know, is it a Ford or Chev or Cadillac, but, essentially, they can all go a hundred miles an hour (JOURNAL Presentation Producer, July 1983).

Although there is little visible difference to the final product, the availability of the newer editing technology makes a significant difference to the work of producers. The differences between the use of video tape in general and the use of film (e.g. at the fifth estate and W5) are more consequential for production and more perceptible in the final product. The same producer drew these comparisons, which, again, show the interrelatedness of the three constraints of time, money and technology:

the fifth estate is limited by time and cost. That is a fact of life. They cannot shoot endless amounts of film. With ENG, you have the luxury that it's all re-usable tape...and it's a whole different style of shooting. It just has its own richness, it has its own style, and it's cut differently. The shots aren't endless, long shots that cover three sentences. You can go bang, bang, bang, and you can set up the pace and the style, because you're not dealing with little pieces of film which always seem to be on the floor. But that's the school I come from. I come from ENG (JOURNAL Presentation Producer, July 1983).

Two technologies in particular - satellite transmission and electronic newsgathering equipment - are responsible for major contemporary changes to the labour process. The first, satellite communication, affects

newsgathering, especially the collection of foreign news, while the second, the availability of ENG, particularly in association with the Squeezoom at THE JOURNAL, affects both gathering and editing.

With respect to satellite technology and global patterns of news distribution, Larson notes that the Intelsat Global Satellite System experienced rapid expansion during the 1970s, such that by the end of the decade, the number of nations equipped with earth stations more than quadrupled (1982: 16). In theory, such massive growth makes possible the instantaneous transmission of stories from a larger and larger number of global sites. Yet, as always, the potential of a technology is less socially consequential than the manner in which the technology is implemented, and so, in reality, the rapid and massive development of the global system has tended to merely solidify and perpetuate the pre-existent inequalities and imbalances in the patterns of international news flow. Hulten, for example, after a review of the early period of Intelsat's operation, concluded that: "While satellites make possible television news from countries previously inaccessible, the new technology would not appear to alter underlying news interests and news evaluation patterns" (cited in Larson, 1982: 17). In effect, this technological dimension of news production and distribution exacerbates yet another form of constraint in the name of story geography (see later discussion).

Satellite technology introduces new constraints as well, particularly once satellite dependency is fully-fledged.

There are real limits about how many satellite channels you can tie up, limits about how many loops from Buffalo to Toronto will carry a picture... Frequently, we'll find that we can do an item, get the guest with it, get the studio, satellite all the way to Buffalo, and we can't get from Buffalo to Toronto. I guess Bell Canada expects that any day now the world is going to conclude a transporter satellite agreement, in which case we won't be using the land line so damned much. They know there aren't enough (circuits) there to service the demand at the moment, so every once in a while, we get caught (JOURNAL Senior Producer - Production, May 1982).

Producers are also acutely aware of the costs of satellite technology. Facilities co-ordinators, of course, must bear these costs in mind at all times, yet even assignment and story editors operate with a rough sense of the cost per satellite feed minute. As a further indication of the ways in which the triplet of time, money and technology interact in a sometimes entangled manner, another condition illustrates how the three together create strains upon production. A full four hours of "lead time" or advance notice is required to book a New York satellite feed. There is no cost if the line is cancelled at least one hour before the scheduled fee time. However, such preparation and precision are luxuries infrequently afforded to daily news producers.

Elliott's notion of a "media culture" or the reproduction of media contents along with ideological themes may itself be the outcome of monetary and temporal

constraints. For example, after acknowledging a tendency to shy away from stories with poor visual potential, this producer observed:

Editors shy away from them too. There are mine fields that are very tough to get into because people have failed at them so often in the past...in terms of daily news people who've been commissioned to do daily news coverage with short turn-arounds and Canada-limited production budgets, you tend to go for the tried-and-true rather than to break new ground, particularly if it's on a project that may not work and that may end up costing an awful lot in terms of crew time or material cost or per diems or travel time or just straight salary time (JOURNAL Documentary Producer, June 1983, original emphasis).

The monetary constraint often seems the most important of the three, apparent more in the absence of lengthy documentary productions, of extensive travel, of elaborate facilities, and of the specialized investigative labour required to do "bare-knuckled" reporting.³ The economics of production constrain all facets of newsgathering and story assemblage, more notably at CTV where the budget allocation is smaller, yet also at the public network. Its limitations apply with equal force to current affairs production:

When it's an expensive shoot, we generally have it made clear to us that we can't dawdle around the Middle East or British Columbia or South America indefinitely; we usually look at a one-week production cut-off...After a couple of weeks, people are going to start to wonder, well, what is it you're looking for, and can you justify it, and why in hell didn't you do your homework better before you got there.

At the outset of this programme it was made

fairly clear that we are not an investigative programme. In other words, we do not have the means or the mandate to detach people into an investigative schedule (JOURNAL Field Producer, August 1983).⁴

A JOURNAL senior editor reiterates the budgetary realities:

With only ten crews and forty air minutes to fill every day, you can't spend the sort of energies you need to do really thorough current affairs (August 1983).

Story Geography

Economic constraints also spark: first, a low level of original story production in terms of international items or foreign stories and a consequently greater level of dependence upon external suppliers, such as the international news agencies and foreign networks; and secondly, a peculiar, imbalanced pattern of information flow at the national level. These two levels of information flow and story origination, or "story geography," can each be examined separately.

(i) The International News Map

Whether committed to a daily or weekly broadcast, original story production is costly, and these costs escalate dramatically if the event occurs outside the borders of Canada. Events that occur over any extended period of time, such as foreign wars, are all the more costly to cover.

We [CBC] spent a fortune on the Falklands war and it was a war that was awfully frustrating for all of the people involved...

Why frustrating?

Well, frustrating because they couldn't get to the story. They were in Argentina and couldn't get to the site of the war, and all of the pictures, whatever pictures of the actual war we got were the censored, British, poor pictures, which were never very complete, and which were sometimes weeks old by the time they got shipped back to Britain and released to us. The crews that we had there hoping to get involved, could only really cover the side-bars of the story: the demonstrations, the riots, the military speeches and so forth. In Buenos Aires, they just couldn't get to the story itself.

Nonetheless, it cost us a fortune. We couldn't take the chance that the story wasn't going to all of a sudden move from one area, but we couldn't get to an area that we could, so we staked that story out for two months at a tremendous cost. The American networks did it again on that much longer and larger scale that they do everything - tens of millions of dollars were spent down there by the journalistic organizations...

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon was very expensive, too. There were four months for News and for THE JOURNAL and CTV (was there) on and off too - the air fares and satellites and incidental costs (JOURNAL Documentary Producer, June 1983, original emphases).

While we do not wholeheartedly embrace the audience-
5
as-commodity framework, it seems appropriate nevertheless to refer, in the context of this discussion, to Smythe's argument in Dependency Road. He insists that: "in order to achieve an adequate geographic context for the whole development of Canada and its communications media, the essential elements in the capitalist system around the world should be identified"

identified as follows:

Interrelated markets which afford calculations of maximum profitability, which determine the kind, purpose, and amount of productive activity; the kind, amount, and location of specialization; the modes of payment for labor, goods and other services; the nature, extent, and location of invention and innovation (1981: 92).

We can utilize the last of these considerations - the nature, extent, and location of invention and innovation - to understand international patterns of information flow, story origination, and news dependency.

Harris (1977) has already quite adequately documented the "underlying interests" which determine the routes and patterns of global news flow. These routes and patterns, along with the sources of dependency, were discussed to some extent in Chapter 2. Larson's analysis of international stories on the American network newscasts (1984) can serve as a useful introduction to the matter of the consequences for content. His sample consists of more than a thousand newscasts by the three major American networks during the period 1972 to 1981. His distinction between three major formats for the presentation of international news - the anchor report, the domestic video report, and the foreign video report - can be adapted to our own Canadian sample to determine levels of dependency upon external suppliers with respect to international stories, to reveal other dimensions of foreign story content on the five Canadian programmes, and

to enable comparisons with their more well-endowed U.S. counterparts.

The anchor report is, in the language of journalese, a "straight copy" story, which is read in its entirety by the news reader positioned in the studio, and which is often illustrated by a still visual. Since the great majority of these reports originate with the major international agencies (see Chapter 2), their volume provides a measure of network dependence upon those agencies for the supply of international stories (Larson, 1984: 37; cf. Batscha, 1975). The domestic video report is one which originates in a Canadian location yet concerns international affairs, e.g. official visits by foreign dignitaries. The foreign video report originates with a Canadian network journalist in a location outside of Canada. Of the three formats, it is the most costly and represents the greatest expenditure of time, money and technology (since these reports are invariably fed by satellite to Toronto).

Larson's findings offer interesting points of comparison. Almost 40 per cent of the content of American network news concerned international affairs, or about seven of the average seventeen stories per broadcast (1984: 40). Other than the year 1974, in which U.S. network news was preoccupied with the Watergate story, "international news accounted for between 34 and 45 per cent of all news broadcast by the networks during each year of the decade" (1984: 40).

That surprisingly high proportion deflates common charges in the scholarly and popular literature of a paucity of foreign news coverage on American television. Comprehensiveness, however, is another story. Larson found that the mean length of international stories was one minute and twenty-eight seconds or 1:28, a figure which varied (not coincidentally, of course) according to story format, with anchor reports averaging 31 seconds, domestic video reports at 2:05, and foreign video reports at 1:57 (1984: 41). Nonetheless, in the average newscast, international news accounted for seven of the seventeen stories and 7:19 of the twenty-two news minutes (1984: 49).

The breakdown of formats is even more interesting, and more directly reflects the expenditure of resources by the U.S. networks. Although there were some changes in the ratios of story formats during the ten-year period,⁶ the largest proportion of international stories assumed the form of anchor reports (42 per cent), followed by foreign (32 per cent) and domestic (26 per cent) video reports (Larson, 1984: 43). Despite the comparatively vast resources of the American networks, then, the more economical anchor reports constituted the most prominent story format. Although the difference is small (6 percentage points), one would expect that domestic video reports would predominate over foreign video reports. Travel and satellite costs are also prohibitive to American

production budgets, yet Larson points out that the global expansion of Intelsat was accompanied by decreases in the cost of visual news satellite transmission. These costs, however, remain prohibitive in the context of Canadian news production budgets. Moreover, Larson notes that the apparent increase in U.S. network coverage of international affairs and the apparent decrease in their dependence upon the international news agencies each occurred during a period of

increased profitability for network news operations; intense competition among the three networks in hiring anchor and other correspondents; and introduction of format changes and other efforts to garner the largest share of the news audience. Such factors, along with the widely accepted conventional wisdom that visually exciting material and appropriate pacing are necessary to attract and hold an audience, undoubtedly contributed in part to the trends (1984: 44).

Other results of Larson's analysis can be briefly summarized. Coverage is sharply skewed in favour of the nations of Western Europe and the Middle East, with considerably less attention to the nations of Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Africa (successively). Canada literally ranks last after all of these regions in terms of its mention on American network news; in rivalling for the attention of U.S. network news producers, it "even" ranks below Africa, a region notoriously ignored by the U.S. media.⁷ Foreign video reports likewise tend to originate in the favoured world regions. Western Europe and the Middle East

together account for 63 per cent of the origins of all foreign video reports on ABC and CBS. ⁸ Similarly, a relatively high proportion of the coverage of these two regions is in the form of foreign video reports, which entail direct visual newsgathering by the U.S. networks' own correspondents. On the other hand, coverage of Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa is more often in the form of anchor reports, reflecting a greater dependence upon agencies for news of these regions. In Larson's words: "Such patterns illustrate the relationship between international news content on television and the newsgathering process that produces the content" (1984: 91). Finally, with respect to reports of "Third World" nations, Larson observes the following patterns:

... although the networks devote a considerable amount of attention to Third World nations, it is not in proportion to their numbers or population. Furthermore, in terms of independent newsgathering efforts by the network organizations, developing nations receive an even lower priority. When the networks do dispatch their own correspondents to cover events in the Third World, as often as not it will be in response to an ongoing or breaking crisis. Most often, developing nations appear in news items that involve the U.S. or other developed nations, and there is less of a tendency to report news involving a single nation from the Third World than from the developed world or from socialist nations...there is no evidence that the U.S. television networks are changing their approach to covering the Third World in a manner that would be responsive to current international concerns and criticism (1984: 112).

Larson calls upon the "importance of economic, technical and logistical factors" (1984: 60) to explain the skewed reportage of international news. Each of these

"factors" derives out of the structure of the international political economy; concretely, the flow of international news in turn flows from the underlying historical-structural patterns of imperialism and domination around the world. The routes and patterns of global news flow precisely reflect these continuing relationships of domination and dependency. Likewise, patterns of international news coverage by the U.S. and Canadian networks directly reflect the contradictions and imbalances of their supply sources: the information agencies discussed in Chapter 2. Further explanation of the skewed coverage can be found through examination of the positions of permanent network bureaus. With respect to the American case, Larson discovered that the ten nations where permanent U.S. network bureaus operate account for 53 per cent of all foreign⁹ video reports in his ten-year sample (1984: 60). The world geography of network bureau sites is therefore a related important explanation of the geography of network coverage of international affairs.

What is even more important to remember, for the purposes of our Canadian analysis, is that both the international agencies and the U.S. networks, each with their demonstrably skewed coverage, serve as the principal suppliers of international stories to the Canadian networks. Let us turn, then, to a consideration of international story geography on Canadian network television.

Our Canadian sample consists of news and current affairs programming which aired during 1982 and 1983.¹⁰ The world map provided by Canadian network television during the period can first be sketched through a focus upon the news geography of the weeknight news broadcasts of CBC and CTV. The definition of "international news" employed by Golding and Elliott (1979) and later by Larson (1984: 36) was slightly modified to take account of peculiarly Canadian circumstances; that is, to exclude merely "passing references" to nations other than Canada (especially to foreign-born individuals and foreign-made products), which would superficially inflate the number of stories that substantively concern other countries. Unlike their analyses, it is impractical to disregard thematic content in the Canadian case - a reality which in itself reflects the reality of Canada's particular position within the international economy. Through the use of this definition, a grand total of 760 international stories (399 by CTV, 361 by CBC) were identified, which represents slightly more than 60 per cent of all the weeknight news stories in our two-year sample (1,261). The figure seems very high, yet without the luxury of a full ten-year sample as in Larson's study, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the proportion of international coverage is typical or representative of Canadian news patterns, especially since no other analysis of international coverage by the Canadian

networks exists. It can be noted that the proportion varied somewhat between 1982 and 1983, in that CBC's international coverage increased from 49 per cent to 59 per cent, while CTV's decreased from 70 per cent in 1982 to 66 per cent in 1983.

These general figures, however, overlook the very important considerations of the source and format of the international stories that appeared, each of which point to the relative costs of international coverage for the networks. Both networks found 1982 to be an exceptionally costly news year, largely the result of the number of violent conflicts outside of Canada, notably the south Atlantic conflict, so much so that, as noted in Chapter 7, CTV decreed that there would be no further original foreign coverage with the exception of foreign wars. Hence, a further breakdown of international stories is essential to distinguish between the sources of international news and to thereby develop a measure of the actual expenditure of resources for foreign coverage. Such a breakdown appears later in the chapter. At this stage it can simply be pointed out that the overall volume of international coverage is high. While one would expect the Canadian networks to present more international stories than their American counterparts, the range of 58 to 63 per cent for both networks during both sample years ¹¹ is very markedly higher than Larson's range of 34 to 45 per cent for the latter (1984: 40).

The sheer amount of international news coverage also begs the question of which nations, and which regions of the world, are on view to Canadian news audiences. A better picture of international story geography can be gleaned from a closer examination of the particular nations covered by the networks during 1982 and 1983. Following Larson, two types of content data may be used to assess the coverage. The first is data regarding those nations which were cited in sampled news stories. The second is data about the nations from which foreign video reports originated.

Table 9.1 shows the extent of coverage accorded to the sixty-six nations¹² which appeared in the sampled news stories. Each nation is ranked according to the extent of coverage by each network, with the nations ordered according to their rank on CBC news. First, the table shows clearly that the overall pattern of network news attention is highly skewed towards a small number of nations. Almost half of all international stories refer to the United States, which reflects both Canada's position of dependence vis-a-vis that country, and network dependence upon American news suppliers as one manifestation of that underlying dependence. The greater number of references by CTV is the product of its relatively greater dependence upon foreign news organizations which notoriously report primarily about those nations of concern to U.S. policy interests and the U.S. state; hence, a

Table 9.1: Nations Covered by CBC and CTV News, 1982 and 1983

Nation	CBC			CTV		
	Rank	# of References	% of All International Stories	Rank	# of References	% of All International Stories
United States	1	151	41.8	1	183	45.9
United Kingdom*	2	70	19.4	2	86	21.6
U.S.S.R.	3	35	9.7	3	40	10.0
Israel	3	35	9.7	4	37	9.3
Argentina	4	30	8.3	5	33	8.3
Falklands/Malvinas	5	27	7.5	6	23	5.8
Lebanon	6	22	6.1	6	23	5.8
West Germany	7	18	5.0	7	21	5.3
France	8	17	4.7	9	17	4.3
Poland	9	16	4.4	8	20	5.0
El Salvador	10	14	3.9	10	16	4.0
Italy**	10	14	3.9	12	10	2.5
Nicaragua	11	11	3.0	11	13	3.3
Japan	12	10	2.8	13	7	1.8
Syria	13	8	2.2	13	7	1.8
Egypt	14	7	1.9	15	5	1.3
Iraq	15	6	1.7	17	3	0.8
China, People's Rep.	16	5	1.4	14	6	1.5
Iran	17	4	1.1	16	4	1.0
Northern Ireland	17	4	1.1	18	2	0.5
Switzerland	17	4	1.1	14	6	1.5
Zimbabwe	17	4	1.1	-	0	-
India	18	3	0.8	18	2	0.5
Mexico	18	3	0.8	16	4	1.0
South Africa	18	3	0.8	19	1	0.3
Australia	19	2	0.6	17	3	0.8
Chile	19	2	0.6	18	2	0.5
Guatemala	19	2	0.6	19	1	0.3
Honduras	19	2	0.6	18	2	0.5
Libya	19	2	0.6	-	0	-
Nigeria	19	2	0.6	16	4	1.0
Portugal	19	2	0.6	18	2	0.5
Taiwan	19	2	0.6	-	0	-

Table 9.1: Nations Covered by CBC and CTV News, 1982 and 1983 (continued)

Nation	CBC			CTV		
	Rank	# of References	% of All International Stories	Rank	# of References	% of All International Stories
The Netherlands	19	2	0.6	18	2	0.5
The Philippines	19	2	0.6	18	2	0.5
Algeria	20	1	0.3	15	5	1.3
Angola	20	1	0.3	-	0	-
Austria	20	1	0.3	17	3	0.8
Belgium	20	1	0.3	19	1	0.3
Chad	20	1	0.3	-	0	-
Costa Rica	20	1	0.3	19	1	0.3
Cuba	20	1	0.3	15	5	1.3
Czechoslovakia	20	1	0.3	18	2	0.5
East Germany	20	1	0.3	-	0	-
Finland	20	1	0.3	18	2	0.5
Ghana	20	1	0.3	-	0	-
Haiti	20	1	0.3	19	1	0.3
Jamaica	20	1	0.3	-	0	-
Laos	20	1	0.3	-	0	-
Lithuania	20	1	0.3	-	0	-
Saudi Arabia	20	1	0.3	17	3	0.8
Spain	20	1	0.3	18	2	0.5
Uganda	20	1	0.3	-	0	-
Venezuela	20	1	0.3	19	1	0.3
Zambia	20	1	0.3	-	0	-
Sweden	-	0	-	16	4	1.0
Bolivia	-	0	-	17	3	0.8
Greece	-	0	-	17	3	0.8
Iceland	-	0	-	17	3	0.8
Norway	-	0	-	18	2	0.5
Turkey	-	0	-	18	2	0.5
Yugoslavia	-	0	-	18	2	0.5
Nepal	-	0	-	19	1	0.3
Pakistan	-	0	-	19	1	0.3
Peru	-	0	-	19	1	0.3
Thailand	-	0	-	19	1	0.3
N = (stories)			361			399

* excludes Northern Ireland

** includes references to "The Vatican"

Note to Table 9.1: Percentages sum to more than 100 per cent since multiple nations may be cited in a single news story.

recurrent pattern throughout the sample was that where the United States is discussed in conjunction with nations lower in rank - that is, within the same news story. Other than the United States, only fourteen nations are mentioned in 2 per cent or more of the international stories sampled for either network. Hence in relative terms, a nation involved in more than 2 per cent of international news received "extensive" coverage.

Secondly, a large number of these nations were involved in wars or major conflicts during the time period studied. The clearest case in point is the Falkland/Malvina Islands, whose presence among the high coverage nations is solely due to the incidence of war there. Since the outbreak of war guarantees a steady supply of visually fulfilling stories, the establishment of bureaus and/or other newsgathering facilities becomes justified in what is otherwise a neglected region. After the conflict "ends" the newsgathering infrastructure is dismantled, and it once again falls out of the reach of the networks, especially the Canadian networks, which, under their extra economic constraints, still remained for much of the period dependent upon the American networks for their supply of stories about the south Atlantic crisis. Nowhere is it better illustrated than in the patterns of coverage about this particular conflict. The Islands first appear in the news in April of

1982 and dominate the lead international stories for the remainder of the 1982 sample period. During those three months, CBC made twenty-five references to the Islands and CTV made twenty. By 1983, the Islands largely disappeared from both networks, with only two references by CBC and three by CTV. Likewise, it is clear that Argentina merited coverage only by virtue of its role in the same conflict: twenty-nine references by CBC in 1982 are reduced to just one mention in 1983, and thirty references to Argentina by CTV in 1982 become just three references in all of the first six months of 1983. Virtually all of the 1983 stories were supplied by news agencies. By the same token, one also suspects that references to Great Britain are inflated as a consequence of its participation in the same 1982 conflict. CBC newscasts included forty-eight references to Great Britain (other than Northern Ireland) in 1982, compared to twenty-two mentions in 1983. CTV's international news during the 1982 period included fifty-one such references, yet only thirty-five during the 1983 period. A large number of the references throughout the 1982 sample were regularly made in the context of stories about the Falklands/Malvinas conflict, especially at CBC. At CTV, a great number of the total eighty-six references were to the British monarchy, including stories about the Princess of Wales, the Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of Edinburgh, and other high-placed stories of royal tours.

Thirdly, the most frequently cited nations include the major world imperial powers historically and contemporarily. Their positions in the higher ranks add further weight to Harris' arguments regarding the news flow routes followed by the international news agencies, along with the U.S. networks (see also Larson, 1984: Table 3.2, 55-56). The latter in particular were found by Larson to cite the Soviet Union most frequently of all nations other than the United States itself, which Larson considers confirmation of "the often observed tendency of the U.S. networks to interpret events in an East-West or Us-versus-Them framework" (1984: 57). Although such a tendency was less evident in Canadian network news, it is reproduced to some extent just by virtue of Canadian dependence upon U.S. news suppliers for stories about the Soviet Union. The comparatively greater dependence of CTV may account for its slightly larger number of references, since it airs a larger number of American-produced stories which inevitably include the antagonistic allusions to the Soviet Union. The existence of Canadian network bureaus in Moscow has traditionally been an on-again-off-again enterprise, and it seems that during periods of economic crisis and organizational shrinkage, the Moscow and Peking bureaus are the first to go. Indeed, at the present time there is just one single Canadian journalist based in Moscow, who represents CBC. Of all the Canadian media - print and

broadcast, private and public - there are no other
representatives in the Soviet Union.¹³ These important and
often very direct connections between underlying newsgathering
infrastructures and the nature of international coverage must
now be traced and explored further.

The symptoms or consequences of these connections or
lines of determination can be conveyed by a closer examination
of the locations from which independent foreign video reports
originated. The patterns are most revealing and instructive,
since these data represent a direct measure of foreign
newsgathering conducted directly by the networks. From the
perspective of the Canadian networks, a foreign video report
constitutes a major commitment of resources and, in this
respect, it is critically important to examine their overall
numbers in the whole stream of international stories brought
to air. During the 1982 sample period, for example (which, as
already noted, was considered by the networks to be an
exceptionally costly year for foreign coverage), CBC aired a
total of 190 international stories in the sampled newscasts.
Of these, seventy-one stories or 37 per cent were
independently produced by CBC network news staff outside of
Canada. The remainder, 119 stories or 63 per cent, are
accounted for by (1) reports provided by news agencies and
American networks and (2) domestic video reports that were
international in nature.

A breakdown of the independently-produced stories by journalist location or nation of origin is yet more revealing of the relationship between newsgathering economics and the content of international news. The greatest number of stories (twenty-nine) originated in Western Europe, where two CBC bureaus are located. These included twenty-one stories produced by the London bureau and eight by the Paris-based journalist, who reported the stories from Paris (one), Versailles (two, both regarding the economic summit of June 1982), Brussels (two about the EEC), Bonn (one regarding the NATO summit of June 1982), and one each from Geneva and Madrid. It seems likely that the number of stories produced by CBC London was exceptional, in light of the south Atlantic conflict, and that stories produced in the United States are more commonly found in the largest category. During the 1982 sample period, just seventeen of the international stories or 24 per cent were independently produced in the United States. It is significant, however, that twelve of the seventeen stories were reported from Washington, where the CBC bureau is located, and three more originated from New York, where there are CBC facilities. One other story was reported from Detroit, and the other, about the space shuttle of March 1982, was reported from Houston. The remainder of the independently-produced stories (twenty-five) fall under the general category of "Other." Nine of these were reported from

Buenos Aires, which became the makeshift headquarters of a whole host of networks during the south Atlantic crisis, and which necessitated a great deal of "co-production" and other exchange agreements between the Canadian and other networks (the first independent report, or rather quasi-independent report in the sample appeared 7 April 1982, a telephone report by THE NATIONAL's Washington correspondent which was accompanied by pictures supplied by CBS). Others in this category include: six reports by a CBC Radio journalist from Beirut and one by a NATIONAL Ottawa journalist from "southern Lebanon," two reports from Jerusalem (one by a CBC French Service journalist), two reports from Moscow, one report by a JOURNAL producer near the Nicaragua-Honduras border, one report from Mexico City (in the context of the Trudeau trip of January 1982), and one report each from Tokyo, Manila, and San Salvador.¹⁴

During the 1983 sample period, the CBC independently produced thirty-nine foreign video reports or 23 per cent of its international news stories. Sixteen of these originated from Western Europe (nine from London, six from Paris, and one from Munich); twelve of the reports originated from the United States (ten from Washington, and one each from New York and Detroit); and the others included stories from Jerusalem (three), Warsaw (two), San Salvador (two), Peking (two), Moscow (one), and one Special Report from southern Lebanon,

for a total of eleven stories which originated from regions other than the United States and Western Europe. Hence, of the 171 international stories which appeared in the 1983 sample, thirty-nine foreign video reports and twenty-nine domestic video reports were independently produced by the network. The remainder, 103 stories or 60 per cent, were externally supplied.

The ratio of externally-procured to independently-produced international stories is considerably higher at CTV, where the commitment of resources for independent news production is smaller, and where there are just three foreign bureaus in Washington, London, and Peking. During the 1982 sample period, CTV produced thirty-nine foreign video reports, eighteen of which originated from one of its three bureaus (twelve from London, three from Washington, and three from Peking). Seven originated from Buenos Aires, four from New York, three from Beirut, and one story each was produced in Manila, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, San Salvador, Brussels, Versailles (regarding the June 1982 economic summit), and Bonn (regarding the June 1982 NATO summit). During the same period, the network produced thirty domestic video reports that made reference to other nations, for a total of sixty-nine independently-produced international stories or one-third (33.3 per cent) of its international news output. In the following year, its production of independent foreign video

reports dropped markedly to twenty-two stories, and all but three of these (two from Jerusalem and one from New York) were produced by the three foreign bureaus. If the thirteen domestic video reports are included,¹⁵ CTV still produced no more than thirty-five or 18 per cent of the international stories that it aired.

All of these data are summarized in Table 9.2, which shows the national origin of foreign video reports independently produced by the two networks. In some respects Table 9.2 is similar to Table 9.1 and in other important ways it is different.¹⁶ First, Table 9.2, like Table 9.1, is skewed towards coverage of a few nations. However, it is far more highly skewed than Table 9.1. More than half of the CBC reports and more than 60 per cent of the CTV reports originate from just two countries; namely, England and the United States. Not at all coincidentally, both countries house permanent network bureaus, and, as indicated above, most of these stories originated directly from the cities in which these bureaus are located, i.e. London and Washington. (Similarly, Larson found that the ten nations equipped with bureaus throughout his ten-year period (1972-1981) accounted for 52.6 per cent of all the foreign video reports in his sample (1984: 60).) England outranks the United States here, which may be due to its prominent role in the south Atlantic conflict, but which is more likely due to the ease with which

Table 9.2: National Origin of Independently-Produced Foreign Video Reports by CBC and CTV News, 1982 and 1983

Nation	CBC			CTV		
	Rank	% of All Foreign Video Reports	Cumulative Per Cent	Rank	% of All Foreign Video Reports	Cumulative Per Cent
England	1	27.8	27.8	1	37.7	37.7
United States	2	26.9	54.7	2	24.6	62.3
France	3	8.3	63.0	6	1.6	63.9
Argentina	3	8.3	71.3	3	11.5	75.4
Lebanon	4	7.4	78.7	5	4.9	80.3
Israel	5	4.6	83.3	4	6.6	86.9
U.S.S.R.	6	2.8	86.1	-	0.0	-
Belgium	7	1.9	88.0	6	1.6	88.5
China, People's Rep.	7	1.9	89.9	4	6.6	95.1
Poland	7	1.9	91.8	-	0.0	-
West Germany	7	1.9	93.7	6	1.6	96.7
El Salvador	8	0.9	94.6	6	1.6	98.3
Japan	8	0.9	95.5	-	0.0	-
Mexico	8	0.9	96.4	-	0.0	-
Nicaragua	8	0.9	97.3	-	0.0	-
Spain	8	0.9	98.2	-	0.0	-
Switzerland	8	0.9	99.1	-	0.0	-
The Philippines	8	0.9	100.0	6	1.6	99.9*
N =	108			61		

* due to rounding, cumulative total is less than 100.0%

foreign-produced reports about the United States can be obtained, which precludes the need to independently produce stories about American locations other than Washington, where some Canadian perspective is desirable if not essential. The CBC's permanent bureau in Paris and its temporary bureau in Buenos Aires produced a further 16 per cent of its foreign video reports, which means that more than 70 per cent of its total originated from these four bureau locations. CTV's three permanent and one temporary bureau together produced a full 80.4 per cent of its independent foreign stories.

Moreover, the Soviet Union, ranked third among CTV international stories in Table 9.1 and cited in 10 per cent of these stories, quite completely disappears from the ranks of Table 9.2, which reflects that network's total dependency upon (mainly U.S.) foreign sources of news about the Soviet Union, in the absence of any CTV facilities or journalists there. It is here, then, that some inter-network differences begin to appear, yet these differences remain differences of degree, i.e. the degree of coverage according to bureau sites. In both cases, travel beyond bureau locations for the purposes of independent story production is severely limited. Finally, these differences of degree pertain also to levels of dependency upon external news suppliers: CBC independently produced a total of 108 foreign video reports or just under 30 per cent of all the international stories that it

broadcast, while CTV produced sixty-one foreign video reports or just over 15 per cent of the 399 international stories that it broadcast during the 1982 and 1983 sample periods.

The very minimal number of independent stories produced by CTV means that these stories might be very conspicuously few in number, were it not for a number of measures undertaken by the network which significantly affect the form of the newscast. In the past, CTV has simply edited out the sign-offs of foreign journalists at the end of stories, in order to make it appear that the reporter is a member of the network's own news staff. This practice evoked viewer objections to the point where the CRTC finally insisted that it be stopped. Presently, two methods are employed to obscure the origins of foreign-produced stories. The first and most common practice is to delete the appearance of the foreign journalist entirely, which in most cases can be easily accomplished, since in many such reports a journalist appears on-camera only at the end of the video tape. In fact, all of the audio portion of the tape is deleted, and instead it becomes the script which the news reader voices-over the tape. Any additional information provided in the foreign journalist's stand-up can, if necessary, be incorporated into a "tag" to be read by the news anchor after the video tape is aired. This practice, and the story form that results, create several different effects. First, the story acquires the

appearance of independent production, in which the anchor voices-over a video tape that is not acknowledged to be foreign-produced. Secondly, if the video tape is followed by a tag, the tag comes to appear as a "new development" or "update" to the story since the video tape was shot, which fulfills the immediacy requirement of news and enhances the authority of the programme. Thirdly, the use of the format in a very significant proportion of stories leads to a much greater prominence and centrality for the news anchors, since the number of "reporter-centred" stories is greatly reduced. Where the method cannot be employed (for example, if either the logistics of editing or time constraints preclude alterations to the foreign video report), the news reader introduces the name of the journalist without any identification of his or her network affiliation, such that the foreign journalist might still appear to be a CTV staff member (despite the reference to ABC or NBC News which can now be heard at the end of these reports). At THE NATIONAL, in contrast, the news reader consistently credits the external source through identification of the foreign network in the story's introduction.

At both networks, the extraordinary costs and commitments that must be invested into independent foreign video reports create a tendency to allot more time to these stories, and as a consequence, the mean length of independent

foreign video reports is significantly greater than those of other story formats, in order to more strongly highlight the source and at the same time de-emphasize the foreign origins of most other stories. Their overall mean length is just slightly under three minutes or 2:57, compared to 2:33 for domestic video reports (which includes THE NATIONAL's notably lengthy "Special Reports"), 2:12 for foreign video reports¹⁷ produced by agencies and other networks, and twenty-three seconds for anchor reports, including those with and without accompanying still visuals or graphics. Story format is therefore closely related to story length, and the relationship reflects the networks' interests in highlighting those stories produced by their own journalists, especially where these journalists report from outside the Canadian borders.

The full picture of dependency is presented in Table 9.3, which demonstrates the ways in which these dependent relationships between the Canadian networks and their external suppliers actually structure the newscasts into stories of accordingly different formats and lengths. The first and most striking finding is that almost two-thirds of all the stories are procured externally; the range is from just under half of the CBC's 1982 stories to more than 80 per cent of CTV's 1983 stories. Among these, the largest proportion (43 per cent) are obtained from the international news agencies, whose

Table 9.3: International News Stories by Format and Source

<u>Format (Source)*</u>	<u>CBC - 1982</u>	<u>CBC - 1983</u>	<u>CTV - 1982</u>	<u>CTV - 1983</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of All Stories</u>
Anchor - No Still (Agency)	-	2	28	22	52	6.8
Anchor - Still (Agency)	39	48	38	36	161	21.2
Anchor Voice-over (Agency)	26	15	29	45	115	15.1
Anchor Voice-over (US Net)	1	12	23	34	70	9.2
Anchor Voice-over (BBC)	1	1	-	-	2	0.3
Anchor Voice-over (R-C)	1	-	-	-	1	0.1
Foreign Video Report (ABC)	-	-	3	5	8	1.1
Foreign Video Report (CBS)	12	11	-	-	23	3.0
Foreign Video Report (NBC)	11	13	17	15	56	7.4
Subtotals (%)	47.9	59.6	66.7	81.8	(488)	64.2
Domestic Video Report (Ind)	28	30	30	13	101	13.3
Foreign Video Report (Ind)	71**	39	39	22	171	22.5
TOTALS	190	171	207	192	760	100.0

* Abbreviations: ABC: American Broadcasting Company; BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation; CBS: Columbia Broadcasting Service; NBC: National Broadcasting Company; Ind: Independent; R-C: Radio-Canada; US Net: (Unidentified) U.S. Network.

**Includes one telephone report from Buenos Aires by the Washington correspondent which used U.S. network visuals.

stories, once transformed for broadcast by the Canadian networks, assume three forms. The first is a traditional "straight copy" story, where the news reader or anchor simply reads the copy straight to camera without any visual accompaniment, even without a still visual or graphic. Such a format is rare at THE NATIONAL, armed as it is with a staff of three full-time graphic artists, yet somewhat more frequent at CTV, equipped with a lesser capacity to produce still graphics. More common at both networks is the second form of agency story, attuned to the visual imperative, which includes a still visual; more than 20 per cent of the stories appeared in this format. From a journalistic perspective, the most desirable story form is the third type, in which the anchor voices-over film or video tape provided by the agency, yet the constraints of editing time mean that it is not always possible to present a story in this form. In the case of the sampled stories, slightly more than 15 per cent followed the anchor voice-over format.

Three other sources provided the basis of anchor voice-over reports. By far the most important are the American networks, particularly at CTV, which tends to produce anchor voice-over stories out of the stories which it receives via the ABC and NBC feeds; indeed, most of its American network stories assume this form. Two other suppliers to the CBC were the BBC and Radio-Canada. Just over half of all the

stories (53 per cent), therefore, are "anchor-centred" reports, a figure that is considerably higher at CTV (64 per cent) where the economic commitment to independent news production is weaker and the internal journalistic labour force is smaller.

The remainder of the stories are "reporter-centred" and feature a journalist associated with either a U.S. or Canadian network. Of the three American networks, NBC is the most important provider of video reports since, as explained earlier, the rights to re-broadcast stories from its news feed are shared by CBC and CTV. Stories which feature Canadian network journalists are of two types: international stories by a journalist located in Canada who reports about a Canadian event with international dimensions (domestic video reports), and stories by a journalist who reports from outside of Canada (independent foreign video reports). The first type includes, for example, stories about international figures who visit Canada and Ottawa stories which make reference to the United States or other countries. Needless to say, the second type of independent video report is by far the most costly to produce, and represents the greatest commitment of resources; these stories are also the longest of all the format types. Overall, just over one-fifth of all of the international stories (23 per cent) were produced in this manner. In general, then, anchor reports indicate a reliance upon the

concentration is much greater than that found among the three American networks, and the difference results from the vast differences in their respective newsgathering resources. In addition, the culturally-specific dependency of the Canadian networks upon external news suppliers leads, on the one hand, to a very low proportion of independent production or direct reportage which might be expected to present a Canadian perspective upon world developments, and on the other hand, to a reproduction of the skewed patterns of coverage provided by their foreign news suppliers. Alternatively, direct reportage by the Canadian networks might be seen to duplicate the coverage available through the American networks, since their own facilities are concentrated in the same countries. The degree of dependence and its influence are so great as to affect the very structure of Canadian newscasts with respect to not only nations covered but also story formats, the availability of visual material, and the length of individual news items. Regions beyond the limited reach of network bureau sites, both U.S. and Canadian, are unlikely to appear on the televisual news map unless original coverage can be justified by a development which assures a significant supply of newsworthy and visually fulfilling stories; most often, violent conflict or war. During the period of our sample, the best illustration of the tendency was the story of the south Atlantic conflict, which drew attention to the otherwise

neglected nation of Argentina, only to see it disappear again once the supply was depleted. Argentina, however, is but one of a whole gamut of nations which obtain only relatively brief yet intense periods of coverage during major violent crises. Others like Britain, France, West Germany, and Japan received more stable patterns of coverage throughout the two-year sample period.

Lastly, there is a group of nations which rarely appear on the global map offered by network television news. These include nations of Eastern Europe, of the Southern Hemisphere, and of much of the Third World. The picture of the world which results offers a view of no more than a fragment of the world as it is. While our analysis thus far is limited to the major network news programmes, it is scarcely necessary to demonstrate that a much smaller picture of the world is provided by current affairs, which demands a commitment of resources that far exceeds what is needed to produce a brief news story. Overall, the televisual globe is but a fraction of the world that it ostensibly "covers." In the following section we examine the picture that Canadian televisual information offers of Canada itself.

(ii) The National News Map

There is a thing that happens to you when you get locked in a little building in Toronto for a number

of years - your sights get narrow. You forget that there is anything happening in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. You have to be very careful of that.

'I really do believe we do have a responsibility to do that. If we think a leadership race in Quebec is exciting because Bourassa is making a comeback, we have to seriously stop and question whether - we have to argue about the merits of doing that story, when we wouldn't dream of covering a provincial party leadership race in the other part of the country (JOURNAL Co-Host/Producer, August 1983).

Good intentions aside, the infrastructures of national network news and current affairs production militate against the realization of any willful efforts to achieve a regional balance.

You've got to keep reminding yourself, "do we get Toronto-centred on this programme?" It's sort of a disease, you know. It's pervasive and it's always there.

We live in the same city. We read the same newspapers. We go to the same movies and talk about the same things. We sort of have the same mind - set about a lot of stuff, and forget that there are other things out there (JOURNAL Senior Producer - Editorial, August 1983).

Heather Robertson made a statement in a recent article in Quest, which was a critique of the Corporation at large and of certain CBC programming in particular, in which she said that the view from the Corporation was the view from Toronto.....

To a certain extent, it's true. It's one of the things we are very conscious of and try to do better - it's very easy to fall into that trap. Also, after years of hearing all this whining, I'm not sure what it means anymore.

But, that feeling of alienation - I'm not sure how you address it. It's something that everyone is really conscious of. You hear it at the story meeting time and time again: we will say, "if this story happened in Calgary, we wouldn't do it, so we shouldn't do it because this is Toronto," Or: "let's cover this issue, but let's not use Toronto examples; let's use Halifax examples." So there is

an attempt to address that (JOURNAL Daily Producer, August 1983, original emphasis).

It is for this reason that analysis of "cities cited," "provinces cited" or "regions cited" alone is inadequate to convey the substance of national coverage, particularly by the CBC, where a deliberate, clear policy "mandate" is in force. "Journalist location" is a more accurate measure, and, even in the case of THE JOURNAL, equipped as it is with the new "democratizing" double-ender technology, story origination continues to follow the traditional routes and patterns. ¹⁸ In other words, the geographical distribution of journalistic labour continues to be a major determinant of the geographical contours of national coverage.

Recall that one dimension of the review of THE NATIONAL's operations was the concern about regional representation and balance. Through the course of the changes that followed, new night-side staff were indeed recruited from the regions in the effort to eliminate regional stereotypes from the network news: eccentric British Columbians; Newfoundland fishermen; Western farmers, oil barons, and right-wing cretins (see Chapter 3). Yet despite these acknowledgements and noble campaigns to redress the imbalance, the imbalance persists. And the very fact of its persistence is testimony to the futility and insignificance of individual, willful acts against a powerfully determining

structure of inequality - in this case, a twofold or two-dimensional inequality: that of regional disparities within Canadian society, and that of the (related, of course) unequal distribution of national news coverage in accordance with a skewed network of newsgathering facilities across the country.

In Chapters 4 and 7 the limited reach of the network news operations across the expanse of Canada was outlined. It will be recalled that the greatest concentration of journalists by far is to be found in Ottawa, where CBC and CTV had posted seven and four journalists respectively during the period under study. Outside of Ottawa, THE NATIONAL was served by seven Toronto reporters and eight reporters posted beyond the Ontario borders: two in Montreal, and one each in St. John's, Halifax, Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton and Vancouver. CTV, meanwhile, employed one Toronto reporter and just five outside of Ontario: one each in Vancouver, Edmonton, Montreal, Quebec City and Halifax. It is not at all surprising, therefore, to find that the geography of independently-produced stories is very limited indeed, excluding whole areas of the country, most glaringly the North yet also provinces like New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and within all of the provinces, excluding much of the vast areas unaccounted for by one or two major urban centres. Both networks attempt to fill these huge gaps largely by means of "name-dropping" or passing references to the neglected

sites both in independently-produced video reports and in the brief anchor reports that are mainly supplied by Canadian Press and Broadcast News. Rarely, however, are these otherwise non-existent places on the televisual news map subjected to the "extensive" coverage of a network journalist who actually travels to and reports from the site.

It is that relatively more substantive or more meaningful coverage that is examined in Table 9.4, which documents "journalist location" or story origin for all of the national stories produced by CBC and CTV during 1982 and 1983. In some ways, the table is deceptive as a representation of the "coverage" of different regions of Canada. For example, the comparatively high number of stories which originated in Winnipeg includes rather extensive reportage of the Progressive Conservative Party's national convention of January 1983, which happened to be held in Winnipeg, yet none of these stories related anything about the city or the province. This "coincidence of locale" also figures in the stories from Kamloops which, likewise, were not stories about Kamloops per se: in one case, it was the site of the selection of Progressive Conservative leadership convention delegates, while in the other it was a stop on the March 1983 royal tour of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip.

By far, the greatest proportion of national stories originate from Ottawa - more than 30 per cent of CBC stories

Table 9.4: Geographical Distribution of Independently-Produced
National Stories by CBC and CTV News, 1982 and 1983

<u>Origin</u>	<u>CBC</u>		<u>CTV</u>	
	<u># of Stories</u>	<u>% of All CBC National Stories</u>	<u># of Stories</u>	<u>% of All CTV National Stories</u>
1. <u>ONTARIO</u>	155	49.5	107	56.9
Ottawa	95	30.4	76	40.4
Toronto	50	16.0	25	13.3
Other (1 story each)	10	3.2	6	3.2
2. <u>QUEBEC</u>	37	11.8	28	14.9
Montreal	23	7.3	19	10.1
Quebec City	9	2.9	8	4.3
Other (1 story each)	5	1.6	1	0.5
3. <u>BRITISH COLUMBIA</u>	27	8.6	15	8.0
Vancouver	19	6.1	10	5.3
Prince Rupert	2	0.6	-	-
Kamloops	1	0.3	2	1.1
Other (1 story each)	5	1.6	3	1.6
4. <u>ALBERTA</u>	25	8.0	14	7.4
Edmonton	16	5.1	8	4.3
Calgary	7	2.2	6	3.2
Other (1 story each)	2	0.6	-	-
5. <u>NEWFOUNDLAND</u>	17	5.4	4	2.1
St. John's	13	4.2	4	2.1
Other (1 story each)	4	1.3	-	-
6. <u>MANITOBA</u>	16	5.1	8	4.3
Winnipeg	14	4.5	8	4.3
Other (1 story each)	2	0.6	-	-
7. <u>NOVA SCOTIA</u>	12	3.8	4	2.1
Halifax	10	3.2	4	2.1
Other (1 story each)	2	0.6	-	-
8. <u>SASKATCHEWAN</u>	10	3.2	3	1.6
Regina	8	2.6	1	0.5
Saskatoon	-	-	2	1.1
Other (1 story each)	2	0.6	-	-
9. <u>NEW BRUNSWICK</u>	6*	1.9	1	0.5
Moncton	3	1.0	-	-
Fredericton	2	0.6	-	-
Other	-	-	1	0.5

continued ...

Table 9.4 (continued)

<u>Origin</u>	<u>CBC</u>		<u>CTV</u>	
	<u># of Stories</u>	<u>% of All CBC National Stories</u>	<u># of Stories</u>	<u>% of All CTV National Stories</u>
10. <u>PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND</u>	4	1.3	1	0.5
Charlottetown	2	0.6	1	0.5
Other (1 story each)	2	0.6	-	-
11. <u>NORTHWEST TERRITORIES</u>	1	0.3	-	-
Pangertown	1	0.3	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-
12. <u>YUKON</u>	-	-	-	-
Unidentifiable	3	1.0	3	1.6
<u>TOTALS</u>	313	99.9**	188	99.9**

* includes one story in which the exact location in New Brunswick was unidentifiable

** percentages sum to less than 100% due to rounding

and more than 40 per cent of CTV's national stories are produced out of the national capital - and the vast majority of these concern the federal state. Here, the relationship between newsgathering infrastructure and news content becomes very clear: CTV locates exactly 40 per cent of its national news staff (that is, four of its ten national reporters) at its Ottawa bureau, which in turn produces exactly 40.4 per cent of its national stories. More broadly, its limited overall force of ten journalists produces a much smaller figure of total national stories: 188 or barely 60 per cent of the national stories produced by the CBC during the same period. The high proportion of Ottawa stories by both networks is the outcome of: first, the comparatively low cost of production and the ease with which such stories can be produced, especially in light of the scope of Ottawa facilities and satellite linkages; secondly, the availability of a steady supply of assuredly newsworthy events; and thirdly, ready access to "newsmakers" who may provide and/or be featured in the stories as official spokespersons for the federal state. Ottawa stories therefore meet at least two essential criteria of news production: the economic feasibility of production, and the fulfillment of fundamental news or production values regarding newsworthiness.

The high volume of Ottawa stories necessarily inflates the number of stories which originate from the

province of Ontario - close to half of the CBC stories and almost 60 per cent of the CTV stories - and it could be argued that, since Ottawa stories are overwhelmingly about the federal state and thus of a "supra-provincial" nature, these should be excluded from the Ontario total. However, it can be seen from Table 9.4 that, even if Ottawa stories are excluded, the largest proportion of national stories still derive from that province: 19 per cent of CBC stories and 17 per cent of CTV stories. Of these, the largest majority derive from Toronto, where CBC's seven Toronto-based reporters produced fifty stories in the sampled newscasts. CTV produced half that number of Toronto stories, for two probable reasons: first, there is only one CTV national (network) reporter based in Toronto; and secondly, it is a matter of policy at CTV NATIONAL NEWS that its headquarters and anchor location in Toronto be downplayed as much as possible. Indeed, there is a deliberate effort at the programme unit to conceal the location of the programme's anchors, and references to Toronto are deleted wherever possible. For example, live broadcasts from Ottawa (e.g. during federal budget coverage) acknowledge their Ottawa location, yet on-camera staff do not utter statements like "back to you, (anchor), in Toronto." Nonetheless, despite these efforts by the network, twenty-five stories or 13 per cent originated from Toronto, more than from any other city in Canada with the exception of Ottawa itself.

If Ottawa is treated as "supra-provincial" it means that there are just six CTV journalists assigned to cover the ten provinces and two territories, and that low assignment is very much reflected in the distribution of non-Ottawa stories at CTV. There were virtually no CTV stories from either of the territories, and, although THE NATIONAL produced one "Special Report" from Pangertown, N.W.T. (CBC, 13 April 1982), the Yukon and Northwest Territories are otherwise absent from the national map of both networks during both sample years. With regard to the four Western provinces, CTV offered a total of sixteen stories in 1982 and twenty-four stories in 1983. Much more seriously neglected by CTV is the Atlantic region, for which a single Halifax-based reporter is responsible: in 1982, the network produced just five stories out of the region (two from Halifax, two from St. John's, and one from Perth-Andover, New Brunswick) and in 1983 it produced five (two from Halifax, two from St. John's, and one from Charlottetown). It is tempting to suggest that such low coverage of the Atlantic region is related to the low size of the newscast's Atlantic audience. As discussed in Chapter 7, CTV NATIONAL NEWS is not pre-fed to the region as is THE NATIONAL; instead, it appears there at midnight, which inevitably reduces the size of the regional audience-market and which may well accord it a lower place in CTV's national coverage priorities.

Another important dimension of national reportage is

the high concentration of story origins in one or two urban centres within each province, to the neglect of other cities, towns, and rural areas. This pattern is also very marked and very strong for both networks and for both sample years, as Table 9.4 demonstrates. For example, in 1982 the CBC produced ninety-one Ontario stories, representing 50 per cent of all its national stories that year. Eighty-three of these stories or 91 per cent originated in either Ottawa (sixty-two stories or 68 per cent) or Toronto (twenty-one stories or 23 per cent), while the remainder consisted of one each from Crysler, Brantford, Tillsonburg, Hillsdale, Oakville, Milton, and London and one story, featured in the debut programme of the new NATIONAL, concerned severe weather conditions reported by a journalist in a helicopter over "Central Ontario" (CBC, THE NATIONAL, 11 January 1982). In the following year, no more than two of its sixty-four Ontario stories derived from places other than Ottawa and Toronto. At both networks, Manitoba stories are Winnipeg stories almost by definition, and moreover, as discussed, in a good number of these stories Winnipeg merely provided the backdrop or served only as a coincidental setting for the event. All but two Manitoba stories in the sample (both by the CBC in 1982, one from Rivers and one from Carmen) originated from the city of Winnipeg.

CTV is all the more "urban-centred" in its reportage

of Canadian news. Despite the fact that its newsgathering network is highly concentrated in Ontario, even in this province, its reach beyond Ottawa and Toronto is limited. In 1982, it produced five such stories out of a total of fifty-one Ontario stories, and in 1983, out of a total of fifty-six Ontario stories, just one was reported from outside of Ottawa and Toronto, and this site (Flesherton) became newsworthy only insofar as it was a stop on Joe Clark's Progressive Conservative leadership campaign trail. In that case, the accessibility factor was operative (since a CTV journalist was assigned to follow Clark throughout his leadership campaign), and it is generally the case that travel beyond the largest urban centres must be justified by the strength of the production values that a story offers. In 1983, for example, CTV produced nine stories out of British Columbia, five of which originated from and pertained to Vancouver. The other four included the two Kamloops stories noted earlier, one story of a mass murder in Coquitlam, and one story from Lion's Bay which reported a massive mudslide that created some \$3 million of property damage. The significance of these production values is examined in greater depth in Chapter 10.

Table 9.5 illustrates the urban orientation of Canadian news more directly and at the same time it strongly establishes the relationship between the geography of network bureau sites and the national geography of story content. It

Table 9.5: Origin of Independently-Produced National News Stories by Rank

Origin	CBC			CTV		
	Rank	% of All National Stories	Cumulative Per Cent	Rank	% of All National Stories	Cumulative Per Cent
Ottawa***	1	30.4	30.4	1	40.4	40.4
Toronto***	2	16.0	46.4	2	13.3	53.7
Montreal***	3	7.3	53.7	3	10.1	63.8
Vancouver***	4	6.1	59.8	4	5.3	69.1
Edmonton***	5	5.1	64.9	5	4.3	73.4
Winnipeg*	6	4.5	69.4	5	4.3	77.7
St. John's*	7	4.2	73.6	7	2.1	79.8
Halifax***	8	3.2	76.8	7	2.1	81.9
Quebec City**	9	2.9	79.7	5	4.3	86.2
Regina*	10	2.6	82.3	9	0.5	86.7
Calgary	11	2.2	84.5	6	3.2	89.9
Moncton	12	1.0	85.5	-	-	-
Charlottetown	13	0.6	86.1	9	0.5	90.4
Fredericton	13	0.6	86.7	9	0.5	90.9
Prince Rupert	13	0.6	87.3	-	-	-
Kamloops	-	-	-	8	1.1	92.0
Saskatoon	14	0.3	87.6	8	1.1	93.1
Other (1 story each)	15	12.4	100.0	9	6.9	100.0
N = (stories)		313			188	

* CBC bureau only

** CTV bureau only

*** CBC and CTV bureaus

is clear now that two factors, the economics of reportage and its related infrastructure, and the news value or production value of a story, determine the contours of (both international and) national news coverage. The former remains the primary determinant of which places in Canada will come to appear on the televisual news map. Both determinants, i.e. the economics of story production and the presence of strong production values, are operative in the geography of network current affairs, to which we now turn.

(iii) The Story Geography of Current Affairs

Our analysis of the story geography of network current affairs will focus upon the weekly programmes, CBC's the fifth estate and CTV's W5. In their case, story geography was determined according to where the film was actually shot - the most accurate measure of the extent to which economic resources affect story form and content. It was noted in Chapter 6 that the greatest economic constraint in the production of current affairs is the cost of crew travel to shoot original footage at sites other than Toronto, where both programme production units are based. The dilemma which arises is that between, on the one hand, the (increasing) need to keep travel costs to a minimum, and, on the other hand, the production values associated with the appearance of

geographically extensive "coverage" which strongly features the programme hosts. One means to reconcile the dilemma is the employment of film researchers at both programmes, whose responsibility it is to seek out and obtain alternative, non-original footage which can be used to "fill" or "fill out" the stories. It was also noted in Chapter 6 that increasing economic constraints lead to a greater dependence upon non-original visual sources, upon film research more than film production, and may in turn lead to a progressive centralization of story locales within a circumscribed geographical boundary of "affordable travel," which may also affect the length and positioning of items. Our examination here will therefore assess the patterns of independent, original shooting for the two programmes in order to investigate the relationship between economic constraints and story origination further.

Table 6.2 outlined the title and duration of each of the stories broadcast by the fifth estate during the first half of 1982.¹⁹ These stories can now be reviewed again with a view to the sites of original visual production.

In fact, the first story of the sample - "Dreams for Sale" (12 January 1982) - illustrates well the comparative significance of travel costs and their prominent place in story budgets. The original budget estimate of 18 September 1981 included a planned two days of filming in Edmonton at a

projected cost of \$4,000 (including air fares, hotel costs, and per diems for the party of four - producer, host, and two-member crew, as well as car rental and miscellaneous expenses) compared to a projected cost of \$225 for four days (i.e. twice as much) of filming in Toronto. The same estimate proposed three days of filming in Long Island, New York and Washington, D.C. at a cost of \$3,950, all in a total budget proposal of \$18,600 - almost double the standard \$10,000 budget allotment for a fifth estate story.²⁰ Although final budget figures were not available, and although there were changes in the film sites as the production of the story progressed (original footage was shot in Edmonton, Toronto and Denver, Colorado), it is quite apparent that the final cost of the item was still very high relative to others. As such, it was positioned first in the order of the programme and it ran a full nineteen minutes. Table 9.6 outlines the remainder of the stories according to the sites of original filming.

One means employed to address the dilemma of travel costs is the use of a "swing," whereby filming for more than one story is undertaken at the same site. For example, the producer of "The Winner Is" (aired 19 January), a story about contests, proposed that half a day of the Edmonton shoot planned for "Dreams for Sale" (12 January) might be used to film an interview with an Edmonton woman who had submitted five thousand entries to two hundred contests the year before.

Table 9.6: Sites of Original Film Production, the fifth estate, 1982

<u>Air Date*</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>Film Sites**</u>
Jan 12	1. Dreams for Sale	19:00	Edmonton, Alberta Toronto, Ontario Denver, Colorado, U.S.
	2. Getting Their Kicks	11:03	Kamloops, B.C.
	3. After Somoza	19:09	Managua, Nicaragua

Jan 19	1. Bounty Hunter I	19:37	Toronto, Ontario Ottawa, Ontario Palatka, Florida U.S.
	2. The Winner Is	17:08	Toronto, Ontario Moncton, N.B. Saint John, N.B. Edmonton, Alberta
	3. Trail Raiders	12:57	Trail, B.C. Vancouver, B.C. Castlegar, B.C. Boston, Mass., U.S.

Jan 26	1. Let Us Prey	27:43	Toronto, Ontario Phoenix, Arizona, U.S. Sudbury, Ontario Espanola, Ontario
	2. Mandela	22:21	- (procured)

Feb 2	1. Home Sweat Home	19:37	Montreal, Quebec Toronto, Ontario
	2. Making the Grade	12:24	Toronto, Ontario
	3. Allah's Warriors	15:52	- (procured)***

Table 9.6 (continued)

<u>Air Date*</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>Film Sites**</u>
Feb 16	1. Storm Warning	15:32	Lunenburg & other N.S. sites
	2. Bounty Hunter II	8:07	Palatka, Florida, U.S.
	3. The Plot	25:48	Madrid & other Spain sites

Feb 23	1. I.U.D.	18:22	Toronto, Ontario New York, N.Y., U.S. Ottawa, Ontario
	2. Home Run	18:35	Montreal, Quebec West Palm Beach, Florida, U.S.
	3. Lady in Waiting	14:06	London, England

Mar 2	1. Two Faces	25:54	Hollywood & other Florida sites
	2. Precious Friends	11:38	- (procured)
	3. Land Rich, Farm Poor	11:49	"Southern Alberta"

Mar 9	1. Foam Warnings	20:17	Toronto, Ontario Ottawa, Ontario
	2. Brill-o	15:26	Vancouver, B.C.
	3. A Striking Force	14:12	Halifax, N.S. Ottawa, Ontario Toronto, Ontario

Table 9.6 (continued)

<u>Air Date*</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>Film Sites**</u>
Mar 16	1. Disbarred	17:49	Toronto, Ontario Hamilton, Ontario
	2. Cracks in the Watchtower	17:56	Lethbridge, Alberta Calgary, Alberta Toronto, Ontario Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S. Gadsen, Alabama, U.S.
	3. Guns for Ireland	15:33	- (procured)
Mar 23	1. The Hooded Men****	51:00	Northern Ireland Winnipeg, Manitoba
Mar 30	1. Boosting	13:52	Toronto, Ontario
	2. Post Mortem	18:05	Paris, France
	3. Troubled Turkey	12:59	Washington, D.C., U.S.
Apr 6	1. Wasteland****	18:29	New York, N.Y., U.S.
	2. Dream Horse	29:42	- (procured)
Apr 20	1. The Cole Case*****	29:16	Jamaica Toronto, Ontario
	2. Levesque	19:32	Montreal, Quebec
Apr 28	1. Not So Grande Prairie	20:04	Grande Prairie, Alberta
	2. Making Ends Meat	10:47	Toronto, Ontario
	3. Going Broke	17:05	Ottawa, Ontario Halifax, N.S. Kingsville, Ontario Toronto, Ontario

Table 9.6 (continued)

<u>Air Date*</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>Film Sites**</u>
May 5	1. The Cruel Camera	51:00	Toronto, Ontario Hollywood, California, U.S. "near Edmonton, Alberta" Chicago, Illinois, U.S. various Florida sites Ottawa, Ontario

May 19	1. Wrung Out	15:31	Toronto, Ontario Cambridge, Ontario Montreal, Quebec
	2. Island Still Life	12:16	rural Prince Edward Island
	3. Will Power	21:58	Saskatoon, Saskatchewan Ottawa, Ontario Toronto, Ontario Neustadt, Ontario Wakaw, Saskatchewan Prince Albert, Saskatchewan

* The programme was pre-empted 9 February, 13 April, and 12 May. Effective 28 April, the programme air date was changed from Tuesday to Wednesday for the remainder of the season due to the NHL play-off schedule. May 19 marked the end of the original production season.

** Film sites are listed in the order of their appearance in each story.

*** Although procured from the BBC, the story includes a brief film segment from a previous season's story which shows the host in Afghanistan.

**** The story was a co-production with the PBS station WGBH-TV BOSTON (which supplied footage of Argentina) and Radio-Canada (which provided footage of Nicaragua).

***** The story was filmed by a CBC New York producer.
***** The story was a co-production with Reader's Digest (see chapter 6).

Since the only other shooting required for the contests story was two days in New Brunswick (in Saint John, site of a contest management services company which administers many contests in Canada, and in Moncton, home base of a publication called Budget Booster which publishes details of all contests current in Canada), and the rest of the shooting was planned in Toronto, the budget of the story could be kept close to the \$10,000 ceiling. A similar swing in British Columbia produced the main footage for "Trail Raiders" (19 January) and for "Getting Their Kicks" (12 January), the story of a Kamloops martial arts club which competes successfully in China (China footage was supplied by "an amateur film photographer"). Perhaps the most economical swing of all was the January 1982 trip to Florida, which produced visual material for: first, silent footage for "Bounty Hunter I" (19 January) that was later voiced-over by the different host; secondly, for "Home Run" (23 February), a profile of Gary Carter, film of his home in West Palm Beach; thirdly, much of the major footage for "Two Faces" (2 March), a story about the Florida crime rate; and finally, in a story produced by a free-lance filmmaker titled "Dream Horse" (6 April), about a Canadian race horse, the same trip made possible a brief host appearance at one of the horse's races in Florida. Like the appearance of a reporter in a news story, the visible presence (as opposed to their mere audible presence in a voice-over) of a host in a

current affairs story increases its production value since it plainly marks the story "original." Production values, however, do cost, and, as a result, the selection of news/current affairs content largely entails a constant "to-and-froing" between the strengths of production values and the relative expenditures required to incorporate them into stories.

Other than swings, story budgets can be "trimmed" by the simple elimination of visual sites not truly essential to the story, particularly when filming at one site produces material sufficiently compelling and strong in production values that it undermines the essentiality of other planned shoots. A good example is "Let Us Prey" (26 January), in which the producer initially foresaw the need to shoot "victims" of television evangelism in several different sites (see Chapter 6), yet the strength of the developments in Phoenix, especially the evasiveness of evangelist Don Stewart and the voiced suspicions of the Arizona authorities about his activities, were such that filming of victim-subjects in Brantford and Manitoulin Island could be cancelled without significant sacrifice to the central values of the story. Nonetheless, the budget of the story remained sufficiently high that it could not but be a lead item, and its full duration totalled almost thirty minutes (27:43).

Table 9.6 indicates this relationship between the

relative cost of stories and their duration and order in the programmes. A few other observations about fifth estate stories can be made at this stage, based upon the content data which appear in the table. Of the forty-one stories recorded during the first half of 1982, five were directly procured, two were co-productions, and one was completed by a CBC producer who is not a member of the fifth estate's production staff. All of these stories were international in nature, which points to the low ratio of international stories in current affairs, where national stories are much less costly to produce, unless these stories pertain to the United States, notably those regions of the United States that fall within the realm of affordable travel. The programme's use of both a Vancouver-based and a Halifax-based producer greatly alleviates the burden of travel costs and leads to a larger diversity of geographical sites within Canada, certainly a much greater diversity than that of W5 stories, as we shall see shortly. Nevertheless, Toronto is a shooting site in eighteen of the thirty-three independently-produced stories or more than half of them, and three of the stories ("Making the Grade," "Boosting," and "Making Ends Meat") were shot exclusively in Toronto. It will be noted that each of these three stories was comparatively short and two of the three were middle items.

The relationship between economic constraints and

story geography, indeed programme structure and composition in general, is more plainly apparent at W5, where economic constraints are much more severe and their effects upon the programme much more visible. In Chapter 7 we described the "tokenness" of W5 production and cited the words of one staff member who suggested that the programme is "little more than an obligation to the CRTC." Generally, analysis of the production unit suggested the absence of either a serious monetary or journalistic commitment to the programme.

The absence of these commitments is strongly evident in all facets of the production process. With regard to the product of the process, it is evident in a number of ways. First, it is evident in the length of the production season. It was noted in Chapter 7 that crews are contracted for only seven months of each year, and original programmes appear for only eight to nine months annually. During 1981-82, for example, the original season ended with the programme of 25 April 1982, a full month prior to the end of the fifth estate's season. Hence W5's original programme season is much shorter and overall it produces fewer programmes. The brevity of its production season and its limited number of first-run programmes are probably only apparent to its most consistent viewers, however. Each programme opens with the pronouncement of its edition number and, once the original season ends, re-broadcast programmes continue to appear during the off-season

and continue to be successively numbered. This process of consecutively numbering all programmes, first-run and re-broadcast, thus creates the (illusory) appearance of a large volume of production.

Another indication of the low level of (at least journalistic) commitment to the programme is the frequency with which the programme is pre-empted. As producers are well aware, the network can significantly increase its audience, and thereby its advertising revenue, if it replaces the programme with a more lucrative draw, such as a popular movie, particularly since the programme's time-slot is Sunday evening - one of the most profitable slots in the prime-time television schedule. During the period January to June 1982, ^{W5} was pre-empted eight times, and during a ninth week (14 February) it was cut to thirty minutes in order to accommodate a 2 1/2 hour movie. During the same period of the following year, it was pre-empted on thirteen occasions, and failed to appear at all throughout the month of February 1983, in which it was substituted by two installments (Parts 1 and 7) of the mini-series "Winds of War" (6 and 13 February), and then by the movies "Star Trek" (20 February) and "Nine to Five" (27 February).²¹ Another indicator is the insertion of commercials within the body of the programme itself, i.e. between stories, a practice that has traditionally been met by strong resistance at the fifth estate, which only recently

ceded to the need after years of strong opposition to such a format.

And furthermore, the economic limitations of W5 production are strongly manifest in the geography of W5 stories. Table 9.7 identifies the sites of original production for the thirty-nine stories which appeared during the second half of the 1981-82 season. Four of the stories were procured, and just two of the independently-produced stories entailed filming beyond Canada and the United States. Rather, for the majority of W5 stories, "international" means "American" and foreign shooting sites are predominantly within the bounds of the United States. The remainder of the stories were national yet very much Ontario-centred, if not outrightly Toronto-centred (in two stories the location was not identified), and eleven of the stories were shot exclusively in Toronto. In fact, the programme of 4 April 1982 consisted entirely of stories shot solely in Toronto: "Early Holocaust," a story about Armenian nationalism, used historical (stock) footage of Turkey, Los Angeles, and Paris, and newsfilm of Ottawa, along with original film shot at the Turkish consulate in Toronto; the second story, "Video Invasion," showed original film of video game arcades in Toronto; the third story, "Human Warehouse," about the working conditions of handicapped adults in "sheltered workshops," was

Table 9.7: Sites of Original Film Production, W5, 1982

<u>Air Date*</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>Film Sites**</u>
Jan 10	1. Why is He Here?	13:57	Laredo and other Texas sites, Sacramento, Calif., U.S. Ottawa, Ontario
	2. Nest Builders	8:41	Toronto, Ontario
	3. Faint Hope	10:58	Toronto, Ontario Chatham, Ontario
	4. Spaced Out	7:21	near Drummondville, Quebec

Feb 7	1. Random Murder	12:27	New York, N.Y., U.S. "Virginia"
	2. Ray of Hope	12:38	Toronto, Ontario
	3. Gut Issue	9:54	Toronto, Ontario
	4. Success Story	5:43	- (procured)

Feb 14***	1. Gross Cruelty	6:15	Toronto, Ontario
	2. Rich and Royal	6:05	Deauville, France
	3. The Right Note	5:29	Toronto, Ontario

Feb 28	1. Out of Patience	11:21	Montreal, Quebec Norfolk, Virginia Toronto, Ontario
	2. Sadly Lacking	9:54	Vienna, Austria Ottawa, Ontario Toronto, Ontario Montreal, Quebec
	3. A Survivor	11:34	New York, N.Y., U.S.
	4. Best of Bridge	6:39	Calgary, Alberta

Table 9.7 (continued)

<u>Air Date*</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>Film Sites**</u>
Mar 7	1. Final Edition	12:45	Seattle, Washington, U.S. Toronto, Ontario
	2. Machisma	11:04	unidentifiable
	3. PM's Grandson	10:17	Key Largo, Florida, U.S.
	4. Overdoing It	6:31	unidentifiable

Mar 14	1. Serving the Law	12:49	Toronto, Ontario Simcoe, Ontario
	2. Safety First	12:00	Toronto, Ontario
	3. Dan the Ham	10:26	Saint John, N.B.
	4. Depicting Faith	5:07	Yonkers, N.Y., U.S.

Mar 21	1. Hopeless Case	12:28	Toronto, Ontario Brantford, Ontario Oshawa, Ontario Hamilton, Ontario
	2. Modern Mystery	10:42	Toronto, Ontario
	3. From the Cold	8:26	Montreal, Quebec
	4. Ending the Hunt	10:21	- (procured)

Mar 28	1. Robot Age	10:38	Danbury, Conn., U.S. Oshawa, Ontario
	2. A Modern Hero	13:15	"rural Ontario"
	3. Even Better	7:26	Brantford, Ontario
	4. Happy Clan	6:42	- (procured)

Table 9.7 (continued)

<u>Air Date*</u>	<u>Story Title</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>Film Sites**</u>
Apr. 4	1. Early Holocaust	13:07	Toronto, Ontario
	2. Video Invasion	11:24	Toronto, Ontario
	3. Human Warehouse	10:43	Toronto, Ontario
	4. Peddle the Past	6:31	Toronto, Ontario

Apr 18	1. More Garbage	11:05	Stouffville, Ontario London, Ontario Toronto, Ontario
	2. Test Tube Twins	11:51	- (procured)
	3. Palatable Power?	7:22	Toronto, Ontario St. Catharines, Ontario
	4. Sick of it	7:51	Toronto, Ontario

* The programme was pre-empted 3 January, 31 January, 21 February, 11 April. April 18 marked the end of the original production season.

** Film sites are listed in the order of their appearance in each story.

*** The duration of this programme was cut to thirty minutes in order to accommodate a 2 1/2 hour movie.

shot at one such Salvation Army workshop in Toronto; and the fourth story, "Peddle the Past," showed original footage of "nostalgia clothing" stores in the city.

Other aspects of story content further reflect the extraordinary economic constraints operative at W5. Unlike the fifth estate, for example, W5 makes use of "man-in-the-street" interviews, which are among the least expensive segments to produce and one of the cheapest ways to fill air time. The final programme of the season, 25 April 1982, featured a special "retrospective" of W5's first season on the air, 1966-67. As such, it provided a rare glimpse at the nature of the stories broadcast during the early period of W5 production. It highlighted a selection of different stories broadcast during the debut season, most of which were in-studio interviews - even less costly than the current story form. Other sequences in the retrospective included: a story of a "LSD party" in the Yorkville area of Toronto (February 1967); a story of a Toronto prostitute (also February 1967); another story filmed at the Toronto Stock Exchange and in Kingston, Ontario; one interview with a "convicted wife murderer" in Tijuana, Mexico; a story filmed at General Motors' Oshawa, Ontario plant; two other stories which contained film shot in Halifax and in New Brunswick; and finally, three current interviews with former W5 hosts, two in Toronto and one in New York. The interviews with the former

hosts revealed that, during the premier season, there were six to seven people who comprised the entire staff of the programme production unit. Interestingly, there were no references to the size of the present staff, which left the mistaken impression of significant growth in the size of the W5 labour force since its debut in 1966.

On the contrary, W5 was and is a shoestring production, staged by a skeletal force of workers who are severely constrained within the confines of a tightly controlled network budget. The difference between the production unit and its counterpart at the CBC remains a difference of degree, albeit a vast one. It is a difference that is perhaps best summed up by figures released in a recent issue of Report on Business Magazine, which show for Baton Broadcasting Incorporated (the largest shareholder in CTV) a whopping 32.01 per cent return on capital during its past²² fiscal year, and for the CBC a net loss of 3.62 per cent. In fact, Baton ranked first among broadcasting and cable companies based upon its five-year average return of 31.78 per cent,²³ while the CBC registered a net loss of \$15.7 million²⁴ as of March 1985.

Conclusion

During the 1982 and 1983 sample periods, a total of 1,261 news stories appeared in the weeknight newscasts of THE NATIONAL and CTV NATIONAL NEWS. CBC produced 674 of these and CTV produced 587 stories. In the case of THE NATIONAL, 361 of the stories or 54 per cent were international while 313 stories were national. At CTV, 399 of its 587 stories or exactly 68 per cent were international while the other 188 were national stories. The economic constraints of television news production, as it is currently structured, become most apparent if we examine that case in which such constraints are most severely exerted. Three content outcomes can be identified at CTV: first, more than two-thirds of its stories are international - that is, the type of news story which is, in Canada, ironically cheaper to produce; secondly, approximately three-quarters of these international stories are procured from other news organizations - which explains their lower cost; and thirdly, CTV produces fewer stories overall of any type.

Beyond the numbers and types of stories, economic constraints and the related organization of the labour process - in particular, the division and distribution of journalistic labour and the network of facilities whereby news is collected and transmitted, including satellite linkages and the

geography of network bureaus - also largely determine and regularly affect the array of sites where "news" will occur, an array which is by no means haphazard or random, as we have seen. Internationally, whole portions of the globe remain more or less absent from the televisual news map, while nationally, whole areas of the country are unseen. The Yukon and Northwest Territories comprise approximately one-third of the total land area and contain about 40,000 people. The relationship between population density - i.e. market size - and the assignment of national reporters is vividly demonstrated by the lone appearance of a single story from the territories out of a grand sum of 501 national stories by both networks during the two sample years. News, then, is less a reflection of where events occur than of how network resources are distributed and where network journalists are deployed.

The economics of network news production in Canada create: first, a dependence upon the international news agencies and U.S. network news suppliers; secondly, a limited original newsgathering infrastructure both outside and inside the country; and thirdly, a network of transmission channels bound by the structure of satellite linkages and land lines, all of which lead to sustained patterns of story origination and news definition, among other characteristics of television news. These dependencies and patterns of story origination likewise affect the way in which events are reported and the

forms that news stories assume. The importance of the distribution of resources and the division of journalistic labour is likewise strongly evident in the determination of which events will be accorded the somewhat more extensive attention of current affairs.

To return to the question initially posed at the outset of this chapter, it becomes clear that it is the process (of information production) which produces the content, and not the producers.²⁵ Our purpose here has been to illustrate some of the underlying dynamics of that process, and to relate the dynamics of the process to some dimensions of the content which results. It is not to simply criticize televisual information as "unreal" or "unrepresentative" of the "real" world, or to otherwise engage in what Ang calls "empiricist realism" (1985: 36ff.). For it is far less important to compare the informational text against the external reality of the world it re-presents, and in this sense television news/current affairs is little different than television serial drama or soap opera. As Ang points out, to make crassly critical comparisons, à la the "empiricist conception of realism," is to miss two fundamental points. First, it is to (wrongly) assume, like network news producers, that the text can be a direct, immediate reflection of the "real" world as it is, which ignores the fact that the "real" world is nothing more than raw material for the labour process

which produces the televisual world of news and current affairs. Hence, in Ang's words, "the empiricist conception denies the fact that each text is a cultural product realized under specific ideological and social conditions of production" (1985: 37).

The second missed point is related to the first: namely, that it overlooks the "realistic illusion" of the text - the illusion that a text is a faithful reflection of an actually existing world emerges as a result of the fact that the constructedness of the text is suppressed (see Ang, 1985: 38). The televisual text is plainly not a reflection or reproduction or simple presentation of the "real" world. It is a re-presentation of the world in accordance with the dynamics, and especially the outer parameters, of the process whereby the world is re-presented in the form of a saleable commodity, and it is in that re-presentation that the televisual text acquires its ideological potency.

NOTES

1. The subject chain refers to constraints which affect the subject-matter of programmes; the presentation chain includes such constraints as the programme time-slot, budget and customary production methods; and the contact chain refers to the selection of interviewees and its consequent effect upon programme ideas (see Elliott, 1972b: 27-33).
2. The Corporation chose to eliminate jobs rather than bureaus per se. A total of 1,150 positions were eliminated after the 1984 cuts, and a near-freeze on programme spending was instituted. More recently, a \$48 million shortfall in the 1986-87 allocation led the Corporation to announce that it plans a further elimination of 287 permanent positions and twenty contract jobs (see Campbell, 1986: A1).
3. It is telling that after years of debate the Centre for Investigative Journalism, founded in 1977, is finally planning to change its name to the Canadian Association of Journalists in order "to match the reality" (see "Possible name change for CIJ: 'to match the reality'", Content, May-June 1986: 12).
4. The same producer proceeded to articulate his perception of what "investigative journalism" entails:

Investigative journalism involves the liberation of certain resources. In our (THE JOURNAL's) case it would be a journalist and a producer and a crew. And they would say, "we want to set you to work on that story, we don't care when you bring it in, we don't care how you bring it in, just go and do it."

That means that four people are going to be virtually lost to the unit for however long it takes. In the case of the Cadillac Fairview story, it was for a good six weeks, and that's a long time in a show that has to put something on the air every night. We, probably partly because of the Cadillac Fairview story, have developed a new way of looking at investigative stuff. But I don't think that we are yet prepared or able to go into the investigative business. I think that there is a perception around here that the public appetite for investigative journalism has been filled.

Filled?

Oh yeah, I don't think investigative journalism is half as trendy as it was a couple of years ago. People are getting more conservative; they are getting less, less moved by shit-disturbing. I think people are much more skeptical of the Cassandras of the world. I might be wrong, but I just find that people have become weary of the exposition of scandal; they've become weary of the raving questions about how the system works. They've begun to say, 'if the system is coming apart, I don't want to know about it.'

Do you share that perception, that weariness, yourself?

No. See, I define my whole role in life as a storyteller. I don't care if I do it through THE JOURNAL or if I do it in a library - I believe that that's my job, and if there is a good story, my only criterion is that it be a good story. If somebody tells me that the Honourable John Doe is screwing up his public responsibilities, and that it is not just an ideological perception, you know, that "these guys are all crooks" - if there is something going on that can be demonstrated, that can be documented and can be described, then I'll do the story, no matter how long it takes, and I'll tell the story. And if somebody tells me that Mrs. Jones in Annapolis County, Nova Scotia has raised a 400-ton pumpkin, and it looks like a good story, I'll also tell that story.

That is my only criterion, and I believe that as long as there are good stories, as long as human nature is what it is, there will be good stories about the corruption of public trust and the tendency of people to steal from other people and to abuse other people.

And I think that essentially is all that it's about. That's about the scope of the investigative mandate - to tell stories about people who violate special privilege in the interests of advancing themselves and at somebody else's disadvantage (JOURNAL Field Producer, August 1983, original emphasis).

5. We are, however, rather fond of one of his initial premises in that work: "Materiality today in Marxism should mean the actual processes which link people together in social production and social consumption" (Smythe, 1981: xvi, original emphasis). Another useful clarification is his assertion that:

The base/superstructure dichotomy as currently accepted is ahistorical and unrealistic. Evidence of its unrealism is the fact that the mass media of communication which Marxists tend to place in the 'superstructure', when they notice them at all, are a principal part of the "base" (1981: xvi; cf. Clarke, 1981a).

6. It should be noted that Larson found no significant differences across the three networks in the proportion of international news reported in each format (see Larson, 1984: 43).
7. See his discussion in Chapter 3, and especially his Table 3:4 (1984: 63).
8. See Larson's Table 3:6 (1984: 66); my calculations.
9. If Vietnam (which was a site of U.S. network bureaus during the heyday years of its coverage) is added, the proportion increases to 58.3 per cent (Larson, 1984: 60).
10. See Appendix III for details of the sampling procedures.
11. The range is based upon the number of international stories broadcast by both networks in 1982 (397 of a total 680 stories or 58 per cent) and 1983 (363 of a total 581 stories or 63 per cent).
12. All subsequent references to nations or countries refer also to dependent territories or possessions. For example, a mention of Hong Kong or Northern Ireland, neither of which are nation states, is treated the same as a mention of Egypt or the Soviet Union. The approach, also used by Larson (see 1984: 53), is necessary since territories can become important sites of international news. One excellent case in point is the Falkland /Malvina Islands.

13. Barrie Zwicker commentary, Ontario Morning, CBC Radio, CBL-AM TORONTO, 22 August 1983. More recently, however, the Globe & Mail announced the establishment of a new bureau in Moscow, for a total of twenty-eight journalists based at fifteen foreign and domestic sites. The six other foreign locations are London, Washington, Peking, Mexico City, Harare, and Tokyo. The first three are traditional, long-established Globe & Mail bureau sites. According to editor-in-chief Norman Webster, "We felt our coverage of international affairs would be significantly enhanced if we also had our own staff writer in the fourth great diplomatic capital, Moscow" (Globe & Mail, 14 December 1985: 1).
14. It was not always possible to identify the affiliation of the journalists who produced these reports, although it is important to note that not all were produced by NATIONAL staff members.
15. While a modified Larsonian definition of "international news" was the best criterion available, it is not without its limitations, and these become most apparent in the classification of domestic video reports, where the criterion of "nations cited" is at its most tenuous. For example, a number of CTV's 1983 domestic video reports which qualified as "international" by this criterion were substantively very limited in their international scope, due to: (1) a tendency among story writers to make frequent comparative references to the United States, (2) the high volume of Ottawa-produced stories which report about Canada-U.S. relations, and (3) the high coverage which CTV accords to the Royal Family. The figure cited, therefore, somewhat over-states the amount of international news that is independently produced by the network. Note that the figure also includes news commentaries by the Ottawa bureau chief, which are Ottawa-produced yet occasionally international in their thematic content.
16. Cf. Larson's findings (1984: 55-60) and especially his Tables 3:2 (1984: 55-56) and 3:3 (1984: 59).
17. All three of these figures include the length of anchor introductions. The start of a new story was defined as a return to anchor (with the exception of tags at CTV), and so calculations began from the point of the return. See Appendix III for further details of the coding and timing of the news programmes.

18. Analysis of the sites and subjects of JOURNAL stories appears in Chapter 10.
19. Note that three of these stories appeared in the programme of 5 January 1982 and are therefore not included in the video taped sample.
20. "Dreams for Sale" Story Proposal, CBC Internal Memo dated 18 September 1981. It is important to stress that the figure is only a target or guideline, based upon the total programme budget (approximately \$2.5 million annually) less the fixed costs of production and divided by the number of stories needed to fill each installment of the season. Although actual story budget figures were not available, the executive producer has stated elsewhere that stories can rarely be produced for less than \$10,000 (see MacGregor, 1983: D1).
21. It must also be noted, however, that the fifth estate is likewise pre-empted, although not as frequently, when more profitable programming is available, especially programming that is beyond the control of the network with respect to its timing. During the 1982 sample period, it was pre-empted 9 February by the NHL All-Star Game, 13 April by a NHL play-off game, and 12 May by the (also live) ACTRA Awards. In 1983, it was substituted 8 February, again by the NHL All-Star Game; 29 March by a "Special: Prisoners of Debt"; and 5 April by the Juno Awards ceremony. In addition, its time-slot is changed from Tuesday to Wednesday in April each year in order to accommodate the NHL play-off schedule.
22. See the special feature issue titled "Ranking Corporate Performance in Canada," July 1986, page 142.
23. See the above, page 197.
24. See the above, page 204.
25. The same point has recently been made by Wallace and Fletcher (see 1984: 4-6) who, however, are still unable to shed the "bias" paradigm in their understanding of how content is affected. In this regard, see also Hackett's excellent denunciation of the utility of that "dying" paradigm (1984).

CHAPTER 10: PRODUCTION CONSTRAINTS AND
THEIR TEXTUAL OUTCOMES

News, as a form of social knowledge, is inevitably ahistorical in its orientation; it is not to be expected to remind the audience that the instability of the Third World is at least in part due to the West's role over several centuries ...

Dahlgren and Chakrapani, 1982: 54.

History is very tough to do - well enough to hold them.

JOURNAL Documentary Producer, June 1983.

The geographical contours of news and current affairs coverage thus arise directly out of the division and distribution of 'journalistic labour which produces the information about the social world. Less tangibly derived are the sets of production values which further shape the form and content of the information product and which arise from the economic imperative of market retention in the context of the political economy of information broadcasting. These production values include, for example, criteria of newsworthiness and other rules according to which the world is delimited and events are judged and categorized, or otherwise deemed worthy of transformation into a news or current affairs story. To producers, these values are sometimes nebulous and difficult to specify concretely, yet, as Golding and Elliott point out, there is nothing mysterious or vague about them. News values, or what can be referred to more broadly as "story values" or production values, are working rules which guide newsroom practice and which steer decisions about story selection and programme composition, such as, for example, those which determine the line-up of a newscast.

Production values are, in essence, qualities of events or potential stories, and derive from assumptions and judgements about three considerations: first, the (assumed) interests of the market-audience; secondly, accessibility: is the event known to journalists and is the event available to

journalists, i.e. can it be covered?; thirdly, the degree of "fit" or congruence with basic production needs: what is the time span of the event? is it logistically possible to cover the event and produce the story, or, in other words, does it "fit" within temporal, technological, monetary, and other production parameters? At root, then, production values derive from three immediate and ongoing production requirements: the need to reach and sustain a market, the availability of a source of information supply, and the practical economics of a story's production.

These values have been variously identified, listed and categorized by several observers of the news production process. Among them are the qualities of drama, visual attractiveness, entertainment appeal, the perceived importance of the event, the proximity of the event to the intended audience-market (hence the priority ordering of international, national, regional, and local stories), the recency of the event, and the characteristics of its key players, especially whether the event involves a member or members of some elite or celebrated group. Chibnall's list includes immediacy, dramatization, personalization, simplification, titillation, conventionalism, and novelty (see 1977: 22-45). Curiously, he regards "structured access" to the event as no more or less fundamental than these. Gans (1979) simply suggests that, with respect to judgements of story suitability, events are

deemed either "important" or "interesting" and preferably both. He argues that domestic news judgements, for example, are typically based upon the presence or absence of four qualities. The first is rank in governmental hierarchies. The federal state is always and unquestionably deemed important, and the higher an actor is in the federal state hierarchy, the more important are his (or her) activities. In the United States, the president is invariably judged important by U.S. journalistic standards. Hence virtually all of the activities of the American president can be justified as newsworthy, including even the activities, fashions, and belongings of his spouse. One of the most extreme illustrations of this production value is presented in Figure 10.1, which shows the level of journalistic access, and thereby of journalistic interest, in the purchase of a set of dishes by Nancy Reagan. By far, the most extensive newsgathering facilities of each of the American networks are to be found in Washington and likewise, in the Canadian case, the number of journalists and production facilities concentrated in the national capital far out-weighs those found at any other location. Contrast this with the relative lack of access to members of the capitalist class, least of all to information about their purchases of china (!), and their limited presence in news, least of all in discussions of power, becomes readily understandable. The infrastructure of

FIGURE 10.1: "NEWS VALUES"

CHINA MEETS THE PRESS

U.S. photographers and reporters gathered around a place setting of new White House china, selected and unveiled this

week by Nancy Reagan. The ivory china, with gold presidential seal and red border, was introduced to the media

before being used during a state dinner for President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt. Each 19-piece setting cost about \$950.

the newsgathering process, together with determinations of newsworthiness, each contribute to the restrictive conceptualization of power in the television discourse. It is not only that access is limited and confined. Gans observes that actors outside the state hierarchy are more difficult to evaluate, since producers cannot easily determine whether the leader of one private corporation is more newsworthy than another. He suggests that it is one reason why non-government officials appear less frequently in news stories, and in any case, considering their numbers, journalists cannot report about more than a small fraction at best.

The second quality is the impact of the event upon the nation and "the national interest," however that may be defined or understood. With respect to international news, Gans argues that journalists often pursue the directions of American foreign policy in their judgements of foreign news, since it provides a quick and easy measure of importance and since no other equally efficient criterion is available. It is more difficult to assess the importance of domestic news along the "national impact" dimension. Producers tend to attribute importance to activities carried out by the whole nation, such as national elections, and those carried out on behalf of the nation, such as space exploration and national anniversaries. Gans argues further that story selectors tend to choose actors and activities that express or embody what

are seen as "national values," including ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, small town pastoralism, individualism, moderatism, the preservation of social order, and the need for national leadership (see Gans, 1979: 42-69).

The third quality is the extent of the event's impact in terms of numbers of people; that is, the size of audience affected. According to Gans, the most important story is the one that affects every American, yet these stories, where widespread impact is beyond doubt, are relatively rare. In most cases, some judgement is required regarding the potential implications of the event or the extent of its ramifications. Since producers lack data about how many people are affected by any event, it is necessary to make impressionistic judgements. The key basis of these judgements is their perception of the population, which derives largely from "the people they know best" - that is, the more highly educated urban middle class, who also, as we have seen, serve as important sources of ideas for stories, notably in the case of current affairs.

The fourth quality identified by Gans is the significance of the event for the past and the future. Broken records or bench-mark historical events are invariably considered newsworthy. In a similar vein, one can note the importance of "firsts" in any field, such as the first

Canadian team to climb Mount Everest. "Firsts" are automatically novel and therefore "news" almost by definition.

Apart from these types of "important" stories, there are a range of stories that merit production by virtue of their perceived "interest" to the audience. Gans argues that interesting stories are prototypically "people stories" and are used for two principal reasons (again, the pragmatics of production that spawn news values): first, important news is often bad news and must be balanced by interesting stories that either report good news or are light; and secondly, interesting stories are timeless, and can therefore be used when last-minute or weekend "fillers" are required.

A full-scale analysis of the thematic content of network information programming would yield little in and of itself by way of demonstrations of the "importance" and "interest" of the stories, since these judgements or determinations are often intuitive on the part of journalists and producers, and are further determined by whether or not and the extent to which stories are also carried by other media, which tends, of course, to verify a producer's judgement that a story is "airworthy." Our primary concern here is to show the underlying foundations of the whole decision-making process undertaken by news and current affairs producers, and to indicate other features of the labour process which contribute to that decision-making process.

Market imperatives, for example, also direct attention to the "entertainment value" of a story, and of whole programme forms, like the 'new' structure of THE NATIONAL and THE JOURNAL:

It's the only philosophy I follow in the business, and that's the entertainment value in anything ultimately is worth a hell of a lot, even a good news programme. You can have a very good, solid editorial programme, but if there is no splash, it's not going to sell - unless you are interested in narrowcasting, and we're not. We are looking for as many viewers as possible (JOURNAL Production Manager, August 1983).

The imperative to obtain, entertain, and sustain the audience is embodied and expressed by these production values, which in turn are embodied and expressed in the programme proposals and outlines cited earlier for each of the five programmes included in the present analysis. At W5, for example, decisions about programme composition and the ongoing form that the programme assumes are founded upon a guiding "formula" that is made known to all field producers and to others at the production unit as well. Originally a memo distributed to all staff, it was later transferred onto coloured cards posted in the executive producer's office. The four cards describe what each of the four average stories per W5 programme should contain by way of elements of production value. One of the field producers related his understanding of those values:

The formula is: [story] number one - investigative or current or revealing something; number two - profile of somebody interesting in the news; number three - a good solid current affairs item: disease, or, you know, some kind of issue, buying a house, being ripped off by real estate - there's nothing particularly investigative about it but just a good item, a good consumer item, something like that; the fourth item is sort of an entertainment item or, you know, something very light, a funny item (W5 Field Producer, June 1983).

A similar yet less formalized formula was outlined by THE JOURNAL's Senior Editorial Producer who, in the process, displayed his sensitivity to market imperatives and at the same time revealed some common journalistic assumptions about how those imperatives must be met:

First, I like to have a good solid interview based on the day's news which is a good, bang, bang, bang, confrontational interview. Not confrontational in the sense of a phony scrap or a Laurier Lapierrre confrontational thing where he breaks down and cries and all that stuff. A good, challenging, tough journalistic interview with someone. You're the minister or you're the guy doing this or what about that or let's talk about Pickering, how bad is the situation. I mean, a good, meaty, gritty interview that comes out of a topic in the news that day and that we do an informed interview on. That's one thing.

Then I like to turn the corner completely and have a documentary which is an interesting piece of authorship about, it could be science, medicine, arts, sports, any subject; the subject doesn't mean as much as just how good the authorship of that piece is. Like, is it a really good documentary? I say you have to watch that. Oh, well that told me something about philosophy, psychology, colour therapy or whatever, music of Glenn Gould or God knows what. I mean, they learn something that we do a good job telling somebody about a piece of science, medicine, art, or history.

And then I turn another corner and it's getting kind of late. Let's kind of put our feet up on the footstool and hear something a little more relaxing

and laid back. Like an interview we had the other night: there was a nice chat with Harrison Salsbury about his new book. He is a good guest. He has a nice face.. He was on television. It wasn't a bad interview. It was not about the hurly-burly of life and controversy that day. It was just a nice, light closer (August 1983).

Whether formally imprinted upon coloured cards posted in a producer's office or just firmly imprinted in the expectations of senior producers, programmes are, of necessity, formally structured and formatted in a particular way, a way that is designed to attract and sustain the market-audience and which relies upon common assumptions about what formats and what stories can best attain that fundamental objective. Obviously, the format of a programme itself imposes constraints upon programme content, if only in the albeit important sense of determining what is included and excluded on the basis of format compatibility. Later in the same interview, this constraint was simply expressed as follows:

Things are structured, and when things are structured, it creates a sort of physical imperative: this much can land on the plate and off the plate, on the bus or off the bus. It creates certain formats. Formats create certain limits: one thing gets in better than another (JOURNAL Senior Editorial Producer, August 1983).

We can now proceed to consider the general characteristics of the structures of televisual information texts or the televisual information "discourse" and to identify its more important inclusions and exclusions, i.e. what is structured

in and what is structured out.

General Characteristics of the Discourse

In Chapter 2 we traced the origins of contemporary journalistic practices and ideologies to the process of economic consolidation and the associated shift to mass production that first transformed the industry in the late nineteenth century. These developments brought about, for example, the decline of overt political partisanship and the rise of principles of objectivity and representational balance (cf. Elliott, 1978; Knight & Curtis, 1984; Rutherford, 1978; Schudson, 1978; Smith, 1978). With respect to the way these and other practices shape the structure of the discourse, we can identify forces which simultaneously unify and fragment the social world in its televisual re-presentation. To pursue the same example, the professional commitment to "objectivity," realized in practice though the search for verifiable facts and their impartial presentation, directs producers to the suppliers of official data and in turn, inevitably, to their conceptual categories and frameworks. As Knight and Curtis explain:

This (commitment to 'objectivity') has reinforced the dependence of news on the political and juridical models of official discourse by incorporating the need and desire to give 'both sides' the right and opportunity to speak and be recorded accurately, a model derived fundamentally from the equivalence of

commodity exchange. This has intensified further the positivism of administrative subjects as news has continued to detach them from their real historical relations and conditions in the interests of representational balance and the facts of the immediate moment. As in the marketplace, equivalence in discourse masks real inequality and fragmentation (1984: 12-13, added emphasis).

By means of the practices of impartiality and balance, the discourse masks the social inequality and fragmentation of the real social world and instead substitutes debates between two or more contenders, transforms its fundamental contradictions into disagreements between more or less "equal" parties, and in the process affirms the bourgeois doctrines of equality, participatory democracy, and fair play.

The temporal frameworks of the genre and its "event" orientation, together with criteria of newsworthiness and other production values, also help to explain

the much observed tendency for news to transform contradiction into conflict, change into novelty, history into timeless nature, resistance into deviance, structure into personality, the continuous into the discrete, the determinate into the contingent: in sum, the finite reality of class into the infinite realism of population (Knight and Curtis, 1984: 14-15).

Hence a number of professional practices and ideologies serve to effectively deflate the reality of class struggle and the intensity of class conflict. Rather, by virtue of the fundamental imperative to seek out and sustain large audience-markets, attention is directed to the whole market, to the whole audience, which is therefore addressed as the whole

"public." Alternatively, in a more personalized fashion, the object of attention becomes "the consumer" as a means to appeal to what Smythe calls the "private face" of the audience (1981: 267). Social classes are thus largely absent from the discourse and instead the social world is unified in the form of a whole population or a whole body of "consumers."

At the same time, the parameters of the labour process serve in other ways to fragment the social world as it is re-presented through the genre of televisual information. The temporal frameworks of the labour process and of the genre itself, the constraints of time and the ideological principle of timeliness, which translate concretely into a necessary preoccupation with the "facts" of the immediate moment, together create the conditions whereby the social world is re-presented in fragments, and in a fragmentary way - devoid of history, of context, of social process and social power (cf. Golding and Elliott, 1979: Chapter 6). The ongoing trajectory of the social world is fragmented into a selective flow of discrete, disconnected and de-contextualized events which, by means of the temporal structures of the televisual world and the production value of immediacy, appear to be the outcome of individual actions. Structure and process are excluded in favour of concrete everyday actions by individuals and, under the conditions of structured access and the principles of newsgathering, these individuals are most often

representatives of governmental institutions.

At the level of international coverage, these forces contribute to what Kline calls a "leader-centred" view of other nations (1981: 61). His analysis of foreign stories notes the preoccupation with

changes of governments, elections and known politicians and their statements. This not only propagates a leader-centred view of these countries, but the lack of social news (racial, environmental, housing, health, etc.) means that we have very little information about alternative social arrangements in other countries (1981: 61).

There are three major ideological features of international stories: "politics" means "government," history is absent, and violence is reified. Violence is very often the focus of brief international news stories, and it is indeed the focus, the central component, and the basis of the story's newsworthiness. Based upon their analysis of Third World coverage by the American networks, Dahlgren and Chakrapani consistently found that "each narrative positions the violence in the foreground, while the social and political factors which it expresses recede to the background" (1982: 51). The concrete act of violence predominates in the story in a way that is explicable by reference to production values and the production process: first, it is the most immediate and concrete manifestation of social conflict; secondly, it satisfies criteria of newsworthiness, since violence disrupts the taken-as-given world; thirdly, it satisfies the visual

imperative of television, since violence offers filmable action; and finally, the concrete act of violence occurs within a time-frame that is congruent with news production requirements. The consequences for story construction and content are that:

Viewer interest is situated with the fact of the occurrence of the violence. The immediate motives offered by the story...provide explanation only within the terms of the story. In one case, violence is said to result from 'clashes between opposing political groups,' and in the other, because of 'a communist-called national strike'...these are formula background explanations. While they are adequate to make some sense of the event, they do not help to understand the social context giving rise to such events in the first place. Each story only further confirms the existence of social disorder in the Third World without adding any insight (Dahlgren & Chakrapani, 1982: 51).

These recurrent tendencies in the product that results from the way the labour process is organized carry clear ideological implications with respect to the way in which conflict is framed and presented. Extracted from its political and historical contexts, and re-presented in the televisual form of street violence, Knight shows how the Northern Ireland conflict becomes "primarily an extended problem of law and order" (1982: 3). Although based upon a study of New York Times coverage, his observations apply all the more to television, which is further limited by the visual imperative:

By depoliticizing the events on the streets the news media did not depoliticize the conflict as a whole so much as separate its political and legal-policing aspects, effectively creating two relatively discrete news topics. The former aspect was confined mainly to the official province of political proposal and action, the parliamentary forum of adversarial conflict resolution. The day-to-day realities of conflict were evacuated of their political form, and reconstituted as an almost technical question of a recurrent confrontation between forces of disorder and official representatives of order restoration to which the game metaphor was easily applied: who is gaining the upper hand? (1982: 3-4).

Content analyses frequently reveal a high volume of violence in international stories. Morales, for example, finds that American network coverage of Latin America is both violent and sparing: "As a geopolitical unit, Latin America is shown as chronically violent, ungovernable, militaristic, authoritarian, and troublesome" (1982: 79). Sahin et al confirm the other recurrent finding that international stories are personalized, and that international events are individualized; that is, presented as the outcome of concrete actions by individuals. Their suggestion is that it adds a 'human' touch to stories, making them more interesting as well as more manageable. Conflicts and contradictions between nations are thus transformed into stories of personal conflicts...Personal likes and dislikes of the leaders as individuals are presented as an implicit motor of history (1982: 241).

With respect to its implications for reception, Sahin et al found that what viewers recalled of international stories pertained to the event itself, rather than to its antecedents or consequences. Viewers' recollections were

dominated by the who, what, when, and where of the event, with much less emphasis upon the why and the how of the event. One of their proffered explanations is that "American television news viewers are conditioned by the reporting conventions of American journalism and therefore tend to tune in to the lead information at the expense of other elements" (1982: 240). Similarly, well over half of the viewers surveyed by Levy complained that television news fails to provide them with sufficient background about complicated and important issues (1978: 25).

A full-fledged assessment of the reception implications is well beyond the scope of the present study, yet it can be suggested that each of the structuring elements and general characteristics of the discourse - including the tendency (1) to unify the audience-market into a single "population" of citizens-consumers and thereby mask its crucial class divisions; (2) to fragment the social world and its evolution into a series of discrete and disconnected events; (3) to de-contextualize these events and strip them of their real historical relations and social conditions, to present them outside of any framework of social process or social power; (4) to individualize events and personalize conflicts; (5) to reduce "politics" to the actions and statements of representatives of governmental institutions and thereby reproduce that official discourse - that all of these

discursive features can be seen to "constrain" the representation of the social world in the broad sense in which that term has been employed throughout, and all of these features can be seen to set the foundations for a "preferred reading" of the social world in accordance with the principles of bourgeois hegemony. The structuring elements of the discourse, derived fundamentally from the imperatives of professional journalistic practice, may well be the most ideologically potent since, as Dahlgren argues:

It is not the discrete units of information per se - the daily variations in content - which are at the core of the broadcasts' role in orienting the audience to the social world. Rather, it is the recurring, stable features of the programming (that is to say the generic conventions, the structure, and the thematic content of TV news as a cultural form) which, over time, are the most significant (1983: 6).

Another constraint concerns not so much what is excluded as who is excluded from the world of televisual information. "Even" at THE JOURNAL, equipped with the capacity to include "the Digby fisherman" at a lesser cost and with fewer logistical complexities than the other programmes, there remains a further constraint associated with production values about the desired qualities of interview subjects. During a discussion of the editorial dictates of a story about the fisheries, THE JOURNAL's Senior Editorial Producer suggested that a "bias" against ordinary working fishers exists inevitably, and merely signifies a more general "bias"

towards formal office-holders, especially government office-holders, and against those "ordinary folk" who may be affected. His explanation of what he perceived as a general "bias" across all information media frankly outlines the way in which production values reinforce the tendency to feature particular subjects rather than others.

The bias is that it's editorially more difficult. It's harder to find an eloquent, interesting Digby fisherman who really has something to say...Not many Digby fishermen can talk to Romeo Leblanc in an intelligent, articulate way. Like not many farmers can argue and make it sensible to you or I about Crow's Nest freight rates, the complexity of that. They can talk about, 'well, yesterday, Barbara, I sold fifty bushels of barley and I think I should have got that and the railway screwed me,' and they sort of say that, you know....

Spokesmen tend to get air time for a lot of reasons. Partly out of our choosing, we want spokesmen on the air to badger them. You're representing Dow Chemical, you're representing the Government of Canada, or you're representing Carleton University, you're representing whatever, and we are often interested in, I think for valid reasons, those people who are representing and speaking for institutions in society. I think it's a valid, important function of a programme like this to challenge those institutions in society. Well, it's not to challenge - to test, I guess, those kinds of things that are being done to us by institutions, because institutions do things to us all the time. And they should be tested, and we do a lot of that. I think there is more room to do other things besides that. We're awfully good at testing institutions. I wish we could do other things besides testing institutions (JOURNAL Senior Editorial Producer, August 1983).

Such editorial considerations are conveniently and not coincidentally congruent with the practical requirements of production; among them, the accessibility of subjects and

especially the matter of ready access to those who can be expected to offer a concise, articulate explanation of the event. Institutional spokespersons can be readily identified and contacted at relatively short notice, and are further equipped with ready-made facilities, i.e. offices, in which to shoot film. The predominant use of these subjects is easy to justify editorially as well, as the quotation above illustrates.

Similarly, from a journalistic perspective, the use of authoritative "experts" to provide additional commentary is both a logistically sound and editorially justifiable practice. The majority of these subjects have traditionally been academics, who, like formal governmental office-holders, can be readily contacted through the appropriate department of a university, and who, more often, have appeared in the past to address a particular topic, perhaps for other programmes or other media, thus included in the contact files of THE JOURNAL and other programmes and perhaps in the contact files of individual journalists as well. For example, during the period that much attention was directed to Poland, Adam Bromke was frequently consulted to act as a "pipe-puffer" on the subject of the crisis.

A 'pipe-puffer' is an expert who is not directly responsible for the story. In a story about abortion, a pipe-puffer might be an expert from the University of Toronto in women's problems or in the sociological complexities of the society, and he's [sic] got a 'Doctor' in front of his name, and

whenever you can't find somebody to say something in an overview situation, you would pull on a pipe-puffer and he would say something meaningful in the general context of the story.

For the most part, those aren't particularly good documentaries, because what adds a little drama and life to a good story are the people involved. I really don't need a guy to talk about the sociological complexities of the society. Besides, you can see it; you can see it in the woman's face who hates what she considers to be baby killers. You can see it in the face of the other woman, and there it is, your dichotomy is obvious and you don't need that kind of reserved overview (JOURNAL Field Producer, August 1983).

Pipe-puffers or "experts" are counterposed against "principals" (i.e. the main actors directly involved or affected by an event) and, while journalistic canons hold that the use of pipe-puffers should be kept to a minimum, in practice their appearances are more frequent than producers estimate. Pipe-puffers also tend to be drawn from a limited circle in a cyclical process of reinforcement, explained by another JOURNAL producer as follows:

Probably the best example of a subject where it's really difficult, where you're sort of buying an opinion, is something like arms control, which is an extraordinarily complicated subject, where there are certainly a lot of very particular points of view. For something like that, you just get on the phone, and you go through the Contacts Index. You may start with an academic; you particularly like academics who are close to government.

Why is that?

Because they're in a better position to discuss policy. And it's not just airy-fairy theoretical policy; they have some sense of what's really going on. You also know people who have particular points of view. So that's what you do, you just call lots of people and you hear what they have to say, and

you're essentially buying, you're looking for, shopping for a particular point of view because you want to put a few of them together. You're buying the person who seems to have the most credibility, but you're going to look for somebody who has good credentials, and then you just read and phone.

What specifically would impress you by way of credentials? Affiliation with a certain organization?

Yeah, I mean, somebody who's at Georgetown or Johns Hopkins, because of the way the world goes round, is a lot more impressive than somebody who's at the University of Kansas, although not necessarily.

So the prestige of the institution is a consideration?

Well, yes, and if you've heard about them, they've generally published a fair bit....

Can you specify the key factors that you consider in choosing between two potential interview subjects to comment on a given topic? You mentioned whether they're comprehensible or not, articulate...

Yeah, that's extremely important. I need to be able to put it across in a way that's going to be accessible to people. That's probably the most important. You need to have a decent rationale for them being the ones to speak to you on the subject...

First and foremost it's their ability to articulate. Second of all, it's how forcefully they put across their particular point of view, and somewhere in there is what credentials do they have? (JOURNAL Daily Producer, August 1983).

Daily producers at THE JOURNAL, it will be recalled, are directly responsible to select, contact, and arrange the appearance of JOURNAL subjects, yet it should be pointed out that the values expressed above are shared by those at other programmes, news and current affairs producers alike. In conjunction with the forces of structured access to particular

subjects, these criteria and broad values regarding the presentational legitimacy of subjects do strongly circumscribe the nature of the televisual population and significantly determine "whose news" is communicated through the discourse. The impact of these production parameters and professional values can be illustrated by an assessment of the people and places that do make their way into the final product.

Sites and Subjects in the Televisual World: The Case of THE JOURNAL

THE JOURNAL makes a good case study. Unlike CTV NATIONAL NEWS and THE NATIONAL, it is not (in theory) rigorously bound to oblige the established doctrines and formats of news programmes, and unlike the fifth estate and W5, it is not (in theory) tied to the traditions of current affairs; rather, it conflates the two established programme forms. Also, as a programme newly forged in the early 1980s and very much younger than the others, its design acknowledged and set out purposively to overcome some of their perceived limitations, including their urban and central Canadian orientation as well as their dependence upon "officialdom." Most significantly, of all the programmes, it is, as discussed in Chapter 5, the least encumbered by the day-to-day logistical constraints associated with time, money and technology. With respect to time, although it is a daily

programme, its format is structured in such a way that the production span of individual items can extend beyond a day (in contrast to news) to days, weeks, and even months. That alone eliminates many of the limitations associated with daily news production. With respect to money, its budget well exceeds that of the others, which is reflected, among other things, in the scope of its facilities. Indeed, with respect to technology, it is unique among the major network information programmes in its more or less unlimited capacity to film just about anyone, just about anywhere.

A study of the people and places featured by THE JOURNAL offers, therefore, the opportunity to illustrate the results of some of the less tangible, broader constraints of television information production, including legal constraints and those of the production values discussed earlier, which embody assumptions about the audience-market. In his study of the production of a British documentary series, Elliott likewise found that:

The selection criteria used were based on legal, technological and audience factors. Some criteria, for example authenticity, had the negative effect of ruling out certain information and opinion. In sum, programme content was less a manifest consequence of decisions about its substance than a latent consequence of its passage through the production process itself (1972: 85, added emphasis).

A total of 171 interview subjects appeared in the forty-eight JOURNAL programmes sampled during 1982 and 1983. The interviewees were coded according to those who represent

capital, those who represent labour, and those who represent the state - Canadian or foreign, federal or provincial. It soon became apparent that, apart from a residual "Other" category, two additional categories of subjects made frequent appearances, consumed a very considerable amount of air time, and hence warranted separate attention; namely, academics or "pipe-puffers" and journalists themselves. Unlike other interviewees, these latter two types of subjects are those explicitly called upon to provide commentary about events, and are distinct from the "principals" represented in the other categories of subjects. Through the use of this typology, the JOURNAL subject population can be examined.

Predictably, the largest proportion of the population is composed of representatives of governmental institutions and agencies. Sixty-six of the subjects or almost 40 per cent represented the formal institutions of government, whether the federal Canadian government (twenty-five subjects or 15 per cent), provincial Canadian governments (nine subjects or 5 per cent), or representatives of foreign governments (thirty-two subjects or 19 per cent). Something of JOURNAL geography can be ascertained from a consideration of where these interviewees were filmed. Of the twenty-five federal state officials, eighteen appeared from Ottawa, six from Toronto, and one was interviewed at the January 1983 Progressive Conservative convention in Winnipeg. Of the nine provincial

state representatives, four provincial premiers were interviewed at the February 1982 First Ministers' Conference in Ottawa; four other representatives were interviewed in Vancouver (two), Toronto, and St. John's (Premier Peckford); and the other, a former senior aide to ex-Ontario Premier William Davis, was interviewed in his capacity as "official observer" at the same Progressive Conservative convention in Winnipeg.

The interview sites of foreign state subjects are even more limited in range than the story geography of news or current affairs at the other programmes, a not unexpected finding in that the other programmes can simply "crib" foreign-produced items whereas, as THE JOURNAL's Senior Editorial Producer pointed out earlier, "there are no Barbara Frum look-alikes out there" (see Chapter 5). All but three such subjects appeared from Canada, the United States, or the United Kingdom: two were interviewed in Warsaw and one was interviewed in Tel Aviv. The interviews in Britain were distributed as follows: four were conducted in England (three in London and one in Sussex), two were conducted in Northern Ireland (one in Belfast and one in Dungannon), and one was conducted in Edinburgh. Needless to note, the majority of the foreign state subjects, then, were Americans who appeared mainly from Washington (thirteen) and New York (seven). The other American subjects appeared from Atlanta, Georgia (a

police chief interviewed about a man who set himself afire while a television crew filmed the event) and Phoenix, Arizona, the home of a former U.S. Secretary of the Interior. Lastly, two such interviews were conducted in Ottawa: one with a Soviet official visiting Canada (25 February 1982) and the other with a Nigerian embassy official (3 February 1983).

These limited patterns of reach express (1) the preoccupation with state subjects and the tremendous publicity accorded to them (cf. Knight & Curtis, 1984); (2) particularly in international stories, the tendency to interview officials of the foreign government almost exclusively, which supports Kline's (1981) observations about the "leader-centred" perspective of international coverage; and (3) the peculiar tendency of THE JOURNAL to tie its interviews to the day's news or, in the language of journalese, to see that there is a "newspeg" to each item, a practice which adheres to the dictates of the programme outline. All but six of the 127 topics in THE JOURNAL sample were tied or "pegged" to a current story in the news, and in almost every case the peg was pronounced early in the introduction to the item. Such a practice is, after all, a fundamental mechanism of audience attraction and a crucial production value, as well as justification to JOURNAL producers of any item's airworthiness, a taken-for-granted criterion at story meetings in the discussions about how to

compose any particular night's programme. THE JOURNAL, therefore, takes its direction from stories already deemed airworthy by other programmes and other media; it becomes, in effect, a kind of "secondary" or reproductive edition of stories already prevalent across the information media at large.

Apart from its preoccupation with state subjects, a pattern that it shares with other information programmes, the second most significant subgroup of the JOURNAL population is composed of journalists, who accounted for fully one-quarter of all those interviewed during the two sample years (forty-two interviewees or 25 per cent).¹ What distinguishes these journalist-subjects from journalists who are a regular part of information programmes is that, first, only a very few are members of THE JOURNAL's own labour force, and secondly, these journalists are positioned in the role of "authoritative interviewee" and invited to comment upon and speculate about the day's stories.

The phenomenon of "the journalist as authority" is most commonly seen at THE JOURNAL, and it can be understood by reference to the design of the programme and its mandate (refer to Chapter 5). Under those terms, and under the terms and conditions of the production requirements and values associated with subject selection, it can be seen that the use of other journalists as subjects satisfies several needs.

First, journalists are well-positioned, from a producer's perspective, to reflect upon the immediate events of the day. Secondly, journalists are known to producers, can be readily contacted, and are already "pre-situated" in cities where the co-ordination of satellite feeds becomes a facile task. Thirdly, journalists understand the costs of satellite transmission as well as the value of air time, and moreover, are trained in the supply of brief and concise summations. Fourthly, journalists are "articulate" and "credible" and therefore hold the most desired subject qualities. Finally, journalists can be presented as "authoritative" based upon their first-hand experience, their areas of specialization, and/or their association with prestigious media organizations. Among the journalist-subjects, for example, are commentators who include: specialized newspaper journalists such as the religion editor of the Toronto Star, invited to discuss the CRTC hearings about religious television (27 January 1982); the Rome bureau chief of the London Times, invited to discuss the Vatican response to the Polish crisis (8 February 1982); a Montreal Gazette columnist who offered more tongue-in-cheek commentary about the campaign to declare a new "official bird" of Quebec (25 February 1982); the "defence correspondent" of the Baltimore Sun, invited to discuss the Falklands/Malvinas war (12 May 1982); the Middle East correspondent of the London Observer, invited to discuss the Iran-Iraq conflict (25 May

1982); the Buenos Aires Herald columnist interviewed about the progress of the Falklands/Malvinas war (16 June 1982); and the Ottawa columnist of the Toronto Star, regularly invited to comment about parliamentary politics, including his view of the state of the Canadian economy and the forthcoming new federal budget (22 June 1982). In only two cases can these journalist-subjects be construed as "principals" in the stories; namely, the Stern Magazine reporter, interviewed from Hamburg, who discussed the Hitler diary hoax of 1983 as the person who had personally acquired the fraudulent diaries (11 May 1983); and THE JOURNAL's own field producer who discussed his arrest in Argentina under suspicion of espionage during the production of a story about the south Atlantic conflict (6 May 1983). In every other case, the journalists featured as interviewees were in effect "pipe-puffers" rather than principals or central actors in the stories.

Other than state officials and journalists who thus comprise almost 65 per cent of the JOURNAL population, another group consists of the "true" pipe-puffers; that is, academics who are called upon to supply those "reserved overviews" discussed earlier. Eighteen of the subjects or 11 per cent were so affiliated, including: a University of Manitoba political scientist who discussed interest rate policies on the occasion of the February 1982 First Ministers' Conference (2 February 1982); the McGill ornithologist who discussed the

"official bird" campaign in Quebec (25 February 1982); the historian who discussed his new book about Pearl Harbour (9 March 1982); the psychiatry professor at McGill who discussed tranquilizer addiction on the occasion of the release of the film "I'm Dancing as Fast as I Can" (15 March 1982); the University of Alberta health economist and the legal specialist who each commented about the rotating walkouts by Manitoba doctors in April 1982 (1 April 1982); the author and "authority on Latin America" who discussed the Falklands/Malvinas conflict (13 April 1982); the OISE sociologist who discussed the state's proposed elimination of the spousal tax deduction (11 January 1983); the University of Western Ontario psychologist who discussed the effects of "pay-TV porn" (18 January 1983); the "Africa specialist" who discussed Nigeria's expulsion of Ghana-born residents in 1983 (3 February 1983); the University of Minnesota physicist who discussed the discovery of a meteorite from Mars (21 May 1983); the "futurologist" and author who discussed "the future of futurology" (6 April 1983); the oceanographer associated with the Scripps Institute of California who discussed aberrant weather conditions of 1983 (14 April 1983); the handwriting expert and the McGill historian described as "an acknowledged authority on the Nazi era" who both commented about the Hitler diary hoax (25 April 1983); the emergency care specialist who discussed the emergency health care system in Canada (19 May

1983); and the banking economist at the Paris Institut D'Etudes Politiques who speculated about the Williamsburg seven-nation summit of 1983, along with additional commentary by a York University professor of administrative studies, interviewed in the Toronto studio (30 May 1983).

Next to these groups, those subjects who could be said to formally represent capital (seven or 4 per cent) and labour (two or 1 per cent) are very small in number. In this sense, a January 1982 report about the auto industry was exceptional in a number of ways: it was not tied to any identifiable news peg, and it featured a representative of General Motors along with a representative of the United Auto Workers (21 January 1982). The only other formal representative of labour to appear during the two-year sample period was the president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, interviewed at the Canadian Labour Congress convention in Winnipeg (18 May 1982). The other representatives of capital who appeared include: an "insurance executive" who presented a new insurance scheme to protect managers from unemployment (25 February 1982); the president of Shell Canada who discussed the "death" of the Alsands project (30 April 1982); the president of the Canadian Bankers' Association who, together with the federal NDP leader, discussed increases in interest rates and bank profits (12 May 1982); the president of the pay-television operation

First Choice, who responded to arguments by a representative of the Canadian Coalition Against Media Pornography (18 January 1983); Hugh Hefner, of Playboy Enterprises, who was interviewed as First Choice began to broadcast the Playboy programmes later in the year (2 March 1983); and a vice-president and chief economist of the Bank of Nova Scotia who commented about the April 1983 federal budget (19 April 1983). No formal representatives of organized labour appeared to provide commentary on the occasion of that budget night, despite the fact that the entire programme was consumed by studio interviews about the newly-announced budget. These appearances, then, constitute the full extent of direct or formal representations by capital and labour in THE JOURNAL programmes sampled during 1982 and 1983.

What remains, then, is a category of "Other" subjects (thirty-six or 21 per cent of the sampled population) who are neither state officials nor academics nor journalists nor formal representatives of capital or organized labour. The majority of these subjects are, not unexpectedly, official spokespersons for non-governmental organizations, while a surprising few - only five subjects - are "principals" without institutional or organizational affiliations, and another six of these subjects are authors or actors who discuss their work. The five "principals" include: Walter Gretzky, who discussed his son's newly-negotiated NHL contract (21 January

1982); a former Valium addict who discussed her addiction (15 March 1982); a former French resistance fighter who discussed the discovery of a former Nazi in Quebec (11 February 1983); the American news camera operator who recorded a man while he set himself afire, and who was interviewed about the moral and professional implications of the incident (10 March 1983); and finally, the parents of a severely handicapped and critically ill child, who discussed a British Columbia court decision that the life of their child must be prolonged (18 March 1983). There are, in other words, few or arguably no subjects of the "Digby fisherman" variety. Similarly, Hackett found that fewer than 14 per cent of television news subjects occupied his category of "Vox Pops" - that is, those who appeared neither in the role of official spokesperson nor that of "expert" (1983: 20).

The spokespersons of our "Other" category spoke on behalf of diverse organizations, including: Crossroads Christian Communication, the United Church of Canada, and the Canadian Jewish Congress (all 27 January 1982); the Canadian Federation of Students (9 March 1982); the Ontario Medical Association and the Medical Reform Group (1 April 1982); the Canadian Civil Liberties Association (7 April 1982); the Inuit Tapiristat (13 April 1982); the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (18 May 1982); the Canadian Coalition Against Media Pornography (18 January 1983); the British Columbia

Association for the Mentally Retarded and the Anglican Church (both 18 March 1983); Vietnam Veterans of America, United Vietnam Veterans, and an unnamed veteran counselling organization (all 29 March 1983); the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants (19 April 1983); the (U.S.) National Catholic Coalition and the (U.S.) National Conference of Catholic Bishops (both 4 May 1983); the Pre-Hospital Care Association (19 May 1983); and the Council on Hemispheric Affairs (30 May 1983). Such organizations appear in large numbers and with great frequency, sometimes in opposition to each other during the same programme, which, over time, creates the impression of a world that is essentially pluralistic, composed of a plurality of "interest groups" and "lobby groups" which, moreover, all "get their say" thanks to what may seem like more or less equal access to the medium of network television information. And, as Dahlgren reminds us, it is these recurrent, stable features of the genre which are undoubtedly the most ideologically significant over the long term.

The dependence upon official spokespersons also draws THE JOURNAL to the headquarters of these organizations, many of which are concentrated in central Canada, yet it is not only these subjects who appear mainly from the central provinces. Table 10.1 summarizes the geography of JOURNAL subjects. It can be seen that of all the 171 who appeared

TABLE 10.1: National and International Geography
of JOURNAL Subjects, 1982 and 1983

<u>Site</u>	<u># of Subjects</u>	<u>% of All Subjects</u>
Toronto, Ontario	40	23.4
Ottawa, Ontario	37	21.6
Hamilton, Ontario	1	0.6
Stratford, Ontario	1	0.6
Welland, Ontario	1	0.6
(Ontario Total)	(80)	(46.8)
Vancouver, British Columbia	8	4.7
Winnipeg, Manitoba	7	4.1
Montreal, Quebec	5	2.9
Fredericton, New Brunswick	1	0.6
Frobisher Bay, N.W.T.	1	0.6
St. Albert, Alberta	1	0.6
St. John's, Newfoundland	1	0.6
(Canada Total)	(104)	(60.8)
Washington, D.C., U.S.	18	10.5
New York, N.Y., U.S.	11	6.4
Anniston, Alabama, U.S.	1	0.6
Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.	1	0.6
California, U.S.*	1	0.6
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.	1	0.6
Danbury, Connecticut, U.S.	1	0.6
Houston, Texas, U.S.	1	0.6
Las Vegas, Nevada, U.S.	1	0.6
Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.	1	0.6
Phoenix, Arizona, U.S.	1	0.6
Richmond, Virginia, U.S.	1	0.6
(U.S. Total)	(39)	(22.8)
London, England	13	7.6
Sussex, England	1	0.6
Edinburgh, Scotland	1	0.6
Belfast, Northern Ireland	1	0.6
Dungannon, Northern Ireland	1	0.6
(U.K. Total)	(17)	(9.9)
Buenos Aires, Argentina	3	1.8
Warsaw, Poland	2	1.2
Hamburg, West Germany	1	0.6
Moscow, U.S.S.R.	1	0.6
Paris, France	1	0.6
Rome, Italy	1	0.6
Tel Aviv, Israel	1	0.6
Versailles, France	1	0.6
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GRAND TOTAL	171	100.1 **

* The exact site in California was unidentifiable.
 ** Percentage is greater than 100 per cent due to rounding.

during the two sample years, a total of eighty subjects or just under half (47 per cent) appeared from Ontario, and furthermore, the overwhelming majority of these (96 per cent) were interviewed in Ottawa or Toronto. Indeed, the table indicates that the geographical distribution of JOURNAL subjects is actually far more highly skewed than is true of either CTV NATIONAL NEWS or THE NATIONAL. Only 14 per cent of the subjects were interviewed in Canadian sites beyond Ontario. Expressed differently, nearly 77 per cent of the Canadian subjects were interviewed in Ontario, and an incredible 74 per cent of these were interviewed in Toronto and Ottawa. Internationally, although THE JOURNAL is able to access sites well beyond the reach of other programmes, its actual global reach is stunningly limited. Almost 60 per cent of its international sites are in the United States, and a further 25 per cent are in the United Kingdom. Moreover, 63 per cent of the international interviews originated from the three centres of Washington, London, and New York. Thus, despite the "liberating" technology of the double-ender, the contours of THE JOURNAL's national and international coverage follow the same persistent patterns characteristic of all other news and current affairs programmes; if anything, its coverage is more limited than that of the others. Indeed, despite its newness or "fresh start," its budget, its technological capabilities, and some of the rather progressive

ideas embodied in the programme outline, THE JOURNAL quickly became lodged into the patterns of its more established counterparts, and it became and remained subject to the broader constraints which afflict them all.²

JOURNAL producers, then, continue the traditions of professional journalism at large, including criteria of newsworthiness and other production values about who is airworthy and where "news" (by professional journalistic definitions) is generated. This continues to mean, at all of the programmes, a preoccupation with government and its responsibility to "the public" - that is, to the whole audience-market as it is conceptualized by producers. Since the centrality and authority of government is taken-as-given, "news" is especially concerned about government actions and reactions, and above all about abuses of government authority and responsibility, including the incompetence and corruption of individual government officials. Government officials are thus simultaneously the major sources and subjects of news to journalists and the major objects of journalistic critique. This contradictory (and necessarily symbiotic) relationship means that, on the one hand, the official discourse of the state is reproduced, which can lead some observers to argue that THE JOURNAL, for example, is "chronically" subservient to "what the government says" (Bain, cited in Taylor, 1985: 20, original emphasis), and on the other hand, government

officials are the prime subjects of journalistic scrutiny amidst a very limited range of access to other subjects in the social world. Their incompetence as individuals provides the fodder for what exists as critical and investigative journalism and, particularly under the tightly restrained production budgets of the 1980s, "investigative" or critical journalism comes to mean journalism which is critical of the abuses of individual politicians. Recall, in particular, the definition articulated by the JOURNAL producer in Chapter 9 (note 4).

Issues of individual incompetence, corruption, and the abuse of public responsibility dominate the discourse and at the same time enable journalist-producers to maintain a critical distance (however short) from their major subject-suppliers and to sustain some sense of professional autonomy. It is all the more imperative at the CBC, where the structural relationship to the state demands a still more critical presentation, one that occasionally forces a look beyond the state to the domain of private capital, especially in weekly current affairs where production spans make such critiques relatively more feasible. Yet, as we saw in Chapter 6, the kind of critical journalism evidenced by fifth estate stories is criticism directed towards individuals and individual corporations in the private sphere, in which journalistic attention is geared to the individual "victims" of their

wrongdoings. In addition to these dynamics between journalists and their subjects, Taylor remarks that:

it is presumably via such stories that the journalist retains a sense of the moral project of television politics. But, as in all such crusades against 'bad apples,' the possibility cannot be allowed that the orchard itself is rotten (1985: 21).

Other than these limited avenues of critical diversion from the mainstream of official discursive reproduction, the political economy of broadcasting and the market imperatives which it spawns strongly tend towards the direction of "consensualism" in political television. Although he disagrees about its origins, Taylor illustrates its operation:

THE JOURNAL's consensualism is a version of the "happy news" of the United States: it is a gently resigned acceptance of the world as it is, and an everyday attempt to make the world as it is seem more likeable or benign. So newsstories about the famine in Ethiopia cannot be allowed to slide into discussion of the logic of imperialism in the late twentieth century, though they may cheerfully conclude with mentions of the generous scale of charitable donations being sent by 'Canada.' Stories about the civil wars being fought in Central America can be presented, without the fundamental attacks now underway on democratic Nicaragua and the overwhelming presence in contemporary Washington of a network of ultra-Right politicians of quite amazing political backgrounds, persuasions and future intentions. The point is always to reassure - rather than activate or even, in the end, really to inform - the audience (1985: 20-21, original emphases).

Yet what are the actual, concrete mechanisms whereby consensualism is sustained? Some point specifically to news definitions, and see the ideological implications simply as

follows:

The mainline definition of news tends to focus on governmental rather than private-sector abuse, thus reflecting the dominant ideology of the Canadian economic elite. Similarly, the standard patterns of news selection tend to exclude information and commentary challenging this ideology in any major way (Westell, cited in Marshall, 1986: 13-14).

Taylor, meanwhile, offers this account:

THE JOURNAL has the form it does, we would argue, not because of any finely-tuned process of political socialization taking place with each new generation of CBC reporters...It involves rather the routine acceptance and reproduction by journalists of discursive practices (pertaining, for example, to the language appropriate for the conduct of interviews, studio discussions, explanations of foreign events) and structures (the organization of political journalism within particular kinds of programme, conducted in certain ways and at certain speeds). There is certainly no conspiracy of capital and the state involved here, and it is even questionable as to whether the learning of these discursive practices and structures is equivalent to the inculcation of a firm sense of politics, or of a real political commitment, (i.e. in favour of parliamentary democracy in a capitalist state) in journalists. That 'commitment,' we would argue, is general in a society like Canada: it is part of a 'commonsense' which is unchallengeable in the absence of much more fundamental conditions of economic crisis than exist at present (1985: 24-25, original emphases).

Our own argument is that the professional practices and ideologies of television journalism, the organization of the social world as it is, and the consequent organization of both the process and the product of network information broadcasting, lead producers to take for granted the "obvious." The "obvious" is the social world as it is as well as "commonsense" about how it operates. "Commonsense," as

Gramsci so insightfully pointed out, is the crux, the absolute foundation of bourgeois hegemony. From the perspective of contemporary Canadian journalists, it includes the idea that government is at the centre of the social universe, and so it is government which occupies centre stage in the televisual re-presentation of "politics." Capital stands in the wings, more or less out of sight, and, in the Canadian case, capital is all the more overshadowed in that it has traditionally sought to remain private, secretive, and anonymous. Labour, meanwhile, comes to the foreground only when it upstages the state or disrupts the obvious, taken-for-granted peaceable harmony of the social contract under parliamentary democracy: typically, in the "event" of strikes. With these additional structuring elements in mind, it is important to more closely consider the way in which these central and subsidiary players are ideologically re-presented in the discourse.

Re-presentations: Capital, Labour, and the State

The journalistic preoccupation with governmental institutions and office-holders, and the very limited portrayal of politics and power that is its televisual outcome, are well illustrated during elections and party conventions, such as the June 1984 Progressive Conservative leadership convention, at which media facilities and media

access were unusually limited. Following a decision by the party, media access was restricted to leadership candidates. Yet, despite the restrictions, the volume of coverage was great, testifying to the perceived importance of the event. During the week of 4 to 10 June 1984, regular network news and current affairs programming included regular convention reports. Brief convention updates appeared on THE JOURNAL each night of the week, in which the following appeared and commented: author Pierre Berton, Progressive Conservative party pollster Allan Gregg, Liberal "insider" Jim Coutts, former Newfoundland Premier Frank Moores, and other "political figures" (Alaton, 1984: 9). CTV broadcast a convention preview on the Thursday, in which the commentators included Hugh Segal, advisor to then Ontario Premier William Davis; federal Liberal "strategist" Senator Keith Davey; former Saskatchewan Attorney-General Roy Romanow; and Stirling Lyon, former Premier of Manitoba. In addition, CTV's morning programme CANADA A.M. broadcast from Ottawa on the Thursday and Friday. The convention itself was the object of special, "live" coverage by CTV on the Friday from 5:30 PM EST to 9:00 PM (3 1/2 hours) and on Saturday from 11:30 AM to 8:00 PM (8 1/2 hours), at which point the scheduled movie was aired. CBC offered five hours of such coverage Friday from 5:00 to 10:00 PM EST and Saturday from 11:00 AM until the convention ended (Alaton, 1984: 9). The total volume of network attention to

the event bears witness to the centrality of the state in journalistic definitions of politics and power, alongside the relative exclusion of private capitalists from any conceptualization of power relations in Canadian society.

The ready accessibility of the state, and its fulfillment of several important production values, create the conditions whereby the state and its agents are "prioritized" by information producers.

News prioritizes the state and its agents, treating even minor state activities as inherently newsworthy, viewing agents of the state as 'reliable' sources and as interesting speakers, and portraying the visible aspects of relations among states (Knight and Curtis, 1984: 1).

Particularly in news, the documentation of daily events becomes concerned chiefly with developments that either disrupt or suggest some new direction in what is otherwise a taken-as-given capitalist world: principally, law-and-order news and "political" news - the latter defined and supplied primarily by the everyday operations of the state. So strong is the association that "politics" comes to be defined in accordance with state activities; in fact, Knight and Curtis maintain that "news is the publicity of the subjects of state administration" (1984: 1, added emphasis). Their point is that, in contrast to other television discourses which are mandated to first entertain and only secondarily inform, the discourses of news and current affairs operate in the first instance to inform.

In doing this, (news) appropriates, for the most part uncritically, the public categories of the state, and draws heavily upon the discursive forms in which those categories are inscribed...In this respect, news remains secondary, dependent, and official-like in its concerns (1984: 11).

Content studies by Belanger (1980), Hackett (1983), Kiefl (1979) and others all further attest to the journalistic preoccupation with parliamentary politics and the state. The distribution of journalistic labour, viz., the high concentration of journalists in Ottawa - including the high concentration there of newsgathering, news production, and news transmission facilities - leads to a high volume of Ottawa-produced stories, which in turn leads to the thematic dominance of parliamentary politics in news content, to the extent that the state is ideologically pictured as the locus of power in Canadian society, and "politics" is defined around the day-to-day workings and utterances of state officials. Kiefl, for example, found that almost three-quarters of national news is comprised of a single topic area: under his typology, the area is "Government-Politics" (1979: 18). Hackett, who monitored CBC and CTV network newscasts during September and October 1980, discovered that "federal and provincial politicians dominated the field numerically, constituting 35.1 per cent of all interviewees. Moreover, they were accorded relatively high forms of access; 66 per cent of their appearances consisted of speeches or news conferences" (1983: 10).

monitored a one-month period of network news and found that 67 per cent of the coverage was exclusively the thought and opinion of government officials (1980: 9-11). These results also concur with those of the international MacBride Commission, which concluded generally that "the mass media are non-egalitarian in that different social groups, countries and regions do not have equal access to media to communicate 'their news'" (cited in Hachten, 1981: 124-125).

The greatly unequal access of the state and its dominance as the central player in the televisual information discourse are underlined by the forms of its access and the ways in which it is re-presented. Based upon its appearances in our sample, as well as our observations of the production of stories about the state, several tendencies can be identified which set it apart from other actors. First, we must note the sheer number of journalists who are assigned to cover its activities, and in particular the deployment of state "specialists" or "parliamentary correspondents" of the sort which rarely exist for other sectors of the social world. Secondly, we must note the high forms of access accorded to state agents, who frequently communicate through pre-planned speeches and press conferences (tellingly termed "newsers") and pre-scheduled interviews, where there is the opportunity to plan and prepare their presentation, unlike most other subjects. Thirdly, state officials are accorded more air time

than other subjects since, as one producer explained it, "politicians don't like to be edited, and so they tend to get a longer interview" (JOURNAL Co-Host/Field Producer, August 1983) - a privilege granted in recognition of their crucial role as sources of news supply and commentary. Their interviews are, however, "cleaned" of "ums" and "ahs" and other affectations, which produces a smoother delivery and clearly enhances their presentational appearance vis-à-vis other subjects. Finally, then, there is the exceptionally high volume, duration, and prominence of stories about the state as well as the "special" and "live" coverage awarded to it, despite the typically low visual potential of stories about its operations.

In sharp contrast to the regular and "natural" presence of the state, labour as such appears far less frequently, principally in the form of formally organized trade unions represented by their official spokespersons and concentrated in "industrial" stories where the state, not capital, is the employer (cf. GUMG, 1976; Hackett, 1983). These trade union representatives are just that and only that. While "experts" in the televisual world are associated with the state, with capital, with the academy, and with journalism itself, there are no "experts" associated with organized labour. Unions, however, are likely to be associated with conflict, and, under the rubric of stories about "industrial

conflict," unions are far more likely than corporations to become newsworthy by virtue of circumstances of conflict and negativity, and are far more often pictured as the instigators of such conflict. The frequent association between unions, conflict, and negativity has been well demonstrated and documented (see, for example, Morley, 1976, GUMG, 1976, 1980; Beharrell & Philo, 1977; Downing, 1980; Knight, 1982) and its ideological ramifications are self-evident; there is nothing in our sample to suggest that the five major Canadian information programmes are somehow exceptional in this regard. Hackett is one of a few content analysts who have attempted to quantify the relationship in the context of Canadian news. He defined and coded "conflict" according to: (1) the explicit presentation of an element of conflict, contradiction or opposition, such as statements of criticism or contrasting viewpoints; and (2) the description of a situation of manifest social or political conflict or controversy. Through the use of that rather broadly-pitched operationalization, he calculated that, by the first criterion, 81.6 per cent of labour stories were conflictual, compared to 33.9 per cent of "business" stories and 53.9 per cent of all stories. By the second criterion, 92.1 per cent of labour news was conflictual, compared to 51.2 per cent of business news and 64.7 per cent of all news (1983: 6).

Strikes are overwhelmingly the form which such

televisual conflict assumes. Dominick, for example, determined that 83 per cent of the labour newstime of American news was strike-related (1981: 185). And, although Hackett's classification scheme for "industrial/labour" news included such subtopics as "government labour policy, working conditions, industrial accidents, 'peaceful' collective bargaining, job creation and unemployment, internal union affairs, and other labour relations issues," nonetheless a full 74 per cent of the labour news stories pertained to strikes (1983: 5).

Within that very limited context, which in itself strongly shapes the ideological re-presentation of labour, there are additional tendencies which undermine the presentational legitimacy of trade unions. Some of the British research suggests that: (1) workers on strike appear as deviants, isolated from the "we group" of consumers/the majority/the public (e.g. Downing, 1980: 40); (2) stories stress the impact, especially the negative impact, of work stoppages (Morley, 1976: 263; Downing, 1980: 36; GUMG, 1976: Chapter 7); and (3) the range of reported explanations of strikes is narrow, which, reinforced by the very language of industrial reportage, tends to identify unions as the precipitating party (GUMG, 1980: 177). These tendencies need not be explained in terms of a "bias" against trade unionists. Rather, the practices of journalism and the structures of the

discourse establish a framework in which strikes appear as disruptive and unions appear as the source of the disruption. The Glasgow Group, for example, argue that industrial reportage assumes two underlying concerns: a concern about the principle of industrial and societal survival under conditions of economic stress, and a concern about the inconvenienced consumer of goods and services. In their view:

These are two of the essential journalistic criteria in the industrial area, which are embedded into, and structure, the news on television. They have to do with unscheduled interruptions to production processes and consumption patterns. Given this emphasis it is difficult to structure news in a way that does not implicitly, at least, blame those groups or individuals who precipitate action that, in one way or another, is defined as 'disruptive.' This structuring often demands a search for the 'disruptive' element, which is exacerbated by the lack of historical perspective - an element of news presentation that often results in a somewhat arbitrary allocation of blame for the disruption. The other side of the coin, the concern with a particular kind of social order, is revealed in the preoccupation with the 'social contract' in its many ramifications. Thus we would deny that the constraints of bulletin duration, technical limitations, manpower, programme budgets, geographical and other access difficulties, result in a haphazard picture of industrial life. The journalistic criteria...result in a coherent frame for the reporting of industry. The contours of coverage never deviate from this frame (1976: 203-204).

Hackett documented parallel portrayals in his assessment of strike coverage by the Canadian networks:

Greater weight is indeed given to the effects than the causes or issues underlying disputes. The media explanations of disputes focus on the specific claims, actions or attitudes of the parties directly involved, especially those of labour. Such

explanations exclude factors which would render labour's actions more rational and intelligible by showing, as Hyman has put it, that conflict is generated by the basic structure of industry in our society (1983: 13).

From our own perspective, these tendencies are explicable in terms of the immediacy requirement, the daily temporal frameworks of news, and the ahistoricism of the discourse, in addition to those production values which dictate that "impact upon the audience" is one of the foundations of a story's newsworthiness. All of these long-standing features of televisual information can, in and of themselves, create a coherent and consistent framework within which labour appears.

The appearances of labour outnumber those of capital, which appears still less often yet in a wider range of story contexts, and not merely as "businessmen" in "business" stories. As opposed to workers, whose main activity is to strike, corporations and business-people (the word "capitalist" is not by any means unspoken) are seen to experience the effects of the state's economic policies, to employ or manage workers, to create or destroy jobs, to produce commodities and make investment decisions, and to engage in a range of inter-corporate activities. Occasionally, corporations are excessive in their pursuit of profits, overlook safety measures, produce a flawed product with unintended harmful effects, and unfairly restrict competition. These faults, however, are a matter of excess,

human error, or (less commonly) mismanagement and, in any case, it is the responsibility of government to review and correct these occasional excesses and mistakes. In his sample, Hackett observed that:

Every case of corporate wrongdoing was associated with corrective action by the government or judiciary...Moreover, while corporations are sometimes wrongdoers or incompetents, just as often they are shown as victims of circumstances beyond their control or responsibility - a general economic downturn which is hurting everybody, the interruption of vital public services by militant trade union action, or aggressively interventionist government policies such as the National Energy Program (1983: 44).

The appearances of capital in a greater diversity of contexts should not lead us to overlook the scarcity of their appearances vis-a-vis other subjects and the overall rarity of their presence in the discourse. Among producers, a standard explanation is that such stories offer the lowest visual potential. Hackett also explains it in these terms, arguing that "business and economic stories offer limited opportunity for filmable action, whereas crowds of chanting picketers often 'inhabit' labour/industrial stories" (1983: 15-16). Producers commonly assume that business stories are intrinsically "dull" visually, and so it is that business items, particularly special business features, are one of the rare story forms in which "talking heads" are (expected and) allowed to dominate the visual, along with (also unusual) extensive displays of "stats" such as current stock quotations

and currency values. The talking heads, however, are rarely the heads of those who directly represent business; instead, the subjects who most often appear are not business spokespersons but business "experts" who discuss the latest "whims" of the market and speculate about future market trends.

A case in point was "The Business Journal." As the only such feature to appear in the five network programmes, it should first be pointed out that "The Business Journal" was introduced in 1983 and scheduled as the final segment of each Friday's programme. Its position as the last item on the night of THE JOURNAL's smallest audience not only acknowledged the low visual interest of the feature, but also assumed the comparatively low interest of the audience in what was regarded as another example of the "mandate" programming which the CBC must from time to time be prepared to provide. It is through a close examination of the feature that the curious absence of direct representatives of capital becomes most apparent, along with the tendency to direct attention to stock exchange activity, general market trends, and the state of the economy at large - the latter presented in the form of decontextualized and "official" data regarding unemployment levels, housing starts, and so forth. The pattern is one of far more scarce attention to the actions of private corporations, which instead appear as passive victims of

uncontrollable market forces and/or questionable initiatives by the state. It is a pattern all the more remarkable in a discourse which is otherwise quite preoccupied by actions, by what happens rather than what exists.

One exemplary case is the edition of 18 March 1983, which opened with the broadly-pitched comments of a BBC "economics analyst" about recent economic developments. There followed a display of stock market data and statements by the host about recently wide fluctuations in stock market activity. Accompanied by a still graphic which contained the title "Best Guess" imprinted upon a stack of playing cards, the host stated: "We asked two experts which way the stock market will turn...Is the market running out of steam?" The commentators included the research director of a Toronto brokerage firm and the publisher of a Toronto-based business magazine, who each led the host to conclude that "heavy insider selling is a bad sign for the market" (CBC, THE JOURNAL, 18 March 1983).

By journalistic standards, the feature certainly offers very little in the way of visual excitement. Yet the visual imperative alone is insufficient to explain the minimal appearances of capitalists as subjects across all types of stories and all of the programmes. There are at least three further production constraints which free private capital from the close scrutiny of journalists. The first is the

phenomenon of "structured access" - that is, those conditions which render the state much more accessible than private capital, and indeed, which largely exclude private capital from view. The second are the legal constraints. Private capital is protected by law (defamation, libel, slander, etc.), and by the extreme caution exercised by the legal departments of the networks, which, as we saw in Chapter 7, inhibits the private network yet more so than the CBC. In its stead, the state becomes a much safer and more conventional object of journalistic attack. Moreover, private capitalists are shielded by public relations professionals - witness, for example, their regular and numerous advertisements to journalists in the trade magazine Content - who offer the kind of well-fettered information that is offensive to journalistic integrity at the network level.⁴ The third, not least important, constraint is the absence of investigative resources, including the lack of any significant commitment to the kind of investigative labour required to critically follow private sector activity. Ideologically, the major result is that official representatives of the formal institutions of government come to appear as the central and most pivotal players in the nexus of power relations and in what is understood as Canadian (or, for that matter, international) "politics."

The same absence of investigative resources is at

least partly responsible for the preponderance of official spokespersons in all categories of subjects, including organized labour. Hackett also noted the numerical dominance of union officials over rank-and-file workers among interview subjects, despite the fact that unauthorized walkouts by rank-and-file federal government clerks and air traffic controllers were major labour stories during his two-month sample period (1983: 11). The degree of dependence upon official sources, to the exclusion of un- and anti-official (alternative and oppositional) sources, is a measure of "closure" which can be contrasted with "tightness" - that is, the degree to which the text is encoded with a definitively preferred or hegemonic reading (cf. Knight & Taylor, 1986: 233). Elliott et al (1983) suggest that current affairs programming is likely to be more "open" in structure than newscasts since, among other things, a somewhat broader range of subjects may appear. Our analysis here, however, finds a high degree of closure in THE JOURNAL, measured by the appearance of official sources and the very limited occupational range of its interview subjects. We may proceed, then, to consider the interconnected dimension of the tightness of JOURNAL texts, and thereby to disclose the extent to which a preferred reading is invoked by their ideological structure.

Reading the Texts

It is impossible to convey the full, richly textured ideological substance of all the JOURNAL programmes and the longer-range connotations and meanings produced by their full output throughout the two-year period in which the programmes were sampled and recorded. Rather, for purposes of illustration, we reviewed the JOURNAL sample in its entirety and identified those items which embodied a number of the production constraints within the frame of a single story. The story that was ultimately selected is one which illustrates some, yet not by any means all, of the constraints under discussion. It is, nevertheless, exemplary in a number of ways and suitable to selection for a number of other reasons as well. First, it incorporates, within the same story, two of THE JOURNAL's three established formats; namely, the short documentary or "issue-pack" and the studio interview. Secondly, the story touches upon the terrain of the relationship between capital and the state that was discussed earlier, and illustrates a number of the tendencies noted there which are characteristic of the discourse at large. Specifically, it raises questions of "power" and "politics" in Canadian society. Thirdly, it includes one of those rare appearances by a representative of capital; namely, the president of the Canadian Bankers' Association, as well as

a representative of the state. And finally, it shows clearly how the world-as-it-is is taken-as-given by information broadcasters.

The full text of the story is reproduced in Figure 10.2. Mindful of the extreme difficulties of any attempt to reproduce the complexities of visual imagery in written form, the figure nonetheless records both the verbal and visual components of the text. While the audio portion alone offers a strong indication of the ways in which ideological themes are inflected, and whereas, as semioticians point out, it is the verbal which dominates the visual in the discourse, it is critically important to consider the interaction of the words with the pictures (as viewers do), in order to fully appreciate the text's possible impacts upon different audiences of viewers. For our purposes here, it is not necessary to call upon the whole conceptual and methodological apparatus of semiology in order to unpack the range of meanings encoded in the text. Our concerns, more generally, are threefold: to illustrate how the text is "contextualized," to point to some of the ways in which the text is ideologically structured, and to suggest how the text may be "read" by different audiences of readers - broadly, preferred or dominant readers, alternative or negotiative readers, and thirdly, oppositional readers.

By "contextualized" we refer to the way in which the

FIGURE 10.2: TRANSCRIPT OF "DON'T BANK ON IT"*
 (CBC, THE JOURNAL, 12 May 1982)

VISUAL

MCU Co-Host

MG shows hands counting
 money at bank wicket; SUP
 reads COMING UP: Don't Bank
 on it
 SE typewriter rhythms

(Commercials 1:00)

LS Host and Co-Host
 host smiles to co-host

CU Host

MLS Co-Host
 SG shows Canadian dollar
 encased within pillared
 front of a bank building

VERBAL

Co-Host to Camera:

In one minute: How much profit
 should the banks be making?
 We'll go to Ottawa where the
 bankers are under investigation.

-

-

Host to Camera:

The Commons Finance Committee
 started public hearings yesterday
 on two subjects that absolutely
 enrage Canadians: bank profits
 and interest rates. Last August
 the cost of borrowing reached an
 all-time high: 22 3/4%. More
 people than ever began to fear
 that they could lose everything -
 their homes, their businesses,
 their jobs.

The hike in interest rates was
 accompanied by a hefty increase
 in bank profits. People
 labouring under the double burden
 of recession and inflation found
 this a little hard to take.
 Peter Kent describes the events
 that led up to this week's
 Finance Committee hearing.

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)

VISUAL

VT shows convoy of buses marked "Convoy of Anger" arriving at Parliament Hill

SUP reads Sept. 15, 1981

VT shows angry protesters chanting "We want Trudeau"

VT scrum of microphones surround one protester while police stand guard, arms folded

VT Toronto bank buildings

VT busy bank office interior

SG graph shows interest rate increases 1977-1982

SG bank earnings during the same period are super-imposed on the same graph

VERBAL

Journalist Voice-over:

The sudden surge in interest rates last fall brought out a lot of anger in Canadians. In September, hundreds of homeowners who were facing large increases in their mortgage payments converged in Ottawa in a convoy of anger.

The demonstration took place in an atmosphere of real desperation....

-

Protester (to scrum of microphones):

I'm sick of an economic policy that tells me that after five years of blood and sweat and tears, that I can't have my home anymore? I want to know why!

Journalist Voice-over:

While most individuals and businesses were suffering from the high cost of borrowing,/

one economic group, the bankers, were prospering.

Interest rates have been moving steadily upward since mid-1977 and had reached record high levels in 1981.

These interest peaks were followed by reports of the highest quarterly earnings in the history of the chartered banks.

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)VISUAL

VT House of Commons
Opposition MP shakes his
finger while making a
statement in the House

VT Finance Minister in the
House of Commons

SUP Oct. 14, 1981

VT LS House of Commons

VT bank interior

VT LS crowd of demonstrators
at Parliament Hill

VERBAL

The steep rise in interest rates and bank earnings caused a public outcry, and the matter was raised repeatedly in the House of Commons. While the public and the Opposition were placing the blame squarely on the government,/

the Finance Minister,/

Allan MacEachen, tried to get the government off the hook by shifting the blame to the banks..

Finance Minister (to the House):

I had a suggestion last week from presidents of two of the banks proposing another scheme which involved the Minister of Finance and the taxpayers picking up the bill. I would like in these circumstances for the banks to strive more diligently to find schemes that would cause them to bleed a bit.

Journalist Voice-over:

During the fall, the situation eased somewhat/

as interest rates fell to the 15-16% range. But this was still a higher range than in any period to 1980, and it meant continuing economic hardship for many people.

In November, public frustration over the state of the economy/

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)VISUAL

VT MCU Dennis McDermott at
microphone, addressing the
demonstrators

VT LS crowd of demonstrators
wave a sea of placards
SUP Nov. 21, 1981

VT CU demonstrator

VT Toronto bank buildings

SG bar graph of bank profits
1980-1981

SG graph alters to show
the difference

VT LS Finance Minister:
jeers are heard in the House
while he makes an (unheard)
point

VERBAL

erupted in the largest
demonstration ever to be held/

on Parliament Hill.

Demonstrator (to unseen
journalist):

My mortgage is coming up. I
can't do anything. So what are
we gonna do about it? This
protest here, it's about high
time people got together and
showed the government.

Journalist Voice-over:

A few weeks later, the banks
released their year-end/

reports for 1981. The numbers
were staggering. The bank
profits had reached the
unprecedented level of \$1.7
billion dollars. This
represented an/

increase of more than a third
over the year before.

The Finance Minister was still
not willing to discuss high
interest rates or government
monetary policy. However, he was
willing to talk about bank
profits, and he eagerly took up
the suggestion that the Finance
committee look into the bank
industry's record earnings.

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)VISUAL

VT office door sign which reads Standing Committee Finance, Trade and Economic Affairs

VT bank representatives march firmly and swiftly into the hearing room

VT LS bank representatives seated at table in hearing room
SUP May 11, 1982

VT rapid sequence of shots which show varied angles of the hearing room as the banks prepare to defend their case

SG graph compares banks' return with industry average, super-imposed upon hearing room shot

VERBAL

The Committee's public hearings are taking place this week, /

with the willing participation of the chartered banks. They regard the hearings as a good forum for the defence of their earnings record and business practices.

In a brief presented by the Canadian Banking Association, the banks defend their high earnings in 1981/

by asking the government and the public to take the long view, to judge profitability not merely from quarter to quarter, but over the long term.

The banks do have a case. Over the past five years, bank earnings have been high, but their return on invested capital has not been out of line with other industries.

For every dollar invested in the bank industry, the return has ranged between \$1.16 and \$1.21. This compares to an average return for all industry of only \$1.12 to \$1.18. However, the banks are not the most profitable economic sector. Some industries such as printing and publishing, and chemicals, actually have a higher rate of return than the banks.

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)VISUAL

VT LS pedestrians walk
along Bay Street, Toronto

VT MCU Toronto bank tower

VT CIBC flag waves next to
Canadian flag

VT LS full shot, from the
Toronto Islands, of the
downtown Toronto bank towers
(Commerce Court, etc.) seen
from across the lake; camera
then zooms in for close shot

SG graphic super-imposed
over close shot above
SUP FIVE MAJOR BANKS

SUP ASSETS \$320 BILLION

SUP 85% BANK BRANCHES

SUP 67% CHEQUING ACCOUNTS
ETC.

SUP 67% CONSUMER LOANS

VT bank ad poster re
Instabank Centres

VT CIBC ad poster

VT Mastercard ad poster
reads "Cash advances
available here"

VERBAL

While many Canadians remain angry
about bank profits and interest
rates, there is an ambivalence in
their feelings about banks in
general.

As depositors, we want a strong
banking system,/

but as consumers and borrowers we
resent the power of the industry.

Few Canadians realize how
powerful the banking industry
really is.

Canada's financial community is
literally dominated by the five
major banks. These companies
control more/

money than all other financial
institutions combined. They run/

85% of all the bank branches in
the country, control/

two-thirds of all the chequing
accounts. They also make/

two-thirds of all consumer loans.

This does not mean that there is
no competition in banking.

Over the past ten years, the
major banks have been aggressive
in their attempts to attract new
customers.

There has been a lot of
innovation in the range of/

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)

VISUAL

VT two additional bank ad posters, one offers US\$ daily interest chequing account

VT Royal Bank commercial (runs with audio)

VT another bank ad poster

VT VISA promotional folder on bank counter

VT bank customer hands passbook and cash to teller (CU of hands only)

VT CIBC ad poster shows GIC interest rate of 17 1/4%

VT exchange between bank customer and teller

MCU Host

VERBAL

services offered, both to improve the convenience to the customer and to reduce costs to the banks.

Oscar Peterson (in Royal Bank commercial:

I give everything I play my own personal touch. And a personal touch can make all the difference to your banking, too. Now with the Royal Bank Personal Touch Machine, you can...(audio fades)

Journalist Voice-over:

Many of these innovations have been in direct response to the/

competition of other deposit-taking institutions, such as/

credit unions and trust companies. But in one important area, the most important area of all, the banks have chosen to remain/

non-competitive. They all buy and sell money, take deposits, give loans, at virtually the same price at any given time.

In this respect, the bank customer has no choice of service and if the price is not right, the only remaining option is to use a different type of financial institution.

Host to Camera:

Although the banks do not earn the highest profits among Canadian corporations, they are

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)VISUALVERBAL

unique in one important respect: their assets account for an enormous concentration of capital, and because of this, the banks are a major influence on all sectors of the economy. How bank assets are used has become a matter of public controversy.

Robert MacIntosh is head of the Canadian Banking Association.

We linked him with one of his staunchest critics, Ed Broadbent, leader of the federal New Democratic Party.

Mr. Broadbent first, what is your main unhappiness with the way banks are operating in the current climate?

Broadbent:

Ah, well, the central concern of course is the question of power itself. As the institutions that virtually control most Canadians' savings, that is, the savings of the nation,/

our banks simply have too much authority about how that is used.

Specifically, the banks can now decide whether money is to go into land speculation, into investment abroad, or into take-overs, to take three areas which don't add to the productive wealth of the country at all.

MCU MacIntosh, face to camera, awaiting his interview

MCU Broadbent, face to camera, awaiting his interview

CU Host

LS both subjects positioned in front of Host (split SCR)

CU Broadbent

SUP ED BROADBENT
LEADER NEW DEMOCRATIC
PARTY

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)VISUAL

LS both subjects positioned
in front of Host (split SCR)

CU MacIntosh

SUP TORONTO

SUP ROBERT MACINTOSH
PRESIDENT
THE CANADIAN BANKER'S
ASSN.

VERBALHost to MacIntosh:

Mr. MacIntosh, did he say
anything there that you'd like to
deal with?

MacIntosh:

Well, of course, what Mr.
Broadbent really wants to do is
to centralize decision-making and
we all know what we get from the
Post Office in that regard.

We've recently had the example/

of the centralized decision-
making that we get in the/

National Energy Program. I don't
think that's what Canadians want
at all. They want a
decentralized market system
which is what we have in this
country. And it's one of the
great pieces of mythology in
this country that the larger
banks have so much power that
they're out of control. That's
quite nonsense. The banks have
to operate in the market system
the same as everybody else. We
have to pay the interest rates
that are going in the
marketplace. We have to compete
with the government for interest
on deposits. And we have to
compete with the money market
and other lenders and foreign
institutions in making loans.
So it's quite nonsense to say
that there's any centralized
power in the banking system.

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)VISUAL

CU Broadbent . . .

CU Host

LS both subjects positioned
in front of Host (split SCR)

CU MacIntosh

CU Broadbent

VERBALBroadbent:

I'm saying that what we would like to see established here, as it's been established in a number of European countries, is some regulatory instrument over the banks so that, for example, we could ensure that a higher percentage of capital stays in Canada instead of going to finance take-overs outside of Canada. These are Canadian savings...(interrupted by Host)

Host to Broadbent:

You're suggesting that money that could be boosting the economy of Canada is not being placed here, is being placed abroad. I want to hear Mr. MacIntosh's response to that.

MacIntosh:

Well that's easy. The banks simply do not take Canadian savings and invest them abroad. That's a complete myth. I can categorically state: banks do not do that.

The money that's used to finance take-overs and operations abroad is financed in the currency in which the loan is made, and that's not very often Canadian dollars. And so it simply isn't the case.

Broadbent:

I come back to the point, established in other countries, where they do regulate the categories that the banks may

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)

VISUAL

CU MacIntosh

SUP ROBERT MACINTOSH
PRESIDENT
THE CANADIAN BANKERS'
ASSN.

LS both subjects positioned
in front of Host (split SCR)

CU Broadbent

SUP ED BROADBENT
LEADER, NEW DEMOCRATIC
PARTY

operate in, and let them operate

VERBAL

freely within those categories. I come back to land speculating or, we may need more money in housing in a given year than we need in other sectors. I would like to have the government be able to lay down broad guidelines like that, to say we need this kind of investment pattern in the coming year, and then allow the chartered banks to operate within that framework.

MacIntosh

I think that what the/

people want is a market system where decision-making is decentralized, and nobody wants a government body run by the NDP or anybody else which is gonna tell the banks what kind of loans they should make, because we all know what they would do.

They would make unproductive loans to their friends, and there wouldn't be a market system at all...(interrupted by Broadbent)

I hope I have a/

chance to reply to what I regard as intellectual and moral rubbish that's coming from Mr. MacIntosh right now. I mean, that is absolutely ludicrous. You, Mr. MacIntosh, talk to, as I have, a number of people who have lost their homes because of mortgage policies of the banks, talk to the number of farmers who are in great

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)VISUAL

CU Host rolls her eyes
while Broadbent tries to
finish his point

LS both subjects positioned
in front of Host (split SCR)

CU Host

difficulty because the banks

VERBAL

are moving in, operating purely on the principle to maximize their gain. I would suggest to you with all due respect, Sir, that the people of Canada do have an interest, because it's made up of homeowners, it's made up of farmers, in having a government...(interrupted by Host).

Host to Camera:

Allright, alright, can we, let's, let's get Mr. MacIntosh. Mr. Broadbent, Mr. Broadbent... (interrupted by MacIntosh)

MacIntosh:

Can I, can I have a chance to get a word in? Mr. Broadbent, you come from Oshawa. I've checked out the lending policies of the credit unions in your home town of Oshawa and they're not lending any money for new mortgages today. So don't hand us this stuff about the banks making it difficult for homeowners. The banks in fact are picking up the mortgage loans of the credit unions and the trust and loan companies all over Canada, because they're taking the responsibility when the others are not.

Host to Camera:

If the going rate for money right now is as high as it is, can the banks do anything about that, Mr. Broadbent? Aren't

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)VISUAL

CU Broadbent

CU Host

CU Broadbent

LS both subjects positioned
in front of Host (split SCR)

they just the public's chosen

VERBALvillains for where monetary
policy has taken us lately?I blame the government for not
setting the kind of regulations
up that permit a better social
impact of that performance...
(interrupted by Host)Host to Camera:But, but, how, how, how much
(smiling again in the same
manner) under the Bank of Canada
rate can they put out money?Broadbent:Well, the Bank of Canada, for
example, if it was directly
responsible, in a way that we
think it should be, in terms of
interest rates, we could bring
down the interest rates in
Canada to 1% above the rate of
inflation, and if that were
the case, established by the
Bank of Canada, the banks of
Canada would follow suit with
lower interest rates across
the board.MacIntosh:The fact is that, as I said
before, interest rates are not
determined by the banks. What
Mr. Broadbent is proposing to
do is to hand the millions of
savers in this country a 1%
rate of return on their
money. They've been/

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)VISUAL

CU MacIntosh

CU Host laughs

CU MacIntosh

VERBAL

ripped off for the last ten or fifteen years by politicians wanting to do that, so when he proposes a unilateral reduction in interest rates, different from that in the United States, he's telling all of the millions of savers in this country that they should get nothing on their money. Good luck to you, Mr. Broadbent, I hope you get a lot of votes from them.

Host to Camera

Mr. Broadbent, you're suggesting that the banks putting out money at 18% don't want to put it out at 14%. If they make their profit on the spread, what's the difference to them?

Am I off-base on that one, Mr. MacIntosh?

MacIntosh:

No, you're, the fact is that the banks would be thrilled to have interest rates fall a lot. Why should we sit around taking all this guff from people like politicians about the high level of interest rates which we're not responsible for. We would love to see interest rates down to, say 8% and if we borrowed at 6%,/

we'd have a 2% spread. We'd be delighted.

CU Host nods absorbingly

FIGURE 10.2 (cont'd)VISUAL

LS both subjects positioned
in front of Host (split SCR)

CU MacIntosh

CU Host

LS both subjects positioned
in front of Host (split SCR)

VERBAL

Broadbent:

Well maybe Mr. MacIntosh can
tell us why the spreads have
increased recently.

MacIntosh:

Spreads have not increased
recently. Spreads are narrower
now, and in the banking industry
the rate of return is lower now
than it's been since the war...
(interrupted by Host)

Host to Camera:

Okay, we thank you both
very much.

Broadbent:

It's been a pleasure.

MacIntosh:

Good evening, Barbara.

* Abbreviations:

CU	close-up
LS	long shot
MCU	medium close-up
MG	motion graphic
MLS	medium long shot
SCR	screen
SE	sound effects
SG	still graphic
SUP	super
VT	video tape

story is set inside the framework of: first, the discursive practices of broadcast journalism; secondly, the recurrent, stable features of the discourse of television information; and thirdly, the specific form of THE JOURNAL. The significance of the first two contexts are by now well apparent, and will become more so through the course of later discussion. Visually, one of the important contexts in the third category is the JOURNAL set itself, created to attract and hold the audience-market and to evoke a desired impression to that audience-market. The designer of the set, who also created the Global and CITY-TV TORONTO news sets, explained the rationale underlying the design:

At Global, we pulled out the anchor desk and put racing stripes around the wall and did a lot of beiges and browns and gold, and it's perfect for [Global news reader], but I don't like it. I mean, beige is, it's a very easy thing to do everything in beiges and browns because it's totally innocuous and it says nothing. And I just didn't want to go that way again [in the design of THE JOURNAL].

I wanted you to see this set, and it had its own richness and it had its own depth. I mean, from the desks to the skylight to the shadings above the screen. Most screens are hard - I mean, that's a mammoth thing to make comfortable. It's a very big set and you have to make it comfortable and intimate, and yet it's acres, it's huge, it's a very big set.

But then it does work, and yet when you pull back, back, you think, my God, the CBC's got a bowling alley. But it doesn't appear huge because of the false lines on the roof that create this sense of depth that's absolutely unbelievable...When you're seeing something like that, you're saying, this is a big show, we go a lot of places and we're going to bring you all the news, not different pieces of what

we can manage to get to you -we're going to give you news and current affairs (JOURNAL Presentation Producer, July 1983, original emphases).

In addition, the split screen imagery of the double-ender interviews is a perfect visual embodiment of the journalistic principles of balance and impartiality - and a recurrent visual display well-entrenched into the form and the identity of the programme. Ideologically, it solidly "fixes" the image of a balanced reportage of "both sides" of a controversy. The double-ender technology itself, as we discussed in Chapter 5, further shapes the form of the interview imagery in that only three standard shots are possible: the long shot which pictures the host facing the split screen in which the two subjects are laterally positioned and equally viewed - in other words, the shot which fully displays the "balance" of the debate; a close-up host-to-camera shot; and a close-up subject-to-camera shot. As Figure 10.2 indicates, these are the only three types of shots, then, to appear throughout (this and all) interview segments. The relative visual simplicity and the standardization of the interview segments, particularly in contrast to the much greater visual complexity and rapidity of visual movement in the documentary form (see Figure 10.2), can be expected to over-privilege the verbal or render the verbal yet more dominant in the interview segments of the programme. Here, too, mediation is even less apparent than in the other story forms:

subjects appear to speak freely, to freely express their views without mediation or intervention (other than the time constraints and the interruptions of the host), which very effectively masks the constructedness of the interview form (the planning of the interview, the selection of subjects, the contact research, the prepared questions, the editing of both the verbal content and the visual form in accordance with changes of speakers, and so forth).

Another dimension of the story's "context" is its position in the programme in which it appears, a placement which again demonstrates our earlier points about producers' assumptions regarding the interests of the audience-market. What is most remarkable is that, even during a year in which there was a regular and constant referent to the "current" economic "recession" (that is, 1982), in which "effects-of-the-recession" stories became so commonplace that the phrase entered into common parlance at story meetings, even under these circumstances producers continued to assume a low audience interest in economic stories, particularly those seen to be "complex" like the story in question. The result is that the story occupied the same position that "The Business Journal" would hold regularly in the following year: namely, the final segment of a Friday night programme. In this case, the story took fourth place to: a lead interview regarding the south Atlantic war; a tongue-in-cheek documentary about

"Canuckmania" in Vancouver, followed by a short interview about their prospects in the Stanley Cup finals; and a (procured) documentary about "psychic surgery" in The Philippines, which included such explicit footage of surgical operations that "sensitive" viewers were advised not to watch. Those Friday night viewers sufficiently determined to watch THE JOURNAL, sufficiently intrigued to watch the first three stories, and sufficiently stalwart to endure the gruesome surgery scenes, would only then find available a discussion of how very well the Canadian banks were faring in the face of the "recession." Without benefit of a study of reception, we can only suggest what its placement may "mean" with respect to the perceived importance of the story, especially in the other context of journalistic conventions to which audiences are accustomed and conditioned, notably the convention whereby stories appear in descending order of importance.

With regard to the structure of the text, its three main components are the introduction or "hook," the short documentary or "issue-pack" which provides the back-ground to the interviews, and the double-ender debate between the two interview subjects. In the first place, and perhaps most importantly, the very structure of the story follows from the programme outline discussed in Chapter 5, explicitly forged to enlarge and broaden the CBC information audience, and in that sense the whole story (and whole programme) can be seen as a

"hook." Yet what producers call a "hook" is just the brief but all-important story introduction. Here, it includes a number of common or typical elements: (1) the very first verbal line ("How much profit should the banks be making?") establishes the tenor of the story and illustrates the theme of "responsible capitalism" identified by Gans - in other words, the immediate social problem here, or rather potential social problem, is one of "excess"; (2) "we'll go" highlights the endlessly highlighted mobility of THE JOURNAL; (3) despite the fact that that mobility is restricted once again to Ottawa, and here too we should note that it is Ottawa which is once again both the locus of and the source of the story; (4) "the bankers are under investigation": the federal government (which, in the discursive language of television information, has become synonymous with "Ottawa") is the place and the source of the story, as well as the story's "peg" - ideologically, the effect is to make the repeated connection between (possible) corporate wrongdoing and corrective action by the state, which can be counted upon to review and amend the excessive ways of a group even as powerful as the banks; and (5) finally, we should note the significance of the music and sound effects which punctuate the "hook." In this respect, THE JOURNAL was scarcely innovative in its use of modern jazz themes, electronic bleeps, and typewriter rhythms. The Glasgow Group suggest the significance of their use by the

British broadcasters:

The use of modern jazz themes to introduce current affairs...has acquired a cultural familiarity and has become a musical sign that the programme is metropolitan, sophisticated as well as intelligent. The older use of classical borrowings became too sober for programme planners trying to widen their audiences without lowering their emphasis...The music emphasizes the image the television companies wish to sustain - that the news is balanced and impartial - in no way are the news personnel personally involved. the news occupies a neutral space in the sequence into which events and facts project themselves almost mechanically. The clackety-clack of the teleprinters, the electronic bleeps that have become the predominant themes of news music draw attention to the processes of news collection and presentation, and reflect the typographical origins of 'news.' The news comes, the music suggests, through neutral air waves on to neutral typewriters, a balanced mix of electronic show business and print (1980: 232-233, original emphasis).

After the audience-market is hopefully "hooked" to watch the commercial advertisements which follow, the "hook" to the JOURNAL story continues with: first, the stylistic pattern of the use of emotive superlatives in story introductions - here, the examples are "absolutely enrage," "all-time high," "more people than ever," and "lose everything," all of which are packed into three short sentences; and secondly, consensualism - the use of unifying descriptions of the audience-market ("two subjects that absolutely enrage Canadians"), also establishing a pattern which continues throughout the story.

The second main component is the video report or "issue-pack." Issue-packs are quickly assembled (often

prepared in a matter of hours, since their purpose is to introduce the issues raised by topical, news-pegged interviews) and the story form was designed to quantitatively increase the variety of visual imagery in the programme in a rapid and relatively cheap manner (partly in response to early widespread criticism - by other journalist-critics - of the programme's early visual weakness).⁵ All of these requisites are manifest in the issue-pack of the bank story: the rapid assembly of the visuals, the quantity of shots which appear and the rapidity of their succession, and the relatively low cost of the visuals assembled, many of which consist of "free" stock footage. Indeed, the only new or original footage shot for the issue-pack is within quick and easy reach of THE JOURNAL's production centre: namely, the shots of the downtown Toronto banks, most importantly, their advertising posters which show the necessary current interest rates. Here again we find support for Elliott's observation that the final product is much less significantly the outcome of carefully weighed decisions by producers than of its passage through the production process; in this case, the expediciencies of the "issue-pack" and the use of stock footage, newsfilm, and House of Commons broadcasts (all readily available "in-house" or within the CBC); the readily at hand shots of Bay Street and the bank towers, not to mention those of Parliament Hill.

What emerges, however, out of these expediciencies is a

rich amalgam of literally "stock" images which offer a range of possible intersections with the verbal text of the journalist's voice-over. Nevertheless, the voice-over addresses the visuals in a way that describes and necessarily dominates in suggesting how the pictures should be read; for example, the September 1981 protest is one of "real desperation," a description which prefaces the actual appearance of the visual. It is further empowered by the evidence requirement of broadcast journalism; thus, for example, the fact that "the public and the Opposition" blamed the government is substantiated by the visual evidence of the Parliament Hill demonstrations and particularly by the words of the one demonstrator who declares that "it's about high time people got together and showed the government" (his emphasis). The onus of responsibility for the bank profits-high interest rates "problem" is thus taken to rest squarely and unquestionably on the shoulders of the state, although the Finance Minister "tried to get the government off the hook."

Meanwhile, the bank representatives, incidentally caught on tape while walking quickly into the hearing room, do indeed appear to be the (faultless) "willing participants" in the hearing process, ready to respond to the allegations of excess, and further along, in the interests of balance, we are told that the banks do have a case. Once again, it is a matter of excess: bank "earnings" (which connotes something

slightly yet significantly different than bank "profits") are not high compared to other industries, particularly if the difference is expressed in dollars and cents (\`a la the graphic and the verbal text) rather than the percentage return. Moreover, the banks are not the most profitable economic sector: some industries "actually" have a higher rate of return than the banks.

At this point, consensualism is re-invoked: "While many Canadians remain angry about bank profits and interest rates, there is an ambivalence in their feelings about banks in general. As depositors, we want a strong banking system, but...". The balance principle leads here to a momentary emphasis upon the banks' power: "as consumers and borrowers we resent the power of the industry." The "facts" about the banks' power are tempered, however, by the visual evidence of "aggressive competition" suggested by the rapid succession of shots of varied bank advertising posters. Yet, once again, the "other side" is that there is no competition around interest rates, which means that "the bank customer has no choice of service and if the price is not right, the only remaining option is to use a different type of financial institution." Hence, consistent with the patterns noted earlier that are characteristic of the discourse in general, the thematic opposition is between the banks and their customers or the banks and "consumers." As Murdock and

Golding point out (1979: Chapter 6), in the absence of the capacity to convey social process, the discourse offers only "institutional definitions" of social problems, with the result that news is limited to immediate problems and concretely resolvable conflicts. Together with the tendency to unify the audience-market into a body of "consumers," it leads, in this case, to a definition of the problem as one of high interest rates in terms of their effect upon the bank-consumer relationship; that is, the impact upon the audience. By framing the problem in that way, a preferred reading is "naturally" inscribed: interest rates (and bank earnings) are very high these days, which is creating hardship for many people, but the problem is in the hands of the government, which is investigating the problem and the banks through a Finance Committee hearing. Temporally, a preferred reading is further reinforced since there are limits to the extent of the "background" to the "event" of the hearings about recent bank profits (note, too, the way in which the story is framed by fundamental news values). These temporal limits arise from: first, the absence of both time and resources with which to conduct research or investigate even the banks' long-term earnings record, least of all their historical role in the economy, all of which is structurally excluded from the discourse; and secondly, the brevity of the item itself, which allows no place for such a historical perspective or even

extended reflection upon the connections between what become in the story two discrete and disconnected phenomena: interest rates and bank earnings. The time constraint of story length precludes such exploration, of the kind which might allow alternative readings to come to the fore: it is both the outcome of the limited production span of the story (a few hours) and the structure of THE JOURNAL itself, which calls for a short and concise "issue-pack" intended mainly to introduce the issues to be discussed in the interviews.

The third main component of the story, then, is the "two-sided" debate between the official spokesperson for the banks and the federal leader of the New Democratic Party. The manifest contents of their statements are in themselves fully packed, and need not be examined at length for our purposes here. Instead, we may simply point out a few matters of form which add to or detract from the legitimacy of their respective presentations. The same discursive practices realized in the issue-pack are carried through to establish the framework of the debate, which ostensibly occurs between two interview subjects equally posed visually via the split screen, with only a minimum degree of apparent mediation by the host, whose role is formally to see that "both sides" are afforded the opportunity to be heard equally as well. At the very outset, the host also establishes that there is a "public controversy" about the use of bank assets around which the two

subjects will spar: namely, the president of the Canadian Bankers' Association as the official spokesperson of the banks poised against "one of his staunchest critics" - the NDP leader. It is the official spokesperson whose legitimacy is assumed, who largely supplies the "definition of the situation," and whose position is awarded greater authority by virtue of his official status. During the interview, for example, the host consults him ("Am I offbase on that one, Mr. MacIntosh?") and nods absorbingly as he provides her with his expertise. Broadbent, on the other hand, is reduced through the course of the interview to a partisan, vote-seeking "politician" (and all which that connotes), one who is often interrupted by the host in a way that visually underlines the distinction between the two - rolling eyes, the repetition of "but, but"s, and a smiling facial expression as she interrupts his statements which suggests that his contribution amounts to little more than the ramblings of another soapbox politician who must be curtailed for the sake of "getting on" with the debate. The effect is that the bank representative comes to appear more as a "pipe-puffer" than as a principal in the story, matched against a merely self-interested politician. The host's mediation is consequential in two additional ways. First, her list of questions prepared by the daily producer and edited by the Desk are meant to be posed and, mindful of the time constraints, the questions are often set forth in

illogical succession, at inopportune moments, and/or in such a way as to abruptly cut short any efforts by the subjects (in this case, notably Broadbent who is not, by JOURNAL standards, a "good talker") to develop their position in a way that might render it more intelligible. Secondly, her use of "we" to signify her own representation of the whole audience-market carries with it the effect of a continuation of the consensualism that has been operative throughout the whole story. Taylor has suggested that:

The interruptions made by Ms. Frum during interviews could be the subject of a separate study. One of the main aspects of the interruptions, however, appears to be the establishment of the parameters of the consensual view: the concern is always to identify what "we" should think, do or feel about particular topics (1985: 17).

With respect to news texts in particular, the Glasgow Group (along with numerous others) have demonstrated that "the ideology of news which requires it to be neutral, unbiased, impartial and balanced merely leads to a 'naturalism' on the level of stylistics which hides its ideological components" (1980: 402). Our argument is that principles of impartiality, balance, etc., and other tenets of the professional ideologies of broadcast journalism, are but one of a range of contributors to the ideological composition of the informational text, be it formally ensconced as "news" or "current affairs." A close look at the labour process which produces the text, at the expedients and logistics of

production, at the peculiar constraints which arise from the way that the labour process is organized, and above all at the way in which the political economy of information broadcasting shapes the form (if not the content) of the informational product, reveals how these forces act and interact in such a way as to enable a preferred or hegemonic reading to dominate the text. This is not to say that a preferred reading will necessarily dominate the variety of ways in which the text is actually received, for at least two other broad types of readings are possible. The ideologies existent across the audience-market - or, to use Parkin's formulation, the map of "meaning-systems" across it - form the larger pool from which the "decoding strategies" (to employ Morley's useful concept) of viewers derive. Gouldner, too, has pointed to ideologies as the connecting link between the "facts" of news/current affairs and the background assumptions which enable audiences to understand or make sense of "the facts" (1976: 111). In addition to those who may be expected to decode the text in accordance with its inscription, i.e. the preferred or dominant reading, alternative and oppositional readers may decode the text in question, for example, in very different ways. Alternative (or "negotiative") readers may empathize with the plight of "homeowners," conclude that the power of the banks is indeed "excessive," and perhaps even find some merit in Broadbent's disjunctively heard case for additional

regulatory controls, yet remain forever haunted by the spectre of "another Post Office" raised by MacIntosh. Oppositional readers might be expected to decode the imagery of bank "competition" as illusory or superficial, to seriously doubt the significance of the Finance Committee hearings or their capacity to arrest the concentrated power of the chartered banks, and to reject outright the "twisted logic" of MacIntosh's defence. Clearly, the exact ways in which the ideological configurations of information texts figure in the web of existent ideological formations in Canadian society can only be determined through a systematic study of the complexities of the process of reception which follows from the process of production that we have attempted to unravel here.

Figure 10.3 links the major production constraints identified throughout the project with some of their textual outcomes. In the "Conclusions" which follow, we will attempt to summarize the constraints operative at the five network programmes and suggest their larger import for the production of news about the social world and the reproduction of ideologies within it.

FIGURE 10.3: PRODUCTION CONSTRAINTS AND THEIR TEXTUAL OUTCOMES

<u>Production Constraints*</u>	<u>Some Textual Consequences</u>
<u>time constraints:</u> -----	"event" orientation, decontextualization of events, focus upon actions and individual rather than processes and structures, ahistoricism, etc.
- limited production periods	
- limited programme lengths	
- limited story lengths	
- time zone constraints -----	exclusion of events which occur outside the parameters of satellite feed deadlines
<u>monetary constraints:</u> -----	widespread effects upon the quantity, form and content of stories
- limited facilities and resources, including human labour-power and technological resources	
<u>technological constraints:</u>	
- use of film versus ENG -----	economic and logistical restrictions constrain story form and content
- limited network of land lines and satellite links -----	limited story geography
division and distribution of journalistic labour -----	limited news definitions, limited story geography
structured, unequal access to nations, regions, etc. -----	limited story geography
structured, unequal access to potential subjects -----	limited demography of subjects, limited conceptualizations of power and politics
general production values -----	limited criteria of story selection, limited guidelines regarding story presentation
production values regarding subject selection and the use of official spokespersons -----	officialdom and the reproduction of official definitions of social reality
limited resources for original research/dependence upon official information suppliers, esp. state agents -----	same as above

(continued)

FIGURE 10.3 (cont'd)

Production Constraints

Some Textual Consequences

absence of comprehensive knowledge of programme audiences -----	potentially erroneous assumptions which underlie the construction of texts
legal constraints and fear of legal repercussions -----	critical attention is largely limited to the state
limitations of established programme formats -----	exclusion of incompatible stories
limited social demography of producers -----	limited patterns of story origination, esp. in current affairs
limited range of sources/ degree of inter-media dependence -----	limited original news collection, similarity of news agendas, homogeneity of form, cross-media content duplication
<u>fundamental market imperatives:</u> -----	effects upon both form and content of programmes and stories tendency towards consensual forms of presentation, exclusion of contexts, ahistoricism, etc., exclusion of non-visual or weakly visual topic material
- pre-eminently, the need to obtain and sustain audiences	
- production values spawned by the visual nature of television	
- the entertainment context in which televisual information is produced	
<u>economic constraints of the current crisis:</u>	
- increasingly limited travel ----	progressive centralization of story locales, increased dependence upon external suppliers
- reduced facilities and resources -----	limited original production, increased rates of procurement and co-production, conformity to dominant (global) practices of story production and dominant story forms

* Note that these are not necessarily listed in their perceived order of importance, nor is it possible to convey here the interaction of these constraints. The list is meant to be suggestive rather than exhaustive.

NOTES

1. The figure excludes newspaper and other journalists invited to provide reviews of current films.
2. Taylor, who conducts neither a quantitative nor qualitative analysis of THE JOURNAL nor any analysis of its production, thus arrives at the mistaken observation that "THE JOURNAL can be mobile in a way that other programmes never were: it is not so open to criticisms focussing on geographical distortion" (1985: ii, note 7). He is correct, however, to observe that "its international 'gaze' is (not) one that penetrates and illuminates events" (1985: ii, note 7, all original emphases).
3. It is worth noting too that Hackett found no significant inter-network differences between CBC and CTV. Similarly, the Glasgow Group's content analysis revealed "great similarities between BBC and ITN" (1976: 203).
4. Such sources - for example, the Canada News Wire - seem to be much more commonly utilized at the local level (see Clarke, 1981b: 31).
5. See Chapter 5, pp. 293-294, for a discussion of the origins of the issue-pack.
6. As another dimension of the apparent absence of mediation, it is also significant that there are no credits run at the close of THE JOURNAL nor, still more importantly, by the newscasts. The Glasgow Group suggest that:

This general lack is significant. We would argue the bulletins must hereby be assumed not to be produced in the sense that other programmes are produced. This is an important expression of the neutrality that is supposed to underpin the bulletins (1980: 249).
7. Despite the impression conveyed by Taylor, it should be stressed that these tendencies are not, of course, peculiar to "Ms. Frum."

CONCLUSIONS:

MEDIA PRODUCTION AND IDEOLOGICAL REPRODUCTION

Gramsci insisted that the best means to unravel the complexities of ideological reproduction and hegemonic struggle was through the analysis of concrete cases, especially analysis of those concrete institutions and practices through which bourgeois hegemony struggles to be reproduced. He also insisted that these institutions and practices be examined according to their historical and societal specificity. Our particular object of analysis has been the institutions and practices of broadcast journalism in 1980s Canada, understood in the context of their historical evolution within Canadian society. Our approach has been to study televisual information through analysis of the labour process which produces it, a labour process itself understood in the context of the larger societal structures which frame and shape the process in a host of important ways that we have identified here. Methodologically, the key underlying principle is that, in order to fully understand what ultimately appears on the television screen and what it "means" ideologically, one needs to examine not merely what appears but also, and as a prerequisite, how it comes to appear in a particular way, a way that predominantly favours the interests of capital and therewith the survival of capitalist hegemony.

To assert such an outcome is not to simply utter a statement of facile dogma. As our analysis here indicates,

the actual relationship between media production and ideological reproduction is infinitely entangled, may even seem at times obscure, and is unquestionably difficult to penetrate by means of empirical study. Our objectives have been much less ambitious. We selected for study the five major network information programmes in Canada, and assessed their output during the same period in which the conditions of their production were observed and documented. Apart from the specific results which conclude each chapter, there are a number of broader premises supported here, including those set forth by Connell:

The media work in such a way as to create the ideological conditions for the success of conservative politics...this is not a matter of "bias" or partisan reporting or conscious distortion of the truth; no evil-minded capitalistic plotters need be assumed. It is an outcome of the normal, regular processes by which commercial mass communications work in a capitalist system, producing and reproducing an ideological interpretation of the world (1977: 195).

Connell's position, like our own, derives from the political economy school of media analysis, a comparatively small wing of Marxist media scholarship which stands opposed to the epistemological and methodological principles of the presently more popular structuralist school. From a political economy perspective, counter-hegemonic forces lack effective representation in the media markets of capitalist societies, not only since their proponents lack the resources required to enter the market as competitors, yet also since the dynamics

of the market operate to direct existent media towards consensual forms of presentation. Hence, as we've seen, while producers may experience a sense of relatively high autonomy in the everyday conduct of their work, their range of choice is framed and determined by the economics of production.

These determinations, which here assume the form of "production constraints," originate in several different ways (cf. Murdock, 1978: 59ff.). Some stem directly from current market conditions while others carry the imprint of the historical trajectory of the media industries in Canada and the specific organizational forms that these dynamics spawned at the two national television networks, while still others trace to the similarly-based evolution of practices and ideologies associated with the professionalization of journalism. In all instances, these determinations are the source of what were broadly termed "production constraints" which structure the form and content of network output in ways that are consonant with the interests and ideologies of capital.

Like other studies of new production elsewhere, our analysis shows that the manufacture of news and information is framed by a distinctive set of journalistic criteria of newsworthiness, by a larger set of "production values" which extend these criteria to other facets of news presentation, and by the routine practices of gathering and processing

through which these values are operationalized. Production values are likewise the outcome of a series of historical adaptations to changing market conditions and continue to reflect that legacy. As Murdock explains (1978: 60-62), there were two main historical benchmarks. In the first, the press freed itself from direct state control and established itself as a commercial service which catered principally to the needs and interest of elite groups. That development importantly shaped subsequent notions of news, which remains news that is still predominantly concerned about the actions and opinions of elites. Yet not all elites receive equal attention. Rather, in the struggle to establish independence vis-à-vis the state, à la the model of the independent "Fourth Estate," news came to concentrate upon political elites at the expense of critical attention to financial and industrial elites. Ideologically, the effect is to divorce power from property ownership and to shift attention to the holders of political and state offices as prime wielders of power and authority. Our analyses of those who populate each of the five programmes, especially those who most frequently occupy the position of "authoritative" subject, points to the way in which network news media thereby "tacitly endorse a pluralist model of contemporary capitalism in which the capitalist class virtually disappears from view as a key power bloc" (Murdock, 1978: 61).

The other benchmark was the point at which commercialization accelerated and the press sought a mass audience, a movement which profoundly shaped several central production values. The crucial requirements of recency and speed were made yet more mandatory by the intense competition, at which point news was solidly and more or less exclusively identified with current events. As Murdock explains:

This has several pertinent effects. The concentration on the immediate present edges out the accounts of process and history necessary for critical understanding. Despite the appearance of rapid and constant change, news ultimately presents an image of stasis, of the cyclical recurrence of familiar happenings - murders, natural disasters, coup d'etats, strikes. News severs events from their historical preconditions and reconnects them through a stable stock of images (1978: 61).

News also personalizes events, a tendency which once again arises out of the political economy of production and the existent structure of the labour process. A focus upon individuals and their actions is congruent with the demands of daily production schedules, and at the same time it offers points of intelligibility, interest, and identification to viewers. However, in conjunction with the "event orientation" of news, it cannot but offer a very limited portrait of social structure, one that is far more in accord with a bourgeois interpretation of the social world than any other. It is by means of these limitations or constraints that, for example, structured social inequalities are transformed into individual differences, that social classes are supplanted by a cloud of

dislocated and apparently freely-acting individuals, and that history is excluded in favour of a stream of disconnected current events. By the same processes, labour-capital relations are reduced to the immediate and directly visible activity of strikes, while other conflicts are collapsed into the form of demonstrations and "public disturbances." Moreover, the preoccupation with "negative" events or what is "bad news" to capitalism, i.e. developments which may potentially fracture the social fabric, creates, in effect, "good news" for capitalism in that it "surreptitiously normalizes the status quo. Everyday life under capitalism becomes the taken-for-granted base from which to assess interruptions and challenges" (Murdock, 1978: 62).

The tendency is further sustained by the need to reach a mass audience, which habitually pulls media presentations towards the terrain of consensus, towards images of communality and of audience members' shared location as consumers and as citizens. Indeed, in the Canadian case, it is a tendency yet further sustained by a formal state mandate (incorporated into the Broadcasting Act) to interpret Canada to all Canadians, to contribute to the national unity of all of Canada's citizenry. In this way, a latent tendency instigated by market structures becomes explicit, expected, and even demanded of the networks in the form of a state directive.

Together, these successive historical adaptations to market conditions and state directives have generated a parallel or consonance between the structures and forms of media presentations and the central tenets of the dominant ideology. It is not, therefore, necessary to invoke conspiracy theory or to seek evidence of direct intervention, manipulation, or acts of purposive "bias" in order to explain the relationship between media production and ideological reproduction. Instead, it can be seen to arise out of the regular, structured market dynamics of the media industries in capitalist societies. The dominant ideological interpretation of the social world offered by televisual information, then, is actually "doubly determined" (Murdock, 1978: 62): first by the specific requisites of the labour process and the professional practices and values of its producers, and secondly by the wider logic of the capitalist market within which the production is embedded.

There are some additional, somewhat distinctive forces operative in the Canadian case. While the general conditions of media production in capitalist societies deny full voice to counter-hegemonic ideologies, the specific economics of media production in Canadian society further reinforce the tendency, and lead not only to the absence of serious ideological competition, yet extend also to the absence of diversity even in the substantive content of the

news that is offered, to a repetitive sameness in the stories which appear across both print and broadcast media. The pattern of duplicity or homogeneity is directly attributable to the costs of independent coverage by individual media enterprises beyond their immediate area of publication or broadcast. Factors of demography and geography combine with those of economics to create a national newsgathering infrastructure that is overwhelmingly dominated by only a very few originators of news: most importantly, CP (including PC, BN, QL Systems, and its other subsidiary services), and to a lesser extent, The Globe and Mail.

CP is supplier to almost all of the newspapers and broadcasting organizations in Canada.¹ In turn, CP itself is supplied by three of the "big four" international news agencies (AP, Reuters, and AFP). In fact, as discussed in Chapter 2, CP was originally formed not in order to gather news, but in order to gain the rights to distribute AP stories in Canada. It is increasingly dependent upon AP and the other agencies for the supply of international stories. Siegel observes, for example, that during the period since the Davey Committee urged that it pursue international newsgathering more vigorously, CP has closed a one-person bureau in Paris, reduced its labour force in New York and London, and recalled its journalists who served short periods in Moscow and Brussels. At present, there are just six CP journalists

overseas, and two of these are posted in London while the other four are in the United States - predictably, in Washington and New York (see Siegel, 1983: 193). Nationally, while Siegel estimates that 60 per cent of CP's Canadian product is internally produced, he notes that a decade earlier the figure was just 40 per cent (1983: 192-193), and in light of CP's contemporary budgetary crisis, the proportion is likely to decrease to earlier levels.

The sameness of content is due not only to the limited number of news originators in Canada and their widespread reach into newspaper, radio, and television newsrooms at the local, regional, and national levels. It also grows out of the extent to which these newsrooms act, in effect, as a single news-dispensing organization. Not only are the newsrooms joined by CP's 90,000-kilometre system of leased wires, a trunk circuit which stretches the full expanse from St. John's to Vancouver Island and the Yukon, it is by means of the circuit that news line-ups are shared and exchanged in addition to the stream of available stories. CP advises all of its subscribers of the stories that will occupy the front pages of the major daily newspapers and the air time of the network television newscasts. Hence these interrelationships, born of the economics of news production in the Canadian market, also incidentally provide a confirmation of news judgements and news practices in addition

to the homogeneity of content that inevitably and persistently results.²

Other than widespread dependency upon a limited number of sources, another persistent component of the labour process is the set of production values which likewise contribute to the homogeneity of the final product. Indeed, so persistent are these notions about who and what is newsworthy that their operation overrides the technological capability, at THE JOURNAL for example, to broaden the range of subjects and the spectrum of stories deemed worthy of air time, if only in a limited geographical sense. At minimum, two of the ways in which "news" might be reformulated are through diversification of the range of subjects and expansion of the geographic reach of production, yet even such minimal reformist change evidently faces strongly resistive barriers, as witnessed at THE JOURNAL and by the efforts to reform THE NATIONAL. Alongside the limited sources of stories, the limited range of sites and subjects also reduces, in a very concrete and substantial way, the size and scope of the televisual world available to view.

THE JOURNAL clearly exemplifies how it is that rather progressive ideas and relatively rich resources are insufficient to overcome the larger structural constraints imposed by the nature of the broadcasting market. Since these constraints derive from its very nature, both networks are

inevitably and similarly affected, regardless of the differences in their respective organizational structures. Another major point of commonality between the networks that has been illustrated throughout is their shared adherence to established journalistic practices and ideologies, which further assures the similarity of their products, and which also, we have argued, serves to further constrain the way in which the social world appears upon their respective television channels.

Journalistic ideologies include, not least of all, assumptions about the television audience (and it is appropriate to use the singular form here). Underlying and fuelling these assumptions is the set of economic imperatives associated with information broadcasting in capitalist societies. Elliott (1972a) pinpointed the essential foundation of these audience assumptions as he observed the production of a British television series:

....regardless of the characteristics attributed to the imagined audience, for example their level of intelligence, the concern in this process seemed to be not with simpler and so more effective communication of meaning, but with simplification in order to ensure that audience attention was not lost. In other words, the aim was to establish a relationship between production and audience based on audience satisfaction rather than the communication of meaning (1972a: 244).

The relative inattention to effective communication, necessitated by the political economy, and the greater attention to the more pre-eminent need to hold viewers in

front of the set, results among other things in relatively low levels of audience comprehension (see, for example, Sahin et al, 1982). While studies of audience response in these terms are still few in number, it may well be that the demands of the political economy actually preclude and actively militate against meaningful communication through television. Elliott expresses the contradiction as "a contrast between interest in the meaning of the content and in ensuring an audience regardless of content" (1972a: 250). The process whereby these demands evolve into taken-for-granted notions about what can and should be offered to audiences (interest versus comprehension) is apparent in the following exemplary statement by a JOURNAL producer:

We do not deal in detail very well. Television goes for the big broad brush; we go for the colour and the emotion. TV will convey emotion far better than it ever will convey facts. If I see a script that's got a lot of percentages in it and a lot of ".2"s - fella, they're not going to remember that. Save that for the business magazine. Let's get to the essence of the story: what is it that they really need to know? And don't bore them with detail (JOURNAL Field Producer, August 1983).

The demands of the political economy, therefore, require that priority be accorded to audience attention rather than to audience comprehension or the meaningful explanation of social phenomena. These demands directly shape production values, which in turn serve two needs. Production values provide criteria of story selection and provide guidelines for story presentation, both of which are thus founded upon the

importance of audience attention, instead of the importance of comprehension, let alone critical understanding. Their impact extends to all facets of the final story and programme forms, in a myriad of ways evident throughout the present project. A news producer here articulates the way in which the audience attention imperative underlies principles about story introductions:

The trick with an intro is, in a hard news intro, you've gotta have the goods in that first sentence. But you don't want to give away the whole story: you want to hook people and get them into the visual (NATIONAL Line-up Editor, May 1982).

Story introductions, in fact, are sometimes tellingly referred to as "hooks."

Production values and broader journalistic ideologies extend to the sharp, institutionalized split between "news" and "current affairs" discussed in Chapter 5, a split whose ideological ramifications need not be reiterated here. Suffice it to note that the multi-faceted distinctions between these two informational forms (recall also Figure 8.1) have undoubtedly nurtured different sets of audience expectations about each, one effect of which is to further fracture the presentation and understanding of social developments.

At this point it is more important to stress that, as discussed in Chapter 9, production values do cost, and hence the process of content selection offers little scope for individual decisions based upon anything other than "a

constant 'to-and-froing' between the strengths of production values and the relative expenditures required to incorporate them into stories" (see Chapter 9). That is the ever-present "bottom line," as it were, of the act of selection, and one to which producers are keenly attuned. Production values, then, rarely override the operation of fundamental economic constraints, which remain pre-eminent in the determination of how the televisual world is constructed and ideologically composed. That ideological composition, which tends to lend greatest weight to a particular, preferred reading of the social world, arises most fundamentally out of the need to reach a large, indeed national, audience-market. Producers must therefore call upon perceived "national values" in order to obtain and sustain the national audience-market. The dominance of the preferred reading, however, is not so simply derived. It is also the outcome of other related production imperatives - the audience attention imperative, the visual imperative invoked by the medium of television, and the entertainment context within which television information is produced - in addition to the action of the other various constraints which arise out of the way in which the production process itself is presently organized, including the principles of professional journalism.

Economic constraints or the "bottom line" of the labour process also tend to discourage deviations from the

established criteria of story selection and the established modes of story presentation, and in that sense contribute to the reproduction of existent production practices:

In terms of daily news people who've been conditioned by daily news coverage and short turn-arounds and Canada-limited production budgets, you tend to go for the tried-and-true rather than to break new ground, particularly if it's on a project that may not work and that may end up costing an awful lot in terms of crew time or material cost or per diems or travel money or just straight salary time (JOURNAL Documentary Producer, former CBC news producer, June 1983).

Our analysis suggests, therefore, that the economic context of information broadcasting seriously constrains the way in which the social world is presented by means of television, that it creates a whole set of derivative constraints which act in conjunction with each other and in a congruent yet coincidental fashion to produce a preferred reading of the social world. In toto, the constraints of the labour process necessarily encourage a hegemonic interpretation by virtue of at least three characteristics of the final product: illusion, exclusion, and mystification.³ Illusion, especially the illusory unity of the whole audience-market, is manifest, for example, in the "we" perspective assumed by broadcasters, in the invocation of phrases like "the national interest," in reference to audience members as "homeowners," as "consumers," or as "Canadians" who are all equally citizens of the state. Exclusion refers to the absence of context, above all the absence of any notions of

social power and social process from the explanatory framework which fails to surround the reportage of current events (see also Golding and Elliott, 1979: Chapter 6). Mystification occurs by means of the limited temporal framework through which audiences are made aware of these events; namely, a framework that is current, daily or weekly, severely limited by time, and reduced to the appearances of individual subjects with whom the events are associated in the form of the personal theory of power or the Great Man theory of history, neither of which enable a critical understanding of social-structural developments. The third characteristic is likewise understood to be endemic by Dahlgren and Chakrapani, who suggest a few of the implications at the international level:

The mythic reactions to the Third World which TV news fosters - irony, skepticism, and fascination - are congruent with the global relations which characterize imperialism. Seen in this light, TV news evidences an implied commitment to a particular form of international order...Although TV news' proximity to the political economic processes of the international arena are more remote compared to the domestic arena, its ways of seeing reveal a hegemonic approach in characterizing social and political realities between countries. The role TV news plays in reproducing those areas of popular consciousness relevant to international political economy is at least as far from being air-tight or lock-step as its domestic role. As on the domestic level, however, this 'leakiness' does not preclude an ultimate commitment to specific social interests. The concrete 'effects' on the audience may or may not be measurable, but the extent of TV news' success as a purveyor of hegemonic ways of seeing is a different research question (1982: 62-63).

A final caution must be issued regarding the "lock-

step" or "air-tight" containment of counter-hegemonic interpretations. We would argue that their availability to audiences is far more than a matter of occasional "leakage," yet, as Dahlgren and Chakrapani state, that is a different research question, and one that has not been directly addressed here. It is at least apparent that even stories which strongly encourage a hegemonic reading can be read in a number of alternative ways, and hence the process is neither final nor functional. Nevertheless, a fundamental economic determination is at work, "determination" understood in Williams' sense:

Determination is a real social process, but never (as in some theological and some Marxist versions) a wholly controlling, wholly predicting set of causes. On the contrary, the reality of determination is the setting of limits and the exertion of pressures, within which variable social practices are profoundly affected but never necessarily controlled. We have to think of determination not as a single force, or a single abstraction of forces, but as a process in which real determining factors...set limits and exert pressures, but neither wholly control nor wholly predict the outcome of complex activity within or at these limits, and under or against these pressures (1974: 130).

The very real determinations of the political economy have been stressed throughout the present project yet, as Murdock concludes: "In the end it is not a question of choosing between structural determinism or methodological individualism, but of exploring the relations between determination and concrete action, and the ways in which they have been formed and transformed historically" (1978: 63;

original emphasis). As he suggests, future work must seek a more comprehensive account of structural determinations, explore the ways in which structural constraints are mediated through the responses and accommodations of the key groups in production, and construct a sociologically informed history which systematically connects shifts in media organization and performance to changes in the structure of capitalism and class relations (see Murdock, 1978: 63). Such work calls for the kind of long-term, methodical, and detailed historical analysis that has necessarily been excluded here.

In addition to these requirements, there are specific projects which must be undertaken if we are to fully and systematically disclose the connections between media performance and the web of ideological configurations found across the populations of capitalist societies. Beyond analysis of the product which results from the way in which production is organized in such societies, the best revelation of that web can only come from direct analysis of the audiences which receive and "read" the product. Textual analysis may reveal something of import about what is viewed, yet there remains the vital question of how it is viewed or read in accordance with the pre-existent world-views of audience members, along with other dimensions of the media reception experience. These tasks still await completion.

NOTES

1. According to Siegel (1983: 199), broadcast media now account for 40 per cent of CP's revenues.
2. Kiefl, for example, also discovered a very high degree of story duplication between the networks, even though he examined same-day duplication only. To be precise, he calculated that "46 per cent of the news included in THE NATIONAL on the average night deals with events reported on CTV" (1979: 20). The CBC-CTV same-day duplication found by Kiefl is logically related to the similarity of story geography patterns noted both here and in his study, as well as the similarity of story topics. In fact, Kiefl found a significantly high degree of duplication among all four networks analyzed in his study. The proportion of news which appeared in all four newscasts - by CTV, TVA, CBC English and French - ranged from 22 to 29 per cent or about one-quarter of all news (1979: 21).
3. These three characteristics were elaborated by Murdock in his graduate course titled "Structures and Processes in Mass Communications" at the Centre for Mass Communication Research, University of Leicester, during the academic year 1979-80.

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APPENDIX I: OUTLINE OF THE FIELDWORK

The fieldwork began in January 1982 after the defence of the dissertation proposal in December 1981. A move to the Toronto area, where all five production units are based, and a SSHRC doctoral fellowship made it possible to conduct the fieldwork on a regular full-time basis from January through to August of that year. In September I left to assume a contractual teaching position at the University of Vermont, which served two useful purposes vis-a-vis the project. First, since it was a short-term contract for the four-month fall semester only, it required relatively little time away from the research, and at the same time it enabled me to earn a sufficient amount (and in American funds) to finance another period of full-time fieldwork from January to August of the following year. Secondly, since my experience of the fieldwork was very similar to that described by Elliott and especially by Schlesinger at the BBC, who proceeded through the successive stages of captivation, disengagement, etc., the period in Vermont afforded the opportunity to reflect upon the initial fieldwork experience, reach the stage of disengagement, and develop a perspective with which to formulate new questions for the second round of fieldwork in 1983. By September 1983 I had gathered sufficient data to compile draft outlines of the labour process at each unit, and at that point I had also completed all of the formal interviews. A sessional teaching contract at the University

of British Columbia for the academic year 1983-84 also made it possible to conduct additional interviews with a number of Vancouver-based producers during late 1983. While in Vancouver and after my return to Ontario in the spring of 1984, copies of the first drafts of the production outlines (which now appear as Chapters 4 to 7) were reviewed by members of each production unit and checked for accuracy. This provided the opportunity to re-visit the units intermittently during the remainder of 1984.

The methodological shortcomings of participant observation were somewhat overcome and generalizations could be more viable in that each production unit is organizationally self-contained and even physically or geographically separate, which made it possible to carry out comparative observations in five different and separate production settings. One of the disadvantages of their relative organizational autonomy is that access needed to be negotiated separately with five different contacts at the five programme units. At THE NATIONAL, I was initially referred to the unit's exclusive full-time publicist, who is charged to liaise with "outsiders" and handle any requests to tour or visit the central newsroom. After a thorough explanation of the project, I was accorded virtually free access to not only the central newsroom itself but also every other area of the building in which a facet of CBC news production occurs,

including the VTR editing suites, the satellite feed intake suite of "pit," the offices of the graphic artists, the control room and studio, the Evening News Service production area, and the offices of the News Specials Unit. I was also permitted to attend the daily "hand-over" meetings, which represent the major editorial discussion of the day between the dayside and nightside news staff. Moreover, after just the first few days of observation at THE NATIONAL, the copy clerks developed the habit of distributing to me my own copy of each production document - the tip sheet, the outlook, the "possibles and probables" sheet, the feed list, the tentative and final newscast line-ups, etc. - as they circulated these throughout the newsroom.

I assumed at the outset that, once inside one of the CBC's programme units, it would be possible to forge formal and informal contacts that would in turn make it easier to gain access to the other units. This proved true for the fifth estate, where I approached the executive producer directly in January 1982, not long after the observations started at THE NATIONAL. He endorsed the project wholeheartedly and expressed an unexpected amount of enthusiasm, to the point where he offered access to his file cabinets containing all of the documents associated with the production of each story broadcast by the fifth estate since its debut in 1975. He also provided a desk at which to study

the files, which was centrally located among those of the production manager and production assistants, and between the offices of the field producers and the senior and executive producers. Needless to say, this provided the excellent opportunity to spend long periods of time there, and while there to directly observe discussions about stories in progress.

It was while at THE NATIONAL that I was advised not to approach THE JOURNAL until at least February, since the programme had just debuted 11 January and the new unit was known to be in a state of hectic chaos. Also at that time, it was the object of much media attention and scrutiny, some of it viciously critical and resentful of the unit's comparatively large budget. This affected my reception at THE JOURNAL in February, where there was some trepidation about the project and a suspicion that I might be a Toronto Sun reporter operating "incognito" and preparing to write fallacious, inflammatory stories about the thickness of the newsroom carpets. Although the suspicion was voiced in a joking manner by the unit's publicist, who had been much harassed during the weeks of press attacks upon THE JOURNAL, there was clearly some genuine concern about underlying motives. I was referred to the Senior Producer (Production), who as it happened held a doctorate from the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford University, and whose

thesis had concerned the dynamics of management decision-making at the CBC. We engaged in a very lengthy discussion of the project, through the course of which he was assured of my identity and intentions, and in fact provided me with a copy of his dissertation. Thereafter, I was granted permission to proceed with the observations at THE JOURNAL, although there continued to be some trepidation among various members of the unit until my presence became familiar and the formal interviews were under way.

During the first phase of the fieldwork, then, observations alternated between the three programme units at the CBC. All the while, efforts continued to negotiate access to the programme units at CTV, which proved to be a far more difficult task. After months of fruitless correspondence with network management, I was advised by a faculty member in Carleton's Journalism Program to write directly to W5's executive producer and mention the name of the faculty member who, as a former CTV producer, knew the executive producer well. In his reply of 8 April, the executive producer expressed a willingness to co-operate, although he pointed out that since there were only two W5 editions left to produce in the 1981-82 season, the unit would not be fully in operation again until the following (1982-83) season. Since at that point the research agenda was in any event fully occupied by the fieldwork at THE NATIONAL, THE

JOURNAL, and the fifth estate, it was agreed that the W5 observations would start in January, 1983, after my return from Vermont. Meanwhile, the executive producer of CTV NATIONAL NEWS continued to disregard letters and telephone calls until finally, in June 1982, I was referred in his absence to the acting executive producer, who agreed to a two-day observation period only; that is, to observe the daytime staff on the one day and the evening staff on the other. Fortunately, by June of that year I had become sufficiently well-versed in journalistic jargon, newsroom acronyms, and news practices that even during the short two-day period it was possible to quickly grasp the procedures of CTV news production, which in any case differed little from those of THE NATIONAL.

The 1983 and 1984 periods were occupied by primary observations at W5 and continued fieldwork at the three programme units of the CBC. At all units except CTV NEWS, then, which refused anything more than the two-day observation period, the fieldwork comprised three elements: (1) observation and informal interviews with assorted staff members; (2) formal interviews with a cross-section of those in each production role; and (3) questionnaires circulated to the total population of exclusive staff at each unit. During the observations and informal interviews, in most circumstances notes were made while the production teams

worked. Otherwise, in circumstances where it was too awkward (e.g. in the field with reporters or field producers) or conspicuous (e.g. where the room and/or number of persons present was small), observations were recorded at the end of the day. Following Elliott (1972b: 173), I adopted a strategy whereby I assumed from the outset that nothing was irrelevant, which often meant very copious notations. These notes formed the basis of the draft outlines of the labour process at each unit.

The formal interviews were preceded by a memo issued by the principal contact in each case, who advised staff members of the purpose of the interviews and requested their co-operation. In the case of THE NATIONAL and THE JOURNAL, the formal interviews were also discussed as an item on the agenda of their respective story meetings. Selected subjects were then contacted and a formal appointment was arranged. Questions were posed under three consecutive topic categories: (1) personal data; (2) specific questions tailored to the role of the subject in the labour process; and (3) general questions and opinions. Under the first category, subjects were asked if their questionnaire had been completed, and if not, a questionnaire was completed at the start of the interview (see Figure I.1). This very often provided the opportunity to explain the purpose of the questionnaire and with it the purpose of the project as a whole (which also

tended to increase levels of assistance and co-operation during the ongoing observations), to clarify my identity and purposes, and to reassure the subjects of anonymity and confidentiality. These introductory discussions, particularly of the subject's career background, also tended to place the subject at ease and to establish the importance of his/her information and opinions. The second category consisted of sets of specific questions that were asked of all hosts, all field producers, all researchers, and so forth, respectively. The third category included general questions about the production unit, which typically launched a more free-wheeling discussion of the subject's experience of and opinions about the practice of television journalism in Canada. In all except a few cases where subjects objected, these interviews were recorded in their entirety and the audio tapes later transcribed.

A third element of the field research consisted of the questionnaires, data from which form the principal basis of the discussion in Chapter 8. As discussed, permission to administer the questionnaires at CTV NATIONAL NEWS was denied. At the other production units, questionnaires were circulated to all exclusive staff at each unit, i.e. not to those shared by other programme production units within the CBC or CTV (in the case of W5). In every case, the questionnaire was accompanied by a covering memo from the executive producer and

attached to a stamped, self-addressed envelope for the benefit of those based outside of Toronto. At THE NATIONAL and THE JOURNAL, the questionnaire was also discussed at story meetings. Respondents were advised that its purpose was "to generate a core of information about the social characteristics and career paths of television journalists and producers in Canada." A copy of the questionnaire appears as Figure I.1.

CONFIDENTIAL DATA SHEET

The following information will be used to prepare a socio-demographic profile of those who work in news and current affairs broadcasting in Canada. Your personal data will remain anonymous. You are not asked to indicate either your name or the programme for which you work --- only your position (associate producer, senior editor, etc.) with the programme.

Please indicate your year of birth: _____

Your place of birth? _____

Your sex? M () F () city province country (if outside Canada)

Your ethnic origin? British Isles () French () Other _____

Your level of education? public school ()
 some high school ()
 completed high school ()
 some college or university ()
 completed college or university ()
 some post-graduate ()
 completed post-graduate ()

What was your father's occupation? _____

Was he ever a company official? yes () no ()

Please indicate whether you are principally engaged in news or current affairs production: NEWS () CURRENT AFFAIRS ()

What is your official title? _____

How long have you held this position? _____ years/months

How long have you been employed with the programme? _____ years/months

Please identify any trade unions or professional associations to which you currently belong (ACTRA, NABET, etc.): _____

In the space below, please outline briefly your previous news and/or current affairs experience (it is not necessary to identify specific programmes, newspapers, etc.). Use the back of the sheet if required.

Type of Position
(researcher, editor, etc.)

Type of Programme or
Medium (TV news, daily
newspaper, etc.)

of Years

APPENDIX II: SAMPLE PRODUCTION DOCUMENTS

The following sample production documents are reproduced in their original form. Figures II.1 through II.7 present the succession of major documents which guide the daily production routine at THE NATIONAL - here, all pertain to the programme of Monday, 15 March 1982 - from the morning "tip sheet" to the final "overnight note" written by the producer and addressed to the next day's dayside assignment staff (see Chapter 4). In addition, Figure II.8 presents a sample JOURNAL line-up (see Chapter 5), while Figures II.9 and II.10 show the CTV NATIONAL NEWS outlook and line-up of 22 June 1982 (see Chapter 7).

FIGURE II.1: SAMPLE TIP SHEET: THE NATIONAL

THE MORNING TIPSHEET FOR MONDAY, MARCH 15

FOREIGN:

NY - Halg, MacGuigan, and the foreign ministers are at it again trying to work toward a solution in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and the Caribbean basin.. Duffy there for a report

CANADIAN

St. John's -- probable election call tonight -- Yaffe will

Ottawa -- Will the bells stop ringing today -- tune in folks -- Casey

Toronto -- gold prices continue to plummet -- Burt

Western Canada poised for election calls -- We get three hits on election fever..

- Workman in Sask.

- Savory in Alberta

- Thompson in B. C.

Winnipeg - ~~There's~~ There's a suspect in the murder of the girl who was killed in the doughnut shop where she was working... -- Matte reports

Quebec - Quebec supreme court begins hearing case to test Quebec's historic ~~"veto"~~ "veto" over any constitutional changes..

Mcpherson reports

Toronto -- Trudeau speaking to Italian dinner tonight -- Halton covering

Ottawa -- More on women's lobby meeting in Ottawa -- Madquerite

Toronto -- good closer on showing of Napoleon -- Kimel

- *Poster*

SAMPLE CELL LIST: THE NATIONAL

OUTLOOK for Monday March 15/82

elson/cameron/ritchie

FOREIGN:

LATAM MEETINGS duffy NAT 44446 New York NATS
Feed exCBS Nyk 2030-2130. Recorded VTR. Multilateral meetings with
Haig, Castenada, Venezuelan FM and McGuigan in morning, Haig newser,
Haig meeting with UN Sec-Gen Cuellar at 1500.

VISNEWS:

1. Italy: Red Brigades dozier kidnappers trial. today
2. Baltic: polish navy exercises. yesty
3. Afghanistan: afghan's peoples party conference opens. yesty
4. S.Africa: squatters hunder-strike in cathedral. recent
5. USSR: vladmimir salnikov breaks own 1500m freestyle swimming record. saturday
6. Belgium: gerulaitis beats wilander in belgian final. yesty

OUTLOOK CONTINUED MARCH 15/82

ST. JOHN'S

WFLD ELECTION/YAFFE NAT. 44434

NATS

HALIFAX

LOCAL

FREDERICTON

LOCAL

SAINT JOHN

SHIP BURNS/MCGOOLAN

POSS ENS

THAT SHIP IS STILL BURNING

MONTREAL

QUEBEC VETO/MCPHERSON NAT. 44435

POSS ENS/NATS

QUEBEC BATTLE TO RETAIN VETO GOES TO COURT TODAY

OTTAWA BUREAU

ELLS DECISION/CASEY NAT. 44436

ENS/NATS/UPD

WENS LOBBY/MCDONALD NAT. 44437

NATS

TORONTO BUREAU

UDEAU ITALIAN/HALTON NAT. 44438

ENS/NATS

OLD FALLS/BURT 44444

NATS

POLEON REVIVED/KIMEL NAT. 44439

NATS

FIGURE II.3: SAMPLE OUTLOOK: THE NATIONAL (cont'd)

ONTARIO REGIONAL:

CANCER HINKEY

READ

DNS

scientist gets half million to investigate unusual tumours

CHILD RESTRAINTS

CLARK

ENS

standards too light? might be loosened

TEACHERS STRIKE

MACQUARIE

ENS

strike broken off in carleton abe talks

MYSTERIOUS DIRT

MAC UARIE

DNS

legend gives governor general a gift for check/41

UFTI SCHOOLS

HOROLING

ENS

controversy brews... seems that at least 7 schools insulated with ufti

DOWNEY TAKES

LEHARDER

DNS

empty businessmen plans to take his employees deducts to sit on an ass. 107.

STREET KIDS

DAIR LINE

SW. NOTE

TORONTO REGIONAL:

STELCO CAR

PATRISON

DNS

employees start a buy canadian campaign

CAR CONTEXT

HANSE

ENS

what car should be bought to buy the most canadian

ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

FISHER II

DNS

are we in a depression they ask??

QUEENS PARK

FISHER I

DNS

pass fax to trip to wash to check how they handled their summer race flats

GUARDIAN ANGELS

SMITH

ENS

leader of a new york city group in town

TRUDEAU JMS

REYES

DNS

hit him on the unemployment question...

HOMESWIMERS TAX

ORRISTON

DNS

look at gov't plan-you pay tax on what you can rent your home for if you rent it out

WINDSOR:

GI RESUMES

AUSIN

FYI

after word to think talks between on and new resume

SYMPHONY DETROIT

MATFIELD

SEN CHECK

WILKINSON:

STOPPED ANGRUSTED

WHITE

NAT 44440

STOPPED ACCUSED

RUTHERFORD

DNS

29 yr old ver bellboy accused of murdering girl in doughnut store in dec

BOG SURPLUS

TAYLOR

ENS

general look at surplus situation wants to increase its quota-impact on manitob

CTIC COMPROMISE

MORIAM

ENS

is prov. happy with cancom compromise etc

PAYLEY MEET

CHECK

REGINA:

SASK ELECTION

MORIAM

NAT 44441

FIGURE II.4: SAMPLE POSSIBLES AND PROBABLES
SHEET: THE NATIONAL

POSSIBLES, PROBABLES, MONDAY MARCH 15th

LATAM MEETINGS: DUFFY NAT 44446 NEW YORK
DOZIER TRIALL VISNEWS, AMNETS?
QUEBEC VETO: MACPHERSON NAT 44435 MONTREAL FEED
NFLD ELECTION: YAFFE NAT 44434 ST JOHN'S FEED
SASK ELECTION?: WORKMAN NAT 44441 REGINA FEED
ALBERTA ELECTION?: SAVORY NAT 44442 EDMONTON FEED
B.C. ELECTION?: THOMPSON NAT 44443 VANCOUVER FEED
HOSPITAL DEMO: POSS VG PIX REGINA FEED
BELLS DECISION: CASEY NAT 44436 OTTAWA FEED
TRUDEAU ITALIAN: HALTON NAT 44438 TTO ENG
NAPOLEON REVIVED: KIMEL NAT 44439 TTO ENG
GOLD FALLS: BURT NAT 44444 TTO ENG
WOMEN'S LOBBY: MCDONALD NAT 44437 OTTAWA
STOPPEL ARRESTED: MATTE NAT 44440 WINNIPEG
WATCHING: VON BULOW VERDICT, EL SALVADOR, ETC.

FIGURE II.5: SAMPLE FEED LIST: THE NATIONAL

FEEDLIST FOR MONDAY 22 MARCH 15, 1982

22:30	OTTAWA	BELLS DECISION (CASEY) UPDATE ITEM (REPORTER T.B.A.)	
	XXXXXXXX ST JOHN'S	FRENCH FEED	
20:40	REGINA	SASK ELECTION (WORKMAN) WORKMAN HEADLINE HOSPITAL DEMO (35 SEX NAT. SOUND)	
	XXXXXXXXXXXX		
	WINNIPEG	STOPPEL ARRESTED (MATTE) MATTE HEADLINE	
	VANCOUVER	B.C. ELECTIONS (THOMPSON)	
21:30	NEW YORK	LATAM MEETINGS (DUFFY) DUFFY HEADLINE DUFFY UPDATE	
	ST. JOHN'S	NFLD ELECTION (YAFFE)	UPDATE ALSO TO RECORD
	MONTREAL	QUESEC VETO (MCPHERSON)	
**BY	SATELLITE	HEADLINE IN ON	ENS
	EX STUDIO 63		
	EDMONTON	ALBERTA ELECTION	

FIGURE II.6: SAMPLE LINE-UP: THE NATIONAL

NATIONAL LINEUP, MONDAY MARCH 15 82

OPENING ANIMATION

recue

BELLS DECISION: CASEY NAT 44436 OTTAWA (MICHAEL)

1:50sh

recue

TRUDEAU ITALIAN: HALTON NAT 44438 TTD ENG (MICHAEL)

1:30sh

recue

FIELD ELECTION: YAFFE NAT 44434 ST JOHN'S FEED (KAREN)

1:40sh

direct join:

STING HEADLINES TEASE: DUFFY/MURKMAN/KINIEL

recue

BRIDGE BOOMED: HEWITT NAT 44451 EX CBS FEED TO ENG (SUZANNE)
(MAY NEED ASSEMBLY EDIT)

1:50sh

recue

TARDENCILLAS RETURNS: AMRETS (SUZANNE)

recue

LATAM MEETINGS: DUFFY NAT 44446 NEW YORK (GEORGE)

1:40sh

recue

DOZIER TRIAL: VUAND NAT SOUND EX CBS SYND PIX (GEORGE)

:20sh

direct join:

STING JOURNAL TEASE

recue

STOPPEL ARRESTED: MATTE NAT 44440 WINNIPEG (SUZANNE)

1:05sh

recue — HOSPITAL DEMO: AMHCR VO AND NAT SOUND EX REGINA (JONES) :25sh

SASKATCHEWAN ELECTION: MURKMAN NAT 44441 REGINA (KAREN)
ALBERTA ELECTION: SAVARY NAT 44442 EDMONTON (KAREN)
B.C. ELECTION: THOMPSON NAT 44443 VANCOUVER (KAREN)

1:00sh
1:00sh
1:00sh

direct join:

MIMI STING

recue

March 15/82

Good morning...

An extremely hairy night.

Feeds were very late and stories were breaking all around us.

- 1) Yaffe fed very late considering her story happened 3½ hours before air-time. Her piece ended up running 12 minutes into the Newfie show. Bob Allison thought we downplayed the story; (Just kidding)
- 2) Duffy missed the 9 entirely. His good friend Bob Simon of CBS stood in for him. The editing situation at CBS New York is pathetic. We had to fine-tune the item in ENG. The quality was still terrible.
- 3) There were no headline stings at 9 either. Because of late feeds we couldn't mix them in time.
The fact that our 9 o'clock show was technically flawless is a tribute to our studio and technical crew.
- 4) Macpherson's Quebec story was dropped for both shows. There wasn't much in it.
- 5) The consensus was our election speculation pack was editorially weak and only looked respectable because of the Peckford peg. We probably should have run a special report instead.
- 6) In case the Journal was worried, Reuters moved the Gavin Hewitt Nicaragua story around 8:30. We looked extremely good having it.
- 7) We were tipped off ^{To} ~~the~~ Cossitt's death around 7:30 by Dave Isaac at Regional. After dogged pursuit by Ottawa, we finally confirmed it at 9:30, too late for the early show. We also redid Update at 11 to accommodate Cossitt.

David

FIGURE II.8: SAMPLE LINE-UP: THE JOURNAL

THE JOURNAL - WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1982		Issue # 2
1.	NATIONAL WINDOW	19.45
3.	9 PM TOP	
<hr/>		
1.	OPENING	(.55)
2.	INTRO CLARK - BF/MLF & GFX/BF & HANGER	(.45)
2A.	INTERVIEW - BF	3.15
	GUEST: ALAN CLARK EX. LONDON	
	PRODUCER: NATANSON	
3.	INTRO RAPHAEL - BF & HANGER	(.30)
3A.	INTERVIEW - BF	(3.11)
	GUEST: ADAM RAPHAEL EX. LONDON	
	PRODUCER: NATANSON	
4.	INTRO FALKLANDS PAK - MLF & GFX	(.30)
4A.	FALKLANDS PAK (MACMILLAN)	3.46
5.	CONTINUITY - MLF	(.07)
6.	BUMPER	
6A.	COMMERCIAL	1.20
6B.	STING	
7.	INTRO INTERVIEW - MLF & GFX/BF & HANGER	.45
7A.	INTERVIEW - BF	(3.53)
	GUEST: BRIAN PECKFORD EX. ST. JOHN'S	
	PRODUCER: JAMIESON/CODY	
8.	INTRO ROBINSON - MLF & GFX & HANGER	.50
8A.	INTERVIEW - MLF	(3.39)
	GUEST: SVEND ROBINSON EX. OTTAWA	
	PRODUCER: NERENBERG	
9.	CONTINUITY - BF	.03
10.	BUMPER	
10A.	COMMERCIAL	1.20
10B.	STING	
11.	INTRO DOC. - BF/MLF & GFX	(.34)
12.	ROMANCE NOVELS DOC.	10.20
13.	SIGN-OFF	.05
14.	CLOSING	(.20)
15.	COPYRIGHT LOGO	.10

FIGURE II.9: SAMPLE OUTLOOK: CTV NATIONAL NEWS

EVENING OUTLOOK TUESDAY 22 JUNE '82

OTTAWA:.....RE-BUDGET '82. FACED WITH SOME OF THE WORST ECONOMIC NUMBERS EVER, MacEACHEN
 PRE-EMPTED CRITICISM OF THE CURRENT COST OF LIVING INCREASE...UP FROM 11.3 % APRIL
 AVERAGE TO 11/8 % IN MAY. ~~THEY WOULD LIKE TO SEE A 10% INCREASE IN~~
~~STIMULATE PRIVATE INVESTMENT~~..NO WORD ON INTEREST RATES. ILGMD 7:45

OTTAWA:.....POSSIBLE OPPOSITION ITEM...BUT CLARK IN WFG.

WFG:.....CLARK IN MIDDLE OF SPEECH TO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND IS HANDED WIRE COPY ON
 NEW BUDGET TO BE ANNOUNCED NEXT MONDAY NIGHT. (CTV NEWS WILL DO SPECIAL
 FROM 20:00 - 21:30 MON. NIGHT AND EXTEND NEWS.)
 CLARK RESPONSE WAS GOOD, DEMANDED MEASURES TO STIMULATE PRIVATE BUSINESS ETC.
 JOHN ALSO CHASING BOVEY WILGUST 8:05

OTTAWA:.....BRUCE PHILLIPS COMMENT. 7:45

TORONTO:.....SOME ECONOMIC STUFF EARLIER TODAY WITH BULLOCH AND LUTLEY...NO USE NOW

.....WHEELCHAIR ATHLETE CFTO?

MONTREAL:.....CONFERENCE BOARD EARLIER TODAY...AGAIN OUT DATED BUT MIGHT BE WORTH
 GETTING THOMAS MAXWELL COMMENT ON WHAT NEEDED FROM NEW BUDGET 7:20

.....IN MONTREAL JEWISH COMMUNITY DUST UP LAST NIGHT 3,000 OF THEM...
 RE BEIRUT INVASION...

BEIRUT:.....CEASEFIRE ISRAEL SAID IT WOULD ACCEDE TO HAS BEEN BROKEN McINTOSH SAYS,
 SOON AFTER THERE WAS AIR ATTACK OVER BEIRUT. DENNIS AND MARK HAVE AGAIN
 SHOT GOOD STUFF WHICH WILL APPEAR ON ALL U.S. NETS AND WITH LUCK ABC
 AND WITH MORE LECK ARRIVE FOR US. THRUOUT THE DAY ISRAELI ARTILLERY BEGAN
 ROW BY ROW DESTRUCTION OF PALESTINIAN CAMPS AND FORTIFIED BEACH FRONT.
 DENNIS STAND UP BRIDGE SHOULD ALSO ARRIVE....
 FEEDS EX LONDON TBA
 WE HOPE NBC POOL 5 - 6
 TO N.Y.

TEL AVIV:.....MUCH BOOM BOOM ALONG HIGHWAY TO BEIRUT AS REFUGEES FLEE. MARTIN HINEL
 FEEDS FICS AND STAND UP...WITH CBC ON TEL AVIV HERZ. POOL...RECORDED CBC LONDONX
 ON FED TO US TEA.

VANCOUVER:.....KIDNAP VICTIM FORCED TO DRIVE THRU U.S. TO CANADA BY GUNMAN WHO KEEPS
 LISTENING TO STORIES ON HINCLEY AND SAYS ' IF HE CAN GET AWAY WITH IT
 I CAN KILL PEOPLE AND GET AWAY WITH IT.' STRONG STUFF. DNS FOR BASICS
 REPORT FROM STEVE McHALE OF BCTV. 7:35 or 10:10

.....CABINET MINISTER PETER HYNDMAN BEING INVESTIGATED BY COPS IN CONNECTION
 WITH HIS EXPENSE ACCOUNTS. HE DID STORY WHEN FIRST BROKE. CLEM CHAFFLE 10:10

BCTEL LAYOFFS

EDMONTON:.....BIG FOREST FIRES UP NORTH AND CREWS BACK 6 PM OUR TIME

REGINA:.....DETAILS OF S&K MORTGAGE PLAN ...COPY...

FALKLANDS:.....NEW WAR FIX FROM PORT STANLEY, AND OR NEW PEACE FIX FROM SAME ON UPITM
 OR ABC. IN ARGENTINA, NEW PRESIDENT. KEXALZZX NAMED

VARIOUS CANADA:.....41 GUN SALUTES IN HALIFAX, VCR., OTTAWA...

LONDON:.....THE RESILIENT PRINCESS OF WALES LEAVES HOSPITAL WITH HEIR TO BRITISH
 THRONE MUCH BEAUTY SHOTS OF HER, QUEEN, CHUCK, BABY ETC. ABC 4 - 5

FIGURE II.10: Sample Line-up: CTV NATIONAL NEWS

CTV NATIONAL NEWS

AIRDATE (22 June 1982)

VTR	MACH	FINAL TIME	STORY SLUG	REPORTER	EST TIME	WRTR	RDR	PAGE
			OPEN	10				
REM			BIGET / LLOYD	140 + 20		JE		1
↓			SPECULATION / PARROT	115		JE		2
REM			CLARK-BOWY / WILKIST	125 + 10		JE		3
REM			CAI / HUNSON	100 + 20		JE		4
REM			BABY / MURPHY	135 + 15		LJR		5
REM			XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXX				6
REM			COMMERCIALS	206				7
REM			FALKLANDS v/o	30 + 10		WR		8
REM			MIDEAST / MALLOBY	130 + 15		JE		9
REM			BEGIN-HAIG v/o	25 + 10		JE		10
REM			HINCKLEY-REAGAN clips	15 + 15		DH		11
CFTO			KIDNAP / HICKS	130 + 15		DH		12
			SPYING	20		WR		13
REM			PHILLIPS	115 + 10		MH		14
REM			COMMERCIALS	206				15
			BABY MAKES	30		LJR		16
CFTO			GUNS v/o	10 + 10		LJR		17

APPENDIX III: COMPOSITION OF THE PROGRAMME SAMPLE

The sample period extended from January to June 1982 and from January to June 1983. For each of the five programmes, the selection criteria and broadcast dates recorded were as follows:

(1) THE NATIONAL

Criterion of Sample Selection: Friday of the first week, Thursday of the second week, Wednesday of the third week, etc., throughout the 1982 sample period; Monday of the first week, Tuesday of the second week, etc., throughout the 1983 sample period. Weekend programmes were recorded every other Saturday and every other Sunday during both sample years. In 1982, two weekday programmes of the former format (Wednesday, 6 January and Friday, 8 January), two weekend programmes of the former format (Saturday, 9 January and Sunday, 10 January), and the debut of the new format (Monday, 11 January) were also recorded. The VCR was also programmed to record newscasts aired on a number of observation dates not formally in the sample; these are included below yet were excluded from the quantitative analyses. In the event of recorder and/or power failures, the programme of the next consecutive evening was recorded.

Broadcast Dates Recorded (1982)

January 6,8,9,10,11,15,16,21,26,27,31
 February 2,8,13,19,25,26,28
 March 3,9,13,15,16,17,18,26,28
 April 1,4,7,10,13,19,25,30
 May 2,6,8,9,12,18,23,25
 June 4,5,10,16,20,22,24,27,28

Broadcast Dates Recorded (1983)

January 3,11,16,19,27,29
 February 3,11,13,14,22,26
 March 2,10,13,18,21,26,29
 April 6,10,14,19,22,23,25
 May 3,4,8,11,19,21,27,30
 June 5,7,15,18,23,25

(2) THE JOURNAL

Criterion of Sample Selection: same as THE NATIONAL above.

Broadcast Dates Recorded
(1982)

January 11 (debut), 15,21,26,27
February 2,8,19,25,26
March 3,9,15,17,26
April 1,7,13,19,30
May 6,12,18,20,25
June 4,10,16,22,24,28

Broadcast Dates Recorded
(1983)

January 3, 11, 19,27
February 3, 11, 14, 22
March 2, 10, 18, 21, 29
April 6, 14, 19, 25
May 4, 11, 19, 27, 30
June 7, 15, 23, 24, 27

(3) the fifth estate

Criterion of Sample Selection: Excluding pre-emptions, every programme was video taped from January through to the end of the original production season during both sample years.

Broadcast Dates Recorded
(1982)

January 5,12,19,26
February 2,16,23
March 2,9,16,23,30
April 6,20,28
May 5,19,26

Broadcast Dates Recorded
(1983)

January 11,25
February 1,15,22
March 1,8,15,22
April 13,27
May 4,11,18

(4) CTV NATIONAL NEWS

Criterion of Sample Selection: As of 11 January 1982 (that is, once the programmes no longer aired simultaneously), CTV NATIONAL NEWS was sampled on the same basis as THE NATIONAL.

Broadcast Dates Recorded
(1982)

January 11,15,17,21,27,30
February 2,8,14,19,25,26,27
March 3,9,14,15,26,27
April 1,4,7,11,13,19,24,30
May 6,9,12,18,22,23,25
June 4,6,10,16,19,21,23,24,28

Broadcast Dates Recorded
(1983)

January 3,11,16,18,23,26,30
February 3,11,12,14,22,27
March 2,10,12,18,21,27,29
April 6,9,14,19,24,25
May 3,4,7,11,19,22,27,30
June 4,7,15,19,23

(5) W5

Criterion of Sample Selection: Since pre-emptions are more frequent and the original production season shorter than at the fifth estate, every programme was video taped from January through to the end of June during both sample years.

Broadcast Dates Recorded(1982)

January 10,17,24
 February 7,14,28
 March 7,14,21,28
 April 4,18,25
 May 30 (all others pre-empted)
 June 6,13,20,27

Broadcast Dates Recorded(1983)

January 16,23,30
 February (all pre-empted)
 March 6,13,20
 April 3,17,24
 May 22,29
 June 12,26