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on display until September 25, 2003
disponible jusqu'au 25 septembre 2003

CANADIAN ISSUES
THÈMES CANADIENS

August / août 2003

the owners?
les journalistes?

Qui
contrôle les médias
au Canada?

Who
controls
Canada's media?

le gouvernement?
le public?
l'Internet?

you?
vous?

OCTOBER 24-26, 2003

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- Sessions and activities to aid educators to effectively incorporate media, museums, archives, multimedia/internet and other non-textbook information in their classrooms
- Off-site sessions and activities involving elementary, secondary and university students
- Special events and activities sponsored by organizations dedicated to the advancement of the teaching and learning of the history of Canada

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CANADIAN ISSUES
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August 2003 Août

Canadian Issues is published by
Thèmes canadiens est publié par

ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN STUDIES
ASSOCIATION D'ÉTUDES CANADIENNES

CANADIAN ISSUES
THÈMES CANADIENS

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DISTRIBUTION
Gordon and Gotch Periodicals Inc.
110 Jardin Drive, Unit 11
Concord Ontario L4K 4R4

CITC/ACS STREET ADDRESS / ADRESSE CIVIQUE CITC/AEC
209 St. Catherine E., V-5140, UQAM, Montréal (Que) H3C 3P8
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CANADIAN ISSUES / THÈMES CANADIENS (CITC) – ISSN 0318-8442
CONVENTION POSTE PUBLICATION, 1470485

This magazine has been published in partnership with
Ce magazine a été publié en partenariat avec

McGill Institute for the Study of Canada
L'institut d'études canadiennes de McGill
www.misc-iecm.mcgill.ca

CITC is a bimonthly publication of the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS). It is distributed free of charge to individual and institutional members of the Association. CITC is a bilingual publication. All material prepared by the ACS is published in both French and English. All other articles are published in the language in which they are written. Opinions expressed in articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the ACS. The Association for Canadian Studies is a voluntary non-profit organization. It seeks to expand and disseminate knowledge about Canada through teaching, research and publications. The ACS is a scholarly society and a member of the Humanities and Social Science Federation of Canada. The ACS is also a founding member of the International Council for Canadian Studies.

CITC est une publication bi-mensuelle de l'Association d'études canadiennes (AEC). It est distribué gratuitement aux membres de l'Association. CITC est une publication bilingue. Tous les textes émanant de l'Association sont publiés en français et en anglais. Tous les autres textes sont publiés dans la langue d'origine. Les collaborateurs et collaboratrices de CITC sont entièrement responsables des idées et opinions exprimées dans leurs articles. L'Association d'études canadiennes est un organisme pan-canadien à but non lucratif dont l'objectif est de promouvoir l'enseignement, la recherche et les publications sur le Canada. L'AEC est une société savante, membre de la Fédération canadienne des sciences humaines et sociales. Elle est également membre fondateur du Conseil international d'études canadiennes.

CITC acknowledges the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Canadian Studies Programme of the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Canada Magazine Fund for this project.

CITC bénéficie de l'appui financier du Gouvernement du Canada par le biais du Programme d'études canadiennes du ministère du Patrimoine canadien et Le Fonds du Canada pour les magazines pour ce projet.

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A Crucial Role, Some Critical Questions

For the past eight years, the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada has hosted large-scale annual conferences that foster informed and non-partisan discussions on a variety of public policy issues that affect Canadians. This year, the Institute decided to tackle the vital issues facing one of the pillars of Canadian society, the media. An exploration of the media in Canada is directly relevant to the Institute's mission to encourage learning about Canada and to develop a better understanding of Canada's social, political and economic future. The media play a crucial role in telling Canadians' stories, and the goal of our conference was to educate and inform Canadians about the medium through which they themselves receive their information.

At our February conference, we asked a provocative and timely question, "Who Controls Canada's Media?" This question helped frame two days of lively debate and discussion at a conference that brought together different voices and players, as it sought to break down disciplinary boundaries and to engage a wide range of individuals in a balanced and open exchange of ideas.

As the following excerpts in *Canadian Issues* reveal, the theme of 'control' is not limited to discussions of concentration of ownership, but also embraces the role of government, the impact of new technologies, the effects of globalization and the changing expectations of Canadian audiences in a hyper-media age.

The media play a critical role in Canadian society and politics and in particular are the primary conduit between the public and policy-makers. The media are influential in informing the public about contemporary policy issues and debates and at the same time policy-makers often use the media as a proxy for understanding public preferences and concerns in their design of public policies. In both roles, the media may not be neutral actors. They may also filter, shape, and distort the dissemination of information. The critical role that the media can play consequently gives rise to a series of vital questions: To what extent have the media contributed to civic disengagement and malaise about political institutions and processes? Exactly what role do the media play in policy debates? Does media ownership have an effect on news content? Should Canadians be concerned about foreign ownership of our media?

Although questions about the media, politics and society have long been part of the Canadian experience, the issues of the day are now leading us through uncharted waters. We hope the reflections in this volume will help to provide a better understanding and appreciation of how the media works and of the influences affecting the media's capacity to tell our stories and shape the news in today's complex world.

Antonia Maioni
Director, McGill Institute for the Study of Canada

Un rôle critique, des questions vitales

Depuis les huit dernières années, l'Institut d'études canadiennes de McGill a été l'hôte de nombreuses conférences annuelles de grande échelle privilégiant des discussions engagées et non-partisanes sur plusieurs questions de politique publique qui touchent les Canadiens. Cette année, l'Institut a décidé d'aborder un sujet vital exposant l'un des piliers de la société canadienne, les médias. Une exploration des médias au Canada est pertinente à la mission de l'Institut qui est d'encourager l'apprentissage sur le Canada et de développer une meilleure compréhension de l'avenir social, politique et économique du Canada. Les médias jouent un rôle crucial en racontant des histoires canadiennes et le but de notre conférence était d'éduquer et informer les Canadiens sur le moyen par lequel ils reçoivent leur information.

Lors de notre conférence qui a eu lieu en février dernier, nous nous sommes posé une question agressive et à propos : « Qui contrôle les médias au Canada ? » À partir de cette question, nous avons pu assister à deux journées vives en débats et discussions lors de cette conférence qui réunissait différents joueurs et voix cherchant à éliminer les frontières disciplinaires et à impliquer une grande variété d'individus dans un échange d'idées ouvert et équilibré.

Tel que révélé dans les extraits suivants dans *Thèmes canadiens,* le thème de *contrôle* n'est pas limité aux discussions de concentration de propriété, mais englobe aussi le rôle du gouvernement, l'impact des nouvelles technologies, les effets de la globalisation et les attentes changeantes des auditoires canadiens à une époque où les médias dominent.

Les médias jouent un rôle critique dans la société canadienne et les politiques, plus particulièrement dans la canalisation entre le public et ceux qui forment les politiques. Les médias peuvent influencer le public sur les questions et débats politiques contemporains. De la même manière, les dirigeants politiques utilisent souvent les médias afin de comprendre les préférences et inquiétudes du public lors de l'établissement des politiques. Dans les deux cas, les médias ne sont pas nécessairement neutres. Ils peuvent filtrer, transformer et déformer la propagation d'information. Le rôle critique que les médias peuvent jouer soulève conséquemment une série de questions vitales : « Jusqu'à quel point les médias ont-ils contribué au désengagement et malaise sur les institutions politiques et procédés ? » « Quel rôle joue exactement les médias dans les débats politiques ? » « Est-ce que les propriétaires ont un effet sur le contenu des nouvelles ? » « Est-ce que les Canadiens devraient s'inquiéter des propriétaires étrangères des medias canadiens ? »

Bien que les médias, la politique et la société aient longtemps fait partie de l'expérience canadienne, les questions du jour nous amènent maintenant vers des terres inexplorées. Nous espérons que les réflexions faites dans ce volume aideront à fournir une meilleure compréhension et appréciation de la manière dont les médias fonctionnent et aussi de l'influence affectant la capacité des médias à raconter des histoires et transformer les nouvelles dans le monde complexe d'aujourd'hui.

Antonia Maioni
Directrice, L'Institut d'études canadiennes de McGill

OPENING REMARKS

Her Excellency the Right Honourable Adrienne Clarkson
Governor General of Canada

A leading figure in Canada's cultural life, Adrienne Clarkson has had a rich and distinguished career in broadcasting, journalism, the arts and public service. From 1982 to 1987, Clarkson served as the first Agent-General for Ontario in Paris, promoting Ontario's business and cultural interests in France, Italy and Spain. She was the President and Publisher of McClelland & Stewart from 1987 to 1988. From 1965 to 1982, Clarkson worked as host, writer and producer of several influential programs on CBC Television, including *Take Thirty, Adrienne at Large* and the *Fifth Estate*. A noted writer, she also contributed numerous articles to major newspapers and magazines in Canada and wrote three books. In 1988, she assumed responsibilities as Executive Producer, Host and Writer for the programs *Adrienne Clarkson's Summer Festival* and *Adrienne Clarkson Presents* for a period of 11 years. She also wrote and directed several films. Her work in television has garnered her dozens of TV awards in Canada and the U.S.

Since its inception, the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada has contributed a great deal to the analysis and our understanding of Canada today. First Desmond Morton and now Antonia Maioni, have led the way in making it possible for us to have a disinterested, intellectually sound, constantly questioning view of ourselves. The work the McGill Institute is doing is essential to a country that prides itself on its democratic traditions. We must be able to reflect on our history, our institutions, our way of life, if we are to make speculative contributions to the future. The conference in February was completely in the spirit of this Institute.

The economist Robert Picard observed that debates on media ownership are often confused. No distinction is made between concentration in a strictly economic and legal sense and concentration in its cultural and political aspects. This is an important distinction. I am focusing here on the latter sense of media concentration – that is, its effect on the quality and the diversity of the information presented to the public. For this will have a consequent effect on democracy and the pluralism on which democracy is based. I hope that what I'm going to say helps to clarify some ideas about the public whom the media should serve and the way in which that public is changing.

From the hundreds of events that I do a year as Governor General, the thousands of people that I meet, the eighty-to-ninety villages, towns and hamlets that I visit – I've gained, I believe, a unique view of what Canadians are doing and thinking, without asking them for anything. The Canadian public knows that I don't ask anything of them – except questions. I ask them what they think – and they tell me many things. One of the things I've had confirmed for me is that Canadians are highly intelligent, aware and thirsty for knowledge, even if they don't express it.

My sense is that there is a great deal of cynicism about what kind of information we're really getting from the media and whether we should take it as pure entertainment, thereby cheapening the coinage. The line between news and editorial is becoming increasing blurred, as the Institute has recently indicated in a survey. Yet we shouldn't substitute our own distrust of the sources of information for the longing to be informed and to know more. That longing is there, because it gives us the beginnings of the ability to make sense of what life about us is like, what our society is like, and what events really signify. If that longing is not satisfied, the public grumbles or simply turns off.

Propaganda, ideology and bias are very easy to promote in any kind of information medium, if you know how. And by "information" I include not only newspapers, television, radio and the Internet, but also advertising. But people need diverse and quality sources of information in order to make sense not only of their own lives, but also of their community. As a society, therefore, we have to worry if our citizens are not dealt a full deck of information. And this is the job of the journalists and editors and broadcasters and publishers and owners.

It's been said that journalists share a vocation of unhappiness and discontent. If that's so, I think that's precisely what makes them competent, even superb, at what they do. Why on earth would you want a happy journalist?

Kierkegaard said that people hardly ever make use of the freedom they have; in place of freedom of thought, they settle for freedom of speech as compensation. Every journalist, therefore, should examine themselves and think about whether or not they actually have the freedom of thought which gives them the privilege to communicate to others freely. That is a professional struggle. It's what we mean when we expect them to aspire to the highest possible professional standards.

There is now a patchwork quilt of information out there that makes it very difficult for people to discern exactly what is really happening. I mentioned advertising as an aspect of information that is important for the public now. Remember that McLuhan told us thirty years ago that advertising creates a parallel world. But it may not be a parallel world for the majority of the population, who are struggling to piece together a patchwork quilt of information. Are we making it deliberately more difficult or less difficult for them to discern between what is really happening in the news and what has been carefully constructed to fit into part of the news and grab attention for commercial purposes?

A recent automobile ad features a little automobile object of desire gliding through a number of different situations in shots lasting one second. It ends up in a field with hundreds and hundreds of fighter airplanes going over it. What kind of message is actually being delivered by that car ad? It is designed to say that we will stop at nothing to have that new model. To us it may be an amusing juxtaposition between luxury on four wheels and the power and might of military force. But to others' minds, others not understanding either English or French very well, it could be an image of terror blandly accepted. Confusion, misunderstanding can be the order of the day, rather than factual information and the gathering of enough information to create thought.

And this is where the question of who the audience is becomes extremely important. Because all the questions that were considered on the topics of the Montreal conference could not be dealt with without considering the makeup of the audience.

By makeup of the audience I don't mean gender, race or demographic makeup. I mean that we must try to understand exactly how people in Canada have now evolved. Where does the audience come from? From what parts of the public? How do they think? Those in the media can say, "Well we can't be saying all things to all people." But it is still very healthy to try and think who is actually reading, watching, listening.

Why? Because I believe that much of the information we get – and how it is purveyed by the media – is based upon an old idea of Canada. It is based on an idea of a Canada of middle-class values, some historical memory, and a Canada seen as fully functioning in at least one of the official languages. It is a Canada where a stable democratic system is taken for granted. In other words, we basically see the audience in our own image of ourselves, more or less affluent, more or less committed to a status quo. We see the audience as people who have some education in our kinds of schooling. As people curious to know about day-to-day events, though mainly interested in the outside world when it bursts into flame, floods or loses electrical power.

Yes, that kind of "original" audience does exist. But even it is not getting all the information it needs. For instance, in an election in a foreign country, we're always told who won or lost. We are rarely given hard information as to the number of seats gained by any particular party or what those parties really stand for. As a result, our understanding of the world outside our own country is glib, frequently dismissive. And when we search for the information we need, we have to rely on foreign websites, articles in foreign publications or on programs from abroad – information that often arrives a few days, a week, or even a month later in Canadian newspapers and magazines.

But that "original" audience – as ill-served as it is – was the audience of Canada twenty years ago. The audience that we are really looking for today is different – an audience that needs attention, needs to be informed, needs to be given the absolute basics of our way of life, including our criticism of our way of life.

We have a new kind of society in Canada. We live in the year 2003 and we are a multi-racial, multi-faith immigrant population on an Aboriginal base. We have a society, a way of life, a kind of government that have served us well for the last several centuries and into which we have up to now successfully and efficiently integrated immigrants. We have many flaws in our system, but it has worked on the whole quite well. Can it even continue to do so at that level?

Our original, so-called multi-cultural society was built of immigrants from Europe, all of whom could be expected

within a relatively short time – half a generation – to achieve an economic and social status which would be on a par with other Canadians. But, as Carol Goar of the *Toronto Star* pointed out in an article reporting on a conference on immigrants in Toronto, our new immigrants are different. They come from countries where war, strife, destitution have been the norm. They come from different religious traditions. Many of them have been subjected to scenes and actions of horror and terror and have come here to escape. These are the people who need information so badly about how they can truly participate and become Canadian.

All information media must play its part in helping that process to happen. I don't mean that they project good news stories only or teach citizenship lessons subliminally. But I think that, by excellent journalism, people learn things, by osmosis. And, as everybody is watching hours and hours of TV a day, that particular medium has a special obligation to these newcomers and their children.

Even such a small thing as the weather report can have a deep effect on newcomers. I have noticed a growing tendency within the last twenty-five years of calling snow "bad weather", when in fact it is normal weather for Canada. This may seem like a tiny detail, but why should we deny our climate in this way? Why should we pass on that kind of valuation of it to people who are coming here from countries where the average temperature is 40 degrees.

The "old immigration" from Europe had trades or could farm or had strong survival skills in western culture. The people we now receive need different education, different acculturation and certainly different approaches to information. I couldn't help but think about what that ad about the little car and the dozens of fighter planes would mean to somebody who has left from a border area in Southeast Asia or from bloody civil strife in Africa. An ad shown as part of a newscast is part of the newscast. And the better the advertising is, the more likely that it will have an effect. Remember what Steven Leacock said about advertising – that it was the science of arresting the human intelligence long enough to get money from it.

We've said as a country that we are going to bring over 200,000 immigrants a year to Canada. What we've done in fact is invited these people to come and take part in our society and become citizens. It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to think about what we do to help them "catch up" to other citizens who've been here for decades.

I believe that all the media are absolutely critical in this respect. They play a crucial role in building the new Canada and in the acculturation of those who have come here to make Canada their home. In fact, I believe that what journalists do is as important and critical as public education is in helping our new kind of immigrants to understand and become a really functioning part of our society. And remember, public education is provincial and regional – many of those in media have national audiences. This is a responsibility; not just a greater market.

I believe that much of the information we get – and how it is purveyed by the media – is based upon an old idea of Canada.

In order to be part of this country, you have to be a fully functioning citizen. Citizenship has its responsibilities as well as its rights. As an immigrant myself, I feel very strongly about this. And as Governor General, I am firmly convinced it is the only way in which our nation can continue to live according to its beliefs, to its traditions, its history and its often hard-won democratic processes. What I believe is that, by assuming citizenship, the new citizen of Canada takes on the entire history of the country.

So as a new Canadian you can be very proud of the sacrifices Canada made in the First and Second World Wars. But you also have to acknowledge, and accept the shame and tragedy of, the residential schools or the dislocation of Japanese-Canadians sixty years ago. We cannot continue to have a country if the huge numbers of people we involve in becoming citizens slough off any responsibility for what the country has done before they got there.

Many of the immigrants whom we are now bringing to this country fully understand what it is to have a complex, often tortured history. And they have chosen to leave it and take up life in Canada. By remaking them as citizens of our country, they must learn to understand what we as a country have gone through in our evolution to now. Citizenship is not simply a buffet table of rights, privileges and perhaps some inconveniences. If a country is to have a continuous history, then it must have a history that all members of it comprehend and in which all members feel implicated.

I remember somebody once watching me singing the National Anthem in French and asking me afterwards, in a fairly polite way, how I could sing the line "Land of our ancestors ". And I replied that I really meant it. Canada is the country of my ancestors, my now adopted ancestors, the ones who struggled to create the kind of country which I was able to come to, of which I became a citizen, and of which I am now Governor General. My ancestors fought in 1837. They're the ancestors who created Confederation. All of that belongs to me and to each and everyone one of us when we are citizens of Canada.

For those of us who are immigrants, it doesn't mean that we forget where we came from, or what the food tasted like, or when the festivals are. It means only that we have a different kind of complexity in our individual circumstances as citizens. But it is this kind of complex person that your journalism must reach. They may be new arrivals now, but their impact is over generations, and you can bet that they will be actively involved in creating the Canadian society of the future.

It is they to whom you in the world of media and information must be responsible – if you truly believe in freedom of thought. They are the people who are your audience and they are the people whom you must affect. And this is where the freedom should be operating. This is where that freedom can give keys to worlds for other people. And this is where your discontent and your unhappiness could create justice for others.

The Proprietors: Do Too Few Control Too Much?

BY KENNETH J. GOLDSTEIN

ABSTRACT

Technology is rewriting the world of media. For the first time in history, on a mass scale, the means of production and distribution of information and entertainment products are finding their way into the hands of the consumers. In the emerging digital environment, the implications for media companies are enormous.

Kenneth Goldstein is President of Communications Management Inc.

The Montreal conference asked "Who Controls Canada's Media?" and "The Proprietors: Do Too Few Control Too Much?" – two provocative questions, to be sure, with the word "control" prominently featured in both.

So let me state at the outset that, if we are really interested in the controlling factors in the future of the media in Canada, we should view much of the recent debate about so-called "concentration" as a sterile and non-productive exercise. And I'm going to explain why I feel that way by revealing who really controls the media in Canada. It's actually two people: Harold Innis… and your teenage son or daughter. You may have been hoping I would name a couple of proprietors or corporate executives. But all of us are working within fundamental and overwhelming forces that are changing the media business.

In 1950, in his book *Empire and Communications,* Innis made this observation about the economic development of the North American continent: "As the costs of navigation declined, less valuable commodities emerged as staples – precious metals… timber… and finally wheat…" In other words, Innis saw a relationship between the cost of transportation and the value of the staples that were being transported. We moved from limited and high-cost transportation that could only be justified if the staples were also high in cost, to modern transportation carrying low-cost staples in high volumes.

There is a lesson here for the media. Technology now allows us to lower the cost of "transporting" channels. And that is already putting pressure on the staple those channels carry – programming, or content. By simply modifying and replacing some of the words in the quote from Innis, you can see how the sheer volume of channels has an impact on content:

"As the costs of *channels* decline, less valuable *programs* emerge as staples – *game shows… syndicated talk shows*… and finally *reality-based shows*…"

All media are facing this pressure, because fragmentation can be seen as a phenomenon both within and across the various media.

Once we understand that fragmentation puts pressure on unit costs, we can understand better why television responds with lower-cost programs to balance the higher-cost scripted shows, why syndication grows in radio, and why newspapers look at content-sharing initiatives.

We can also understand better why media consolidate, which is simply to re-aggregate the fragments to maintain economies of scale. However, those re-aggregated fragments rarely achieve the audience shares that single media outlets had in the past. So Innis, or, more accurately, the economic forces he observed, are part of what controls what the media are doing today.

And what about our teenage sons and daughters? Young people today are approaching media in a different way than in the past. If the Baby Boomers were the television generation, then their children are the Internet generation. And they have used the Internet to create a whole new category of media – consumer-to-consumer, or peer-to-peer. Print material is downloaded and shared. Music is downloaded and shared. And, increasingly, movies are being downloaded and shared. In the long term, this development has fundamental implications for the future of the media.

Here's why: For the first time in history, on a mass scale, the means of production and distribution of information and entertainment products are finding their way into the hands of the consumers. In the emerging digital environment, the implications for media companies are enormous. With digital, every copy is as good as the original, so once it leaves the traditional world of media, it can be distributed, via the Internet, anywhere and everywhere.

But wait, you say, isn't the Internet boom over, with the collapse of so many of the "dot.coms"? No, the unrealistic hype is over, but the Internet boom is actually just beginning. What now is becoming clear is that the idea of the Internet as alternative media may be limited. But the Internet as an *extender* of media – and of stores and government and universities – will have a profound impact on our society.

But wait, you say, isn't the Internet boom over, with the collapse of so many of the "dot.coms"? No, the unrealistic hype is over, but the Internet boom is actually just beginning.

So those are two of the principal forces that are controlling where our media are going today, and tomorrow.

One more dose of reality. Canada is a large country but a small market. In 2001, the total revenue of the entire Canadian media industry, from all sources, was C$19.1 billion. Sounds like a lot, doesn't it? Well, not really. $19.1 billion Canadian dollars is about the same as 3-4 months revenue for AOL Time Warner and 6-7 months revenue for Viacom.

As borders continue to erode, those companies, and others, will increasingly be competing with Canadian media for consumers, subscribers and advertisers. In fact, as of the fall of 2001, AOL Time Warner was the sixth-largest television company in Canada in terms of weekly tuning by Canadians.

So what should we do about this? Let me make four modest suggestions, in the hope that it might spur some debate.

First of all, let's stop looking at media through a rear-view mirror, and let's stop casting this as an "us-vs.-them" debate. Regardless of where you are in the media value chain, the changes are going to affect everyone. So everyone should be part of understanding the reasons for change and for crafting the responses.

Second, let's have an informed debate about where we are going, and my definition of an informed debate includes getting the facts right. If you start with a diagnosis based on the wrong facts, it is pretty likely that you'll also end up with the wrong prescription.

Third, let's recognize that, in a fragmented environment, there is a great need for a public broadcaster that has been redefined to face these new realities. But I'm not sure at the moment that the CBC is changing fast enough to fill that need, particularly in English television.

I am troubled that Canadians' level of tuning to CNN is double their level of tuning to CBC Newsworld. When Canadians are voting with their remote controls in such a decisive way, we should all be concerned.

And finally, my fourth suggestion. To those who feel that Canadian newspapers tilt too much to the right – maybe it's time to start a new, national, left-of-centre daily newspaper in Canada. In fact, last month, at the NDP convention, Jack Layton suggested that the NDP itself might get into the newspaper business.

So let's get to the core question: Would it be possible to start a national left-of-centre daily newspaper in Canada? The answer might well be "yes," but it would depend on one important factor – the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) would have to prove that it represents its members on more than just workplace issues.

Last June, at the CLC convention in Vancouver, the 3,000 delegates passed resolutions on issues far and wide. If the CLC delegates and their resolutions actually represent their 2.5 million members, then starting a new national left-of-centre daily in Canada should be possible. In fact, the CLC wouldn't even need all 2.5 million members to sign up to subscribe to the paper. Remember, there are only four daily newspapers in Canada with average daily circulation over 250,000.

Can the CLC get 250,000 people – only 10 per cent of its members – to sign up and commit $20 per month (less than 75 cents a day) for one year to subscribe to a new, national, left-of-centre daily newspaper? That would guarantee the new paper $60 million in subscription revenues in its first year, with advertising on top of that.

So there's the challenge: If you don't like the content of today's daily newspapers, it may indeed be possible to start your own.

Will the CLC and NDP take up the challenge? I doubt it. Because if they are unable to sign up 10 per cent of the CLC's members as subscribers, they will be forced to admit that there is little demand for a daily newspaper that reflects the policy positions they have been advocating.

So there are four modest proposals. All of them are more difficult than simply creating a bogeyman and, like Chicken Little, running about, claiming the sky is falling, and asking for government intervention. But I believe those proposals could form a more productive basis for discussion of the future of the media in Canada.

Have the Journalists Lost Control?

BY GORDON FISHER

ABSTRACT

Newspaper owners are betting big money that they can build and maintain a franchise. It's their bet. If you were making those bets, asks the author, would you not want a say in what was being sold? But even if they do have their say, we needn't worry – it's a highly competitive field out there.

Gordon Fisher is President, News and Information, CanWest Global Communication Corp.

To what extent can or should media owners intervene in their own commercial or ideological interest with respect to content?

I'd like to start with a small confession. I have always wanted to own my own newspaper. Izzy Asper always wanted only to own the newspaper in Minnedosa, Man. I wanted to own the Lethbridge Herald. Izzy has done somewhat better than me.

And I often played out in my mind how that would happen – editorial positions we would take, news issues we would cover, cartoons we would buy, pictures we would publish. And not once, not for a moment, did I plan to buy a newspaper and fade away into the background while others ran my business.

So there it is. I do believe owners have every right to direct their operations in terms of both content and ideology. I actually think that is their obligation. I don't see how they cannot. Their commercial interests are, frankly, about only one thing: Content. We are selling content. It is a commercial reality.

I am not alone in this. I actually found myself agreeing with the New Democrats at their recent leadership convention when the topic got around to newspaper ownership and content direction. Turns out they favour it. They talked of the need to produce and sell a newspaper of the left, with the views of the left.

I think that's an outstanding idea. They will face the same test we all face: the ultimate court of judgment, free people expressing free will in a free marketplace. Well, you say, what about the public service newspapers must play?

Owners, generally, are smart people. They understand the public duty and they also understand it is good business to deliver on the time-honoured traditions of the craft. They know our business case rests on our credibility.

Over the years I have worked for many owners or joint owners, (hey, even the *Toronto Star* had a piece of me at one time). I have worked for dozens of publishers and professional managers. They have ALL tried to influence what our newsrooms should be doing. In some cases they have been very direct about it: The Southam family was unequivocal on some points – particularly on those national issues surrounding Quebec and separation. Editors and/or publishers who disagreed would have been disciplined. Southam considered that to be in the public interest.

In fact, it's interesting just how much advice people like me do get. From readers, of course, from journalists we employ, of course (and from some we don't), from unions, from associations, from press councils, from business, from non-profits. EVERYONE has a view, and most feel free to express it. But, somehow, owners, and only owners, should be silent?

I once worked for Conrad Black. Make no mistake about this: he had very clear views on what kind of operations he wanted to run in his commercial and ideological interests. The *National Post* from its launch reflected the clear direction of its proprietor. He intended to change the national debate, and he spent many millions of dollars doing just that. A very small group of us worked with Mr. Black for months prior to launch, and we dealt with little ambiguity in what was being undertaken. With his money.

When I say with his money, please understand: this man and the Aspers who follow him have – and are betting – hundreds of millions of dollars that they can build and maintain a franchise. And they make that bet in a highly crowded and competitive marketplace. The Aspers have done exactly the same thing with the launch of a national newscast in the dinner hour: a bold, expensive and risky operation. It's their bet. If you were making those bets, would you not want a say – a direct say – in what was being sold?

So what happened? Well, new voices have changed the national debate. Competitors got a whole lot sharper. Hundreds of new jobs were created. Both the *National Post* and Global National have been honoured, imitated, vilified and venerated. Most interestingly; news is suddenly sexy again. Interesting even.

I should point out as well that Mr. Black also made it very clear what he thought wrong with many other newspapers he owned. And we worked together to change them. And what happened with those other newspapers? Arguably, they got better. I have to point out that *The Ottawa Citizen* was greatly energized under the direction of Mr. Mills, working with no ambiguity to the clear direction of an owner.

I don't think any of that is a bad thing. It may be risky: it is always possible that Mr. Black and now Mr. Asper will be wrong. And what would happen? Well, readers and viewers would respond as they always do: by buying other papers or turning to other channels. This is the salient point, and one I must keep returning to. Readers and viewers are not victims. They pick and they choose. The owners – the Aspers, the Thomsons, the Honderichs, the Siftons, the Blacks (David, not Conrad), the Peladeaus – will all, ultimately, face their judgment. And to expect those people to operate their business as if they were a blind trust is to suspend judgment.

Now all that said, let me add this. An owner can do only so much. I say this because I know what happens in a newsroom. It is chaos. It is a furnace of debate. It is constantly burning with a flurry of copy, pictures, illustrations, feeds from staff, freelancers, networks, wire services. It is led by editors senior and junior. Hundreds, thousands, of daily decision are taken by hordes of people, all with their own biases and baggage. Deadlines are constant, pervasive and relentless.

I know what happens in a newsroom. It is chaos. It is a furnace of debate. It is constantly burning with a flurry of copy, pictures, illustrations, feeds from staff, freelancers, networks, wire services.

Now think about trying to influence this in a direct way from – say, Winnipeg – and trying to do it over scores of newspaper and television operations, large and small, over several time zones. Think about calling Kevin Newman to dictate the lineup for tonight's national newscast. Or think about phoning the editors of 17 daily newspapers. Or the news directors of 14 local television news operations. Or (good luck) think about phoning the columnists – like Christie Blatchford or Paul Wells, with instructions for the day's column. It wouldn't work. It would be impossible. To suggest that this could be done is not only naïve; it is an insult to the integrity of every journalist working in this country.

Finally, although I have not been asked to do this, I think I must also address the issue of the Aspers. Although the name of that great Canadian family was not in the title of my seminar, it was clearly in the subtext. And even though I have just said that I do agree with the right of an owner to establish a beach-head in content, let me make it clear that the Asper family is not trying to direct the daily news operation of CanWest Publications or of Global Television News.

But even if they had, so what. You have all heard about fragmentation and multiplicity of sources. It's all true. The most odious ownership intentions would not change one facet of this great western democratic society. There is just too much free information OUT THERE and our citizens are smart enough to go get it.

Just for the record, though, what the Aspers have tried to do is rather more simple. They have set direction on key areas such as: The separation of opinion from news. The elimination of editorial bias from news stories, specific instructions concerning headlines (don't torque them); unnamed sources (don't use them); pictures (not to be used for editorial purposes or to humiliate people); get the facts, get them right, get them straight; diversity (a multiplicity of faces and sources) more total community involvement – involve and interest the young. These are the things that concern the Aspers. These are not bad things.

Finally, in a closing note, I would challenge you readers to consider this. If you want to find a bogeyman in the newsrooms of this nation, I have one for you. It is not the owners. It is not even government. (Our *Charter of Rights* takes care of that.) No, the real bogeyman is something called the union. With rare exception, all print and television newsrooms in Canada are a closed shop. You can't practice journalism unless you belong to the energy and paperworkers or auto unions of Canada. And guess what the union wants to do? It wants to establish a Code of Principles covering a standard of behaviour. *Their* standards of behaviour and of journalism, of course.

No one is talking about that. Now there's a concentration of influence to fuss about.

Have the Journalists Lost Control?

BY RUSSELL MILLS

ABSTRACT

The author examines the current Canadian newspaper landscape and suggests that the fact that many newspapers and broadcasters are in few hands is not necessarily a cause for alarm, but it is a legitimate subject of public concern. The good news, he concludes, is that (for the most part) they do not intervene in the content of their media. He also proposes five principles for responsible media ownership.

Russell Mills is the Neiman Fellow at Harvard University.

To What Extent Can or Should Media Owners Intervene in Content?

First, let's admit that media owners unquestionably have the right to intervene in content, whether we like it or not. Under our system, the freedom of expression that is guaranteed in our constitution ultimately lies with the proprietor. In Canada owners have usually delegated much of this freedom to publishers and editors. But it is not theirs by any inherent or legal right.

The other meaning of "can" is "do they have the ability?" And, of course, they do. Technology is making it easier all the time. With the high-speed electronic connections that we have today, it would be easy for a determined owner of even a large number of media outlets to monitor and control virtually all content before it is published or broadcast. The only exception might be for fast-breaking stories. None do this, but it's certainly possible.

The second part of the question is whether media owners "should" intervene in content that might affect their own commercial or ideological interests. This is the tougher question. Why should a media owner, who has the right and the ability to control content, deliberately not do so when his interests are at stake? Why should he or she show self-restraint?

For many decades the largest newspaper companies in Canada were Southam and Thomson. I worked for both of them, Thomson for a short time and Southam for a long time. Neither company intervened in content in any significant way. In Thomson's case the company saw the newspapers as businesses and didn't much care what they printed as long as they made lots of money.

Southam, however, was committed to the independence of the newspapers. The company believed that local control was a key element in its success. Southam felt that newspapers that were controlled from afar would not have the local roots and connections with their communities that successful newspapers must have.

In the mid-1990s, Conrad Black gained control of Southam and many of the former Thomson papers. He had a somewhat different view of whether a proprietor should intervene in content.

Conrad Black had strong views on many issues and there was widespread fear among journalists that he would impose these on the newspapers. For the most part these fears were not justified. He required two of the newspapers, including the *Ottawa Citizen,* to change editors but after that initial intervention, he was largely a hands-off owner as far as content was concerned. In the four years that I ran the *Ottawa Citizen* under his ownership I did not receive a single call from him or any of his colleagues about news or editorial content. When Conrad was upset about a public issue he would send us a piece under his own byline and suggest that we consider running it on our op-ed page. Of course, we did. This only happened a few times and it seemed like a reasonable way for a proprietor with strong views to behave.

The *National Post,* of course, was different. It was started at great expense partly to inject different political views into the national debate and Conrad Black had much greater interest in its content. But those of us running the metro dailies in most of Canada's large cities could not legitimately complain about central control of our content.

This brings us up to the media ownership that we have in Canada today. When you look at newspapers alone, ownership is less concentrated now than it was when Conrad Black owned about 60 per cent of Canada's daily papers. Osprey, Transcontinental and the new owners of the Winnipeg *Free Press* add some welcome diversity to the industry. The situation is different, however, when you consider the news media in total. Canada does not ban cross ownership of media as some countries do and because of this the concentration of media ownership in Canada's big cities has increased. A few companies now control much of what Canadians see and read.

Democracies thrive on debate and different points of view and need this to remain healthy. It is the responsibility of media owners to ensure that different ideas are presented.

Much of this concentrated ownership is the result of the questionable business strategy called convergence that has yet to pay any dividends to the companies or their shareholders. In fact, it has left some companies deeply in debt.

The fact that many newspapers and broadcasters are in few hands is not necessarily a cause for alarm but it is a legitimate subject of public concern. These companies have the right, and the ability, to intervene in the content of their media for commercial or ideological reasons if they choose to do so. The good news is that, for the most part, they do not. CanWest has been somewhat of an exception. And to be fair, because of increased competition, some of Canada's news media are better than ever.

So why should media owners exercise self-restraint and not intervene in content? First I would make a distinction between different types of content and will focus on newspapers, the medium I know best. There are three essential types of content. One is news, second is the editorial board opinions presented on the editorial page and finally there are other opinions presented in columns, op-ed pieces and letters to the editor. As far as news is concerned, owners should never interfere. This is factual material and its selection and its presentation should be delegated to professional journalists. They should be permitted to operate in a climate free from pressure and strive to be as accurate and truthful as possible. The facts should not be selected based on an owner's opinions.

Several months ago, Izzy Asper, chairman of CanWest, gave a speech in Montreal in which he accused much of the world's news media of being anti-Israel in their coverage of the Middle East. Mr. Asper, of course, has every right to hold these views. Expressing them in this way, however, was questionable for a large media owner. Although his comments were not specifically directed at CanWest newspapers, how else could his editors interpret his comments except as direction on how they should to cover the Middle East conflict? Owners should take care to protect their journalists from pressure, not pile it on.

When dealing with opinion, a distinction should be drawn based on how many media outlets a proprietor owns. No one could object to the owner of a single newspaper expressing his or her views in editorials on the editorial page. That's how press freedom began. The more outlets a proprietor controls, however, the less defensible this becomes and the more restraint a proprietor should show.

Democracies thrive on debate and different points of view and need this to remain healthy. It is the responsibility of media owners to ensure that different ideas are presented. If the same editorial opinions are presented in many different newspapers, the marketplace of ideas will be damaged. Allowing this type of autonomy is the responsibility that goes along with the privilege of owning different media outlets. If an owner of many media outlets wants to express opinions, he can write periodic pieces with his own byline, as Conrad Black did, or pick one newspaper to present his own views on the editorial page and let the others go their own ways.

The strong public views of some owners, such as CanWest, may be limiting the range of opinion that is presented. Editors selecting opinion pieces and letters should not have to worry about the owner's opinions. Their only concern should be keeping the public informed. All owners, whether they own a single medium or many, have an obligation to present the widest possible range of opinions in columns, op-ed pieces and letters to the editor. Priority should be given to letters criticizing the newspaper or challenging its editorial opinions. This supports the marketplace of ideas and is simply a matter of good journalistic practice.

It is worrisome that CanWest appears to be centralizing control of its news media. This could ultimately affect the range of content that is provided. A new Canadian News Desk is being established at the company's head office in Winnipeg to supply national news to the company's newspapers. This has led to fears that local news staffs and budgets will be cut. The most recent development is that the company is retiring the title of "publisher". Newspapers in future will be run by "general managers", who will likely have less autonomy than their predecessors and less control over what the subscribers in their communities get to read.

The question we are answering also drew a distinction between commercial and ideological matters. A responsible owner should never use his news media to push his own commercial interests. That would be a betrayal of the responsibility to the community to be a disinterested source of fact and opinion. One complication today is that since converged media companies require licenses from government to operate their broadcasting businesses, they may believe that staying on the good side of government is necessary. If so, commercial interests have the potential to affect coverage of politics and government.

It is often said that the news media are a public trust in private hands. This has become a cliché, but like most clichés, it contains some truth. How should the public expect media companies to exercise this great public responsibility? When the Senate of Canada gets around to holding its planned hearings on the state of the Canada media, following are some principles for good media ownership that Senators might wish to consider and put to media proprietors.

First, the primary dedication of good media companies must be to the pursuit of truth on behalf of their readers and viewers. When the pursuit of truth conflicts with business imperatives, truth must prevail.

Second, the primary allegiance of good media companies must be to the citizens of their communities; not to shareholders, advertisers or employees. Keeping the citizens of a democracy informed with facts and opinions is a solemn responsibility that must not take second place to any other claim.

Third, good media companies must fiercely protect the independence of their editors and other journalists. By independence, I mean freedom from pressure of any sort, from government, advertisers and corporate interests. Truth can only be pursued successfully in a climate free from pressure.

Fourth, good media companies must ensure that their media have sufficient resources to cover and reflect their communities. Good journalism requires time for reflection and investigation and, while it can be done efficiently, it cannot be done on the cheap.

Finally, executives of good media companies and their journalists must live the values of truth, independence and commitment to their communities in their own business and personal lives. The news media can only hold elected officials and others with power to high standards if their own proprietors, managers and staffs meet the same standard of integrity.

Have the Journalists Lost Control?

BY LAWRENCE SURTEES

Lawrence Surtees is director of telecommunications and Internet research at International Data Corp.'s Canadian unit, IDC Canada Ltd. in Toronto. He was previously telecommunications reporter at *The Globe and Mail*'s Report on Business from 1983 to 2000.

ABSTRACT

Proponents of multimedia convergence are now fond of declaring that content is king. But is it really? Sound business sense suggests that major media carriers would perform better if left free of the constraints of cross-ownership. That might be what's happening.

Convergence & the News Room: Some Myths and Realities

Billy Holiday sang the lyrics, "Thems that gots shall gets… But it still is news… And God bless the child who's got his own."

That song should be renamed because it seems to be about media convergence! I'd like to make several points, both as a communications industry researcher and former journalist who spent 17 years at *The Globe & Mail* – or, as we now call it, *The Bell News – national edition*. I want to briefly address a few myths about convergence and point out some interesting historical vignettes before offering my perspective on the realities of the converged newsroom.

My first key message is that these so-called convergence deals are really a new form of cross-ownership. Media cross ownership has been confused with convergence by their 'New Media' owners. Since media convergence is a misnomer, de-convergence should come as little surprise.

Second – history teaches us why there are many reasons to be skeptical of New Media cross-ownership deals.

And third, cross-ownership does affect newsrooms and has led to negative impact on news coverage, diversity of opinions – and led to killed stories or distorted coverage. But it always has, so, again, what's new? The question we should ask as a democratic society is, "What model of ownership best promotes a plurality of contending views and opinions?"

Let me first address the question. Why the confusion about the term *convergence*?

How many know that the notion of convergence is actually Canadian-coined? It was explored in this groundbreaking report, titled *Instant World*, published by the

federal Department of Communications (now Industry Canada) in 1971[1]. Yet convergence meant something entirely different 30 years ago – it meant the technical prospect of simultaneously transmitting voice and video down a single network. And for communications firms, it meant the prospect of telephone companies and cable companies going tête-a-tête in each other's monopolies. It is *still* a dream – and one that is over a century old!

Convergence was actually envisaged soon after the invention of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell, as a cartoon from the British magazine *PUNCH* in December 1879 demonstrated. It shows a couple sitting in their living room, not only talking to their daughter half-way around the world in Australia on a phone, but watching a broadcast image of her on their living room wall[2]!

A century later, the Internet spawned the notion that content was King, propelling deals like the AOL & Time Warner merger and its emulation by other communication titans such as BCE Inc. All of which has subverted the notion of convergence.

A vignette of early Canadiana worthy of a *Canada Post Heritage Minute* reveals an irony behind BCE's acquisition of *The Globe and Mail* – and provides historical cause for skepticism. Shortly after Alexander Graham Bell developed a working telephone in late 1875, the young inventor offered the world rights to his invention to Toronto publisher and *Globe* founder George Brown. Bell's offer would have given Brown the rights in every country outside the United States to the most lucrative patent in the history of invention, as well as given *The Globe* a chance to be the founding owner of Bell Canada[3].

But for reasons that Mr. Brown did not fully explain – to either Bell or in a letter to his wife written two days after Valentine's Day in 1876 – the publisher declined the offer, putting multimedia convergence on hold in Canada for the next 125 years[4].

There were many other reasons to be skeptical of BCE's convergence foray and its much-proclaimed promise of rich synergies – not the least of which is BCE's sorry track record of many failed acquisitions. After all, investors were also promised benefits and new found riches would flow from BCE's diversification bids into energy, real estate and financial services in the 1980s.

Looking back into history to the Brown vignette, skeptics may also be excused for asking whether BCE had it all wrong when it bought CTV and The Globe, since the math didn't add up: the numbers reveal that the telecom business is still much larger than media.

Yet BCE gambled that multimedia convergence would replace the future earnings of Nortel Networks Corp., which it divested earlier that year. Elsewhere, though, BCE astutely remarked that size does matter. Although all three companies – Bell, CTV and *The Globe* – enjoy strong national brands and are at the top of the game in their respective fields, they also share a common woe: They are each a dominant player besieged by newcomers. Which begged the question: Why did BCE want to incur more grief by taking on another intensely competitive business – much less one he did not yet fully understand?

Why did BCE want to incur more grief by taking on another intensely competitive business – much less one he did not yet fully understand?

The statement that BCE planned to leverage its new holdings by forging closer ties between the CTV and Globe newsrooms revealed just how much BCE had to learn about the media world – and the distinct solitudes of print and broadcast journalism, not to mention the painful lesson that simply buying two old media companies does not instantly make a New Media company.

Rather than finding illusive synergies, BCE, I wrote three years ago, was more likely to come up against a host of operational problems exacerbated by integration woes[5]. Other proponents of multimedia convergence, including America OnLine, Edgar Bronfman Jr., Rupert Murdoch and Ted Turner, faced similar woes.

What of the converged newsroom? BCE's proclamation that it would steadfastly maintain the independence of each of its media units and avoid interfering in their newsrooms was at variance with the new owner's quest to exploit the synergies from the combination of those units. The need for newsroom independence also conflicted with BCE's plan to make CTV the cornerstone of its new media holdings. The thorny issue of journalistic freedom, a long-standing risk of media cross-ownership and a contentious public policy issue, already reared its head following Jean Monty's statement that he would "repurpose" some reporting jobs in the organizations. Fusing print, broadcast and interactive content may appear simple to accountants, yet BCE had to learn that those products are created by distinctive media organizations with divergent cultures and audiences. Despite the corporate desire to do *more* with *fewer* converged reporters, integrating print and broadcast is like trying to cram a square peg into a round hole.

Diversity of opinion has also been impacted. Three days after the BCE-Globe deal broke, a *Report on Business* feature on the purchase was spiked by the publisher after intervention by BCE corporate counsel. One month later, I know of a guest column that was critical of the deal, which was also spiked by the ROB editor.

So I know first-hand that cross-ownership impacts newsrooms and the diversity of opinions that are published or broadcast, proving correct the view of correspondent A. J. Liebling, who wrote, "Freedom of the press is guaranteed to those who own one."

I can also tell you that the most detrimental impact of ownership concentration often comes from within the newsroom, from decisions on story coverage and play made either by over-eager, or frightened, managers. Either way, distorted news coverage results.

I have seen the enemy and he is us.

It is worth recalling the words of that great jurist and defender of freedom of the press, former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, who wrote in the 1945 case of *Associated Press v.United States*, "the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources is essential to the welfare of the public… Freedom of the press from government interference under the First Amendment does not sanction repression of that freedom by private interests[6]." Ironically, Justice Black made those comments in an anti-trust ruling!

Yet proponents of multimedia convergence are now fond of declaring that content is King. The record suggests, however, that the Emperor has no clothes. Instead, I would suggest that pipes rule. Experience and business common sense suggests that carriers like Bell Canada, Rogers or CanWest would be in a position to deliver more content at more competitive prices if left free of the constraints of cross-ownership.

So I, for one, am not surprised by recent headlines that suggest BCE's current CEO Michael Sabia is poised to undo BCE's convergence strategy[7]. It is ironic, however, that as BCE rethinks convergence, U.S. Federal Communications Commission chairman Michael Powell is set to launch a debate on whether to relax rules on media ownership and telecom network access, as the *New York Times* reported earlier this month[8].

In conclusion, I believe that despite regulatory changes of the past decade, the logic of previous restrictions that kept carriage distinct from content still makes sound business sense. As George Gilder wrote in *Telecosm*, "The dumber the network the more intelligence it can carry[9]."

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[1] Canada. Department of Communications. *Instant World: A Report on Telecommunications in Canada.* Ottawa: Information Canada, 1971. See also: Lawrence Surtees, *Wire Wars: The Canadian Fight for Competition in Telecommunications,* Toronto: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1994, pp. 52-5.

[2] *Punch's Almanack for 1879,* London: December 9, 1879.

[3] See: Lawrence Surtees, Pa Bell: *A. Jean de Grandpré and the Meteoric Rise of Bell Canada Enterprises,* Toronto: Random House of Canada, Toronto: 1992, pp. 60-2; and: J.M.S. Careless, *Brown of the Globe,* Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1963, Vol. 2: *Statesman of Confederation, 1860-1880,* pp. 343-45.

[4] Public Archives of Canada. *George Brown Papers,* MG 24, B40. Vol. 10, Reel C-1603, p. 2416, "George to Anne Brown," February 16, 1876.

[5] Lawrence Surtees, "King Content's New Clothes: BCE & Thomson Create Convergence Colossus," *IDC Canada Bulletin,* 00009TEL, Toronto: September 2000.

[6] *Associated Press v. United States,* 326 U.S. 1,20 [1945]

[7] Sean Silcoff, "Convergence Dream Dead, BCE Admits," *National Post,* Dec. 19, 2002, FP1.

[8] See also: Center for Digital Democracy. "Media Ownership: Future of Public Interest in the Digital Age at Stake as FCC Proceeds with Plans to End Longstanding Safeguards," January 2003
http://www.democraticmedia.org/issues/mediaownership/

[9] George Gilder, *Telecosm: How Infinite Bandwidth Will Revolutionize Our World,* NY: The Free Press, 2000, p. 269.

Some Faces of the Conference / Quelques visages de la conférence

Ed Greenspon, Editor-in-chief, *The Globe & Mail;* Robert Rabinovitch, President and CEO, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

Alain Dubuc and Antonia Maioni at the 2002-2003 James Mallory Lecture

Peter Mansbridge and Alex Jones

Terry Mosher, aka Aislin

What Are the Limits of Government Control?

BY TERENCE CORCORAN

ABSTRACT

There is a renewed attempt to get governments into the newsrooms of Canada' s newspapers. We didn't do it two decades ago and we shouldn't do it now. Instead, argues the author, we should be moving in the other direction, removing government from control over the other media. The airwaves should be turned over to private ownership. There is no longer any credible justification for government involvement.

Terence Corcoran is Editor-in-Chief of *The Financial Post.*

I was a last minute replacement for Matthew Fraser, and as a result only got around to thinking about what I might talk about the day of my presentation. I thought then that what I'd talk about was the Kent Commission. But that morning Rob Pritchard of the *Toronto Star* made a striking presentation based on the Kent Commission report, picking up on many of the themes that were on my agenda. I must say Rob nailed the Kent Commission's many problems. Its analysis of the 1981 newspaper market proved wrong, its forecast of where the newspaper industry was going were wrong. Above all, its prescriptions were wrong on many levels. As Rob mentioned that morning, it proposed a press rights council, government controls over ownership and tax incentives for new newspaper owners to harness the alleged power of Southam and Thomson.

But there's one element of the Kent Commission that Rob didn't mention. That element is in the very first sentence of the formal report. Not the Forward to the report – which Rob quoted. The first words of the first chapter of the Kent Commission are: "Freedom of the press is not a property right of owners."

That opening sentence should have been seen as outrageous in 1981. It was not. And even today it still is not seen as a basic affront to principles I think all Canadians should hold dear. To this day, some of Canada's leading media gurus continue to use the Kent definition of freedom of the press as a guiding principle.

When a group of Canadian media luminaries – from Pierre Berton to Robert MacNeil to Charles Taylor, Paddy Sherman and John Millar – signed a letter last year calling on Ottawa to look into media concentration, they concluded with the Kent Statement: *Freedom of the press is not a property right.*

But if freedom of the press is not a property right, then what kind of right is it? And whose right is it? The Kent Commission provided the answer. It said: Freedom of the press is a "right of the people."

Now there are only two ways that "the people" exercise any rights. One is in the market place, as buyers and owners of property and production. The second way for people to exercise their rights is collectively, through government. The government is the people acting in the public interest. If follows that the logical end point of the Kent Commission syllogism is the following: "Freedom of the press belongs to the government".

That's really the Kent Royal Commission's basic premise, camouflaged in a haze of verbiage. Even so, the Kent report is today regularly cited as an authoritative reference by people who now want government to investigate media owners, and newspaper owners in particular. The Kent Commission's statement is a touchstone for more government intervention and control.

And you can understand why. Once you conclude that Freedom of the Press, which really is a subset of freedom of speech and expression – freedom of the media – once you've adopted the premise that freedom of the media belongs to government, then there's isn't a whole lot left to debate on the question: What are the limits of government control?

There are no formal limits. Governments can do just about anything they want to control the media, and in some respects they already do. They pass tax laws, ownership rules, regulations, legislate content, impose all kinds of proscriptive and restrictive behaviours on most of our media.

The only limit on this extension of government power is political convention. Which means governments will do whatever governments can get away with politically. And they have been getting away with a lot. Government involvement in the electronic media – radio and television, and film – has been lurching forward for years. In television and radio, the Kent Commission view on property rights has always been true. Freedom of the airwaves is a government right. The original reason for giving government control over electronic media was based on the belief that the supply of airwaves was limited. We simply could not let the airwaves become private property.

That premise has been obsolete for three decades, if it ever was true, but governments continue to find new excuses to expand state control over media property rights. There have been many past attempts to get government into the newspaper business. The Kent Commission called on Ottawa to take away the rights of owners and to use legislative power to restructure the industry. More than a decade earlier, the Davey Commission proposed a Press Ownership Review Board. The board would function as a kind of CRTC over newspapers.

So far, though, they haven't really be able to get their hands on the newspaper industry, but not for lack of trying and pressure from some quarters. They are today being urged to get into the newspaper business by a surprising number of newspaper people. Former publishers, journalism school deans, business people, media gurus – they've all issued calls for Ottawa to act in the current newspaper situation based on the premise that Freedom of the Press is not a property right that belongs to owners. Even though these grand plans have failed to win public support, governments and regulators keep trying.

The CRTC itself, which has no jurisdiction over print, has nevertheless managed to extract codes of newsroom conduct that limit the relationship between television newsrooms and newspaper newsrooms when cross ownership occurs. Some of Canada's media giants have agreed to this, setting precedents that reinforce the Kent Commission's subversive conclusion that freedom of the press belongs to the government.

Now the situation is getting worse. The calls for government and Parliamentary committees to begin interfering even more directly in the newspaper business are heard with increasing frequency. An all-star list of media executives and journalists, including many people who attended the February conference, have called on Ottawa to break the long-standing taboo against government meddling in the newspaper business.

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In a full page newspaper ad last June, they called on Ottawa to look at tax incentives "for media companies that meet objective criteria as to the independence of their newsrooms." At the same time, however, they pay lip service to the idea that government should not have an influence over editorial freedom.

Along this line, I was quite surprised to hear Russ Mills – whom I've admired greatly over the years – call for even more aggressive government involvement in the newspaper business.

At the opening of his comments, he explicitly said that he believes owners have every right to control their newspapers. They have the right "unquestionably", he said.

Then he went on to list five government initiatives that the Senate should look at to remove the owners' rights that he said they held unquestionably. Newspapers owe allegiance to citizens, he said, not shareholders. That sounds suspiciously like the Kent Commission conclusion.

I believe this new attempt to get governments into the newsrooms of the nation's newspapers is a dangerous extension of the Kent Commission's Marxist conclusion that the owners of the means of production should not be allowed to act as owners.

We didn't do it in 1981 – and we shouldn't do it now. Despite what we heard from Prof. Raboy (earlier on my panel), the Kent Commission statement on press freedom flies in the face of the history of free expression and freedom of the press. It defies logic. It's an assault on common law and constitutional principles.

We should be moving in the other direction. We should be removing government from control over the other media, not expanding it to newspapers. Radio, television – the airwaves – should be turned over to private ownership. There is no justification for government involvement. The original reason for government control over the airwaves was an alleged "scarcity" of airwaves. No such scarcity existed then, and with new technology today the argument for keeping government involved is ludicrously absurd. Advocates of intervention, however, are undeterred. Now they argue that we need government intervention because we have too much choice and too many outlets!

So the answer to the question *What Are the Limits to Government Control?* – is that we surpassed those limits long ago and it is time to begin scaling back government involvement and return the media to where freedom of the press dictates the media belongs. Freedom of the press is a property right.

Qui contrôle l'avenir de la radio-diffusion publique ?

PAR PAULE BEAUGRAND-CHAMPAGNE

RÉSUMÉ

La télévision publique a toujours un rôle à jouer dans la société contemporaine: elle assure l'équilibre de la diversité culturelle. Elle joue un rôle que la télévision privée ne peut jouer parce que cette dernière doit être rentable, elle se doit se plier aux lois du marché. En contraste, l'histoire démontre bien le potentiel de la télévision publique à soulever des débats importants pour la société. Le financement par les gouvernements de l'industrie télévisuelle publique reste donc primordial.

Paule Beaugrand-Champagne est présidente-directrice générale de *Télé-Québec*.

Une télévision publique nécessaire

Il y a 50 ans au Canada, et 35 ans au Québec – c'est l'anniversaire de Télé-Québec cette année –, nos gouvernements ont créé des télévisions publiques. Ils l'ont fait pour des raisons de démocratisation de la culture, en s'assurant que tous les citoyens pourraient en bénéficier par le biais de signaux audiovisuels accessibles partout sur le territoire.

L'industrie télévisuelle a subi des transformations majeures au cours des années et les télévisions publiques, partout à travers le monde, en sont venues à définir leur rôle en fonction du mandat social qu'on leur a confié, donc du contenu qu'elles doivent offrir.

Toutes les télévisions publiques répondent à des critères spécifiques qui en font un média unique, qu'on ne peut ni comparer ni mesurer à l'aulne des télévisions privées et spécialisées. Celles-ci ont des comptes à rendre à des actionnaires, elles ont des obligations de résultats financiers qui les forcent à aller chercher la meilleure cote d'écoute possible parce que leurs revenus reposent sur ces succès d'écoute. C'est la loi du marché de la consommation. Et nul ne la remet en question.

Nous, les télévisions publiques, notre rôle se situe ailleurs, dans le domaine du *service* à la population. Notre devoir est d'offrir à tous les citoyens, sur une base égalitaire, des produits qui permettent à des publics diversifiés de trouver à l'antenne qu'ils financent par leurs impôts des réponses à leurs besoins, *même si ces produits ne sont pas « rentables » commercialement.*

La télévision publique d'origine était en situation de monopole. La transformation du marché au cours des 40 et surtout des 10 dernières années a créé une industrie d'une telle ampleur que

certains voudraient maintenant en « sortir » la télévision publique, affirmant qu'elle n'y a plus sa place. Je suis persuadée, au contraire, que la télévision publique constitue une pièce maîtresse de cette industrie parce qu'elle contribue à en assurer l'équilibre. L'équilibre du système même de la radiodiffusion et l'équilibre de la diversité culturelle.

La télé publique n'a pas le choix : elle doit répondre aux besoins de tous les citoyens. Non pas dans chacune de ses émissions, mais par *l'ensemble* de ses émissions, ce qui l'oblige à être à la fois universelle et diversifiée, et à faire de la télévision de manière *différente*. Son rôle est d'offrir une programmation alternative, d'être une pépinière de talents, d'assurer une place à la relève, de lancer des genres nouveaux, de faire travailler des artistes et artisans locaux, et de contribuer ainsi à la diversité culturelle et à l'enrichissement de l'offre télévisuelle.

Moins dépendante des pressions du marché, la télévision publique peut innover, faire des tests, prendre des risques et, ce faisant, jouer un rôle de locomotive dans l'industrie et dans la culture télévisuelle. Même si ce n'est pas « payant » – ou justement parce que ça ne l'est pas et que les télés privées ne peuvent donc pas jouer ce rôle – c'est à la télévision publique d'être un laboratoire, de proposer des émissions originales ou controversées, que les téléspectateurs ne verront pas nécessairement sur d'autres chaînes parce qu'elles n'attirent pas un assez grand auditoire. C'est aussi son rôle de contribuer à la préservation de l'identité culturelle d'une société en reflétant sa diversité, en donnant une voix aux citoyens de toutes ses régions sur un réseau national, et en diffusant des émissions qui permettent aux citoyens de mieux comprendre les valeurs qui leur sont propres.

Toutes ces caractéristiques de la télévision publique, reconnues à travers le monde, sont celles de Télé-Québec. Nous y croyons profondément depuis 35 ans et nous affirmons que ce rôle est de plus en plus essentiel dans le contexte actuel de la mondialisation et du nivellement culturel qu'elle pourrait engendrer. Dans le contexte aussi d'une américanisation des valeurs sociales, de la pensée et de la culture, qui est en train de se faire par le biais de la télévision notamment. Et je sais que Robert Rabinovitch partage cette conviction quand il se voit contraint, lui aussi, de défendre l'existence même de sa télévision…

Dans le cas de Télé-Québec, son rôle comme télévision publique est d'autant plus nécessaire et indispensable dans la société québécoise qu'elle détient un mandat de télévision éducative et culturelle. Nous remplissons ce mandat avec compétence et… ce n'est pas moi qui le dit mais une *newsletter* du milieu de la production télévisuelle… nous le faisons de la manière « la plus intelligente qui soit » !

Tout d'abord dans le secteur des émissions « Jeunesse » où nous faisons, depuis 35 ans, figure de référence en matière de qualité de contenu et de popularité auprès des jeunes et de leurs parents. Des séries comme *Passe-Partout, Cornemuse* ou *Ramdam,* élaborées de concert avec le ministère de l'Éducation par des professionnels de la petite enfance et de l'éducation, exigent un savoir-faire qui a fait et fait encore la réputation de Télé-Québec. Nos émissions pour enfants visent des objectifs de développement et d'apprentissage. Elles sont porteuses de valeurs comme la non-violence, la tolérance et l'ouverture, le respect de soi et des autres. Et parce qu'elles sont bien conçues, elles plaisent aux enfants : selon BBM, Télé-Québec est la plus populaire chez les 2 à 11 ans.

Mais Télé-Québec n'est pas nécessaire et incontournable seulement pour le jeune public. Parce que nous sommes un outil de démocratisation, nous offrons une programmation alternative aux heures de grande écoute, dans laquelle un auditoire large et varié vient faire des choix à la carte, selon ses intérêts et ses goûts. C'est un principe démocratique : toutes les clientèles, même petites, ont droit à une programmation dans laquelle elles se retrouvent. Comme toute télévision publique qui remplit bien son mandat, Télé-Québec est donc *différente*, et par là même nécessaire.

Comme toute télévision publique qui remplit bien son mandat, Télé-Québec est donc différente, et par là même nécessaire.

Quand Télé-Québec décide d'investir dans un documentaire d'auteur comme *War Babies / Nés de la haine,* ou quand elle produit une émission comme *Points chauds* sur l'actualité internationale, elle présente une réflexion sur des enjeux sociaux et politiques à partir d'une vision du monde propre à la société québécoise. Ce qui est à la base même de l'identité culturelle. Et c'est là que se situe la différence entre un documentaire acheté dans un autre pays et un documentaire fait par des gens d'ici.

Qu'on se souvienne, entre autres, de *L'Erreur boréale,* ce documentaire d'auteur porté par Richard Desjardins, que Télé-Québec a diffusé et qui a provoqué un important débat dans la société québécoise. Ce débat a débordé des cadres de notre écran pour mener à l'annonce d'une commission d'enquête sur la question.

C'est aussi notre mandat éducatif et culturel qui nous incite à non pas faire de l'information (ce que d'autres télés font très bien) mais à pousser plus loin l'analyse des affaires publiques, à produire une émission sur la vie parlementaire absolument unique en son genre, ou une émission comme *Droit de parole,* un forum de citoyens qui tient l'antenne depuis 25 ans ! Quand je dis que la télévision publique assure l'équilibre du système, c'est de ça dont je parle, notamment.

Enfin, Télé-Québec exprime sa différence par les risques qu'elle prend. Même quand elle choisit de mettre de l'humour à sa grille horaire, elle le fait autrement. À titre d'exemple : *Phylactère Cola,* une émission qui repose sur un concept extrêmement original, créé et produit par de jeunes vidéastes de la ville de Québec. Cette émission n'aurait jamais pu trouver une plate-forme de diffusion si

Télé-Québec n'avait pas été là. Pourquoi ? Parce qu'elle est trop audacieuse pour garantir une grande cote d'écoute. Au chapitre du cinéma, je souligne que nous diffusons 70 % de films *autres qu'américains* et que nous présentons surtout des films primés et cotés de « chef d'œuvre » à « très bon ».

Résultat : du cinéma de répertoire dans le salon de tous les Québécois qui peuvent voir, gratuitement, des films et des documentaires de qualité auxquels ils n'auraient pas accès au club vidéo près de chez eux. Ce concept de cinéma mondial accessible à tous les citoyens où qu'ils soient relève du principe même de la démocratisation de la culture, dont Télé-Québec est un outil indispensable.

Chaque année, les contribuables québécois investissent près de 550 millions de $ dans le développement et la promotion de la culture. Ils investissent dans le cinéma, la musique et la chanson, les arts graphiques, l'édition et les salons du livre, les musées et le soutien aux créateurs, entre autres. Mais à cause des différentes conditions socio-économiques et des grandes distances géographiques de ce pays, les citoyens n'ont pas tous accès aux produits et aux manifestations culturelles qu'ils financent. Télé-Québec comble en partie cette lacune en leur apportant la culture à domicile.

Je précise cependant que notre engagement dans les régions dépasse largement la simple diffusion sur tout le territoire habité. Nous fournissons du travail pour plusieurs millions de dollars à des producteurs et des artisans locaux. Avec eux, nous tournons des reportages culturels et sociaux, des chroniques, des entrevues et des capsules d'information culturelle qui trouvent leur place dans des émissions diffusées sur le plan national.

Télé-Québec est ainsi enracinée au cœur même de l'activité culturelle dans les régions, tout comme à Montréal ou dans la Capitale nationale, et travaille en association avec une foule d'organismes et d'événements culturels à travers tout le Québec.

Je ne dis pas que les télévisions privées ou les chaînes spécialisées ne contribuent pas elles aussi au développement de la culture d'ici. Au contraire, nous sommes plutôt chanceux au Québec que ces télévisions diffusent des œuvres de créateurs d'ici à des heures de grande écoute. Mais n'oublions pas qu'elles le font avec une aide impressionnante des fonds publics… Ce qui en fait peut-être des télévisions un peu moins « privées » à ces heures-là ?!

Je le répète, leurs impératifs ne sont pas les mêmes que les nôtres – et je ne dis pas que c'est un péché de vouloir faire des profits ! – mais à cause de ces impératifs, de grands pans de la culture, dans le sens large du terme, ne sont pas abordés par les télés privées parce qu'ils ne font pas de cotes d'écoute et ne sont donc pas rentables.

C'est pourquoi il m'apparaît comme une évidence que la télévision publique au Québec s'impose comme une nécessité culturelle et sociale. Quant à moi, son existence et son financement ne devraient jamais être remis en question parce qu'elle répond à des besoins fondamentaux d'une société saine, dynamique et ouverte sur le monde. À moins que ceux qui la croient maintenant inutile réussissent à me démontrer que la culture, l'éducation et le débat public ne sont pas essentiels à la vie dans un pays démocratique. Je doute qu'ils y parviennent…

Who Controls the Future of Public Broadcasting?

BY NOREEN GOLFMAN

ABSTRACT

The intense concentration in ownership of private broadcasting and the advent of cross-media ownership make a strong public broadcaster more important than ever before. Canadians believe in the CBC, but they have concerns. So does the author.

The people of Canada control the future of public broadcasting. As Lawrence Martin wrote in *The Globe and Mail* last month: "Canadians, as opinion samplings suggest, haven't migrated rightward in big numbers, only their printing presses[1]."

At FRIENDS of Canadian Broadcasting, we have kept a close eye on public opinion about broadcasting issues, including public perceptions of the CBC, over the past decade[2]. Here, for example, is what Ipsos-Reid found on our behalf last August:

- 82% of Canadians think CBC is important as a symbol of Canadian identity and culture.
- 89% believe that CBC is one of the things that helps distinguish Canada from the US.
- 88% would like CBC strengthened in their part of the country.
- 9% of Canadians would advise their MP to vote for decreasing CBC's funding from current levels, 49% would advise maintaining it at current levels, and 41% would recommend increasing CBC's funding.
- 94% of Canadians want to see the CBC survive and prosper.
- 81% believe that CBC provides value for taxpayers' money.

CBC also scores well on qualitative measures. For example, when English-speaking viewers are asked which network has the most balanced reporting of news about Canada's federal political parties, 46% choose CBC's English Television Network, 25% choose CTV and only 20% choose Global. Not bad data for an institution that some neo-cons describe as on its death-bed. As the late Dalton Camp once said: "Love it or hate it, CBC is our only national institution that still works".

The *Broadcasting Act* makes clear that CBC "is ultimately accountable, through the (Heritage) Minister, to Parliament for the conduct of its affairs[4]". But how do we evaluate CBC as a public broadcaster? CBC Radio qualifies in spades. But CBC Television derives almost half its revenues from commercials. It shows. Some of us think of CBC Television on occasion as a wholly-owned subsidiary of the National Hockey League, or worse, Maple Leaf Sports & Entertainment.

Of course, we don't really have any private television in this country either. All the so-called private broadcasters enjoy substantial direct and indirect subsidies: from Telefilm, the Canadian Television Fund, Income Tax Act incentives to advertise on Canadian channels and, of course, simultaneous substitution. All this on top of iron-clad protection from direct foreign competition.

We Canadians are very open to foreign content in our audio-visual system. On the English side, 41% of our viewing is on Canadian conventional TV stations, 26% on Canadian specialty and pay channels, 16% on US conventional border stations and 16% on US specialty/pay channels. Only 9% of our viewing is to CBC and Newsworld combined, less than for either CTV (11%) or Global (12%).

When we distinguish between the viewing of Canadian shows and US shows in the 7 to 11 pm peak-viewing period, we find that only 13% of the audience on Canadian private conventional broadcasters is watching Canadian programs, 46% of the audience on Canadian specialties is watching Canadian programs and 95% of CBC Television's audience is watching Canadian.

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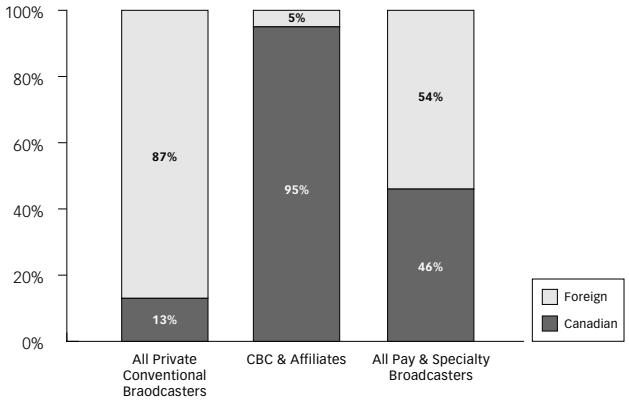
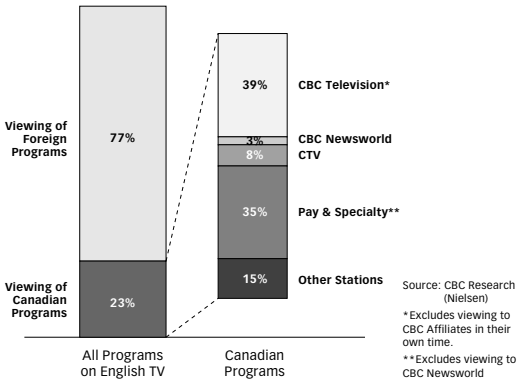
Proportion of Viewing to Canadian and Foreign Programming on English TV in Prime Time (7-11 pm) in 2000



Viewing of Canadian Programs on English TV (98/99) Peak Period – 7 to 11 pm



Indeed, CBC and Newsworld generate 42% of all the audience for Canadian programs in prime time, Canadian specialty and pay channels in the aggregate generate 35%, CTV only 8% and Global only 5%. That's almost half the Canadian viewing on two channels and the other half on the other sixty, with Global bringing up the rear.

This is not so surprising when you consider what the three Canadian networks are offering the public in prime-time (February 2003):

Who should NOT control the future of public broadcasting in Canada? Three groups come to mind.

When first appointed President of CBC, Robert Rabinovitch reportedly told the CRTC in a private showdown meeting before they released CBC's group licence renewal that he "had a mandate from the Prime Minister". Canadians don't want the Prime Minister – any Prime Minister – controlling the CBC.

Simulcast Schedule Templates Winter 2002

Canadian | **Foreign Simulcast** | **Other Foreign**

Network	pm	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
CBC	7	22 Mins	Life & Times	Air Farce	Country Can	Our Hero	Hockey Night In Canada	Emily Of New Moon
		It's A Living		Market Place	On The Road	Mr. Bean		
	8	Random Passage / Da Vinci's Inquest	The Nature Of Things	Witness	Opening Night	22 Mins		Random Passage / Da Vinci's Inquest
						Red Green		
	9		Disclosure	the fifth estate		Air Farce		
						Made in Can		
	10	The National					Hockey	Sun. Report
								Venture
CTV	7	Wheel Of Fortune					eTalk	Degrassi
		Jeopardy					Exhibit A	21C
	8	Who Wants Millionaire	Imagine That	'80s Show	Who's Line / CSI	Weakest Link	Mysterious Ways	Alias
			Wife & Kids	Accord Jim				
	9	Ally McBeal	Drew Carey	The West Wing	SCI: Crime Scene Inv.	The Associates	Figure Skating / Cold Squad	Specials
			Scrubs					
	10	Third Watch	The Nature Of Things	Law & Order	E. R.	Law & Order SVU		W-FIVE
Global	7	Bob & Margaret					Mysterious Ways	Blackfly
		Entertainment Tonight						King Of Hill
	8	Boston Public	'70s Show	Smallville	Survivor / Friends	Dawson's Creek	Andromeda	Simpsons
			Spin City					Malcolm
	9	Raymond	Frasier	Gilmore Girls	Will & Grace	Dark Angel	Mutant X	The X-Files
		Becker	The Job		Shoot Me			
	10	NYPD Blue	Judging Amy	Blue Murder	The Agency	20 / 20	Outer Limits	The Practice

Only tites, origin, and simulcasting of programs which most frequently occupy time periods are shown.

In a 1999 poll commissioned by FRIENDS, Compas Inc. found that 55% of Canadians believe "the Prime Minister's power to appoint the CBC President and Board of Directors gives the government too much influence over the nature and content of programs broadcast on the CBC", while only 35% believe "the CBC is independent and it doesn't matter who appoints the Board of Directors and the President". Our research indicates that every member of the present CBC Board of Directors is affiliated with the Liberal Party of Canada. Shame! CBC is our most important cultural institution and it's vitally important that only the most qualified and informed citizens serve on its Board. In the UK, a multi-partisan process ensures that talented people of all political stripes become Governors of the BBC, and a similar process applies to the appointment of the BBC's Director General. The South African Broadcasting Corporation and the US Corporation for Public Broadcasting follow a similar model.

A few years ago, a review panel chaired by Pierre Juneau recommended to the government that: "the integrity of the Board and the independence of the (Canadian Broadcasting) Corporation would be enhanced if directors with known political affiliations represented the full political spectrum, and not just the governing party. We note that this pattern has been followed by successive British governments and has, in our view, helped to preserve the BBC's independence and prestige[5]".

Those of us who live outside the Montreal–Ottawa–Toronto triangle are in a good position to judge the central-Canadian bias of the CBC. And no informed observer can dispute that the burden of the staffing cuts which followed the Chrétien government's decision to break its Red Book promise and gut $400 million from CBC's allocation fell predominantly outside Toronto and Montreal. More and more of us believe that CBC is becoming a Toronto Broadcasting Corporation. We do not want Toronto controlling the future of public broadcasting in Canada.

In the part of the country where I live, much of the information and most of the entertainment we watch and listen to comes from elsewhere, from Toronto, for example, or from Detroit. There's nothing wrong with distant information and entertainment – as long as we balance it with at least a modest share generated from "here". And that's what's largely missing in Newfoundland today. I could say the same thing if I lived in Saskatchewan, in Alberta, in New Brunswick, or in northern Ontario, for that matter. Our private radio and television stations are less-and-less involved with local information, music, and entertainment. When we turn on our television sets in St. John's, we learn much more about life in Los Angeles or Boston than we do about life in Edmonton, Montreal, or Moncton. In peak-viewing periods, there is nothing from our province available on CBC Television.

The third group we don't want controlling the future of public broadcasting is the private broadcasters. Heritage Minister Sheila Copps was recently quoted as saying that a ban on corporate donations is needed because "obviously there is a link between corporate donations and government policy[6]".

Private broadcasters have contributed substantial sums to the Liberal Party in recent years, and to Minister Copps. In the year 2000, the five top broadcasting contributors to the Liberal Party of Canada were BCE, $125,134; Rogers, $76,626; CanWest, $62,878; Craig, $36,784; and Shaw, $35,512.

Altogether, broadcasters gave $2,018,011 to the Liberals from 1993 to 2000. During the 2000 general election, Minister Copps received $3,000 from CanWest, $2,000 from BCE and $750 from Craig. In all, broadcasters contributed $66,876 to members of Jean Chrétien's cabinet during the 2000 election campaign[7].

In 1996, Sheila Copps presided over a $100 million cut in CBC's parliamentary allocation and a corresponding $100 million new allocation to the Canadian Television Fund, which, in turn, gave at least $50 million of that money to private broadcasters in the ensuing year. FRIENDS calculates this as a 10,000% return on the private broadcasters' investment in that year alone. The benefit, however, carried forward on a multi-year basis.

The intense concentration in ownership of private broadcasting and the advent of cross-media ownership make a strong public broadcaster more important than ever before. When Ipsos-Reid asked a representative sample of 1,100 Canadians what the federal government should do about media concentration:

- 9% responded that the government should do nothing,
- 22% suggested that the government should strengthen the CBC as a counter-balance,
- 28% favoured holding a public inquiry, and
- 32% thought the government should ask the CRTC to review and act on the situation.

So, Canadians want a strong CBC, capable of doing its job, as outlined by Parliament in the *Broadcasting Act*. Now, whether the CBC is doing its job well, that's another question.

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[1] January 23rd, 2003

[2] http://friendscb.ca/polls.htm

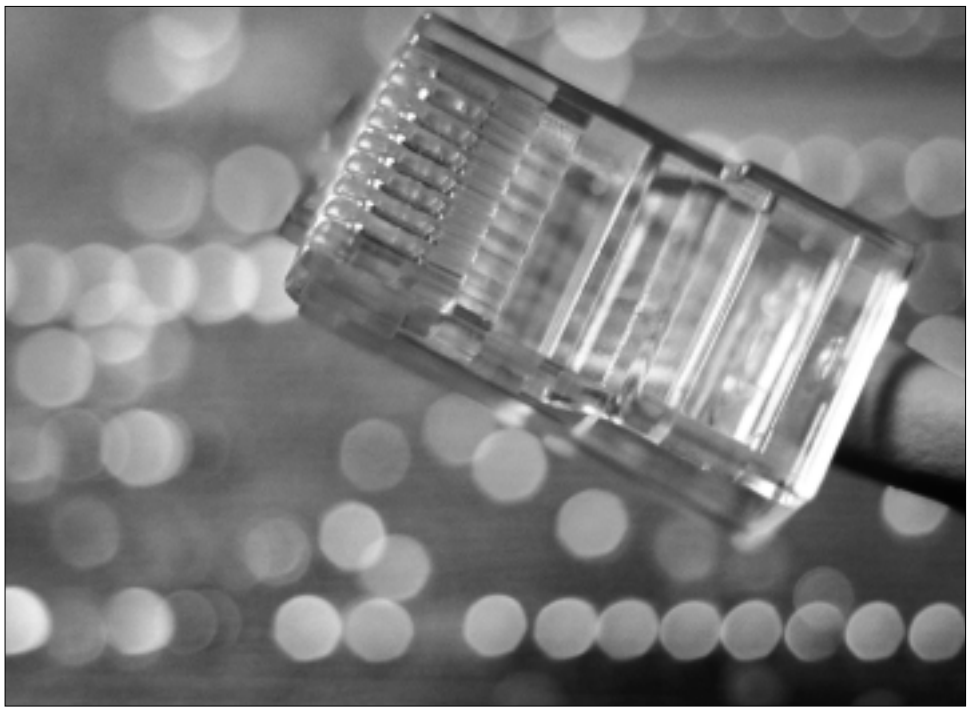
[3] On the French-speaking side, SRC-TV barely outscores TVA: 35% to 32%.

[4] Section 40. Section 46. (5) states: "The Corporation (CBC) shall, in the pursuit of its objects and in the exercise of its powers, enjoy freedom of expression and journalistic, creative and programming independence." Section 71. (1) states: "The Corporation shall, as soon as possible after, but in any case within three months after, the end of each financial year, submit an annual report on the operations of the Corporation in that year concurrently to the Minister and to the President of the Treasury Board, and the Minister shall cause a copy of the report to be laid before each House of Parliament on any of the first fifteen days on which that House is sitting after the Minister receives it."

[5] Mandate Review Committee, *Canadian Broadcasting and Film for the 21st Century*, Department of Canadian Heritage, 1996, page 117.

[6] National Post, January 25th, 2003, "Liberals accuse Copps of hypocricy: Minister accepted corporate donations, now criticizing them".

[7] FRIENDS of Canadian Broadcasting, *Follow the Money, Part II, Federal Political Contributions by Canada's Broadcasting Industry*, 1993-2000, February 4th, 2002,
http://friendscb.ca/publications.htm



Technology: Will Everyone be in Control?

BY CANDIS CALLISON

ABSTRACT

With the Internet here to stay, the reality now faced is a familiar one for technologies, media and otherwise. That is, what ideals will it serve: the public good or the forces of private enterprise and the free market economy? The author poses this and other important questions and offers a cautionary note for Canadians.

Candis Callison is a doctoral candidate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)

In a conference session prior to mine where much about youth preferences was discussed, there was a very funny quip about college-age kids having a "retro" 90s party. I kind of got stuck on this.

First, because I started to realize that I am in fact aging enough to look back nostalgically at an entire decade of adult life. And secondly, because the legacy of the booming late 90s has special relevance for this topic. In my estimation, a 90s party would not be complete without some heady recitation of cyber-rhetoric written by the likes of John Perry Barlow, and many others who wrote for *Wired* Magazine and other high tech publications during the early and mid 90s[1]. To illustrate what I mean by cyber-rhetoric, I'll give you a quick sample recently excerpted in *The Economist* magazine from Barlow's 1996 "Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace." It begins like this:

> "Governments of the industrial world, you weary giants of flesh and steel, I come from cyberspace, the new home of mind. On behalf of the future, I ask you of the past to leave us alone. You are not welcome among us. You have no sovereignty where we gather… We will create a civilization of the mind in cyberspace[2]."

It is kind of difficult to keep a straight face reading this. But despite the misguided euphoria now all too apparent in this quote, it is an artifact of this particular era of technological adaptation and development. And as such, it calls for some deeper analysis.

Specifically, the strength of this rebuke to the industrialized world, and I would argue by extension to key societal institutions like those involving media, stems in part from a couple of underlying issues that pertain directly to the questions posed to my panel.

First, there was and still is a belief that a kind of hegemonic stranglehold exists governing who has the ability to shape the perception and agendas of the public. In this vein then, broadcast media represents the few elite voices that can speak to the many, and the many are in turn hard pressed to find ways to respond, to interact, to connect with others of like mind. So it was that the idea of direct personalized access and the ability to form community outside entrenched boundaries and structures became enshrined in some of the guiding metaphors of the Internet revolution, metaphors like independence, freedom, new space, and succession from the tyranny of broadcast media.

Second, cyber-rhetoric is somewhat emblematic of the technological determinism that pervades much of the past centuries' ideals of progress and accomplishment. It is not entirely dissimilar from the hype of the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, and so on. But in contrast and response to this hollow hype, technology is now being characterized by leading science and technology scholars as a 'web of human practices,' involving materiality, knowledge and process[3]. In other words, instead of technology leading the way and determining our future and our past, technology is about us – our ideals, values, beliefs, hopes, dreams and the ability to make technology serve these.

Has information technology changed the rules? I tend to think it has merely expanded the spectrum of possibilities and experiences

The 90s rhetoric of the Internet revolution may be dated, but the fact of the Internet's reach and existence is not, nor is its possibility to transform the way we interact, do business, and think about the world. Has information technology changed the rules? I tend to think it has merely expanded the spectrum of possibilities and experiences.

A networked society means that there are new channels of access in addition to the old[4]. It has in effect acknowledged, formalized, and created other lines of access, control, and flight in rhizomatic predictable and unpredictable patterns. Cohesion occurs and dissipates on networks. Alliances and plural identities are forged through interconnectivity defying notions of institutionalized relations. Indeed, what matters most is that standard protocols for connection to the network are observed. In effect, it is less about content and more about form. There are inherent structuring conventions like coding and algorithms that may limit, inhibit or overstructure creative impulses in a networked realm. But on the whole, these are significantly different rules for engagement than those enjoyed by other forms of media or societal organizations and institutions.

I could go on here, but let me return to the idea of the network society as technology shaped by us. Take the concept posited by Theorist Michel de Certeau of "making do" – the idea that individuals are constantly developing strategies and tactics to deal with the constraining order of everyday life[5]. In the context of media, where MIT's Henry Jenkins has adapted de Certeau's theory, this means that individuals take what is given to them by broadcast media and create their own variations and understandings[6]. The Internet, in this case, merely provides an outlet, a platform with which to introduce these variations. And it begs the questions: did technology liberate us? Or did it formalize and publicize the existing libratory impulses and practices?

In this sense then, the fragmentary nature of an individual's reception of information has always existed. The Internet has merely given us the conduit in which to gather more fragments and connect them in new and interesting ways.

With the bubble over, and the Internet here to stay, the reality now faced is a familiar one for technologies, media and otherwise. That is, what ideals will it serve: the public good or the forces of private enterprise and the free market economy? Are they necessarily polarized? And who, in this case, can best determine the public good or who the 'public' is? Is it the users of Napster, and its evolved heir apparent: Kazaa? Copyright lawyers? Is it the Bush Administration and the US Military? Microsoft or the open source movement?

What's different about information technology is that there are no owners to regulate, no concentration to be wary of, and at the same time, it has become more and more pervasive in our modern lifestyles. For example, cash machines and email use the same conduit to make our lives more convenient and connected. Yet, the programming code, software, encryption, data use and storage that underlie these conveniences are a kind of opaque technological "black box" which few dare to enter and understand, let alone suggest solutions to the increasingly problematic and abstract issue of privacy. How many politicians and lawmakers do you know who understand the ins and outs of the Internet as well as they do radio and television?

To see the downside of a networked society and the potential for regulation and control – both positive and negative, one only has to review the Bush government's

still standing proposal of a Total Information Awareness program, which proposes to collect all available data including financial, personal, and health to create profiles for tracking individuals. Even the US Congress had a problem with this level of surveillance and privacy erosion, but it remains to be seen whether a truly effective deterrent will stand in the way of its implementation. After all, it can be done. It is possible. But then, there are a few issues facing this same test right now, and I would imagine the Internet is probably the least of anyone's worries.

However, maybe it should be moved up the priority list here in Canada. Because the reality is that the majority of information technology is being developed and disseminated in the United States. And I would posit that the US government and US corporations are making decisions that in effect are world Internet policy governing the use, practices, and possibilities of information technology. A networked society does not have borders, but borders still do exist and influence technological and business practices. What influence does Canada have in these realms? How do we protect the interests of Canadians? Or are we all still staring googly-eyed at the graphic user interface remaining blissfully happy about the quality of our search results – so much so that we neglect to invest in gaining knowledge about the nature of the code and infrastructure that supports it? If we are to take the concept of networked society seriously, then we might consider a creative and appropriate intervention to mitigate the effects and influences of US decisions on our businesses, infrastructures, and access to individual data.

Unfortunately for us all, Barlow whom I earlier quoted has had to rethink his ideas about cyberspace. *The Economist* article I referenced at the beginning of this talk included a more recent Barlow quote from 2003. In it, Barlow states that the ongoing fight to "control everything we know" will "determine the future of humanity". Not sure I agree with the dramatic prediction, but the sentiment is depressingly more relevant than the 'Declaration of Independence' he made six years ago.

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[1] Fred Turner, a visiting MIT scholar from University of California San Diego first introduced this term, "cyber-rhetoric" to a group of graduate students I was part of in the Program in Comparative Media Studies at MIT.

[2] David Manasian, "A survey of the internet society: Digital dilemmas," *The Economist*, 25 Jan. 2003, p. 3.

[3] Bruno Latour, *We Were Never Modern,* trans. Catherine Porter, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Wiebe E. Bijker, Thomas P. Hughes, and Trevor Pinch, eds., *The Social Construction of Technological Systems: New directions in the sociology and history of technology,* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987).

[4] The term, "network society" as I am using it comes from Manuel Castells' *The Rise of the Network Society,* 2nd Ed., (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000). I am also utilizing related theories put forth in Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia,* trans. Brian Massumi, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987); Bruno Latour, *We Were Never Modern*; Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

[5] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. Steve Rendall (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 29-31.

[6] Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992).

Les médias exercent-ils une influence exagérée sur la vie civique ?

PAR THIERRY GIASSON

RÉSUMÉ

La société canadienne souffre-t-elle du « médias-malaise » ? Très peu de preuves tangibles sont mises de l'avant par les détracteurs des médias, selon l'auteur. Il existe néanmoins un malaise médiatique dans les démocraties libérales contemporaines. Giasson et son collègue proposent donc trois pistes de réflexion qui adressent le problème du public cynique vis-à-vis les médias.

« C'est la faute aux médias ? »
Journalisme politique et malaise démocratique au Canada

Dans le cadre du projet *Renforcer la démocratie canadienne* de l'IRPP, Richard Nadeau et moi-même avons tenté d'expliquer pourquoi de nombreuses analyses soutiennent qu'il existe un lien entre la nature de la couverture médiatique de l'actualité politique, sa consommation par les citoyens et le déclin de la confiance envers le monde politique enregistré depuis les années 1960 dans l'opinion publique au Canada ou ailleurs.

De manière plus ou moins explicite, les auteurs de ces études affirment que cette crise de confiance, que ce malaise démocratique, est principalement imputable aux médias. L'unanimité des voix accusatrices qui s'élèvent contre les organisations médiatiques et leurs praticiens a éveillé notre curiosité. Curiosité qui s'est rapidement transformée en intérêt certain lorsque nous avons relevé l'existence d'une vision révisionniste à la position mise de l'avant par les accusateurs des médias. Notre mission devenait plus claire. Nous allions instruire le procès des médias et ainsi vérifier la force et la pertinence de la preuve présentée par leurs détracteurs.

Notre examen a pris la forme d'une revue exhaustive des écrits américains, européens, canadiens et québécois qui se sont penchés depuis 30 ans sur les rapports qu'entretiennent les médias, les électeurs et les élus. Le fruit de ce labeur est d'ailleurs publié cette semaine dans le numéro de février 2003 de la revue *Choix*. La preuve canadienne nous importait en priorité, mais nous avons aussi relevé ce que les politologues américains et européens ont eu à dire sur l'impact de leurs médias nationaux dans le déclin de la confiance des citoyens envers leurs institutions démocratiques et leurs classes politiques respectives.

1. Les journalistes sont-ils coupables ?

L'acte d'accusation envers les médias est lourd. Les critiques à l'égard des praticiens de l'information politique sont nombreuses. On les accuse de noircir exagérément les faits, d'usurper le rôle des élus en se donnant une visibilité indue, de détourner l'attention des électeurs et de l'orienter vers des questions secondaires, de transmettre une information tronquée sur les enjeux de l'heure et de proposer une image diminuée de la politique qui vient mettre essentiellement l'accent sur les stratégies des acteurs ou les conflits partisans.

Toutefois, nous avons identifié dans la littérature des circonstances atténuantes qui viennent tempérer cette charge accusatrice. Divers facteurs sont invoqués pour expliquer l'apparente dérive du journalisme politique. Les routines organisationnelles et les conditions de pratique du journalisme sont ouvertement mises en cause, bien souvent par les journalistes eux-mêmes.

Les pressions d'employeurs soucieux de rentabilité et le manque de ressources investies afin d'appuyer le travail des journalistes sur le terrain conduiraient ces derniers à produire une couverture politique ou électorale superficielle, stéréotypée et « spectaculaire » de l'actualité politique. Ces tendances auraient été amplifiées ces dernières années par la concentration croissante de la propriété des médias et par l'affaiblissement de la télévision publique dans plusieurs pays, dont le Canada.

2. La preuve est-elle convaincante ?

La charge portée contre les médias est virulente. L'existence de circonstances atténuantes vient toutefois réduire la force de cette mise en accusation. Qu'en est-il alors de la preuve fournie par les détracteurs du journalisme politique contemporain ? Fournissent-ils les éléments nécessaires à la production d'un verdict solide de culpabilité qui associe hors de tout doute raisonnable les médias à la monté d'un malaise démocratique au Canada ?

Thierry Giasson est candidat au doctorat et chargé de cours au Département de science politique à l'Université de Montréal. Cet article s'agit de notes de la conférence et d'une version abrégée d'un article publié dans le numéro de février 2003 de la revue Choix de l'IRPP.

Notre revue de la production scientifique actuelle a débouché sur des conclusions mitigées. En effet, une mésentente indéniable persiste au sein de la communauté scientifique sur l'existence d'un lien causal direct entre le traitement journalistique de la politique et la montée du cynisme envers la démocratie au Canada ou ailleurs. La preuve mise de l'avant par les accusateurs des médias est surtout circonstancielle et donc, peu convaincante. Deux débats alimentent ce désaccord scientifique et viennent effriter considérablement de la force de la preuve des détracteurs du journalisme politique.

Ces débats sont de nature théorique. Le premier porte sur l'identité du coupable. Certaines analyses posent que se sont les nouvelles télévisées qui génèrent le cynisme (la théorie du « vidéo-malaise »). D'autres chercheurs avancent plutôt que l'ensemble des médias (imprimés et électroniques) sont à blâmer (théorie du « médias-malaise ») et finalement un troisième courant avance que la baisse de confiance serait en fait liée davantage au contenu diffusé (divertissement plutôt qu'information) qu'au type de médias fréquenté par le citoyen.

Le second débat porte sur la nature de l'impact produit. D'une part, nombre d'auteurs, qui constatent une simultanéité chronologique entre la baisse de la confiance envers le politique et l'évolution des transformation journalistiques, avancent que les médias sont les premiers responsables de la montée d'un malaise démocratique dans la population. À l'opposé, d'autres chercheurs disent avoir mesuré l'effet contraire. Ces derniers concluent leurs analyses statistiques en affirmant que la consommation d'information politique stimule l'intérêt et la participation politique des citoyens plutôt que de générer le cynisme politique. Mais ces révisionnistes ont le triomphe modeste, préférant plutôt présenter prudemment leurs conclusions comme étant plausibles, mais non démontrées.

Une méthodologie plus raffinée permettra peut-être un jour de trancher clairement la question. Pour le moment, les tenants du « média-malaise » paraissent avoir été battus sur leur propre terrain en s'avérant incapables de démontrer l'existence d'un lien positif entre l'exposition aux médias et le cynisme. Par ailleurs, le fait que leurs opposants hésitent à conclure fermement que la fréquentation des médias contribue à raffermir et augmenter le soutien aux acteurs et aux institutions politiques montre bien que ce débat, pour le moment du moins, se prête mal à des conclusions tranchées.

Quel serait le verdict d'un jury chargé d'accuser ou de disculper les médias d'avoir alimenté le cynisme dans la plupart des démocraties établies ? Le verdict ne fait guère de doute. Le jury, sur la base de la preuve produite et de sa logique intrinsèque, acquitterait les médias après avoir sans doute exprimé sa surprise devant la virulence des charges et la faiblesse des preuves.

Est-à dire que le dossier est clos ? Non, car plusieurs questions restent ouvertes. Le fait qu'il n'existe pas d'association statistique entre l'exposition aux médias et le cynisme politique permet-il de mettre au rancart l'ensemble des griefs adressés au journalisme politique ? En d'autres termes, peut-on déduire que les citoyens en général sont satisfaits des médias et qu'ils jugent de façon positive leur contribution à la vie démocratique ? Rien n'est moins certain. Les travaux sur cette question font ressortir un écart grandissant entre un certain idéal de la couverture médiatique de l'actualité politique ou électorale et les formes actuelles de la pratique du journalisme politique.

Si les citoyens sont cyniques envers le monde politique, ils le sont également envers les médias et nombre d'autres institutions sociales. Il existe également un malaise médiatique. Une situation qui devrait préoccuper la profession journalistique. En guise de solutions à cette problématique, nous proposons trois pistes de réflexion qui reposent sur un diagnostic nuancé de la réalité. Notre perspective emprunte moins à ceux qui accusent les médias d'engendrer le cynisme politique qu'au courant d'écrits qui constate un écart grandissant entre l'idéal type de la couverture journalistique incarnée par la télévision dite de service public et les formes contemporaines de traitement médiatique de la politique.

Le fait qu'il n'existe pas d'association statistique entre l'exposition aux médias et le cynisme politique permet-il de mettre au rancart l'ensemble des griefs adressés au journalisme politique ?

3. Que faire ?

Nous croyons d'abord que les journalistes doivent permettre un meilleur contact entre les élus et les électeurs. Ils doivent à cette fin rester vigilants, mais apprendre à devenir moins omniprésents dans leur traitement de l'activité politique. Ils doivent aussi renouer avec la tradition du journalisme d'enquête et cesser de se cantonner dans une interprétation unique de politique fondée sur le conflit partisan. Une pénétration plus poussée de la pratique du journalisme civique dans les médias pourrait permettre d'atteindre cet objectif dans une certaine mesure. L'accent placé par cette approche journalistique sur les préoccupations des électeurs et la mise en contexte fouillée et détaillée des enjeux sociaux pourrait permettre de briser en partie le carcan de l'interprétation médiatique dominante de la politique.

Nous pensons également que la concentration accrue de la propriété des médias canadiens rend de plus en plus difficile la diffusion de perspectives riches et variées, et nous recommandons la tenue d'un vaste débat sur cette question. Des segments importants de la population, les journalistes et leurs associations professionnelles se disent ouvertement préoccupés par l'évolution de cette situation. Le gouvernement québécois s'est intéressé à cette question en créant un comité d'étude sur la qualité et la diversité de l'information. Une consultation similaire pourrait être envisagée à l'échelle canadienne.

Finalement, nous déplorons l'affaiblissement au Canada de la tradition de service public en information. Nous pensons qu'un financement plus adéquat, stable et sans ingérence politique de ce service public constituerait un investissement civique à haut rendement. Nous concluons donc qu'un retour appuyé à la tradition publique en information servirait bien les exigences de la démocratie canadienne.

What Have We Learned?

BY CHRISTOPHER DORNAN

ABSTRACT

Sometimes the decisions of media executives are strongly tied to economic considerations. That is not new. But in a spirited examination of the state of Canada's media, we have come to know far more about policy and regulation than about the impact of market forces on content.

Christopher Dornan is Director, Journalism & Mass Communications, at Carleton University

Safe to say that whatever one might think about the state of the media in Canada, the state of debate on the media in Canada is vigorous and healthy. At the February conference we heard articulate voices argue that the apparatus of media regulation of the media is now intrusive, counter-productive and unnecessary. We heard equally articulate voices argue that regulation is more necessary than ever. We heard that traditions of public broadcasting have outlived their usefulness. We heard that traditions of public broadcasting have outlived their usefulness. We heard that public broadcasting has never been more essential. We heard that consolidation of corporate control over communication and concentration of media ownership is a clear and present danger to the public interest. We heard that media offerings have never been so diverse and that concentration of ownership is in fact much less of a factor that it was, say 22 years ago when the Kent Commission delivered its reports.

A leitmotif running through the conference – not the only one by any means, but a prominent one – was the debate between those who express a confidence in a media system propelled by free market, private sector imperatives, and those who argue for some sort of countervailing regime that would compensate for market imperatives, complement them, or constrain them.

In that light, what struck me about the conference proceedings is actually how little we know about the concrete ways in which market considerations influence the specific forms and content of media products. The realms of policy and regulation – and the decisions of regulators and policy makers – are very much the objects of analysis and scrutiny, and they are comparatively visible. The CRTC must explain itself. The CBC must explain itself. The ministries of Heritage and Industry must explain themselves. So, for example, when the CRTC licences a country and western station in Toronto over an application for a black music station, one may disagree with the decision but at least the reasons for it are made plain.

By contrast, inasmuch as the market determines media conduct and content, it does so without explaining itself. I agree with Andrew Coyne, who said that we tend to talk about the market as though

it's some sort of disembodied force. But in fact the market influences media content through decisions taken by media executives in light of commercial pressures – that is, under specific circumstances – and there is nothing necessarily inevitable about them. Market conditions change over time, and sometimes the decisions of media executives are eminently subject to contestation purely on economic grounds.

Let me give you a couple of examples to explain what I mean. First, the way in which market conditions can change with profound consequences for the overall media economy, the public interest and policy makers. Take the attention of the news media to science. Twenty years ago, mass circulation dailies such as the *Montreal Gazette* or the *Calgary Herald* paid relatively little attention to scientific research. These papers would have weekly sections devoted to travel, cars, real estate, but they wouldn't have equivalent sections devoted to science. Why not? Because there was no commercial incentive to do so. Because, unlike travel and automobiles and the housing market, there was no ready or obvious advertising constituency that would support robust coverage of science. So it fell to public sector enterprises such as the CBC to cover science, or to upscale newspapers such as the *Globe & Mail*, which signalled its distinction from its more populist competitors precisely through content such as dutiful attention to science.

These papers would have weekly sections devoted to travel, cars, real estate, but they wouldn't have equivalent sections devoted to science. Why not? Because there was no commercial incentive to do so.

In such circumstances, the place of an institution such as the CBC was secure – or, at least, its self-understanding was assured. It knew that it existed to provide what the private sector either would not or could not: programs devoted to science (*The Nature of Things*), to fate and spirituality (*Man Alive*), children's programming devoid of commercial interest.

Flash forward 20 years and now we have entire channels devoted to science, and to faith and spirituality, and to children's programming – all perfectly profitable, good quality, and available 24 hours a day. Hence the CBC's existential crisis, born of shifting realities in the media marketplace.

Let me offer another example. Twenty years ago, what were then the member Southam daily newspapers relied for their coverage of parliamentary affairs on Southam News – the chain's in-house Ottawa bureau – on Canadian Press, and on their own correspondents. Each paper would maintain its own Ottawa reporter, attuned to how deliberations in Ottawa would affect regional concerns. Over the course of the past two decades, however, in response to declining newsroom budgets and the need to pare expenses, one by one almost all the Southam papers dropped their own parliamentary reporters. That was a decision taken by media executives in light of commercial pressures. At the same time, however, to this day each of the Southam papers – or what were the Southam papers – maintains its own movies critic; each of these people reviews exactly the same movies at exactly the same time, almost all these movies are American releases, and the work of these movie critics is conducted in an environment in which there is certainly no shortage of media attention to new releases, from Entertainment Weekly to Rotten Tomatoes.com to Ebert and Roeper. So it's just the lesser ironies of the overall scheme that reporting on national political affairs is relegated to pool coverage, while Hollywood rates a private scribe at every daily newspaper in the CanWest chain. There is nothing natural and inevitable about that. The *New Yorker* only has two movies critics, why does CanWest require 13? It's the result of decisions taken in corporate suites, but it need not be that way.

So, I would argue, in light of what we heard at the conference, that what is needed is greater attention to the ways in which market considerations are inflected through the decisions of media producers to colour or indeed determine the media content that is actually made available to viewers and readers and web clickers. All the more poignant given that as we have heard in the two days of discussions, the economic underpinnings of the media are very much in flux. The same seamless marriage between news, comment and advertising that obtains in print and broadcasting has not yet been effected in the case of the Internet – and the economic model that emerges in cyberspace may be quite distinct from what we're familiar with in the case of the traditional media – but the payment model or models that emerge with have profound consequence for the type of content we get. Similarly, Ian MacLean of Media Experts may be right in that "the Personal Video Recorder may not be the death knell of advertiser-supported broadcasting, but I think it is plain that shifts in the relation between advertising and content will have profound consequences for media content."

And on that note, let me finish by pointing to something that I don't think was explicitly mentioned during the proceedings, but I suspect may be momentous for the oldest of the traditional media, the newspapers – and that is changes in classified advertising. The classifieds, as we all know, are the bread and butter of the newspaper industry. It's an ad market that amounts to some $900 million per year, and it's a form of advertising that cannot be accommodated in radio, television or magazines. Heretofore, it's been the exclusive preserve of the newspapers, and they pay the freight for those newsrooms full of print journalists across the country. But classifieds are superbly suited to the Internet. Indeed, web classifieds are in principle infinitely superior to newspaper classified. So what happens to the newspaper industry when classified can be unhitched from the paper-and-ink product of the daily paper? What happens when it's splitsville for the seamless marriage between editorial content and the largest single source of revenue for the newspaper as we know it?

IN MEMORIAM

Angela Mattiacci

It is with the deepest regret that we inform you of the death of Angela Mattiacci, PhD, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, on Thursday, June 12, after a sudden illness. Angela was Coordinator of Information Technologies for the University of Ottawa Institute of Canadian Studies and Project Co-ordinator of the Canadian Century Research Infrastructure project.

Before joining the team at the Institute, she obtained a BA in French Literature from McMaster University, a Master's in French Literature from Carleton University and a Ph.D. in Lettres françaises from the University of Ottawa. Her main area of study was Medieval French Literature. Her thesis, defended in 1996, was a critical edition of a fourteenth century manuscript, the Marian Bestiary.

From 1995 to 1997, Angela worked as an Assistant Professor at the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, in the Department of French. After moving back to Ottawa, she enrolled in the MCSE (Microsoft Certified System's Engineer) Program at SHL Learning Technologies. After obtaining certification (NT 4.0), she worked for a short time at Statistics Canada in the ITSD (Informatics Technology Services Division) before joining the team at the Institute.

Angela joined the Institute as Coordinator of Information Technologies in July 1998. One of her major projects was designing and maintaining the Institute's Web page. In Summer 2001, the Institute web page was completely redesigned in accordance with the new design set up by the University. She also maintained the Mitel Data Analysis Centre which is a computer laboratory used by professors and students in Canadian Studies. Angela organized numerous workshops on research databases and other tools used in computerized research on Canada. Her other duties included the writing and editing of our newsletter Initiatives and producing the Internet webcast show Canadian Studies in Person. Angela also taught the courses CDN 2100 and CDN 2500 on new research methods for the study of Canada.

A well-respected professional, Angela leaves behind many friends and colleagues, both nationally and internationally. We honour her optimism, intelligence, humour, and constant devotion.

C'est avec un grand regret que nous vous informons du décès d'Angela Mattiacci, PhD, à Minneapolis (Minnesota), le jeudi 12 juin 2003 des suites d'une maladie subite. Angela était coordonnatrice des technologies de l'information pour l'Institut d'études canadiennes de l'Université d'Ottawa et gestionnaire du projet Infrastructure de recherche sur le Canada au 20e siècle.

Avant de se joindre à l'équipe de l'Institut, Angela a obtenu un baccalauréat en littérature française de l'Université McMaster, une maîtrise en littérature française de Carleton University et un doctorat en lettres françaises de l'Université d'Ottawa. Son domaine d'étude était surtout la littérature médiévale. Sa thèse, soutenue en 1996, était une édition critique du Bestiaire marial, un manuscrit du quatorzième siècle.

De 1995 à 1997, Angela a été professeure adjointe à l'Université du Nouveau-Brunswick, Fredericton, au département de français. Après son retour à Ottawa, elle s'est inscrite dans le programme MCSE (Microsoft Certified System's Engineer) à SHL Learning Technologies. Elle a obtenu la certification (NT 4.0), et a ensuite travaillé pendant quelques mois à Statistique Canada dans la division des services informatiques.

Angela Mattiacci est devenue coordonnatrice des nouvelles technologies à l'Institut d'études canadiennes en 1998. Un de ses projets était le site Web de l'Institut qui a été complètement refait en été 2001. Elle était aussi responsable du Centre Mitel d'analyse de données, un laboratoire informatisé utilisé par les professeurs et les étudiants en études canadiennes. Elle a organisé de nombreux ateliers sur l'emploi des bases de données et d'autres outils dans la recherche sur le Canada. Elle s'est occupé aussi du bulletin, Initiatives et a conçu la cyberémission Les études canadiennes en personne. Angela a aussi enseigné les cours CDN 2100 et CDN 2500 sur les nouvelles méthodes de recherche pour l'étude du Canada.

Une professionnelle respectée, Angela était bien connue dans le milieu universitaire et laisse derrière elle plusieurs amis et collègues, tant au niveau national qu'international. Nous rendons hommage à son optimisme, son intelligence, son sens de l'humour et son dévouement.

James R. Mallory
(1916-2003)

The Canadian Studies community was saddened to learn of the passing of Professor James R. Mallory. Born in 1916 in St. Andrews, New Brunswick and educated at New Brunswick (BA Hons), Dalhousie (MA), and Edinburgh, Professor Mallory will be remembered as one of Canada's foremost teachers and writers on the constitution and workings of Canadian government. His career took him to Saskatchewan, Toronto, Brandon and McGill (for 45 years), where he was named professor emeritus and was for 10 years chairman of the economics & political science department. As a pioneer of Canadian Studies, he was honoured at the time of his retirement by the creation of the annual James R. Mallory Lecture in Canadian Studies, hosted by the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada every fall. James Mallory died peacefully at home on Tuesday, June 24, 2003.

C'est avec une grande tristesse que la communauté des études canadiennes a apprise le décès du professeur James R. Mallory. Né en 1916 à St-Andrews, Nouveau-Brunswick, M. Mallory a fait ses études à l'Université du Nouveau-Brunswick (BA Hons), Dalhousie (MS) et Edinburgh. Nous nous rappellerons de lui comme l'un des plus grands professeurs et écrivains du Canada sur la constitution et les travaux du gouvernement du Canada. Sa carrière l'aura amené en Saskatchewan, à Toronto, à Brandon et à McGill (pendant plus de 45 ans), où il fut nommé professeur Emeritus et a été pendant 10 ans à la tête du département des sciences économiques et politiques. En tant que pionnier dans le domaine des études canadiennes, il a été honoré lors de sa retraite par la création du Jame R. Mallory Lecture in Canadian Studies tenu chaque automne au McGill Institute for the Study of Canada. James Mallory est décédé en paix dans sa résidence le mardi 24 juin 2003.

Reading Canada

The public good and private pleasures of reading

A NATIONAL FORUM

Lire le Canada

Les bénéfices publics et les plaisirs privés de la lecture

UN FORUM NATIONAL

November 6-8 Novembre 2003
Ottawa, Ontario

The year 2003 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the National Library of Canada and the thirtieth anniversary of the Association for Canadian Studies. Together with partners in the fields of reading, publishing, writing and literacy, they will present *Reading Canada: The public good and private pleasures of reading* - a national forum to be held in Ottawa in November 2003. The forum will offer a setting for all those involved in Canadian writing and publishing to come together and share their thoughts, concerns and experiences on a variety of important issues including:

L'année 2003 marque le 50ème anniversaire de la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada et le 30ème anniversaire de l'Association d'études canadiennes. En collaboration avec divers partenaires des domaines de la lecture, l'édition, l'écriture et l'alphabétisation, ces deux institutions présenteront *Lire le Canada : les bénéfices publics et les plaisirs privés de la lecture* - un forum national qui aura lieu à Ottawa en novembre 2003. Le forum donnera l'opportunité aux intervenants des domaines de l'écriture et de l'édition canadienne de se réunir et d'échanger leurs pensées, intérêts et expériences sur une multitude d'importants sujets, dont entre autres :

LITERACY/ILLITERACY - NEW READERS
PUBLICATIONS POLICY
PRINT VS ELECTRONIC - THE FUTURE OF THE BOOK
GREAT CANADIAN WRITERS - FICTION,
NON-FICTION AND POETRY
SELF-DISCOVERY THROUGH READING
THE SOCIAL BENEFITS OF READING: YOUNG AND OLD
DEVELOPING CANADA'S FUTURE WRITERS
MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS
THE ROLE OF PUBLIC AND SCHOOL LIBRARIES
BOOK CLUBS / SHARED READING INITIATIVES
ACQUISITIONS
INFORMATION OVERLOAD
TRANSLATION
REVIEWING BOOKS
SELLING BOOKS
BRAILLE AND OTHER READING/INTERPRETING SYSTEMS
INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

L'ALPHABETISATION / L'ANALPHABETISME - NOUVEAUX LECTEURS
LA POLITIQUE DE PUBLICATIONS
L'IMPRIME VS L'ELECTRONIQUE - L'AVENIR DU LIVRE
LES GRANDS ECRIVAINS CANADIENS - ROMAN,
ECRIT NON FICTIF ET POESIE
LA DECOUVERTE DE SOI PAR LA LECTURE
LES BENEFICES SOCIAUX DE LA LECTURE :
JEUNES ET MOINS JEUNES
LE DEVELOPPEMENT DES FUTURS ECRIVAINS
LES MAGAZINES ET JOURNAUX
LE ROLE DES BIBLIOTHEQUES PUBLIQUES ET SCOLAIRES
LES CLUBS DE LIVRES / LE PARTAGE DES INITIATIVES DE LECTURE
LES ACQUISITIONS
LA SURCHARGE D'INFORMATIONS
LA TRADUCTION
LA REVISION DE LIVRES
LA VENTE DE LIVRES
LECTURE DU BRAILLE ET AUTRES SYSTEMES
D`INTERPRETATION
COMPARAISONS INTERNATIONALES

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ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN STUDIES
ASSOCIATION D'ÉTUDES CANADIENNES

National Library of Canada and
National Archives of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada et
Archives nationales du Canada

INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS CELEBRATE!

™ Rogers Broadcasting Limited

INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS ON OMNI

Name of Program	Language	Original Time	
Caribbean Vibrations	English	2:30 PM – 3:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Kontakt	Ukrainian	1:00 PM – 2:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Latin Vibes Television	Spanish	4:00 PM – 5:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Leben Malti	Maltese	10:00 AM – 10:30 AM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Macedonian Heritage Hour	Macedonian	5:00 PM – 6:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Magyar Képek TV	Hungarian	12:30 PM – 1:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Morning Waves	Russian	7:00 AM – 8:00 AM (Sunday)	- OMNI.1
Noi Romînii	Romanian	12:00 PM – 12:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Pasqyra Shqiptare	Albanian	2:00 PM – 2:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Russian Waves	Russian	10:00 PM – 10:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Asmas	Amharic (Ethiopian)	2:30 PM – 3:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Afghan Hindara	Pushto/Dari	1:00 PM – 1:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Ansantran	Bengali	12:30 PM – 1:00 PM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Arirang Korea	Korean	6:30 PM – 7:00 PM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Flip	Filipino-English	12:00 PM – 12:30 PM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Front Page Philippines	Tagalog, Visayan	4:00 PM – 4:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Iran Zameen Today and Pasargad Today	Persian	12:00 PM – 1:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Kala Kawaya	Sinhalese	10:30 AM – 11:00 AM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Malayala Shabtham	Malayalam	11:00 AM – 11:30 AM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Muruwa'at Arabia TV	Arabic	1:30 PM – 2:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Muuqaalka Soomaalida	Somali	10:00 AM – 10:30 AM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Nor Hai Horizon	Armenian	9:00 AM – 10:00 AM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Ondes Africaines	French (African)	3:00 PM – 3:30 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Planet Africa Television	English (African)	3:30 PM – 4:00 PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
TV Việt Tiến	Vietnamese	11:00 AM – 12:00 PM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2

With the launch of OMNI.2, Rogers Media television set new records in diversity broadcasting. Combined, OMNI.1 (CFMT-TV) and OMNI.2 will provide quality programming to over 50 different communities.

Twenty-five Independent producers were introduced at the OMNI Launch and joined The Hon. Sheila Copps, Minister of Canadian Heritage as she congratulated the OMNI team in numerous languages. Ted Rogers spoke of his 35 years of ongoing commitment to multilingual television in Canada.

Upholding this commitment to cultural diversity, Madeline Ziniak, Vice President and Station Manager, announced the production initiatives totalling $50 million, of which $30 million will be specifically dedicated to Independent Production.

Committed to Cultural Diversity!

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